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Educationalising Womanhood

Constructions of Female Subjectivities in Educational Discourse from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Republic of Turkey (c. 1859–1933)

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To Leyla

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the construction of womanhood and female subjectivities in the educational discourse of the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey between 1859 and 1933. It approaches women's education through multiple entry points, including girls' *rüşdiyye* (secondary) schools, women's education's relation to "the West," stereotypes of women, and representations of *muallimes* (female teachers). The analysis draws on a comprehensive range of sources, including secondary school curricula, women's magazines, education journals, literary works, and autobiographical texts. Methodologically, the thesis employs historical case study evaluation, qualitative thematic analysis, and the analytical concepts of stereotypes and countertypes. The overarching theoretical framework of gender and educationalisation is supported by the concepts of *patriarchal bargaining, Occidentalism,* and *social disciplining*. The dissertation argues that education functioned as a central site through which womanhood was negotiated, modernised, regulated, and politicised. Four interrelated sub-studies demonstrate that 1) women were prioritised in state-led moral regulation and social disciplining through education; 2) female subjectivities were shaped by ambivalent engagements with "the West," where Occidentalist tensions functioned as patriarchal bargains; 3) women developed flexible stereotypes through educational discourse to navigate social transformation in the making of the "ideal patriotic Turkish woman;" and 4) the *muallime* emerged as both a product and an active agent of modernisation, negotiating tensions between professionalism, nationalism, domesticity, and morality. Overall, women were positioned as key targets of state and societal regulation, with educational discourse framing motherhood, morality, health, and patriotism as core female responsibilities. At the same time, women actively appropriated educationalisation to legitimise access to schooling, articulate professional identities, and claim social and economic agency. These strategies enabled participation in public life while simultaneously reaffirming gendered, classed, and national hierarchies by recasting structural inequalities as problems for education to solve. The dissertation contributes to the history of women's education in Turkey by offering a gender-aware reading of early girls' curricula and by foregrounding women's own educational discourse. It demonstrates that similar curricular reforms imposed stronger moral expectations on girls than on boys and reveals clear divergences between male- and female-authored representations of womanhood. By combining gender, educationalisation, and Occidentalism, the study provides a theoretical framework for analysing women's agency in a non-Western context, showing that educational discourse functioned as a site of negotiation rather than a linear path toward emancipation.

Keywords: Educationalisation; women; gender; the Ottoman Empire; Turkey; female teachers; Occidentalism; patriarchal bargain; stereotypes; countertypes; ideals of womanhood; women's magazines; education journals; curriculum; history of education.

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Note on Calendars

Traditionally, the lunar Hijri calendar was used in the Ottoman Empire. In the nineteenth century, another Hijri-based but solar calendar known as the *rûmî* (Roman) or *mâlî* (financial) calendar was also introduced. After 1840, both calendars were used simultaneously for legal and financial matters. By the 1870s, newspapers and journals had also adopted this dual dating system. Nonetheless, religious institutions and *sharia* courts continued to adhere to the classical lunar Hijri calendar. Toward the end of the century, the *rûmî* calendar grew increasingly widespread and, after 1908, largely replaced the lunar version in many areas. During World War I, the Gregorian calendar also started to be used, and on 1 January 1926, it was officially adopted by the Republic of Turkey.[1]

In this dissertation, I give both the *rûmî* (where possible; otherwise Hijri) and the Gregorian dates in references but use only Gregorian dates in the text. Conversions have been done with the help of the Date Conversion Guide[2] of the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Society).

[1] Adapted from Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *İstanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xiv.

[2] "Date Conversion Guide," Turkish Historical Society, accessed 10 January 2026, https://ttk.gov.tr/tarih-cevirme-kilavuzu/.

Note on Transliteration

For reasons of clarity and convenience, Ottoman Turkish personal names and titles are rendered using modern Turkish orthography. Geographical names are given in their internationally recognised forms, such as "Beirut" and "Salonica." The same approach applies to Ottoman institutions and titles that have established English equivalents, including "caliphate" and "pasha." In cases where no such standard English form exists, the original Ottoman Turkish historical terminology is retained. The pronunciations of Turkish letters that have no equivalents in the English alphabet are indicated as follows:[3]

C	c	*j* in *job*
Ç	ç	*ch* in *chance*
Ğ	ğ	articulated after *e, i, ö,* and *ü* with a sound similar to *y* in *yes*; between *a, ı, o,* and *u* it is generally inaudible; when it occurs between one of these vowels and a consonant, it lengthens the preceding vowel
I	ı	a vowel specific to Turkish, resembling the *a* in *summary* or the *u* in *medium*
İ	i	mark the difference in uppercase form
J	j	the French *j* in *jeune*
Ö	ö	the German *ö* in *schön*
Ş	ş	*sh* in *she*
Ü	ü	the German *ü* in *über*

[3] Adapted from Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2003), xi.

List of Research Articles Included in This Dissertation

1. Eren Aydınlık, Badegül, and Seyfi Kenan. "Between Men, Time and the State: Education of Girls During the Late Ottoman Empire (1859–1908)." *Paedagogica Historica* 57, no. 4 (2021): 400–418. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2019.1660386.

2. Eren-Aydınlık, Badegül. "(Re)Shaping Ottoman Women: The Construction of Female Subjectivities through Educational Discourse in Women's Magazines (1869–1908)." *Paedagogica Historica* 61, no. 2 (2025): 333–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2024.2343922.

3. Eren-Aydınlık, Badegül. "Education as 'The True Dowry:' Ideals of Womanhood in Late Ottoman Women's Magazines (1913–1921)." *History of Education* 54, no. 5 (2025): 533–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2025.2486097.

4. Eren-Aydınlık, Badegül. "Creating *Muallime*s: Female Teachers and Their Education in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Republic of Turkey (1869–1933)." Unpublished Manuscript, in Review.

Introduction

The "woman question," along with the issue of women's education as an inseparable component, has historically constituted a contested arena and a focal point of political, cultural, and social discourse in Turkey, as in many other countries. In the Turkish context, the origins of this question can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, coinciding with the period of rapid reform within the Ottoman Empire.[4] Scholarship in the fields of both the history of education[5] and women's history[6] has highlighted the strong continuities as well as the ruptures between the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic, emphasising the significance of this transitional period in understanding the evolution of women's education in Turkey.

Faced with ongoing military defeats and territorial losses, the ruling elite of the late Ottoman Empire started to perceive European institutions as superior and, consequently, initiated reforms to align with them – as early as the late eighteenth century.[7] By the early nineteenth century, the empire was contending with an array of new forces, including "new ideologies, unprecedented foreign capital flows, covetous neighbours, zealous missionaries, and new technologies." In response to these "shifting realities," the Ottoman state embarked on a series of sweeping reform initiatives, leading to the proliferation of modern educational institutions[8] and the introduction of the so-called "New Order" (*Nizam-ı Cedid*).[9] While the initial objective of these reforms was to establish a well-educated and professionalised military force, the scope of educational transformation soon expanded beyond military training to also encompass broader public education. With the establishment of new schools in the late eighteenth

[4] Deniz Kandiyoti, "End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey," in *Women, Islam and the State*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (London: Palgrave, 1991), 22–47.
[5] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Mustafa Gündüz, "Sociocultural Origins of Turkish Educational Reforms and Ideological Origins of Late Ottoman Intellectuals (1908–1930)," *History of Education* 38, no. 2 (2009): 191–216; Elif Ekin Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012). As Alkan (2000) argues, this strong continuity does not mean a causality. Cited in Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 19.
[6] Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," *Aspasia* 1, no. 1 (2007); Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*.
[7] Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, ed. Ahmet Kuyaş (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2002), 92; Seyfi Kenan, "III. Selim Dönemi Eğitim Anlayışında Arayışlar," in *Nizâm-ı Kadîm'den Nizam-ı Cedîd'e: III. Selim ve Dönemi*, ed. Seyfi Kenan (Üsküdar, İstanbul: İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM), 2010), 130–34.
[8] Benjamin C. Fortna, "Education and Change in the Late Ottoman Empire and Turkey," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 10, no. 1 (2018): 44.
[9] Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 53–54.

century, both new pedagogical methods and the natural sciences were incorporated into the curricula, marking the advent of modern education in the empire.[10] Consequently, the transition from classical to modern education in the Ottoman Empire and later in Turkey occurred in tandem with similar transformations across the world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[11]

Amid these reforms, women gradually gained visibility in the public sphere.[12] By the 1840s, Ottoman bureaucrats had begun articulating the necessity of public education for girls, with the objective of cultivating their knowledge and moral character, thereby preparing them to be competent future mothers.[13] Consequently, public schooling for girls was introduced as early as 1859, followed by the start of teacher education for women in 1870. Nevertheless, many male intellectuals remained dissatisfied with the inferior position of women in society.[14] For them, redefining women's roles and responsibilities was imperative to keep pace with the rapid transformations reshaping Ottoman society. In pursuit of this goal, they initiated the publication of women's magazines, and increasing numbers of women began contributing articles to these periodicals. Over time, Ottoman women, influenced by these intellectual engagements, came to play a central role in the emergence of the Ottoman women's movement by founding their own associations and periodicals.[15] As Reina Lewis observes, "Ottoman women were connected textually and socially to a web of other women (and men) throughout and beyond the region, all of whom, constituting a series of segregated and unsegregated publics, recognised the importance of their writing activities."[16] In other words, Ottoman women were in dialogue with both male and female international writers, such as European and American feminists, and foreign women who travelled within Ottoman territories. Through these exchanges, as well as their own journeys to Europe,[17] Ottoman women acquired new conceptions of womanhood, which they subsequently adapted and recontextualised within nationalist frameworks.[18] In this process, they critically

[10] Kenan, "III. Selim Dönemi," 134.
[11] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 40.
[12] Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*, 21–56.
[13] Yasemin Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Kızların Eğitimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 11.
[14] Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," 25–27.
[15] Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis, 2013), 405–7.
[16] Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (London: Tauris, 2004), 4.
[17] Senem Timuroğlu, *Kanatlanmış Kadınlar: Osmanlı ve Avrupalı Kadın Yazarların Dostluğu* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2020).
[18] Elif Ekin Akşit, "Osmanlı Feminizmi, Uluslararası Feminizm ve Doğu Kadınları," *Doğudan,* no. 7 (2008): 90.

engaged with Western ideals, negotiating their own vision of modern femininity.[19]

The emergence of women's press in the late nineteenth century thus provided Ottoman women with an intellectual and textual medium through which they could actively participate in debates concerning female education and contribute to shaping the image of the modern Ottoman woman. Through their writings, they also assumed the role of public educators, guiding their readership toward new societal ideals. As Elizabeth B. Frierson asserts in reference to the *Hamidian* period: "writers for and about women presented themselves as running an extracurricular school to produce patriotic Ottomans."[20] The previously limited publishing opportunities available to women expanded significantly with the political liberalisation following the promulgation of the constitutional monarchy in 1908.[21] This newfound atmosphere of freedom enabled them to become active participants in the nation-building process, and they were promised expanded rights by the founding figures of the Republic. However, contrary to popular belief, this initial wave of feminism, which had sought political representation in the nascent Republic, was later marginalised and silenced during the single-party period between the 1930s and 1950s.[22] Although the new regime continued to prioritise women's education, its primary objective had shifted: rather than fostering political agency, education was now framed as a means of cultivating the "Republican woman" – a figure envisioned as instrumental in instilling secular and nationalistic values in the next generation and shaping the emergent middle class of the new nation.[23]

Overall, it is clear that as the nineteenth century progressed, public schooling and educational discourse in general emerged among the most powerful arenas through which ideas about womanhood, family, and national progress were articulated. The emergence of modern girls' schools, the professionalisation of female teaching, and the proliferation of women's periodicals created new spaces in which competing visions of femininity were debated and codified. These expanding educational and textual fields did not merely reflect social change; they actively produced

[19] Timuroğlu, *Kanatlanmış Kadınlar*.
[20] Elizabeth Frierson, "Women in Late Ottoman Intellectual History," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: Routledge, 2005), 142.
[21] Derya Iner, "Gaining a Public Voice: Ottoman Women's Struggle to Survive in the Print Life of Early Twentieth-Century Ottoman Society, and the Example of Halide Edib (1884–1964)," *Women's History Review* 24, no. 6 (2015): 965–84.
[22] Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2019), 262.
[23] Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*.

new notions of female respectability, civic responsibility, and modern subjectivity. In these processes, women appeared simultaneously as the objects of reform and as authors and mediators of educational ideals.

Yet this period also reveals persistent tensions: between domesticity and public participation, between Western models and Ottoman-Turkish reinterpretations, and between state-led prescriptions and women's own interventions. Such tensions made education a crucial site where ideals of womanhood were negotiated, contested, and reformulated. Observing how curricula, magazines, and teacher-training institutions engaged with these questions over several decades points to a longer, interconnected trajectory in which womanhood was continually redefined. It is from this complex interplay – between institutional reforms, pedagogical expectations, and women's discursive practices – that the research questions of the present dissertation arise, aiming to understand how female subjectivities were shaped through educational discourse from the mid-nineteenth century to the early Republican era.

Research Aim and Questions

The overall aim of this dissertation is to explore how womanhood and female subjectivities were constructed within educational discourses of Turkey starting from the inauguration of the first modern school for women in 1859 in the late Ottoman Empire, to the last curriculum revision of *Kız Muallim Mektebi* (Female Teachers Training School) in 1933 in the early Republic of Turkey. By drawing on various official school documents and women's magazines, the thesis scrutinises how the Ottoman and Turkish state discourses interacted with counter-public discourses on public education, women's education, and women's ascribed societal roles in this period of rapid modernisation and Westernisation in Turkey. The four substudies aim to answer the following questions:

1. How was the curriculum of girls' secondary schools formed and developed in terms of social demands, in comparison with the curriculum of boys' secondary schools during the late Ottoman Empire?

2. How were female subjectivities constructed and affected by imaginations of the West within educational discourse in the Ottoman women's magazines between 1869 and 1908?

3. How were stereotypes, ideals, and counter-ideals of new Ottoman and Turkish womanhood constructed within the educational discourse of the Ottoman women's magazines between 1908 and 1921?

4. How were the emerging teaching profession of Ottoman and Turkish women and their education perceived and shaped through the lens of contemporary women's magazines and education journals of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Republic of Turkey from the foundation of *Darülmuallimat* in 1870 to the final curriculum revision of *Kız Muallim Mektebi* (Female Teachers Training School) in 1933?

Significance

This thesis presents an integrated analysis of a diverse range of sources, including official documents such as curricula and public materials such as educational journals and women's magazines. These sources are examined through the lens of education, understood as a broad concept that extends beyond formal schooling. The study explores how various actors – including the state, male bureaucrats and educators, as well as women themselves – contributed to shaping conceptions of womanhood during the transition from classical to modern education.

By bringing together several theoretical perspectives in an innovative way and offering a more nuanced understanding of the roles of girls and women within educational discourse, this thesis seeks to make a meaningful contribution to existing scholarship. Finally, by analysing how education was used by different actors, it demonstrates that issues concerning women were educationalised in distinct ways and for different purposes by men and women. In doing so, the study deepens our understanding of educationalisation as a defining *zeitgeist* of the era.

Delimitations

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Ottoman Empire underwent a prolonged process of disintegration that led to the formation of nation-states in the Balkans and, subsequently, the Turkish nation-state in Anatolia. In contrast, the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire did not experience national consolidation after the First World War but were instead subjected to colonial partition under British and French mandates. Among these successor contexts, this dissertation focuses specifically on Turkey. This focus is justified by the fact that the late Ottoman urban ruling elites and bureaucratic circles constituted the core

political and intellectual actors who later became central to the project of the Turkish nation-state. Accordingly, this study treats these groups as the immediate predecessors of the Republican elite.

In line with this focus, the dissertation examines official and public texts published in Ottoman Turkish. The majority of male contributors to the periodicals analysed were members of the urban ruling elite, while most of the women writing in women's magazines were Muslim-Turkish women who were daughters, wives, or close relatives of the same intellectual and bureaucratic circles based in İstanbul. Concentrating on these sources and actors provides a productive lens through which to analyse dominant discourses on nation-building, women, and education in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. At the same time, this focus necessarily delimits the scope of the study, as it does not claim to represent the experiences or perspectives of all social, ethnic, or regional groups within the former Empire.

Background

The periodisation of the history of education in Turkey is a contested area. Some divide this history into Ottoman and Republic periods with a sense of a clear-cut line between them – starting the modernisation with the Republic.[24] Others focus on the modernisation of educational institutions in the late Ottoman Empire and the continuities between the Empire and the Republic; thus dividing the history of education into classical, modern, and Republican periods without a strong sense of rupture in between.[25] Yet even among those who adopt this latter periodisation, the starting point of the modern era varies. In this dissertation, I do not propose a new periodisation; rather, I follow the tripartite framework of classical, modern, and Republican periods, while recognising that these eras are marked not only by ruptures but also by significant continuities – an approach that aligns with the specific scope of this study. The classical period, characterised by the dominance of a religious worldview, begins with the earliest educational initiatives of the Kara-Khanid Khanate in the late ninth century and continues until the late eighteenth century. The modern period is generally understood to commence with the establishment of the *Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyun* (Imperial School of Military Engineering) in 1795. The final period, the Republican era, starts with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.[26]

This section of the dissertation adopts this periodisation of classical, modern, and Republican eras to outline the historical background. While the scope of the dissertation addresses the modern and Republican periods, a brief overview of classical era is also needed to contextualise the transformations that occurred in the field of education – particularly women's education – at the onset of the modern period. Within each period, a general overview of the educational context is followed by a more in-depth discussion of women's education, along with related developments in the press and in women's history more broadly – a context that is essential for understanding and situating the sub-studies of this dissertation.

[24] Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Türkiye Eğitim Tarihi: 11–20. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Alfa, 2018).
[25] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*; Seyfi Kenan, "Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi ve Deneyiminin Dönüm Noktaları Üzerine Bir Çözümleme," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies,* no. 41 (2013): 1–31; Sümer Aktan, "Curriculum Research in Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Republic," in *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*, 2nd ed., ed. William F Pinar (New York: Routledge, 2013), 502–10.
[26] Kenan, "III. Selim Dönemi," 134; Kenan, "Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi."

Classical Period (c. 9th century–1795)

Although the classical period falls outside the main scope of this dissertation, a brief overview is necessary to contextualise the transformations that occurred in women's lives and education from the late eighteenth century onward, as well as to highlight continuities that might otherwise be overlooked. Understanding the deeper past is essential for recognising both the emergence and the evolution of women's education and agency.

The origins of the history of education in Turkey can be traced back to the late ninth century. From this period until the end of the eighteenth century, educational ideas and practices were shaped by the religious worldview of that time, as was the case around the world.[27] In the classical period of the Ottomans, the main educational institutions were the *sıbyan mektebi* (Quran schools), the *medrese*, the *Enderun Mektebi* (Palace School), the Imperial Harem and the *tekke* (dervish convents). Owing the exclusivity of *Enderun* and Imperial Harem, these institutions remained largely inaccessible to common Muslims, particularly at the Empire's height. As *tekke*s also were non-formal education institutions, the *sıbyan mektebi* at the elementary level and the *medrese* at the higher level may be regarded as the principal traditional civil educational institutions for Muslim Ottoman subjects.[28]

At the s*ıbyan mektebi*, boys and girls aged between 5–7 and 10–12 were taught by a teacher in a classroom. At these schools, pupils learned basic Islamic catechism, reciting the Quran, and basic religious knowledge.[29] *Medrese*s were the higher education institutions which were seen as "the backbone of Ottoman education system"[30] and had the most prominent place in leading the scientific and administrative areas of the Empire. The curricula implemented in *medrese*s was standardised throughout the Empire. Instead of grades to be passed, *medrese*s had courses to be completed by the pupils. These courses were arranged to be sequenced in three levels: beginner, middle, and advanced.[31] In the circle formed around the

[27] Kenan, "Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi," 2–3.
[28] Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 17.
[29] Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi M.Ö. 1000–M.S. 2020*, 33rd ed. (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2020), 88–90; Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış* (Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1964), 7–8.
[30] Cemil Öztürk, "Osmanlılar: Eğitim ve Eğitim Kurumları," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2018 [2007]), 33:566.
[31] Mehmet İpşirli, "Medrese: Osmanlı Dönemi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 28:327–32.

instructor, the lessons were conducted through repetition, memorisation,[32] discussions, and debates.[33] These two main educational institutions were established, supported, and able to survive through the *vakıf*s (waqfs)[34] to which they belonged to.

The curriculum theory of the classical period, which is labelled as classical curriculum theory by Sümer Aktan, can be followed through *medrese*s and works of prominent intellectuals teaching there – where they classified sciences in a hierarchical manner.[35] This hierarchy was divided into two main parts: religious and rational sciences. Being the higher category, religious sciences included the Quran, the Hadith (sayings of the Prophet Mohammad) and Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh). Rational sciences – such as theology, logic, rhetoric, lexicography, grammar, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, philosophy, history, and geography – were the lower category, serving to create an understanding and teach the higher sciences.[36]

Located in the palace, *Enderun Mektebi,* on the other hand, aimed to produce the administrative and military classes through recruiting Christian boys in the Balkans (devshirme system). Having predetermined stages, students followed specific curricula for each stage and had the opportunity to rise to the highest levels in the bureaucracy.[37] Similar to *Enderun*, Imperial Harem was the training institution for women, aiming to prepare them "through personal service to the sultan and his mother to take up their roles in the outer world."[38] These two institutions had similar

[32] Fahri Unan, "Osmanlılarda Medrese Eğitimi," in *Osmanlı: Toplum*, vol. 5, ed. Güler Eren (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), 157–58.
[33] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 57.
[34] A waqf refers to an endowment established under Islamic law (*sharia*) to support a charitable or religious purpose by dedicating a private source of income for its continual maintenance. In the Ottoman Empire, such endowments funded a wide range of institutions, including mosques, madrasas, and Sufi lodges. They also sustained public welfare facilities that served the broader Muslim community. See, Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Alan Masters, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 590.
[35] Aktan, "Curriculum Research in Turkey," 6–7.
[36] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin*, 20–23.
[37] Ülker Akkutay, *Enderûn Mektebi* (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Basın-Yayın Yüksekokulu Basımevi, 1984), 25–26; Mehmet İpşirli, "Enderun," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2017 [1995]), 11:185–87; Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 94–98. Three interrelated forms of education in *Enderun* are training through service, theoretical instruction, and physical and artistic education. Ibid., 97–98.
[38] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 139. Education in the Imperial Harem encompassed Islamic law, reading and writing, dance, drawing, etiquette, calligraphy, and illumination, along with practical training in sewing, embroidery, music, dancing and singing according to individual aptitude. This education enabled women to attain one of three positions: to rise by bearing a prince, to hold an administrative post in harem, or to gain freedom to marry into the ruling elite. The harem operated under a strict hierarchy. Ibid., 139–42.

organisational elaboration and ranks.[39] Having semi-religious and semi-cultural features, *tekke*s were the places where non-formal education took place,[40] and this education was not confined to formal institutional settings.[41]

When it comes to women's education in the classical period, women outside the Imperial Harem were educated in informal settings. As Akşit maintains, women who had learned Islamic law, languages, arts, and literature in the palace transmitted this education to their own households once they got married (often to civil servants of higher ranks). This experience would with time transform into a systematic and regular educational process where there was an age-hierarchy among women. Eventually, this education became available in the high-class homes.[42] Moreover, alongside the primary schools in which *medrese* graduates served as instructors, archival evidence reveals that, even prior to the establishment of formal public education for women, girls received instruction from female teachers – either in private homes or in mosques – often supported financially by the state or individual public officials.[43] Additional records also document the presence of informal girls' primary schools administered by women as early as the eighteenth century.[44] Furthermore, women were attending *sufi tekke*s to become skilled in music and poetry.[45] Lastly, the most known way of women's education was for the daughters or wives of the leading intellectuals and bureaucrats. They were homeschooled by private tutors and by their fathers themselves.[46]

Modern Period (1795–1923)

In relation to the transformations that took place during the nineteenth century and the Ottoman origins of Turkish official ideology, Şükrü Hanioğlu highlights the importance of contingency rather than a

[39] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 139.
[40] Kenan, "Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi," 6.
[41] Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia*, 199.
[42] Elif Ekin Akşit, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kızların Eğitimi ve Özel Alan Kamusal Alan Dinamikleri," in *Prof. Dr. Yahya Akyüz'e Armağan: Türk Eğitim Tarihi Araştırmaları, Eğitim ve Kültür Yazıları*, ed. Cemil Öztürk and İlhami Fındıkçı (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2011), 162.
[43] Yahya Akyüz, "Osmanlıda 'Kadın Öğretmenli Ev Sıbyan Mektepleri' (Amerikan ve Fransız Eğitim Tarihinden Benzer Örnekler)," *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, no. 15 (2004): 1–12; Akşit, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda," 160.
[44] Jun Akiba, "'Girls Are Also People of the Holy Qur'an': Girls' Schools and Female Teachers in Pre-Tanzimat İstanbul," *Hawwa* 17, no. 1 (2019): 21–54.
[45] Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Kız Eğitimi," *Kebikeç* 5, no. 10 (2000): 224.
[46] Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Education: (Early through Late) Modern: Ottoman Empire," in *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures, Volume IV: Economics, Education, Mobility and Space*, ed. Suad Joseph (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 308.

teleological reading of late Ottoman history. He situates developments within four broad trends: "the persistent imperial ambition to centralize, the shifting socioeconomic context, the key challenge of forging an Ottoman response to modernity, and the need to integrate Ottoman history into world history."[47] Accordingly, while the chapters follow the conventional periodisation to provide essential background, they do so with these trends in mind, seeking to avoid the mishaps of a progressive or linear narrative.

The Early Attempts at Modernisation (1795–1839)

In the late seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire experienced the first major defeats, largely due to its technical inferiority. Consequently, ideas on the superiority of European institutions began to be articulated for the first time. Towards the mid-eighteenth century, the idea of "New Order" which would become the main aim of the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century was first used in a text from 1731 examining the reasons why Europeans were more powerful in the military and technical fields. Thus, the idea of establishing a modern order instead of the classical order was articulated for the first time in Ottoman history.[48]

However, the Ottoman Empire continued to experience military defeats and large land losses during the eighteenth century and finally accepted that Europe was militarily and technically superior. Thus, the state felt the necessity to make major changes.[49] After a few attempts to train the military with the help of foreign experts, the state started to establish the first modern military schools. Founded with the aim of establishing and educating a modern army in 1795, *Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyun* became the first institution to place importance on physical and natural sciences.[50] This school brought new educational ideas to the Ottoman educational system. First, both the teaching-learning process and the application of knowledge started to take place in an institution called school, rather than within the classical master-apprentice relationship. Second, translated books were introduced and used in the lessons. Finally, with the hands-on practice opportunities, the students had the chance for immediate application of knowledge learned in each lesson.[51] In order to meet the needs for the new teaching staff of these new schools, the state invited foreign

[47] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 3.
[48] Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 53–54.
[49] Kenan, "III. Selim Dönemi," 129–38.
[50] Ibid., 134.
[51] Sümer Aktan, *Curriculum Studies in Turkey: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Springer, 2018), 96.

experts and assigned the Ottoman ambassadors to bring the innovations in European "science, education and technology" to the Ottoman lands.[52] However, shortly after this, the need for domestic institutions to educate experts in many fields resulted in rapid reforms in education. Thus, institutions were founded to meet the need for civil servants, medical doctors, and military officers.[53] Furthermore, in 1829–30, the state sent students to Europe to learn about the new culture and technology there.[54]

Tanzimat Period (1839–1876)

The proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Gülhane in 1839 inaugurated the *Tanzimat* Period, which unfolded amid the geopolitical and fiscal challenges of the Crimean War (1853–56), the Treaty of Paris (1856), and the de facto Ottoman bankruptcy of 1875, and concurrently accelerated the implementation of educational reforms. New types of schools emerged and proliferated.[55] Among these schools,[56] the main school types were *sıbyan mektebi, rüşdiyye* (secondary school), *askeri idadi* (military high school), and *Darülmuallimin* (teacher training school for boys). Continuing to be under the responsibility of religious leaders, the *sıbyan mektebi* included the teaching of reading and writing as well as basic religious knowledge. The main development at the primary level was, in turn, the imperial order that made primary education compulsory for all Muslim children in 1824, although left on paper.[57] The first high schools were founded as *askerî idadî* schools (military high schools) in 1845. *Rüşdiyye* schools were first opened as secondary schools for boys in 1847. They aimed to fill the gap between primary education and military high schools, and to meet the need for civil servants.[58] These schools, designed as an upper level for *sıbyan mektebi*, aimed to provide further education for those who were willing to continue to higher education. The graduates of *sıbyan mektebi* at the age of nine or ten were admitted regardless of their socio-economic status.[59] Unlike the primary level, education in *rüşdiyye*s

[52] Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi: 1773–1923* (İstanbul: MEB, 1991), 32.
[53] Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sistemi*, 15.
[54] Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 152–53.
[55] Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 9.
[56] *Askeri Baytar Mektebi* (Military Veterinary School) was founded in 1842, *Ziraat Mektebi* (Agricultural School) in 1847, the Forestry School in 1858, the Minery School in 1858, the Telegraph Clerk School in 1860 and the Trade School in 1861.
[57] Mahmud Cevat İbnü'ş Şeyh Nafi, *Maârif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraatı: XIX. Asır Osmanlı Maarif Tarihi*, ed. Taceddin Kayaoğlu (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2001 [1922]), 3–5.
[58] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*, 56–57.
[59] In time, *rüşdiyye*s had to include primary-level courses as the education given by *sıbyan mektebi* was inadequate and their status shifted to the elementary level. See Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 164–65; Somel, *Historical Dictionary*, 82.

took place in classes where pupils were placed at desks.[60] In order to fulfil the need for teachers for *rüşdiyye*s, *Darülmuallimin-i Rüşdi* (Teacher Training School for Secondary Schools) was opened in 1848 as the first teacher training school.[61] Notably, private Muslim schools, especially at the primary level, began to emerge in affluent neighborhoods, offering curricula aligned with those of public schools.[62]

As the head of the judicial and *medrese* system during the classical period, *şeyhülislâm* (shaykhulislam)[63] was responsible for the matters regarding education.[64] However, in the *Tanzimat* period, *Meclis-i Maârif-i Umûmiye* (Council for Public Education), which was the first institution to be directly responsible for educational matters was founded in 1846.[65] This council is accepted as the "nucleus" of educational organisation in Turkey.[66] It was followed by *Encümen-i Daniş* (the Privy Council) in 1851, established in order to meet the need for course books for the newly opened schools.[67] With the proclamation of the Imperial Reform Edict in 1856, non-Muslims were given more educational rights, including the right to open their own schools and to be admitted to existing schools.[68] A year later, *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezareti* (Ministry of Public Education) was founded to centralise state authority over educational affairs. Excluding *medrese*s, all types of schools serving both Muslims and non-Muslims were thereby placed under the supervision of this institution.[69] In 1869, the Ministry issued the *Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi* (Regulation of Public Education), inspired and influenced by Jean-Victor Duruy's secular education reforms in France. This regulation formalised a centralised and secular educational framework, encompassing primary, secondary, and higher schools, as well as colleges offering modernised curricula and foreign language instruction.[70]

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[60] Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 148; Osman Nuri Ergin, *İstanbul Mektepleri ve İlim Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri Dolayısiyle Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), 1–2:385.
[61] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*, 56–57.
[62] Nuri Güçtekin, *İstanbul'daki Husûsi Mektepler (1873–1922)* (İstanbul BB Kültür A.Ş., 2015).
[63] *Şeyhülislâm* is the head of the *ilmiyye* that is the "class of government officials responsible for religion, justice, jurisprudence, and medrese education." Somel, *Historical Dictionary*, 129.
[64] Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sistemi*, 1.
[65] Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, 11; Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sistemi*, 19.
[66] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*, 53.
[67] Ibid., 61; Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sistemi*, 20.
[68] Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, 15.
[69] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*, 64–65; Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sistemi*, 21–22.
[70] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 13–14; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 3–4. The significance of this regulation is that it created "a curricular structure that was able to answer the needs of elementary school modernisation," rather than focusing only on religious and moral education. See, Aktan, *Curriculum Studies*, 117.

Figure 1. Cevri Kalfa İnas Rüştiye Mektebi. Source: Abdullah Fréres. *[Middle School for Girls Sultan Ahmed İnas Ruşdiyesi]/Abdullah Frères, Photographes de S.M.I. Le Sultan*. [Between 1880 and 1893]. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2001699707/.

More than a decade after the first boys' *rüşdiyye*, the first girls' *rüşdiyye (Cevri Kalfa İnas Rüştiye Mektebi)* was opened in 1859 (Figure 1) as the first modern public school for girls.[71] Although the curriculum of this school is not available today, the aim of educating girls in public schools, as proposed by Somel, was to include women in the modern public sphere and to educate future mothers.[72] In these schools, "trustworthy and qualified" male instructors were to teach "crafts" (*sanayi*) suitable for girls.[73] As Tümer Erdem has pointed out, this education was directed towards towards the occupations traditionally associated with women (e.g., sewing, embroidery and cooking).[74] However, since girls were required to avoid

[71] The first educational institution for women was the *Ebe Mektebi* (Midwifery School), which was established in 1848. However, this institution functioned more as a short-term specialised training program rather than a fully developed school.
[72] Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde," 225–26. Initially, many families hesitated to enrol their daughters in schools staffed predominantly by male teachers. However, following state efforts to persuade parents of the value of girls' education, the number of girls' *rüşdiyye* schools began to grow. Over time, particularly during the Hamidian period, the significant disparity between boys' and girls' enrolment in *rüşdiyye*s gradually narrowed.
[73] Ergin, *İstanbul Mektepleri*, 1–2:457–58.
[74] Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e*, 167.

men after reaching puberty according to Islamic law, girls were obliged to leave school when they reached that age. This situation, in turn, highlighted the need for female teachers, and the first *Darülmuallimat* (Female Teacher Training School) opened in 1870 (Figure 2). In these schools, students were provided with monthly stipends throughout their five-year training, on the condition that they complete five years of compulsory service in public schools; those who failed to fulfil this obligation were required to repay the funds with interest. The majority of women who entered the teaching profession came from lower- or lower-middle-class urban backgrounds, frequently as the daughters of military officers or bureaucrats.[75] In addition to teacher training schools, the first vocational schools for girls (*Kız Sanayi Mektebi*) were opened in 1869 in order to meet the army's needs for skilled seamstresses.[76]

Meanwhile, during this period of reformation, women began to be increasingly present in the public sphere. This was accompanied by a change in the relationship between the state and women, in the sense that the direction of the state's approach turned towards the recognition of women as a distinct social category.[77] Discussions concerning the necessity of girls' access to public education had already been initiated in 1840 by the Ottoman bureaucrats. These discussions gradually expanded to include women's positions in society. The intelligentsia was certain that women would take a more substantial and fulfilling role in the modern public sphere if they were given the opportunity.[78]

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[75] Suphan Kirmizialtin, "Gender, Education, Modernization: Women Schoolteachers in The Late Ottoman Empire" (PhD Diss., The University of Texas, 2012). Although this dissertation concentrates on Muslim-Turkish female teachers, it is important to acknowledge that teacher-training programmes also operated within private girls' schools run by non-Muslim communities and various missionary organisations. For example, within the Jewish community, the Alliance Israélite Universelle trained primary school teachers in France for service in Ottoman Jewish girls' schools. Likewise, the Zappeion – established in 1875 in İstanbul as a private school for Orthodox girls – offered a full teacher-training curriculum conducted in Greek, while Catholic institutions such as İstanbul's Notre Dame de Sion provided similar programmes. In addition to educating girls from non-Muslim communities, these institutions were also attended by Muslim girls, some of whom later pursued careers in teaching. See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire: A Social and Political History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2023), 215–16.

[76] Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e*, 195–96.

[77] Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*, 21–56. Regarding the increased public visibility of women, historical records show that women even participated in the uprisings opposing the Tanzimat reforms in the late nineteenth century. In several cases, they formed a significant portion of the participants, with some reportedly arrested or killed during these revolts. See, İlkay Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Kadın Tarihine İlişkin Birkaç Not," *Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 10 (2012): 61–81.

[78] Serpil Sancar, *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar*, 4th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 84.

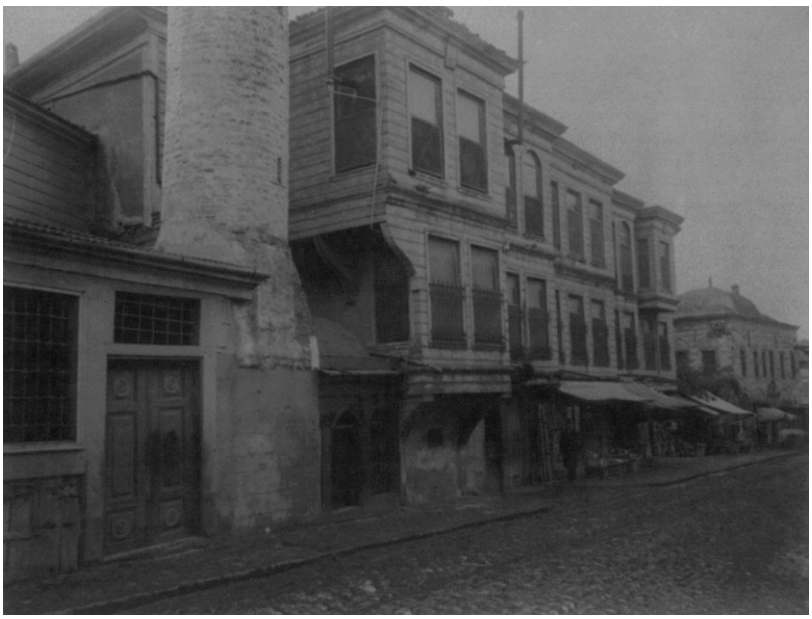

Figure 2. İstanbul Darülmuallimat Mektebi. Source: Abdullah Fréres. *[Women's Teachers College]/Abdullah Frères, Photographes de S.M.I. Le Sultan*. [Between 1880 and 1893]. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2001700008/.

As a result of these discussions, male intellectuals began searching for ways to modernise women.[79] Thus, they initiated women's magazine publishing in 1869 with the first women's magazine, *Terakki-i Muhadderat*[80] (Progress of Women). Soon after, both the number of women's magazines and the volume of women's contributions to them rapidly increased.[81] Initially, the homeschooled daughters of prominent intellectuals began contributing to these periodicals, followed later by graduates of the first women's teacher training school.[82] As women started to gain a public voice regarding their place and rights in society, the first seeds of the Ottoman women's movement were sown, marking the beginning of a

[79] Ibid.

[80] This was the first Turkish-language women's magazine in the Ottoman Empire. However, the earliest women's periodical published on Ottoman lands was *Kypseli*, produced within the Greek Orthodox community in 1845, followed by *Gitar*, the first Armenian women's magazine, in 1862. See Anastasia Falierou, "Enlightened Mothers and Scientific Housewives: Discussing Women's Social Roles in *Eurydice (Evridiki)* (1870–1873)," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*, ed. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 208.

[81] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 407.

[82] Zehra Toska identifies the period between 1839 and 1876 as the first phase of women's journalism, marking an early awakening in women's consciousness. During this era, magazines primarily addressed themes such as women's roles within the family, childcare and upbringing, household management, the rejection of superstitions, and guidance on becoming better wives. See Zehra Toska, "Haremden Kadın Partisine Giden Yolda Kadın Dergileri Gündemleri ve Öncü Kadınlar," *Metis Defter* 21 (1994): 121–22.

movement that would go on to play a significant role in the history of women's rights.[83]

The Hamidian Period (1876–1908)

The Hamidian period was inaugurated by the promulgation of the first (and only) Ottoman constitution (*Kanûn-i Esâsî*) in 1876, shortly after the accession of Abdülhamid II, and lasted until his deposition following the 1908 Revolution. The constitution defined education as a state responsibility and emphasised compulsory primary schooling.[84] Although the opening speeches of the first parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) highlighted education as the key to national salvation,[85] the closure of parliament in 1878 left many initiatives unrealised, thereby shifting the focus to Abdülhamid's own educational policies in understanding this period. It is also noteworthy that the de facto Ottoman bankruptcy of 1875 immediately preceded this period.

This era marked both the culmination of *Tanzimat* reforms and a reaction against the intellectual tendencies that emerged during that period. Abdülhamid's education policy sought to modernise while preserving traditional state and social structures.[86] New *ibtidai* (elementary) schools adopting new Western methods were established alongside traditional *sıbyan* schools. Both types coexisted, yet the former was organised and reformed under state supervision. The number of *rüşdiyye* (secondary) and *idadi* (high) schools also grew rapidly, expanding beyond İstanbul to reach the wider empire.[87] In higher education, a major milestone was the permanent establishment of the *Darülfünun* (now *İstanbul University*). Meanwhile, vocational and technical schools, along with private institutions founded by both Ottomans and foreigners, continued to open, accompanied by the establishment of special schools for the deaf and blind. The expansion of institutions led to a growing demand for qualified teachers, prompting an increase in teacher training schools and reforms that advanced the professionalisation of teaching. Despite these efforts, financial limitations and teacher shortages hindered the full implementation of reforms.

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[83] Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," 23.
[84] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*, 125.
[85] Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*.
[86] Mustafa Gündüz, *Osmanlı Eğitim Mirası: Klasik ve Modern Dönem Üzerine Makaleler* (Ankara: Doğubatı, 2013), 81.
[87] Additionally, from 1881 onward, provincial education administrations (*maârif idareleri*) extended the educational bureaucracy beyond the capital and by 1894–1895, the Ministry of Education began publishing statistical yearbooks under the title *Salnâme-i Nezaret-i Maârif-i Umûmiye*.

Girls' schools followed a similar trajectory in this period. Their number and variety expanded not only in the imperial capital, İstanbul, but also across the provinces,[88] although they still remained far fewer than boys' schools. Attendance rates were initially quite low. Over time, however, women's education gained prominence, especially as women were expected to fulfil their role as mothers. Educated women came to be regarded as architects of the future, responsible for raising virtuous children and maintaining familial cohesion. Girls' education was thus framed as a "long-term political investment," which spurred both the opening of new girls' schools and efforts to increase enrolment. Presumably under the influence of this "future mothers" discourse, attendance rose significantly toward the end of the period.

One reason for the rapid proliferation of modern public schools is to prevent Muslim families from enroling their children in the burgeoning foreign and minority private schools.[89] Another major impetus behind these reforms was the desire to narrow the gap with Europe. During the Hamidian period, European administrative models and curricula were adopted, yet the overarching goal of modernisation remained the preservation of the Empire, achieved through an education system imbued with patriotism and religious morality.[90] Thus, education aimed to cultivate citizens who were pious, obedient, and loyal to the Sultan. Accordingly, religious and moral instruction was increased, and textbooks were subject to strict censorship to prevent the spread of "harmful" Western ideas, reflecting a local response to foreign influence, as Fortna described.[91]

Despite the extensive censorship and strict oversight imposed on all printed materials, this period witnessed a significant proliferation of publications, including a marked increase in women's, children's, and education periodicals. Notably, women's contributions to women's magazines expanded considerably and even surpassed those of men. As Zehra Toska notes, these magazines at times succeeded in reflecting a measure of plurality (albeit limited), contrary to what might be expected under such rigorous state control.[92]

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[88] Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e*, 169–75.
[89] Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*, 168.
[90] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 244–45. As Selim Deringil contends, religion and nationality became so closely intertwined that the terms were often used interchangeably in official discourse. See, Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1999), 97–110.
[91] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 241–47.
[92] Toska, "Haremden Kadın Partisine." According to Toska's periodisation, this era corresponds to the "second phase" (1876–1908) of women's periodical publishing. During this time, women's education

Figure 3. A group of public *rüşdiyye* schoolgirls. Source: Abdullah Fréres. [*Group Photograph of the Students of the Mirgûn (Emirgân) Middle School for Girls]/ Abdullah Frères, Phot., Constantinople.* [Between 1880 and 1893]. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2002716687/.

The Second Constitutional Period (1908–1918)

With the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) – a leading faction within the Young Turk movement – forced the restoration of the Constitutional Monarchy and subsequently deposed Abdülhamid II. The reestablishment of constitutional rule initially ushered in a brief period of liberalisation, but this was soon overshadowed by major crises, including the Tripoli (1911) and Balkan (1912–1913) Wars and the loss of Edirne (1913) – developments that heightened nationalist sentiment and brought severe territorial and human losses. The outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918) further deepened the instability, followed by the Armistice of Moudros (1918), which finally intensified the Empire's disintegration. Thus, contrary to expectations, the restoration of parliamentary governance did

was framed as necessary within the boundaries of Islam, with examples from Islamic history invoked to provide a "legitimate basis" for such efforts. The dominance of state discourse in these journals stemmed in part from stringent oversight and censorship. Thus, while the first phase marked an awakening, the second phase represented a turn toward the dissemination and acquisition of knowledge. See, Ibid., 130–42.

not stem the Empire's territorial disintegration; further provinces were lost despite this shift in power. Civilian bureaucrats administered state affairs until 1913, when a Young Turk military dictatorship assumed control, claiming – ultimately, and demonstrably without success – that it could prevent further decline.[93] During this period of transformation, the ruling elite sought ideologies broad enough to unify the entire empire. Prior to the First World War, Ottomanism served as the primary framework for efforts to preserve the state. However, following the rise of nationalist movements and the loss of territories beyond Anatolia, Turkism emerged as the dominant ideological orientation.[94]

Despite ongoing upheavals, the broadened public sphere of this period enabled unprecedented levels of political, cultural, and educational debate regarding the Empire's past, present, and future. These discussions often centred on how the Empire could be preserved and how a modern nation might emerge from it, and the responses to these questions significantly informed contemporary political movements and educational reforms.[95] At the same time, the broader institutional and ideological foundations of the future Turkish Republic were laid, in large part, during the Second Constitutional Period. Education assumed a central role – first in efforts to strengthen the Empire, and later in nation-building – as it came to be regarded as the principal means of modernising society. The reformist intellectuals and bureaucrats driving these initiatives were shaped by transnational experiences, particularly in Europe, where they engaged with contemporary educational models and social theories.[96] In this context, German influence became especially pronounced, owing to the substantial educational support and exchange programmes provided by Germany.[97] Moreover, many Young Turks adhered to a simplified mid-nineteenth-century German current known as *Vulgärmaterialismus* – a popularised blend of materialism, scientism, and Darwinism that championed the primacy of science in social life. In the late setting, this outlook became even

[93] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambrige University Press, 2016), 65.
[94] See, for example, Cemil Öztürk, *Atatürk Devri Öğretmen Yetiştirme Politikası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996).
[95] Kenan, "Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi," 16.
[96] Most notably those of Émile Durkheim and Herbert Spencer. See, Mustafa Gündüz, "Sociocultural Origins of Turkish Educational Reforms and Ideological Origins of Late Ottoman Intellectuals (1908–1930)," *History of Education* 38, no. 2 (2009), 191–216.
[97] For further reading on the Ottoman–German educational collaboration, see Mustafa Gencer, *Jöntürk Modernizmi ve "Alman Ruhu:" 1908–1918 Dönemi Türk-Alman İlişkileri ve Eğitim* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003), 333–34; Nazan Maksudyan, "A Triangle of Regrets: Training Ottoman Children in Germany During the First World War," in *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 141–72.

more diluted, forming a loose amalgam of disparate ideas unified largely by a shared rejection of religion.[98]

Educators – several of whom later served as ministers of education – stood at the forefront of the educational transformation during this period, and their influence continued into the early years of the Republic.[99] Most reforms and improvements in the school system were initiated under their leadership. Despite severe financial constraints, the number and variety of schools continued to expand.[100] Beginning in 1908, private preschools (*hususi ana mektepleri*) were established, soon followed by public preschools (*resmi ana mektepleri*). Concurrently, the ideas and pedagogical approaches of Pestalozzi, Fröbel, and Montessori were introduced. To meet the growing demand for preschool teachers, a dedicated class was opened within the *Darülmuallimat* in the 1913–14 school year, which subsequently evolved into a separate institution, the *Ana Muallime Mektebi*, in 1914.[101] The focus on teacher education intensified as teachers came to be seen as central actors in shaping the Empire's future citizens. A practice school for student teachers was established in 1909, accompanied by the introduction of pedagogical innovations such as school excursions, museum visits, systematic observations, and experimental learning.[102]

Teacher preparation also extended beyond formal institutions through the increasing number of educational journals published by prominent educators, offering detailed discussions of contemporary theories, methods, and model lesson plans. This period, likewise, witnessed the emergence of teachers' associations, beginning with the first collective formed in 1908 and followed by several others. Nevertheless, these developments proved unsuccessful in the context of World War I, resulting in the following

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[98] Hanioğlu, *Atatürk*, 48–49. For the adaptation of the ideas from Bühner, for example, see M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Blueprints for a Future Society: Late Ottoman Materialists on Science, Religion, and Art," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: Routledge, 2005), 27–116.

[99] For example: Emrullah Efendi (1858–1914) and Mustafa Satı Bey (1880–1969). To read more about their influence on educational reforms, see, for instance: Mustafa Ergün, "Emrullah Efendi Hayatı - Görüşleri - Çalışmaları," *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 30, nos. 1–2 (1982): 7–36; Mustafa Gündüz, "An Educator between Tradition and Modernity: A Study in Satı Bey and His Book 'Fenn-i Terbiye' (Science of Education)," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 5, no. 3 (2010): 1392–415; Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti, "New School of Mustafa Satı Bey in İstanbul (1915)," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014): 42–58.

[100] These schools included the specialised higher education institutions such as *Orman Mekteb-i Alisi* (Forestry College, 1909), *Dişçi Mektebi* (Dental School, 1909) and *Kadastro Mekteb-i Alisi* (Cadastral College, 1911). Apart from these, more than a dozen vocational and technical schools were also established, such as *Polis Mektebi* (Police Academy, 1909), *Belediye Memurları Mektebi* (Municipal Officials Academy, 1911) and *Çiftlik Mektepleri* (Farm Schools, 1913). See, Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 275–96.

[101] This school was closed in 1919 due to the decreasing numbers of preschools in the post-World War I context of the empire under the Allies' occupation and financial crises.

[102] Öztürk, *Atatürk Devri Öğretmen Yetiştirme*, 35.

consequences: teacher salaries remained consistently low, number of empty classrooms increased due to students enlisting in the army, and the teacher training schools were closed due to severe financial constraints, particularly in provincial areas.[103]

Women's social and political lives were also undergoing significant transformation alongside developments in girls' education. The number and types of schools for girls expanded, marking the beginning of secondary and higher education for women. The first secondary level schools for girls (*İnas İdadisi*, later *İnas Sultanisi*) were established in İstanbul.[104] In the realm of higher education, the School of Arts for Women (*İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) opened in 1913 as a branch of the existing School of Arts (for men) and the first women's university (*İnas Darülfünunu*) was founded in 1915.[105] However, neither secondary nor higher education institutions for girls spread to the provinces during this period; instead, priority was given to the establishment of primary schools and teacher-training institutions.

The curricula of girls' schools, initially simplified and oriented toward "domestic" subjects, gradually shifted toward greater parity with that of boys, particularly at the secondary and higher levels.[106] Despite the constraints imposed by the First World War, efforts to expand girls' education continued, although financial and wartime limitations hindered the full realisation of these ambitions. At the same time, wartime conditions created new employment opportunities for women due to acute shortages of male labour. Women began to work in banks, postal services, central and municipal administrations, and hospitals,[107] later entering areas such as commerce, factory work, road building, and even street cleaning.[108]

Following the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, the number of women's magazines increased dramatically, with women contributing more articles than men in many cases. Through these publications, women articulated their views individually while also forming associations to transform personal demands into organised collective action. These women's organisations used publications, public lectures,

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[103] Ibid.
[104] Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e*, 423.
[105] Towards the end of this period, the two universities merged, which led to the introduction of co-education at the university.
[106] Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e*.
[107] Nermin Abadan-Unat, "The Impact of Legal and Educational Reforms on Turkish Women," in *Women in the Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 177–94.
[108] Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908–1935)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015), 8.

and conferences to disseminate their ideas, and they offered courses in diverse areas such as sewing, reading, writing, and foreign languages.[109] Women also maintained contact and engagement with international women's organisations.[110]

Figure 4. Students and teachers from a private muslim girls' school (*İttihad-i Osmani İnas Mektebi, Beşiktaş*). Source: *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no: 142 (1330 [1914]), 9.

Armistice Period and National Struggle (1918–1923)

Immediately after World War I, the Armistice Period began with the Armistice of Moudros (1918), leading to the War of Independence (1919–1923) and culminating in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Following the armistice, the Allied Powers began occupying different parts of the Empire, including the capital, İstanbul. The resulting "power vacuum in İstanbul,"[111] alongside competing political factions, accelerated both political instability and the struggle for national

[109] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 87. Serpil Çakır categorises women's associations into the following groups: aid organisations, associations providing vocational training through education, cultural associations, groups seeking solutions to national problems, organisations aimed at national defence, groups focusing on the issues of women from different ethnic backgrounds, political associations, feminist organisations, and women's branches of political parties. See, Ibid.
[110] Nicole A.N.M. Van Os, "'They Can Breathe Freely Now': The International Council of Women and Ottoman Muslim Women (1893–1920s)," *Journal of Women's History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 17–40.
[111] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 4th ed. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2020), 134.

sovereignty. By 1919, the Unionist-led resistance movement, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], had gained control over much of Anatolia. In 1920, the National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*), which rejected foreign occupations and articulated the goals of the nationalist movement, was adopted. Later that year, the Grand National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Meclisi*) was founded in Ankara and began functioning as a provisional government. Following the Peace Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the occupying forces withdrew, and the new Republic was officially proclaimed.

The dire state of education inherited from the late Ottoman period persisted and even deteriorated due to wartime conditions, financial constraints, and the mass mobilisation of men – including teachers and students – into the army. Nevertheless, during the war, the Education Congress (*Maarif Kongresi*) was convened, attended by more than 250 male and female teachers. Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] opened the congress with a speech emphasising the need to establish a national education system, defining its principles, and characterising future teachers as "esteemed pioneers of our future salvation."[112] It is also notable that all missionary and minority schools were closed during the war to prevent "propaganda." Meanwhile, efforts to educate and inform Muslim communities intensified, with adult and popular education (*halk eğitimi*) initiatives gaining priority.[113]

In the initial months following the armistice, the Muslim population largely experienced a sense of defeat and resignation. This atmosphere shifted dramatically after the Greek occupation of İzmir in 1919, which became a catalyst for widespread mobilisation. Soon afterward, large-scale protest demonstrations erupted, led by students and academics from the University of İstanbul.[114] Prominent women – intellectuals, poets, and educators – also addressed the crowds during these protests. In many cities, female teachers, students of *İnas Darülfünunu*, and members of various women's associations constituted the majority of speakers and

[112] Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 321. As cited in Akyüz, the excerpt from the speech is as follows: "I believe that the methods of learning and education followed up to now have been the most important factor in our nation's history of decline. Therefore, when discussing a national education programme, I understand it to be a culture that is completely detached from the superstitions of the past era and foreign ideas that have no connection to our innate characteristics, and that is entirely free from all influences, whether from the East or the West, and is in harmony with our national and historical identity." Ibid.

[113] Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 322–25. Several intellectuals who were primarily politicians, educators, or diplomats within the Young Turk movement initiated folklore studies and employed folklore as a means of educating the public and fostering a national consciousness. See Arzu Öztürkmen, "Folklore in the Time of Young Turks: Situating a New Discipline in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thought," *Western Folklore* 79, nos. 2–3 (2020): 140.

[114] See Zürcher, *Turkey*, 139–40.

participants.[115] Beyond their active involvement in demonstrations, these educators and intellectuals – both men and women – continued to contribute to the press, including education journals and women's magazines. Furthermore, women's associations supported the national struggle through a range of activities, such as sewing clothing for the army, assisting women in need, and opening courses for girls and women who had been deprived of formal education.[116]

Figure 5. A drawing depicting women's meetings during the war, accompanied by the caption: "While rushing to the aid of the Ottoman army... Ottoman ladies in the Darülfünun conference hall." Source: *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 102 (1329 [1913]): 4.

Republican Period (1923–1945)

With the promulgation of the Republic of Turkey (1923), with Mustafa Kemal as its first president, a tightly controlled election followed, and the People's Party (*Halk Partisi*) emerged, marking the beginning of a one-party state until 1945. Radical reforms followed at an unprecedented

[115] Nuray Özdemir, "Milli Mücadele Dönemi Mitinglerinde Türk Kadını," *Belgi Dergisi*, no. 21 (2021): 6.

[116] During the occupation, immigration, prostitution, and poverty became major social problems. These issues were tackled in the press, especially in women's magazines. For further reading, see Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü*.

speed and scale in every aspect of political, social, legal, cultural, and economic life. The most important ones are the abolishment of the Caliphate (1924) and the establishment of the Directorate for Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*) in 1924 to bring any religious related issues under the state oversight, which resulted in also the closure of religious institutions and organisations in 1925.[117] Other examples include the adoption of the Gregorian calendar (1926) and international weight and length measurement systems in 1931, and the Surname Law (1934). All these transformations were planned to be conducted under the Kemalist ideology.[118]

During this rapid nation-building process, education was regarded as the main instrument for realising the objectives of the new leadership. The Law of Unification of Instruction (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*, 1924) abolished the *medreses*, eliminated religious instruction in state schools, and placed every aspect of education under the authority of the Ministry of National Education. The Constitution of 1924 declared primary schooling compulsory and free for all Turkish citizens.[119] In 1928, the Ottoman script was abolished and replaced with a Latin-based alphabet.[120] Although the reform was officially justified as a means of facilitating literacy, it also served the Kemalist project of distancing the new Republic from its Ottoman–Islamic heritage and aligning it more closely with the West.[121] Educators responsible for implementing and disseminating these reforms contributed extensively to education journals, which prescribed instructional methods for each subject, including detailed guidance on teaching the new alphabet.[122]

New schools of various types and levels were established throughout the country, and all curricula were revised in accordance with the principles of the Republic.[123] Coeducation was introduced in primary schools in 1924 and expanded gradually to higher levels over the following years. In 1933, İstanbul Ottoman University (previously the *Darülfünun*) was reorganised into a secular institution, İstanbul University, resulting in the

[117] These institutions were religious shrines (*türbes*) and dervish convents (*tekkes*). Reforms related to religion were more extensive than those listed above, such as the strict ban of religion-based clothing for men 1934, and the replacement of traditional fez by the Western-style hat in 1935.
[118] The basic principles of Kemalism were identified in the People's Party's 1931 programme: Republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and reformism.
[119] Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, 350.
[120] It was followed by the establishment of the Turkish Historical Society (1931) and Turkish Language Society (1932), where many teachers also worked at. Within the framework of these language reforms, a very extensive Turkification effort (by getting rid of Arabic- or Persian-related vocabulary) was undertaken, both in everyday language and in scientific terminology. See Ibid., 345.
[121] Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic*, 25.
[122] See, for instance, B. Avni, "Yazı Hakkında," *Terbiye* 3, no. 12 (1929): 4–11.
[123] Mustafa Gündüz, "The Radical Transformations and Deep Continuities of a Decade: Turkish Educational Policy, 1938–1950," *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 3 (2016): 254.

dismissal of much of its academic staff, with the exception of those considered the most reliable adherents to Kemalist principles.[124] Eventually, education became central to forming a unified national community and cultivating citizens aligned with the values and needs of the new Republic. It functioned as a key instrument for replacing Ottoman-Islamic identities with a secular, national Turkish identity and for fostering social cohesion through homogeneity and interdependence. Simultaneously, "concepts like motherland, nation, and leader were sanctified" to encourage loyalty and obedience to the nation-state. These aims were institutionalised not only through national education policies, curricula, and textbooks, but also through carefully orchestrated rituals, ceremonies, and festivals.[125] Alongside these major reforms in formal education, informal and public education initiatives also gained momentum. The "semi-official cultural centres"[126] known as People's Homes (*Halk Evleri,* 1932–1951), established across the country under the leadership of the Ministry of Education, sought to disseminate "nationalist, positivist, and secularist ideas in the country through lectures, courses, and exhibitions."[127]

As Westernisation became an explicit goal, drawing on Western models for educational reform acquired increasing importance. Between 1924 and 1960, 123 foreign experts visited Turkey, including several invited directly by the state; many examined the Turkish education system and produced influential reports.[128] Sending students abroad for education also continued despite ongoing discussions around the issue.[129] In addition to

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[124] Zürcher, *Turkey*, 182.

[125] Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti, "Nation-Building in Turkey through Ritual Pedagogy: The Late Ottoman and Early Turkish Republican Era," *History of Education* 49, no. 1 (2020): 91. For further reading on education rituals in Turkey, see also Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti, *Eğitim Ritüelleri* (İstanbul: Yeni İnsan Yayınevi, 2016).

[126] Arzu Öztürkmen, "Modern Dance *Alla Turca:* Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Turkey," *Dance Research Journal* 35, no. 1 (2003): 49.

[127] Zürcher, *Turkey*, 181.

[128] Mustafa Şahin, "Türkiye'de Öğretmen Yetiştirme Uygulamalarında Yabancı Uzmanların Yeri (1923–1960)" (PhD Diss., Dokuz Eylül University, 1996), 71–72. From 1924 to 1950, most of these specialists came from European countries, including Germany, Belgium, France, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, while only a small number were from the United States. In the period from 1950 to 1960, the majority of the invited experts were American. Among the notable figures who arrived during the earlier period (1924–1950) were John Dewey (USA), Paul Monroe (USA), Alfred Kühne (Germany), Inga Nerman (Sweden), George Stiehler (Germany), Omer Buyse (Belgium) and Adolphe Ferrière (Switzerland). See Ibid., 77–78. For further reading, see Selahattin Turan, "John Dewey's Report of 1924 and His Recommendations on the Turkish Educational System Revisited," *History of Education* 29, no. 6 (2000): 543–55; Sabiha Bilgi and Seçkin Özsoy, "John Dewey's Travelings into the Project of Turkish Modernity," in *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 153–77.

[129] Between 1923 and 1940, students were sent abroad for further education (Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, the USA, England, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Sweden and the USSR). See Cengiz Aslan, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim Bilimleri Alanında Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderilmesi Olgusu: 1923–1940" (PhD Diss., Ankara University, 2014).

education-oriented mobility, pedagogical ideas also circulated transnationally, such as Georg Kerschensteiner's concept of the work school (*die Arbeitsschule*).[130]

The Turkish Civil Code of 1926, modelled closely on the Swiss Civil Code and largely identical to it, represented a decisive break from earlier reform efforts by eliminating all remaining connections to the Sharia. It prohibited polygyny and granted spouses equal rights in matters of divorce and child custody. Although veiling was not formally outlawed, a strong state-led campaign, promoted personally by Atatürk, encouraged women to adopt modern forms of dress, and opposition to these reforms was met with strict measures.[131] In this context, Nezihe Muhiddin – who had been active in supporting the national struggle, particularly through her journalistic work – and a group of women founded the Women's People's Party (*Kadın Halk Fırkası*) in 1924. They were denied permission to engage in political activity, prompting them to shift tactics and continue campaigning for political rights until 1927, when their efforts were eventually suppressed by the Kemalist regime through police intervention and smear campaigns.[132] However, women's political rights were later extended gradually by the state: suffrage in municipal elections was introduced in 1930, followed by full voting rights at the national level in 1934.[133]

This period was nevertheless complex regarding the women's movement and women's public engagement through the press. Following the proclamation of the Republic, and amid subsequent unrest and rebellions, the government adopted administrative measures enabling it to ban any organisation or publication deemed a threat to public order.[134] Consequently, the number of women's magazines declined sharply compared with the previous era, and discussions of women's political and social rights were largely absent from the press. The regime contended that such debates were unnecessary, claiming that women had already been granted all their rights. Instead, it promoted its own model of the Republican woman, exemplified by figures such as Afet İnan – Atatürk's adopted daughter – who acted as both advocates and symbols of the new reforms.

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[130] Sümer Aktan, "Georg Kerschensteiner's Influence on the Pedagogical Thought of the Early Republic Era in Türkiye," *Paedagogica Historica* 59, no. 1 (2022): 108–23.
[131] Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," 23.
[132] Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 262.
[133] Şirin Tekeli argues that, in the period before the Second World War, women's rights and the Turkish Civil Code operated as emblematic indicators of Turkey's commitment to democratisation and modernisation. These reforms were also intended to signal to the wider world Turkey's divergence from the fascist models of Germany and Italy, its former partners during the First World War. See Şirin Tekeli, *Siyasal Hayat ve Kadınlar* (İstanbul: Birikim, 1982).
[134] Zürcher, *Turkey*, 172.

Figure 6. A violin lesson at the İstanbul Female Teacher Training School. Source*: Maarif Albümü – La Vie Scolaire En Turquie* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928), 43.

Taken together, this longue durée overview reveals that the history of education in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic cannot be reduced to a simple narrative of uninterrupted progress or abrupt rupture. Rather, it is marked by a complex interplay of continuity and transformation. From the classical period onward, women's education existed in varied and often informal forms, shaped by household practices, elite training, and religious institutions. The modern era introduced new pedagogical principles, institutional structures, and state-led interventions that opened unprecedented avenues for women's formal schooling, even as these developments were framed within shifting ideological projects – from imperial preservation to nation-building.

Girls' education expanded unevenly but persistently, accompanied by the rise of a female public voice through print culture and associational life. The Republican period further reconfigured the educational landscape through radical secularisation and centralisation, granting women new legal and political rights while simultaneously delimiting the scope of autonomous women's activism and prescribing a state-defined model of womanhood. Throughout the centuries, women's education functioned not only as a pedagogical endeavour but also as a political project, situating women at the heart of broader debates about modernisation,

citizenship, and the future of the state. This dissertation situates its inquiry within this layered history, attending to both the continuities that sustained educational ideals and the disruptions that reshaped women's roles and opportunities in the public sphere.

Research Overview

The research overview section surveys the scholarly fields that inform the dissertation's central inquiry into how womanhood was constructed across Ottoman and early Republican educational discourses between 1859 and 1933. Because the dissertation broadly examines both institutional developments and cultural representations, the review brings together historiographical debates, studies of women in print culture, research on gendered educational reforms, and analyses of literary depictions of women and female teachers. Taken together, these bodies of scholarship illuminate the political, social, and intellectual conditions that shaped the emergence of new models of womanhood and the contested meanings attached to women's education. The review also identifies gaps and limitations in existing research – particularly concerning the long-term, cross-period examination of educational discourse – which the dissertation seeks to address through a multi-source analysis.

Ottoman Women's Agency and Historiographical Shifts

This section aims to ground the dissertation's central aim – tracing constructions of womanhood and female subjectivities across Ottoman and early Republican educational discourses – in the major historiographical shift that redefined the field from the 1980s onward. Scholarship challenging the earlier Kemalist, top-down emancipation narrative has demonstrated that women were active political, intellectual, and social agents well before the advent of the Republic. By highlighting the emergence of feminist activism, transnational networks, and the complexities of gendered state policies, this body of work establishes the historical and conceptual framework necessary for analysing how state and counter discourses, and women themselves, shaped meanings of womanhood. It thus provides the broader historiographical lens through which all four sub-studies – especially those addressing evolving female subjectivities (sub-studies 2–4) – are situated.

From the 1980s onwards, scholarship on the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic experienced a profound reorientation. The interest in the Ottoman past intensified, accompanied by what scholars have

called a "memorial turn."[135] This cultural turn coincided with a significant transformation in feminist historiography: a shift from a developmentalist-modernist narrative – which characterised the Republican reforms as the decisive moment of women's emancipation – to a more critical and historically nuanced approach.[136] Through this reorientation, scholars revisited the assumptions underlying earlier narratives and demonstrated that "the woman question" in Turkey had emerged already in the nineteenth century, and not only after 1923.[137] The rediscovery of early feminist activism, with its networks, demands, and limitations, revealed that Ottoman women organised, wrote, and intervened in public debates long before the establishment of the Turkish Republic,[138] showing that "women were not only granted rights from above but also actively fought for them."[139]

Şirin Tekeli, one of the leading political scientists and feminist activists of the 1980s, played a crucial role in questioning and destabilising the dominant Kemalist narrative surrounding women's rights. Tekeli contended that the extension of voting rights to women in municipal elections in 1930 and in national elections in 1934 was framed by the Single Party Regime as evidence of Turkey's democratic progress, yet, as Tekeli argues, it functioned less as genuine democratisation than as symbolic differentiation from contemporary European fascisms.[140] Subsequent scholarship reinforces this critique: Yeşim Arat demonstrates that the first cohort of women entering formal political life in 1935 did not emerge autonomously; rather, they were frequently supported – often strategically – by their fathers. Even as these daughters of the Republican men became visible in public office, they continued to face significant limitations rooted in enduring patriarchal norms.[141] Ayşe Durakbaşa's analysis of Kemalist constructions of female identity further illuminates this tension. She argues that Kemalist fathers sought to raise "exemplary daughters of the new Republic:" educated, modern, and active in public life. However, these same fathers simultaneously upheld conservative moral expectations within the private sphere, insisting that their daughters symbolically

[135] Murat Ergin and Yağmur Karakaya, "Between Neo-Ottomanism and Ottomania: Navigating State-Led and Popular Cultural Representations of the Past," *New Perspectives on Turkey,* no. 56 (2017): 33–59.
[136] Gorana Mlinarević et al., "The Birth of a Field: Women's and Gender Studies in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Part II," *Aspasia* 5, no. 1 (2011): 128–203; Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing."
[137] Kandiyoti, "End of Empire."
[138] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi.*
[139] Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing," 62.
[140] Şirin Tekeli, "Women in Turkish Politics," in *Women in Turkish Society*, ed. Nermin Abadan-Unat (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 298–99.
[141] Yeşim Arat, *The Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989).

"veil" their sexuality and conduct themselves with extreme modesty in interactions with men.[142]

Deniz Kandiyoti captures this contradiction in her well-known formulation that Turkish women were "emancipated but not liberated" – granted formal rights and public visibility while remaining constrained by traditional gendered expectations.[143] In a similar vein, Zehra Arat interprets this dynamic as a shift not from patriarchy to equality, but rather from an Islamic to a Westernised form of patriarchy, thereby reframing the Kemalist reforms as a transformation of patriarchal structures rather than their dissolution.[144]

These efforts to unearth women's voices and agency in the late Ottoman public sphere allowed subsequent researchers to scrutinise how the Ottoman women's movement started and evolved in the late Ottoman period. Elif Ekin Akşit, for instance, presents how Ottoman women's feminist activism evolved from the late Ottoman period until the early years of the Republic of Turkey. By defining three Ottoman feminist styles and reviewing their different methods of establishing international connections, she scrutinises how these connections influenced the overall political perception of feminism and feminists.[145] According to her categorisation of Ottoman feminism, an even earlier and more conservative form of feminism, seeking to bring together Islam and feminism, can be found. Later, and parallel to the Young Ottomans' replacement by the Young Turks, it gave way to a more nationally oriented feminism. This also created a more critical and socially rooted alternative, exemplified by individuals such as Sabiha Sertel, who sought to distinguish themselves from the upper class.

What all these different styles have in common was their connection to the international feminist movements – regardless of the degree or type of connection.[146] In the early years of the Republic, this relation resulted in women – with apparent international feminist connections – being excluded from the political arena.[147] As analysed in detailed by Yaprak

[142] Ayşe Durakbaşa, "Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey," in *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman,"* ed. Zehra F. Arat (New Haven: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 149–51.
[143] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case," *Feminist Studies* 13, no. 2 (1987): 317–38.
[144] Zehra F. Arat, "Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını," in *75 Yılda Kadın ve Erkekler*, ed. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 52.
[145] Elif Ekin Akşit, "Osmanlı Feminizmi," 84–91. In this article, Akşit attempts to move away somewhat from the Western European experience, which is immediately referred to when discussing feminism, by comparing the assessments of early Republican-era feminists of the International Women's Congresses and the Congresses of Eastern Women with the experiences of Indian, Soviet, Chinese, Iranian and Hungarian women through the international connections of feminists.
[146] Ibid., 89–90.
[147] Ibid., 90.

Zihnioğlu, the political demands of the first-wave Ottoman feminists were rejected,[148] as mentioned in the passage about Nezihe Muhiddin in the previous section of this dissertation.[149]

Scholars have also illuminated the transnational dimensions of late Ottoman women's activism by tracing the trajectories of individual women and organisations. Nicole A. N. M. van Os examines the engagement of Ottoman Muslim women within the expanding "first-wave" of the international women's movement. Although the major international women's organisations (the International Council of Women, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) typically date their initial contacts with Middle Eastern women to the 1920s, van Os demonstrates that these interactions began well before the turn of the twentieth century. Her research uncovers the early and visible participation of two Ottoman Muslim women, Hayriye Ben-Ayad and Selma Rıza, in European feminist networks before 1900s – both attended meetings of these international bodies and delivered public lectures in Paris. In addition, van OS shows that women from the missionary community in İstanbul played a pivotal intermediary role, facilitating the earliest links between Ottoman Muslim women and the International Council of Women by bridging international organisations and local women's networks.[150] Building on this line of inquiry, Sanem Timuroğlu further investigates these early connections by focusing on the same two pioneering Muslim women who pursued higher education abroad, as well as on foreign women who travelled to and engaged with the Ottoman Empire.[151]

As stated at the beginning of this section, this shift has laid the foundation for contemporary scholarship to better recognise women as historical actors throughout the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. In this way, the mentioned research also provides a necessary historiographical context for the present dissertation. Thus, in light of the research reviewed, this dissertation positions itself both as a continuing of the ambitions to understand and explore women as central societal actors in the

[148] Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 262.
[149] See page 28.
[150] Van Os, "'They Can Breathe Freely Now.'" To read further on internationality, see Nicole A.N.M. Van Os, "Ottoman Muslim and Turkish Women in an International Context," *European Review* 13, no. 3 (2005): 459–79.
[151] Timuroğlu, *Kanatlanmış Kadınlar*. For further reading on the dialogues between Western and Middle Eastern women through their writings, see Reina Lewis and Nancy Micklewright, eds., *Gender, Modernity and Liberty: Middle Eastern and Western Women's Writings, a Critical Sourcebook* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

transformation periods of the Ottomans and early Republic, and as a way of transferring and testing these ideas in partly new domains.

Print Culture and Women's Magazines

This section provides the research overview of print culture and women's magazines that is utilised as source material across all articles – and heavily in articles II and III in particular – and that are crucial for understanding how public demands, educational discourse, Western imaginaries, and competing models of womanhood were negotiated in the public sphere. The scholarship on late Ottoman and early Republican print culture demonstrates that women's magazines functioned not only as documentary repositories but also as discursive arenas where women articulated political claims, redefined gender norms, and engaged with global feminist currents. These studies justify the methodological choice to treat magazines as sites of knowledge production, identity formation, and, not the least, as educational spaces. They also reveal the limits of existing research – often focused on post-1908 publications or on magazines only tangentially concerned with education. These limitations are addressed in this dissertation, partly by examining a much broader corpus from 1869 onward, and by foregrounding education as the central analytical concept.

Due to the interest in "the long history of the feminist movement in Turkey," feminist historians rediscovered the women's magazines of the late Ottoman and early Republican periods in the archives. A major contribution was the compilation *Bibliography of Old Turkish Script Women's Magazines in İstanbul Libraries: 1869–1927*, compiled by Zehra Toska and her colleagues in 1993, which catalogued women's magazines published between 1869 and 1927.[152] These magazines have since become essential sources for historians seeking women's voices and women's perspectives.[153] One of the first researchers working with these magazines,

[152] Zehra Toska et al., eds., *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası: 1869–1927* (İstanbul: Metis, 1993). For the bibliography of women's magazines written in modern Turkish, see Aslı Davaz-Mardin, *Kadın Süreli Yayınları Hanımlar Aleminden Rosa'ya: Bibliyografya, 1928-1996: Dergiler, Gazeteler, Bültenler* (İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 1998). Both bibliographies were published by The Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation (WLICF), the first and only women-centred library and archive in Turkey, founded in İstanbul and opened to the public in 1990.

[153] See, for example, Elizabeth Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: Educational Reform and Civic Identity among Late-Ottoman Women," *Critical Matrix* 9, no. 12 (1995): 55–90; Toska, "Haremden Kadın Partisine;" Pelin Başcı, "Advertising Modernity in Women's World: Women's Lifestyle and Leisure in Late-Ottoman İstanbul," *Hawwa* 2, no. 1 (2004): 34–63; Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü*; Fatma Kılıç Denman, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi, 1908–1909: Kadın* (İstanbul: Libra, 2010); Derya Duman, "Gender Politics in Turkey and the Role of Women's Magazines: A Critical Outlook on the Early Republican Era," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 28, no. 1 (2011): 75–92; Camilla Trud Nereid, "Domesticating Modernity: The Turkish

Elizabeth Frierson shows that the magazines, particularly the longest-running women's magazine *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (*HMG*, Ladies' Own Gazette), prompted a new discourse in which Ottoman women started to articulate a form of "non-Western feminism" while simultaneously imagining new forms of Ottoman citizenship.[154] Serpil Çakır's influential study of the women's magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) demonstrates how Ottoman women's activism took shape through print culture, contributing to what she termed "the Ottoman Women's Movement." She argues that women's magazines and associations were the most important tools for enabling the women's movement to develop and continue, especially after the 1908 Revolution. Using these tools, as she contends, women demanded new rights and freedoms in family life, social relations, and in the fields of work and politics, with their demands considered in the formation of new regulations by the new regime.[155] Furthermore, Reina Lewis challenged the Orientalist discourse by revealing the political and social agency of the writers in the magazines.[156]

Among recent scholars, Elif Mahir Metinsoy explored how late Ottoman women writers approached feminism in the women's magazines in the Armistice Period in Turkey (1918–1923). She argues that the wartime conditions limited these women in pushing for a "radical change in the sense of liberation and empowerment for Muslim-Turkish women."[157] Similarly, Derya Iner focused on the challenges faced by Ottoman women writers in the print culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She argued that women were not able to gain "a strong and enduring voice" without male patronage, due to the lack of publication opportunities for women, before the Second Constitution Period.[158] Unlike the general tendency for researchers to work with women's magazines for Ottoman-Turkish women, Anastasia Falierou explored Greek women's periodical *Eurydice,* published in İstanbul between 1870 and 1873, and noted that

Magazine *Yedigün*, 1933–9," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 3 (2012): 483–504; Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*; Falierou, "Enlightened Mothers;" Elif Mahir Metinsoy, "The Limits of Feminism in Muslim-Turkish Women Writers of the Armistice Period (1918–1923)," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*, ed. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 85–108; Ümüt Akagündüz, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Düşünce ve Kadın Dergilerinde Kadın Tartışmaları (1908–1918)" (PhD Diss., Ankara University, 2012); Semih Evciman, "Osmanlı Matbuatında Feminist Bir Neşriyat: *Kadınlar Dünyası*," in *Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Kadın Dergileri/Talepler, Engeller ve Mücadele Cilt 5: Kadınlar Dünyası* (İstanbul: Libra, 2021), 23–97.

[154] Frierson, "Unimagined Communities."

[155] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*.

[156] Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*.

[157] Mahir Metinsoy, "The Limits of Feminism," 86.

[158] Iner, "Gaining a Public Voice."

"enlightened mothers and scientific housewives" was the dominant discourse in that non-Muslim community.[159]

Drawing on an interdisciplinary approach that brings together women's studies with scholarship on advertising and consumer culture, Pelin Başçı analyses advertisements in the early twentieth-century Ottoman women's magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası*.[160] Her work demonstrates that these advertisements helped shape the image of the "new woman" and show that women had emerged as a clearly identifiable consumer group for modern commodities and services. Başçı argues that the advertisements portray upper-class Ottoman women as active participants in forging a hybrid Ottoman modernity, while also reflecting the wider cultural ambivalence surrounding new products, tastes, and social practices.[161] She further maintains that, while women's magazines of the period expanded women's public presence and agency, the "new woman" ideal they promoted often recast traditional norms within a modern framework. Finally, she notes that the transformation into this "new" identity required financial means – accessible to a privileged minority but largely unattainable for most women.[162]

Education, Women, and State Formation

The following section provides a review of research within the field of history of education to ground the dissertation's overarching aim of analysing how educational discourses constructed womanhood during a period of intense institutional transformation. Scholarship on transnational pedagogical flows, effects of educational reforms, and the gendered dimensions of Ottoman and Republican schooling provides the structural context, particularly for Articles I and IV. These works show that girls' and women's education was shaped by the interplay of global models, local adaptations, and longstanding traditional education practices, complicating linear narratives of Westernisation. By integrating studies on formal institutions, female teachers, home education, and the state's attempts to regulate women's visibility and morality, this section supplies the research overview to understand how curricula, teacher training, and school policies produced specific forms of female subjectivity. It thereby

[159] Falierou, "Enlightened Mothers."
[160] Başcı, "Advertising Modernity;" Pelin Başcı, "Advertising 'the New Woman': Fashion, Beauty, and Health in Women's World," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1, nos. 1–2 (2005): 61–80.
[161] Başcı, "Advertising Modernity."
[162] Başcı, "Advertising 'the New Woman.'"

contextualises the institutional and ideological settings in which educational discourse on women emerged.

Parallel to the growth of women's print culture, the late Ottoman state underwent significant educational reforms. Scholars emphasise that pedagogical ideas circulating in the Ottoman Empire were strongly influenced by French and British models, but not through a simplistic process of Western borrowing.[163] Christine Mayer and Adelina Arredondo note that educational developments across nations often exhibit similar transnational flows, yet each context interprets and reshapes imported ideas differently.[164] At the same time, scholars such as Benjamin Fortna argue that while new teaching methods and curricula were influenced by French and British models, they were adapted to Ottoman priorities, particularly the reinforcement of religious and patriotic values.[165] Delving into Hamidian educational reforms, Akşin Somel defines this local reaction within the framework of social disciplining, asserting that it meant "raising hard-working subjects loyal to the state and the sultan by inculcating in students certain religious and authoritarian values."[166] Thus, this dynamic complicates any linear narrative of "East borrowing from the West."[167] This dissertation also positions itself within this framework of education that was structured in the nexus of transnational influences, local reactions, and traditional practices, as well as the tensions they gave rise to.

These educational transformations were also applied to girls' and women's education. The growing scholarship on the education of women and girls is not only limited to formal schooling but also encompasses education as a broader discourse within different public and private milieus. Moreover, scholarship on the history of women's education has also moved beyond the limited timeframe of the Republic and thus beyond the official progressive narrative.[168] Leslie Peirce's work on the Imperial Harem contributes to revealing institutional practices regarding women's education in the Ottoman Empire, long preceding the modern period by shedding light on the structure of the harem institution as an organised educational institution.[169] Building on this, Elif Ekin Akşit shows that the

[163] Christine Mayer and Adelina Arredondo, "Introduction," in *Women, Power Relations, and Education in a Transnational World*, ed. Christine Mayer and Adelina Arredondo (Cham: Palgrave, 2020), 1–14.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 241–47. This approach of safeguarding was characterised by an increased emphasis on religious instruction in curricula, as well as rigorous oversight of both teachers and students, and the monitoring of course materials. See Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*, 125.
[166] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 271.
[167] Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 40.
[168] Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde."
[169] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*.

education received at Imperial Harem was disseminated through a process where the women in elite households – who were mostly educated at the Imperial Harem and wedded to bureaucrats – taught girls from other households. Those girls, when they became women, went on to teach others, forming a chain of domestic education practice. Furthermore, Akşit argues that later public schooling practices for girls both in the late Ottoman Empire and the early Republic of Turkey inherited but transformed these earlier domestic education practices.[170]

An important contribution of Akşit is, furthermore, her call to move beyond viewing education merely as "a showcase for political projects" and instead to recognise women's own agency within their educational processes. She locates this agency in the harem, reframing this often-exoticised space as a Foucauldian heterotopia, where public and private forms of learning intersected. This perspective positions the harem as a concrete site of women's knowledge production and challenges the conventional public-private divide that dominates historical analysis. By emphasising the heterotopic nature of girls' educational practices, Akşit offers a framework that foregrounds women's active roles in shaping overlapping "private, public, and in-between forms of education."[171] Examples of such in-between spaces include settings where women taught young children. Yahya Akyüz highlights early Ottoman women who provided primary-level instruction in their homes or in designated areas of mosques – often with some state support – well before the start of modern public education.[172] Expanding on this groundwork, Jun Akiba offers richer archival evidence of girls' elementary schools run by female instructors in the eighteenth century, thereby illuminating women's educational roles prior to the emergence of formal institutions.[173]

In light of the pioneering scholarship on the Imperial Harem and its influence on later educational practices for women, the rest of this section focuses on studies of the emerging institutions and discourses surrounding girls' and women's education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While earlier research has addressed the development of

[170] Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*.
[171] Elif Ekin Akşit, "Harem Education and Heterotopic Imagination," *Gender and Education* 23, no. 3 (2011): 299–311.
[172] Yahya Akyüz, "Osmanlıda 'Kadın Öğretmenli Ev Sıbyan Mektepleri' (Amerikan ve Fransız Eğitim Tarihinden Benzer Örnekler)," *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi,* no. 15 (2004), 1–12.
[173] Jun Akiba, "'Girls Are Also People of the Holy Qur'an': Girls' Schools and Female Teachers in Pre-Tanzimat İstanbul," *Hawwa* 17, no. 1 (2019), 21–54.

educational institutions more broadly, including their female counterparts,[174] the body of work devoted specifically to institutions for girls and women remains considerably smaller. Among the most comprehensive contributions is Yasemin Tümer Erdem's analysis of Ottoman public girls' schools, particularly the *rüşdiyye*s and the *Darülmuallimat*, which are also central to this dissertation. Tümer Erdem investigates their historical evolution, administrative structures, curricula, student-teacher demographics, and the material conditions of schooling, including buildings and instructional tools.[175] Complementing this, Süphan Kırmızıaltın's unpublished doctoral dissertation stands as the most substantial study of female teachers and their training in the late Ottoman Empire. Through a prosopographic analysis of Muslim-Turkish women teachers between 1870 and 1922, Kırmızıaltın identifies them as the first professional class of women in Turkish history to challenge "oversimplified conceptions of Islamic patriarchal oppression," highlighting their agency in shaping both their own lives and broader processes of social change.[176]

Additional research further enriches this field. Meryem Karabekmez offers a microhistorical analysis of women instructors, focusing on a specific archival document that illuminates the relationship between a female teacher and an education director. Her study underscores the Ottoman state's efforts to maintain traditional gender norms even as women became more visible in public life, demonstrating that women's professional advancement continued to be constrained by expectations of chastity and moral propriety.[177] In a broader textual study, Betül Açıkgöz examines home economics textbooks for girls published between 1898 and 1924, arguing that "scientific housewifery" was articulated and promoted within debates on degeneration and the woman question, ultimately reproducing patriarchal norms under the guise of modern science and rationality in both late Ottoman and early Republican contexts.[178] Taken together, including works on the diverse educational experiences of non-Muslim

[174] Ergin, *İstanbul Mektepleri*, vols. 1–2; Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sistemi*; Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitim*; Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*; Öztürk, *Atatürk Devri Öğretmen Yetiştirme*; Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*.

[175] Yasemin Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Kızların Eğitimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013). For earlier works on *Darülmuallimat*, see Mustafa Şanal, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kız Öğretmen Okulunun (Dârülmuallimât), Kuruluşu, Okutulan Dersler ve Kapatılışı (1870–1924)," *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, no. 26 (2009): 221–44; Ali Y. Baltacıoğlu, "Darülmuallimat'tan İnas Darülfünunu'na," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 10, no. 1 (2008): 91–102.

[176] Kirmizialtin, "Gender, Education, Modernization."

[177] Meryem Karabekmez, "Case Study of Women Instructors and Their Education in the Reign of Abdulhamid II," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, nos. 1–2 (2017): 71–79.

[178] Betül Açıkgöz, "The Advent of Scientific Housewifery in the Ottoman Empire," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, no. 6 (2018): 783–99.

women,[179] these studies show that late Ottoman women's education aligned with a widely shared global objective: preparing girls to become good mothers and wives, even if the specific institutional forms and ideological justifications differed across contexts.[180]

With an overarching aim to raise good mothers and wives, public schooling for girls also came to serve a range of additional functions – especially for those from lower social backgrounds. As Yaşar Tolga Cora shows, public education integrated girls into the imperial labour market by introducing carpet-weaving courses into the curriculum and supporting the establishment of workshops in the late Ottoman Empire. He argues that the organisation of education exposed it to market dynamics and that local, non-state actors played a significant role in this process.[181] Similarly, Mine Demir demonstrates that by incorporating tailoring training into public education, both the Ottoman and Turkish states sought to integrate women into the new modern economic and social order. [182] In addition, other non-state actors, such as non-Muslim or missionary schools for women in the Ottoman Empire, also influenced the education of Ottoman-Muslim women.[183]

Despite the growing field of the history of women's education, significant works by Zehra Kabasakal Arat[184] and Elif Ekin Akşit[185] present the difficulty of unearthing women's voices. They both draw on oral histories and public documents to pursue what the first generation of Republican

[179] Katerina Dalakoura, "The Moral and Nationalist Education of Girls in the Greek Communities of the Ottoman Empire (*c.*1800–1922)," *Women's History Review* 20, no. 4 (2011): 651–62; Falierou, "Enlightened Mothers."
[180] See, for instance, Carol Dyhouse, "Good Wives and Little Mothers: Social Anxieties and the Schoolgirl's Curriculum, 1890–1920," *Oxford Review of Education* 3, no. 1 (1977): 21–35; Ellen Jordan, "'Making Good Wives and Mothers'? The Transformation of Middle-Class Girls' Education in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *History of Education Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (1991): 439; Hyaeweol Choi, "'Wise Mother, Good Wife': A Transcultural Discursive Construct in Modern Korea," *Journal of Korean Studies* 14, no. 1 (2009): 1–33; Yong-Jin Hahn and Min-Ho Jeon, "Private Girls' Schools in Modern Korea (1876-1945): Cho Dong-Sik, Women's Education and Changing Conceptions of the 'Wise Mother, Good Wife,'" *History of Education* 52, no. 4 (2023): 571–87.
[181] Yaşar Tolga Cora, "Schoolgirls-*Cum*-Carpet Weavers: The Role of the Market in Public Girls' Schools in the Late Ottoman Empire," *Middle Eastern Studies* 60, no. 1 (2024): 1–15.
[182] Mine Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadın Eğitiminde Biçki Dikişin Yeri (1908–1952)* (İstanbul: Libra, 2019).
[183] See, for example, Barbara Reeves-Ellington, "Education: Missionary, the Ottoman Empire, Nineteenth Century," in *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures, Volume IV: Economics, Education, Mobility and Space*, ed. Suad Joseph (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–87; Barbara Reeves-Ellington, "Constantinople Woman's College: Constructing Gendered, Religious, and Political Identities in an American Institution in the Late Ottoman Empire," *Women's History Review* 24, no. 1 (2015): 53–71; Van Os, "Ottoman Muslim and Turkish Women;" Van Os, "'They Can Breathe Freely Now.'"
[184] Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat, "Where to Look for the Truth: Memory and Interpretation in Assessing the Impact of Turkish Women's Education," *Women's Studies International Forum* 26, no. 1 (2003): 57–68.
[185] Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*.

women thought about their education. Regarding interviews with these Republican women, Arat argues that these educated women were "the target and the product of the power structure" and that they in many senses upheld "the official line."[186] Similarly, Akşit examines the contradictory statements made by the first students at the Republic's Girls' Institutes regarding their education in the early Republican period. She observes that these women tried to adhere to the official state discourse – a stance she interprets as a form of silence. Although there were clear continuities between the Ottoman and Republican eras in these schools, the women of the modern Republic were nevertheless taught to repudiate the Ottoman past.[187]

Representations of Girls, the "New Woman," and *Muallime*s

This final review answers the need for a better understanding of how girlhood, women, and female teachers were imagined across literary and visual cultures – an issue that is especially addressed is Articles II, III and IV. Scholarship on late Ottoman and early Republican novels, magazines, and satirical press reveals that representations of girls, the "new woman," and *muallime*s were central to broader debates about modernisation, morality, and nation-building. These studies demonstrate that literary representations shaped and reflected anxieties about social change, Westernisation, sexuality, and women's public roles. They also show stark differences in how male and female authors constructed female subjectivities, thus highlighting the gendered politics of representation.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed profound political and social shifts that reshaped gender norms, turning the figure of the "new woman"[188] into a central, and contested, symbol of modernity. The meaning attached to this figure evolved continuously from the late Ottoman era through the 1920s,[189] reflecting much broader tensions around modernisation, national identity, and social reform. Against this background, a growing body of scholarship has examined how girls and women were perceived and represented across a variety of publications and literary genres during this transformative period, illuminating the

[186] Kabasakal Arat, "Where to Look for the Truth."
[187] Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*.
[188] For different definitions of "new woman," and the transformation of the meaning of concept in the illustrations in almanacs see Gürbey Hiz, "The Making of the 'New Woman': Narratives in the Popular Illustrated Press from the Ottoman Empire to the New Republic (1890–1920s)," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 17, no. 2 (2019): 156–77.
[189] Ibid., 160.

changing imaginaries of womanhood that framed women's educational and social roles.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and as the Ottoman state focused on "its youngest subjects" to instil nationalist values and shape them into "loyal and productive servants,"[190] the concept of girlhood emerged and gained a new significance. This concept was increasingly explored in contemporary texts. Elif Ekin Akşit, in her study of late Ottoman novels, argues that while male authors tended to idealise or critique girls in ways that instrumentalised them, women writers used narratives about girls as avenues for depicting genuine processes of becoming. She contends that male authors employed the genre of girls' *bildungsroman* to redefine womanhood in service of broader ideological aims, whereas women's writings offered more authentic and nuanced accounts of growth. According to Akşit, nationalist meta-narratives ultimately relied on this search for becoming, yet male-authored works remained limited to didactic goals of cultivating nationalist subjects. She further notes that Ottoman novels displayed a persistent preoccupation with girls – especially slave girls – who, in men's fiction, came to embody the perceived moral and structural failings of the Empire.[191]

For the early Republican period, Kara Peruccio examines the fluid boundary between girlhood and adulthood in the novels of Suat Derviş and Nezihe Muhiddin, arguing that these works reveal the new Republic's reforms as sources of challenge and frequent disappointment for young urban women. She contends that the reform era intensified generational tensions between older and younger women, and that – regardless of state intent – this friction ultimately served to regulate young women's bodies and autonomy rather than foster intergenerational solidarity. The novels show that many young women, poised between adolescence and adulthood, grappled with conflicting societal expectations and personal aspirations in the early Republican period.[192]

On the representations of the new woman vis-à-vis modernisation, Kandiyoti argues in her early work that late Ottoman novels constructed three main stereotypes of female protagonists – slave girls and orphaned youths, the *Alafranga* woman (temptresses), and the asexual woman (comrades) – and that these figures served as symbolic sites onto which

[190] Benjamin C. Fortna, "Preface: Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After," in *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna (Leiden: Brill, 2016), x.
[191] Akşit, "Being a Girl in Ottoman Novels," 111–12.
[192] Kara A. Peruccio, "'Not a Girl, Not Yet a Woman': Suat Derviş, Nezihe Muhiddin, and Age in Turkey, 1923–35," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 10, no. 1 (2023): 15–36.

broader social anxieties were projected. She contends that as Western influence penetrated Ottoman urban life, the Westernised woman became a focal point for moral and national concerns, shifting from a symbol of modernity to one of corruption and betrayal amid rising nationalist sentiment. Kandiyoti maintains that sexuality functioned as a key terrain for expressing fears about disorder, shaped both by general cultural constructions of the sexual and by specifically Islamic understandings of sexuality. This, as she argues, explains why the nationalist heroine had to be depicted as emphatically virtuous and even asexual: the Kemalist unveiling of women demanded compensatory symbolism, effectively replacing the physical veil with a new one grounded in sexual repression.[193]

Revealing a similar approach to Westernised women, François Georgeon examined representations of women in the late Ottoman satirical press. Rather than classifying female types, he emphasised a marked shift from earlier depictions, observing that attention had turned from the Westernised non-Muslim woman to the emerging figure of the modern Turkish woman. Georgeon argues that the satirical press endorsed a moderate vision of women's emancipation: it criticised overt traditionalism while simultaneously mocking the perceived excesses of modernisation, thereby promoting a middle-ground stance on women's liberation.[194]

With a special focus on women writers, Ayşegül Utku Günaydın's study of Ottoman women novelists writing between 1877 and 1923 demonstrates that, even in love stories authored by women, a common narrative emerges: female characters struggled under the social roles imposed on them, yet they confronted these pressures with a distinctly feminine resilience. She argues that women novelists constructed their protagonists around a shared value system that defined the "new woman" as educated, mature, and partially oriented toward the West, while also revealing how the burdens of social tension and criticism were disproportionately imposed on her. She further maintains that the missions assigned to women ultimately functioned as mechanisms of pressure and isolation so long as gender relations remained unsettled and "male selfishness" went unchallenged. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, as Günaydın contends, female authors produced characters with a wider range of experiences and deeper

[193] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses, and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel," *Feminist Issues* 8, no. 1 (1988): 35–50.
[194] François Georgeon, "Women's Representations in Ottoman Cartoons and the Satirical Press on the Eve of the Kemalist Reforms (1919–1924)," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 249–77.

interiority than those depicted by male writers, whose works tended to reproduce a narrower, male-centred vision of womanhood.[195]

Examining nineteenth-century Ottoman novels, Hülya Yıldız makes a similar differentiation between men and women novelists. She argues that the figure of the "fallen woman" operated as a marker of ethnic, religious, and class hierarchies. She demonstrates that in every early Ottoman Turkish novel authored by a man, a young woman who appears alone in public – without a male relative, servant, or older female companion – is inevitably cast as a prostitute or otherwise sexually available. Yıldız contends that women's mere presence in public space triggers a narrative trajectory in male-authored fiction that links them to impropriety and illicit behaviour. Notably, she identifies only one novel of this period that disrupts this pattern, and it was written by a woman.[196]

Moving to the Republican Period, Mehtap Kaya examines representations of women in magazines published between 1923 and 1940, arguing that these periodicals consistently advanced a dual typology of womanhood. On one side stood the "ideal woman," depicted as educated, morally upright, competent in domestic management, and fulfilling her primary roles as mother and wife; on the other stood the "snob" woman, characterised as shallow, hedonistic, culturally deracinated, and corrupted through excessive Western imitation. Kaya shows that women were portrayed both as modern participants in public life and through this persistent binary, which upheld the ideal woman as a model of cultural integrity while casting the "snob" woman as a symbol of social and moral decline.[197]

Narrowing the discussion of women's representations, this section also examines how *muallimes* were portrayed across periods.[198] Given the considerable number of novels featuring female teacher protagonists,[199] it is useful to draw on scholarship analysing these works to understand how the "ideal" female teacher was constructed. Berna Terzi Eskin argues that female teacher characters in Ottoman and early Republican novels were largely constructed within a masculine narrative framework. She

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[195] Ayşegül Utku Günaydın, *Kadınlık Daima Bir Muamma: Osmanlı Kadın Yazarların Romanlarında Modernleşme* (İstanbul: Metis, 2017), 193–202.
[196] Hülya Yıldız, "Limits of the Imaginable in the Early Turkish Novel: Non-Muslim Prostitutes and Their Ottoman Muslim Clients," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 54, no. 4 (2012): 533–62.
[197] Kaya, "İdeal, Asri, Züppe Kadın."
[198] On the debates about the development of teaching profession in general and expected professional competencies in education journals during the Second Constitutional Era, see Kurtuluş Öztürk and Seyfi Kenan, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Eğitim Dergilerinde Öğretmen Yeterlilikleri," *İnsan ve Toplum* 12, no. 2 (2022): 204–31.
[199] See, for example, Fatma Aliye, *Refet (Latin Harflerine Aktarılmış Orijinal Metin)* (İstanbul: Turkuvaz Kitap, 2019); Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalıkuşu*, 64th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınları, 2009).

maintains that male and female authors idealised womanhood differently. Male writers typically cast male protagonists as rational bearers of duty, while depicting women teachers as engaging with duty emotionally. Consequently, male characters functioned as prescriptive guides, reinforcing the patriarchal authority in the narrative. Eskin further identifies a cluster of constraints surrounding fictional women teachers: gendered bureaucratic obstacles, anxiety about women's visibility in public, derisive attitudes grounded in gender norms, and the persistent demand for chastity – all of which restricted their agency.[200]

Finally, analysing novels from both the late Ottoman and early Republican eras, Şahika Karaca, argues that authors strategically distanced femininity from the teacher figure in order to legitimise women's participation in the public sphere under strict moral expectations. Women had an opportunity to work respectably only if they avoided behaviours thought to jeopardise social order, which necessitated suppressing visible signs of femininity in male-dominated spaces. This strategy appeared in descriptions of teachers who were made deliberately unattractive or whose beauty was coded as a professional liability. Karaca also points to Republican-era novels that went further, depicting women who adopted masculine attire or traits. She concludes that the principal distinction between Tanzimat and Republican narratives lay in the symbolic function assigned to women teachers: Tanzimat heroines pursued public roles through a personal, feminine subjectivity, whereas Republican novels recast them as national "mothers" and "sisters" tasked with carrying the collective mission of national regeneration – a shift that mirrors broader transformations in Ottoman-Turkish feminism.[201]

In light of the scholarship reviewed across the fields of historiography, women and print culture, the development of girls' public education, and representations of womanhood, it becomes clear that existing studies allow us to trace how perceptions of the "new woman" evolved over time and show that women consistently stood at the centre of debates on reform and the changing order of the empire. Yet the creators of this gallery of stereotypes were largely male writers, and research on women's own discursive contributions – especially in the late Ottoman period – remains comparatively limited. While scholarship has examined representations of womanhood and education in the early Republic, studies of the late

[200] Berna Terzi Eskin, "Kadın Öğretmenlerin Bitmeyen Öğrenciliği: Çalıkuşu, Vurun Kahpeye ve Ankara'da Eril Özne Merkezli Karakter Tasarımları," *Journal of Turkish Language and Literature* 64, no. 1 (2024), 243.
[201] Şahika Karaca, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Türk Romanlarında Kadın Öğretmen Kimliği: Tanzimat ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Romanlarına Karşılaştırmalı Bir Yaklaşım," *Karadeniz Uluslararası Bilimsel Dergi*, no. 15 (2012), 1–15.

Ottoman era often prioritise institutional histories, producing valuable data on female teacher education from the *Tanzimat* to the early Republic but offering only fragmentary access to the lived experiences of teachers, students, and everyday life within training institutions. This dissertation aims to fill some of these gaps by focusing on women's writings – whenever possible – starting from an earlier period than most research has done. By analysing the debates on education in women's magazines, with particular attention to the representations that emerged, and by incorporating press materials alongside autobiographical texts, it seeks to uncover how women and their education were perceived, imagined, and represented – and how these representations shifted throughout this transformative period.

Theoretical Framework and Central Concepts

Considering the themes identified in the historiography and the review of related scholarship, the development of women's education emerges as a process shaped by intersecting gendered, educational, (trans)national, and socio-moral and disciplinary dynamics. In order to bring these dimensions into a coherent analytical perspective, it is necessary to adopt overarching theories and concepts capable of integrating these different strands. Drawing on the empirical material examined in this study, the dissertation brings together gender and educationalisation as its central theoretical framework. To capture the nuances and specificities of a non-Western context, this framework is further supported by the concepts of patriarchal bargaining, Occidentalism, and social disciplining. This section outlines how these theoretical frameworks and concepts are conceptualised and operationalised within the dissertation.

Gender and Educationalisation

First of all, this dissertation utilises the theoretical concepts of gender and educationalisation to frame the study on an overarching level. The use of gender draws on an understanding of the concept as referring to "socially constructed notions of femininity and masculinity, the gendering of concepts, institutions and social orders and new forms of association."[202] Drawing on this understanding, the study seeks to historicise women – and, where relevant, men – within changing educational discourses and institutions. However, as Joyce Goodman highlighted, gender is a contested analytical category, a "site of unease rather than of agreement."[203] Adding to this unease, this study also focuses on a context often categorised as non-Western, where gendered concepts operated differently and were continually reconfigured in relation to specific familial structures, social relations, and patterns of institutional development. As Kandiyoti has argued, "feminisms in the Middle East have been both intensely local, grappling with their own histories and specificities, and international, in that they have been in dialogue, both collaborative and adversarial, with broader currents of feminist thought and activism."[204] This perspective

[202] Joyce Goodman, "The Gendered Politics of Historical Writing in *History of Education*," *History of Education* 41, no. 1 (2012): 11.
[203] Ibid., 10.
[204] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship and Middle East Studies," in *Gendering the Middle East*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (London: Tauris, 2007), 8.

cautions against treating gender as a stable or universally applicable category and instead foregrounds its contextual and relational character.

Earlier feminist studies of the Middle East and the Ottoman Empire have increasingly rejected sweeping accounts of women's subordination that rely on institutional generalisations, highlighting the inadequacy of both a universalised notion of Islamic patriarchy and the construction of the Muslim woman as a homogeneous and perpetually oppressed subject.[205] Rather, this dissertation adopts the view that social institutions are not mere reflections of a coherent patriarchal logic but are sites of power relations and political processes through which gender hierarchies are produced, negotiated, contested, and reconfigured. Institutions such as the family, education, law, the market, the state, and the military both shape and are shaped by culturally specific constructions of gender, often resulting in complex and even contradictory outcomes.[206]

In this vein, the dissertation advances a "snapshots" approach to late Ottoman women's history, emphasising how intersecting relations of Islam, patriarchy, and other forms of power were experienced and negotiated at particular historical moments. Representations of women's lives are treated as snapshots of situated responses to specific social and institutional environments, revealing multiple – and sometimes competing – attempts to address the disruptions, tensions, and transformations of everyday life. Even when such responses were partial, marginal, or ultimately unsuccessful, women's agency becomes visible through their involvement in shaping their own lives and those of others, often in unexpected domains. These practices should not be read simply as reflections of modernisation or Westernisation, nor as resistance to them, but as historically contingent local responses, where the "local" is never fixed, original, or untouched, but always in the process of transformation.[207]

Thus, this study adopts this gender-aware position to examine the institution of education which – as used in this dissertation – is not limited to schooling but defined as a discourse that embraces much broader dimensions of education. While reviewing and analysing the sources, educationalisation emerged as an analytical complex to explain the results, particularly in the third and fourth sub-studies as well as in the overall

[205] See, for instance, Deniz Kandiyoti, ed., *Women, Islam and the State* (London: Macmillan, 1991); Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021).
[206] Kandiyoti, "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship," 17.
[207] Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, eds., "Introduction: Historiography of Late Ottoman Women," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 5.

analysis. Thus, I argue that the concept of educationalisation is useful to explain how arguments about women's education was utilised by both women and men in constructing the new womanhood(s) during the period. I take up the definition of educationalisation as the general tendency to consider education "as the focal point for addressing or solving larger human problems."[208] Starting with the nineteenth century, the social problems are interpreted as educational problems,[209] and especially in the process of modern nation-building, "educationalisation was bound up with moralization."[210] In time, during the twentieth century, education was come to be seen as the solution to social, economic, cultural, and moral problems.[211] As Daniel Tröhler maintained:

> ...it is crucial to realize that 'social problems' are dependent on the gaps between the particular visions of the social order and the perceived state of the art. These visions act as normative grids in which the educational requirements are created when facing 'reality.'[212]

The period under study indeed consists of a variety of envisioned social orders in the Ottoman Empire and later in the Republic of Turkey, as the society was face to face with unprecedented realities. Women were at the center of these so-called social problems either as objects of transformation or political subjects, particularly with ideas on the "new woman" on everyone's agenda. Thus, educationalisation with a gender-aware position helps to understand the source material in this dissertation. Among the various contemporary and historical studies utilising educationalisation,[213] such a combination has proven to be fruitful in Johannes Westberg's study that brings together educationalisation and gender to explore the girls' gymnastics in the nineteenth century Sweden to explain

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[208] Marc Depaepe and Paul Smeyers, "Educationalization as an Ongoing Modernization Process," *Educational Theory* 58, no. 4 (2008): 379.
[209] Daniel Tröhler, *Pestalozzi and the Educationalization of the World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 4.
[210] Depaepe and Smeyers, "Educationalization as an Ongoing," 380.
[211] Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe, eds., *Educational Research: The Educationalization of Social Problems* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008).
[212] Daniel Tröhler, "Tracking the Educationalization of the World: Prospects for an Emancipated History of Education," *Pedagogika* 67, no. 4 (2017): 361.
[213] See, for example, Pieter Verstraete, "Lessons in Silence: Power, Diversity, and the Educationalisation of Silence," *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies* 3, no. 2 (2016): 59; Edwin Keiner, "Avoiding the Devil: Peace and the Educationalisation of Social Problems," *Educação, Sociedade & Culturas*, no. 53 (2018): 37–54; Oscar Valiente, Queralt Capsada-Munsech, and Jan Peter G De Otero, "Educationalisation of Youth Unemployment Through Lifelong Learning Policies in Europe," *European Educational Research Journal* 19, no. 6 (2020): 525–43; Joakim Landahl, "Educationalising Death: The Emergence of Traffic Education in Swedish Elementary Schools," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 9, no. 2 (2022): 107–23; Christian Larsen, "The Pedagogical School Garden and the Educationalisation of Social Problems in Denmark," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 43, no. 1 (2023): 67–76.

"how notions of motherhood and women's health was used to promote the cause of gymnastics."[214] Similarly, bringing the concepts of educationalisation and gender together, this study also offers a means to explore the interface and entanglement between womanhood and education in the transformation and nation-formation process.

Patriarchal Bargaining

To analyse gender relations and women's agency within the multi-layered context of the Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic, this dissertation also draws on Kandiyoti's concept of the *patriarchal bargain*.[215] Kandiyoti challenges simplistic, all-encompassing interpretations of patriarchy that reduce male dominance to a uniform and static system, arguing that such approaches obscure the "intimate inner workings" of historically and culturally specific gender arrangements.[216] Her framework is particularly valuable for gender analysis because it moves beyond rigid definitions of patriarchy that position women solely as passive victims or as outright challengers of patriarchal authority, instead foregrounding women's negotiated forms of agency.

Kandiyoti's comparative analysis of women's agency under different patriarchal formations demonstrates how distinct "rules of the game" gave rise to diverse coping strategies. In contexts such as sub-Saharan Africa, where patriarchal structures produce polygynous insecurity, women often seek to preserve and expand their autonomy through protest and resistance. By contrast, in regions characterised by classical patriarchy – including the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia – women have historically secured familial stability through strategies such as accommodation, subservience, and manipulation.[217] Through these patriarchal bargains, women attempt to "maximize security and optimize life options," employing varying degrees of active or passive resistance shaped by class, ethnicity, and social position. These strategies, whether conscious or unconscious,[218] contribute to a system of gender relations that remains constantly negotiated rather than fixed.[219] Moreover, it is noteworthy that these strategies often have their limits as Kandiyoti contended:

[214] Johannes Westberg, "Girls' Gymnastics in the Service of the Nation: Educationalisation, Gender and Swedish Gymnastics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 4, no. 2 (2017): 64.
[215] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender & Society* 2, no. 3 (1988): 274–90.
[216] Ibid., 274–75.
[217] Ibid., 275–81.
[218] Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy."
[219] Lindsay J. Benstead, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Patriarchy: The Importance of Feminist Theory," *Mediterranean Politics* 26, no. 2 (2021): 242.

"'Bargaining with patriarchy' represented an uneasy compromise since it suggested that contestation and resistance were possible but always circumscribed by the limits of the culturally conceivable."[220] This is also supported by the research pertaining different contexts.[221] Thus, making the assumptions about patriarchal bargain context-bound, difficult to generalise.

Importantly, Kandiyoti also emphasises that moments of patriarchal breakdown do not automatically generate new and emancipatory strategies. Instead, the collapse of established bargains often produces complex and contradictory personal and political struggles, during which older coping mechanisms may persist even as they lose their effectiveness. In such periods of crisis, women's responses may paradoxically include forms of passive resistance that manifest as demands for increased male responsibility and control.[222]

Overall, this conceptualisation has significantly broadened scholarly discussions of women's agency in non-Western contexts, generating a growing body of research that builds upon or critically engages with the notion of the patriarchal bargain.[223] In this thesis, the concept provides an analytical tool for examining gender relations and women's agency within the specific cultural and historical conditions under study, allowing for a more nuanced interpretation of women's intentional and unintentional strategies surrounding education.[224] Alongside the concept of Occidentalism, the patriarchal bargain forms part of the overarching theoretical

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[220] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Gender, Power and Contestation: 'Rethinking Bargaining with Patriarchy,'" in *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy*, ed. Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson (London: Routledge, 2000), 150.

[221] Laurie James-Hawkins, Yara Qutteina, and Kathryn M. Yount, "The Patriarchal Bargain in a Context of Rapid Changes to Normative Gender Roles: Young Arab Women's Role Conflict in Qatar," *Sex Roles* 77, nos. 3–4 (2017): 155–68; Abigail Ocobock, "Cognitive Labor, Power, and Patriarchal Bargains: Not-so-Invisible Barriers to Gendered Change," *Gender & Society* 39, no. 4 (2025): 561–89.

[222] Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," 286.

[223] Soma Chaudhuri, Merry Morash, and Julie Yingling, "Marriage Migration, Patriarchal Bargains, and Wife Abuse: A Study of South Asian Women," *Violence Against Women* 20, no. 2 (2014): 141–61; Andrew Lindridge, Lisa Peñaloza, and Onipreye Worlu, "Agency and Empowerment in Consumption in Relation to a Patriarchal Bargain: The Case of Nigerian Immigrant Women in the UK," *European Journal of Marketing* 50, nos. 9–10 (2016): 1652–71; Lu Gram et al., "Revisiting the Patriarchal Bargain: The Intergenerational Power Dynamics of Household Money Management in Rural Nepal," *World Development* 112 (2018): 193–204; Ilju Kim and Zoua M. Vang, "Contending with Neo-Classical Patriarchal Bargain: Filipina Marriage Migrants' Negotiations for Naturalization in South Korea," *Citizenship Studies* 24, no. 2 (2020): 209–27; Ismah Tita Ruslin, "The Way of a Patriarchal Bargain: How the Bargain under the Structure and Agency Perspective," *ETNOSIA: Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia* 7, no. 2 (2022): 141–53.

[224] There are few studies focusing on patriarchal bargain and education. For an analysis of how patriarchal bargaining operates through intergenerational relationships in shaping girls' access to educational opportunities in Pakistan, see Muhammad Suhail Khan and Zhang Biao, "Patriarchal Bargains and Intergenerational Negotiations: An Exploration of Family Decision-Making for Girls' Education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan," *Education and Change* 29 (2025): 1–21.

framework of the study and is employed particularly in the second sub-study[225] to analyse how women's agency operates within the examined discourses.

Occidentalism

In order to understand the ambivalent treatment of "the West" in the texts, this dissertation makes use of the Occidentalism as a theoretical concept. Among the myriads of definitions and conceptualisations, this dissertation adopts Meltem Ahıska's formulation of Occidentalism,[226] as it offers the most productive analytical lens for interpreting the source material and addressing the research questions.

As hinted above, Occidentalism is a contested concept, characterised by political, historical, and geographical heterogeneity across different non-Western contexts.[227] While some definitions approach Occidentalism as a form of anti-Westernism – variously understood as resistance to Western modernity or as a counter-discourse opposing the West – others conceptualise it as a mode of Westernism, particularly as a discourse mobilised against *ancien régimes*.[228] These divergent and context-specific interpretations underscore the multiplicity of non-Western agencies and responses embedded within the concept.[229] Ahıska, on the other hand, argues that the multiple meanings of Occidentalism across theoretical and political perspectives indicate the concept's analytical strength, grounded in its inherent ambivalence. Its use to denote both Westernism and anti-Westernism reflects not conceptual confusion but the historically intertwined development of Orientalism and Occidentalism in Western and non-Western contexts. From this perspective, discourses of modernity are shaped by entangled representations in which "East" and "West" are continuously redefined in relation to one another. Westernism and anti-

[225] Badegül Eren-Aydınlık, "(Re)Shaping Ottoman Women: The Construction of Female Subjectivities through Educational Discourse in Women's Magazines (1869–1908)," *Paedagogica Historica* 61, no. 2 (2025): 333–50.
[226] Meltem Ahıska, *Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting* (London: Tauris, 2010); Meltem Ahıska, "Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102, no. 2 (2003): 351–79.
[227] Alastair Bonnett, "Occidentalism and Plural Modernities: Or How Fukuzawa and Tagore Invented the West," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, no. 4 (2005): 807.
[228] Xiaomei Chen, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*, 2nd ed. (New York: Penguin, 2005); Couze Venn, *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity* (London: SAGE, 2000).
[229] Bonnett, "Occidentalism and Plural Modernities," 508.

Westernism can thus be understood as distorted mirror images, produced through the same relational and historical processes.[230]

Ahıska calls the need for addressing non-Western agency and subject formation at an analytical level. Rather than treating the non-West as a silent and ahistorical Other confined to endlessly pursuing Western models, she sees it crucial to consider how this Other speaks back – often through the appropriation of Western technologies and forms. Beyond being represented through Western discourses, as analysed by the concept of Orientalism by Edward Said, the Other has also produced its own historically situated self-representations, seeking to occupy the position of the modern subject. This self-articulation generates a non-Western form of Occidentalism, in which the enunciation of modernity shifts from the West to the non-West, transforming both its content and performance. In this sense, Occidentalism functions as "a means of performing Western modernity, while at times resisting its colonising move. It is Westernism and anti-Westernism at the same time."[231]

Thus, Occidentalism is not a fixed oppositional stance but a dynamic and ongoing dialogic process in which Westernism and anti-Westernism coexist, as well as, as Ahıska conceptulised, an ideological fantasy in Žižek's sense, which is fundamental in the formation of political subjectivities, and ever-changing according to the historical conditions of an era.[232] Žižek argues that reality is a fantasy only to pass through rather than to be uncovered. Within this framework of reality, as Žižek argues, ideology "is a fantasy-construction which serves as a support for 'reality' itself: an 'illusion' which structures our effective, real social relations."[233] Using Žižek's concept of ideological fantasy, Ahıska states that "[t]he political subjectivity in building, defining, and distinguishing national identity in Turkey has been shaped in reference to an imagined Western-ness and Western gaze."[234] In the end, Occidentalism constitutes "a performative discourse, which displays a devotion to a Western form of modernity on the surface, yet constantly refers to the imagined threatening Western gaze to produce the intimacy within."[235]

Overall, Occidentalism served as an explanatory concept in the second sub-study. However, the ambivalent perspective on "the West,"

[230] Ahıska, *Occidentalism in Turkey*, 5.
[231] Ibid., 6–7.
[232] Ibid., 48.
[233] Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 2008).
[234] Ahıska, *Occidentalism in Turkey*, 26.
[235] Ibid., 39.

particularly in discussions on women's education, appears to be a recurring theme across the sources and contexts examined in this thesis. Therefore, Occidentalism is employed as a broader theoretical framework in the final chapter, where the overall discussion of the thesis is situated.[236]

Social Disciplining

To explain the coexistence of "a more or less secular approach to educational reform"[237] together with the increased emphasis on Islam in the Hamidian Period (1878–1908) of the Ottoman Empire, Somel has offered the religious notion of social disciplining. Drawing on a Foucauldian understanding, he explains this concept within the context of early-modern absolutism and the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment. He maintains that the 'enlightened' despotic rulers tried to reshape the society with the measures towards rationalisation and centralisation. He also draws on the disciplining idea of Jeremy Betham's *panopticon*, "an architectural construction for the complete surveillance and disciplining of residents of public institutions" such as schools.[238]

Somel argues that these attempts of centralisation and control with the aim of social disciplining in education were realised by "educational uniforming" as well as by "the ancient tradition of viewing education as a means of inculcating religious and moral values to pupils with the ultimate aim to ensure feelings of obedience and loyalty toward the central authority."[239] In the first sub-study of this dissertation,[240] I draw on this religious notion of social disciplining with a gender perspective for a deeper understanding of the increased moral and religious emphasis on women's education in the late Ottoman Empire. It helps to explore a more nuanced view of how social disciplining operated in the (re)formation of the subjects of the Empire through education.

[236] See the second sub-study: Eren-Aydınlık, "(Re)Shaping Ottoman Women."
[237] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 4.
[238] Ibid., 5–7.
[239] Ibid., 6.
[240] Badegül Eren Aydınlık and Seyfi Kenan, "Between Men, Time and the State: Education of Girls During the Late Ottoman Empire (1859–1908)," *Paedagogica Historica* 57, no. 4 (2021): 400–418.

Sources and Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the sub-studies included in the dissertation, as outlined in Table 1, focusing on their period of examination, main sources, and methodological focus. It then describes the sources, detailing their types, characteristics, and modes of collection. This is followed by a methodology section that explains the methods and analytical tools employed in each sub-study. Finally, the chapter clarifies the division of responsibilities in the co-authored article (Article I).

Table 1. Sources and Methods Used in the Articles

Article	Period	Sources	Methodology
I	1859–1908	*Rüşdiyye* schools curricula Women's magazines Education journals	Historical case study evaluation
II	1869–1908	Women's magazines	Qualitative thematic analysis
III	1908–1923	Women's magazines	Stereotypes and countertypes
IV	1869–1933	Education journals Women's magazines Newspapers Literary works Pedagogy books	Qualitative thematic analysis

Sources

This dissertation employs three main categories of source material: *rüşdiyye* curriculum, women's magazines, and education journals – the distribution of which is presented in Table 1 above. To support these sources, fourth sub-study also employed newspapers, literary works and pedagogy books. The following section first explains how the sources were accessed and outlines linguistic characteristics of the material. It then describes each type of source in detail and explains how they are used within the individual sub-studies.

A substantial portion of the sources are taken from the digital archive of Ottoman periodicals within the Hakkı Tarık Us Collection, housed at the Beyazıt State Library in İstanbul. Through a joint project between the Beyazıt State Library and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) Library; this archive has been made accessible online to researchers. Most women's magazines and educational journals published up to 1928 are

available through this collection.[241] Another central body of material comes from the Directorate of State Archives in İstanbul,[242] which allows researchers to purchase digitised copies of a wide range of documents online. In addition, Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Centre for Islamic Studies (ISAM) in İstanbul provides extensive databases containing Ottoman yearbooks and articles written in Ottoman language.[243] Through these resources, I accessed state and educational yearbooks, as well as writings by Ottoman intellectuals on women's education. Furthermore, digitised copies of several magazines were obtained from the manuscript and periodical collections of several libraries in Turkey, such as Atatürk University Library (Seyfettin Özege Rare Works Collection)[244] and the National Library.[245] Finally, for non-digitised materials, particularly educational journals and women's magazines published after 1928, I conducted archival research at the Atatürk Library[246] and the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul.[247]

The language of the sources differs markedly before and after 1928. Materials produced prior to this date are written in Ottoman Turkish, while later sources are in Modern Turkish. Ottoman Turkish was a literary language written in the Arabic script and heavily influenced by Arabic and Persian. The language reform of 1928 introduced Modern Turkish, replacing the earlier script with a Latin-based alphabet and reshaping vocabulary and grammatical structures, including the substitution of many Arabic and Persian loanwords with Turkish equivalents. This reform also altered writing direction: Ottoman Turkish texts were written from right to left, whereas Modern Turkish follows a left-to-right format. The Ottoman writing system is also more complex, as pronunciation is not explicitly indicated but must be inferred from context. Although handwritten texts employed various calligraphic styles, this dissertation relies exclusively on printed (*matbu*) sources, which are comparatively easier to work with.

[241] Periodicals of Hakkı Tarık Us Collection, accessed 10 January 2026, https://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/asw/tur/htu/.
[242] Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye the Directorate of State Archives, accessed 10 January 2026, https://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/.
[243] Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Centre for Islamic Studies (ISAM), accessed 10 January 2026, https://www.isam.org.tr/en.
[244] Atatürk University Library, accessed 10 January 2026, https://kutuphane.atauni.edu.tr/.
[245] National Library, accessed 10 January 2026, https://www.millikutuphane.gov.tr/.
[246] Atatürk Library, accessed 10 January 2026, https://ataturkkitapligi.ibb.gov.tr/en/Anasayfa.
[247] Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation, accessed 10 January 2026, https://kadineserleri.org/.

While most of the material used in this study is digitised, the availability of OCR technology for Ottoman Turkish remains very limited.[248] Consequently, Ottoman Turkish texts – or selected sections of them – were transliterated into Modern Turkish to facilitate analysis. Rather than relying on computer-assisted text analysis, the study focuses on close readings of specific words and phrases within the printed material. The document analysis therefore consists of repeated and careful re-readings of the sources.

Curricula of Secondary Schools

For Article I, the analysis focuses on the curricula of girls' *rüşdiyye* schools. The earliest curriculum for girls' *rüşdiyye* education appears in the Regulation of Public Education (*Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi*) published in 1869.[249] Subsequent curricula are found in the Ottoman state yearbooks (*Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye*)[250] and in the yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education (*Salnâme-i Nezaret-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye*).[251] To enable a comparative perspective, the curricula of boys' *rüşdiyye* schools recorded in the same sources were also included.

In total, the study draws on three official *rüşdiyye* curricula for girls and boys dating from between 1859 and 1908. The first curriculum is taken from the Regulation of Public Education of 1869. The second appears in the Ottoman state yearbooks of 1877/1878, 1878, and 1878/1879. The third is found in the yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education for the years 1898/1899, 1899/1900, 1900/1901, and 1901/1902. As the curricula presented within each group of yearbooks are largely identical – aside from minor variations in content – the earliest version in each group has been used as the representative basis for analysis.

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[248] There are developments in Digital Humanities in Ottoman and Turkish studies and new machine reading technologies are introduced for certain publications – easier to access with an institutional subscription, more difficult for individual researchers. Also, Ottoman women's magazines began to be published with modern-day Turkish transliterations. These developments have been helpful for some parts of the thesis.

[249] "Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi," 24 Cemaziyelahir 1289 [1 October 1869], BOA/Y.EE.112-6-0, State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye. It should be noted that two earlier versions of the girls' *rüşdiyye* curriculum appear in Mahmud Cevad İbnü'ş-Şeyh Nafi's sourcebook *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraatı: XIX. Asır Osmanlı Maarif Tarihi* (published in 1922), which examines Ottoman education in the nineteenth century. However, given their absence in official records, such as state and educational yearbooks, these versions were excluded from the present study. See, Mahmud Cevat İbnü'ş Şeyh Nafi, *Maârif-i Umumiye Nezareti*.

[250] The *rüşdiyye* curriculum was present for the years 1877/1878 [1294AH], 1878 [1295AH] and 1878/1879 [1296AH].

[251] Of the six yearbooks of education known to have been published between 1316AH and 1321AH, the one published in 1902/1903 [1320AH] is missing. In the database, there are five yearbooks of education dated 1898/1899 [1316AH], 1899/1900 [1317AH], 1900/1901 [1318AH], 1901/1902 [1319AH] and 1903/1904 [1321AH] that contain girls' *rüşdiyye* curriculum.

Women's Magazines

The women's magazines examined in this dissertation were written in Ottoman Turkish for a Muslim-Turkish female readership. Within this scope, archival records identify 53 distinct Ottoman and Turkish women's magazines, published at varying intervals – daily, weekly, biweekly, or monthly – and with widely differing numbers of issues. Table 2 presents an overview of the magazines analysed in this thesis, indicating their publication periods, the number of issues examined for each article, and the specific article(s) in which they are discussed.

Table 2. Women's Magazines Within the Scope of This Dissertation

Name of Magazine	**Publication Period**	**Number of issues**	**Article in the Thesis**
Terakkî-i Muhadderat (Progress of Women)	1869–1870	48	I and II
Vakit yahud Mürebb-i Muhadderat (Time or the Teacher of Women)	1875	8	I and II
Âyine (Mirror)	1875–1876	39	I and II
Âile (Family)	1880	3	I and II
İnsâniyet (Humanity)	1882	2	I and II
Şükûfezar (Flower Garden)	1887	5	II
Parça Bohçası (Bundle of Clothes)	1889	1	I and II
Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (The Ladies' Own Gazette)	1895–1908	612	I, II, and IV[252]
Demet (Bouquet)	1908	7	IV
Türk Kadını (Turkish Woman)	1918–1919	21	IV
Kadınlar Dünyası (Women's World)	1913–1921	208	III and IV
Kadınlar Alemi (Women's Realm)	1914	9	IV
Hanımlar Alemi (Ladies' Realm)	1914–1918	32	IV
Kadın Yolu/Türk Kadın Yolu (Women's Path/Turkish Women's Path)	1925–1927	19	IV

The first five magazines listed above were edited or authored by men, who wrote or translated all unsigned articles; women's participation was limited to letters to the editor. By contrast, *Şükûfezar*, *Parça Bohçası*, and *Kadınlar Dünyası* were written and published exclusively by women. The longest-running Ottoman women's periodical, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (*HMG*), featured contributions primarily from women – both prominent figures and graduates of the first girls' schools – alongside writings by several well-known male authors. *Demet*, *Türk Kadını*, *Kadınlar Alemi*, *Hanımlar Alemi*, and *Kadın Yolu/Türk Kadın Yolu* included

[252] For Article I, not all the issues of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* were reviewed. Due to reasons explained above related to purposive sampling, only the issues until 1898/1899 were reviewed.

contributions from both men and women, although male authors predominated.

It is important to situate these magazines within the broader context of the Ottoman press, which only became a significant feature of public life in the final quarter of the nineteenth century and remained constrained by strict and often unpredictable censorship until 1908, and – after a freer environment of a year – again after 1909. Distribution was further hindered by poor transportation infrastructure and by the widespread practice of shared reading in coffeehouses, which reduced individual sales. Consequently, a more vibrant local press developed primarily in major provincial centres such as Salonica, İzmir, and Beirut. Despite these limitations, publishing activity expanded during the late nineteenth century.[253] With regard to women's magazines in particular, Derya Iner notes that male patronage – often from bureaucrats – was usually necessary for financial and political sustainability.[254] Moreover, women's access to these publications was frequently mediated by the consent of male relatives. Similar to the coffeehouse culture, homosocial gatherings in domestic settings enabled collective reading among women, further limiting individual circulation.

Moving back to the selection of texts within the magazines, it should be noted that women's magazines rarely included tables of content. In this respect, the work of researchers at the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation has been invaluable. Their publication, *The Bibliography of Women's Periodicals Written in Ottoman Script,*[255] provides bibliographical information and modern Turkish content lists for these magazines. These lists formed the basis for the initial selection of material analysed in this thesis. Each issue's content list was examined to identify articles related to education, revealing the vocabulary through which women's education was discussed. The content lists were then re-evaluated using this vocabulary, which included terms such as *terbiye* (education, nurture, or upbringing), *tahsil* (learning, training, or study), *talim* (teaching) and *maârif* (learning of useful things, or knowledge[256]), as well as references to girls' schools and female teachers. Overall, the analysis traces the concept of education and its relationship to constructions of womanhood in the selected texts.

[253] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 168–69.
[254] Iner, "Gaining a Public Voice," 975–77.
[255] Toska et al., *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki*.
[256] Fortna, "Education and Change," 50.

Figure 7. Cover pages of *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 123 (1914, on the left, in Ottoman Turkish) and no. 122 (1914, on the right, in French).

For Article I, the analysis focuses on women's magazines published between 1859 and 1908, corresponding to the period between the first and last iterations of the girls' *rüşdiyye* curriculum. During this period, eleven women's magazines were published; seven were selected based on their sustained engagement with women's education and their distribution across the period rather than concentration in a narrow timeframe. These include *Terakkî-i Muhadderat*, *Vakit yahud Mürebbî-i Muhadderat*, *Âyine*, *Âile*, *İnsâniyet*, *Parça Bohçası*, and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*.

Article II covers a similar period, from 1869 to 1908, using the same initial selection criteria. During re-examination, however, an additional criterion emerged: educational debates were frequently framed in relation to ideas of civilisation, progress, and the demands of the present, often with explicit references to "the West," particularly Europe and the United States. Accordingly, the presence of references to "the West" was incorporated as a further selection criterion. Based on this, eight magazines published between 1869 and 1908 were analysed: *Terakkî-i Muhadderat*, *Vakit yahud Mürebbî-i Muhadderat*, *Âyine*, *Âile*, *İnsâniyet*, *Şükûfezar*, *Parça Bohçası*, and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*.

Article III focuses on the period 1913–1921 and centres on *Kadınlar Dünyası*, distinguished by its editorial policy of publishing exclusively women's contributions. This makes the magazine a particularly valuable source for examining women's perspectives on education and modernisation. In addition to textual analysis, this article incorporates visual materials, including illustrations and photographs, to explore representations of women's education.

Article IV examines female teachers and their training; it therefore spans the period 1869–1933. Alongside the previously identified concepts, this analysis incorporates terminology related to teacher training and schooling experiences, including *muallime* (female teacher), *mürebbiye* (governess or female primary teacher), *darülmuallimat* (female teacher training school), and *kız talebe* (female students). All women's magazines listed in Table 2 are included in this analysis.

Education Journals

This dissertation employs a broad definition of "education journal," referring both to publications intended to educate the public and to forums for discussion on educational topics. This includes journals related to schooling, teaching, science, or general education. It is important to note that earlier examples of such periodicals were not strictly confined to a single category; rather, they served as platforms for discussing a wide range of knowledge and its acquisition. Consequently, these journals often included content on sports, technological developments, psychology, and education. By the early twentieth century, however, journals became increasingly specialised, focusing on specific categories such as education, teachers, or students.

Table 3. Education Journals Within the Scope of This Dissertation

Name of the Journal	**Publication Period**	**Number of Issues**	**Article in the Thesis**
Muallim (The Teacher)	1887–1888	1	IV
Maârif	1891–1892	234	I and IV
Tedrisat (-ı İbtidaiyye) Mecmuası (Journal of Teaching)	1909–1926	69	IV
Terbiye ve Oyun/Education et Jeus (Education and Play)	1911–1922	30	IV
Terbiye Mecmuası (Journal of Education)	1914	4	IV
Terbiye (Education)	1922–1927 1930–1935	54+39	IV
Muallimler Mecmuası (Teachers' Journal)	1927–1931	36	IV

For Article I, four educational journals from the period 1869–1898/1899 were initially identified: *Mecmua-i Maârif* (Journal of Education), *Maârif* (Education), *Hazine-i Fünûn* (Treasure of Science), and *Mecmua-i Fünûn* (Journal of Science). After reviewing their content lists, *Maârif* was selected for analysis, as it was the only journal with a title explicitly related to girls' education.

For Article IV, the selection of journals followed a process similar to that used for women's magazines, based on careful re-reading and content analysis. Table 3 lists the educational journals analysed within this article.

Figure 8. Cover page of *Terbiye ve Oyun/Education et Jeus,* no. 4 (1922).

Additional Sources

In Article IV, although women's magazines and education journals provide valuable material, they offer limited insight into the lived experiences and perspectives of female teachers and the realities of their education, necessitating the use of supplementary sources to capture these dimensions. To address this gap and obtain a more comprehensive understanding, autobiographical texts from books and newspapers are also incorporated. Additionally, fictional works are occasionally used when relevant. Supplementary sources include Nezihe Muhiddin's

autobiographical book *Türk Kadını* (1931, *Turkish Woman*), Ayşe Sıdıka Hanım's pedagogical work *Usûl-ı Talîm ve Terbiye Dersleri* (1897, *Lessons on Teaching and Education Methods*), Fatma Aliye's realist novel *Refet* (1898), Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *Çalıkuşu* (1922, *The Wren*), as well as autobiographical or teacher-related excerpts from contemporary newspapers. These two novels are particularly significant: in *Refet*, the protagonist is a female teacher-student, while in *Çalıkuşu*, the central character is a newly graduated female teacher, offering rich perspectives on women's educational experiences.

Methodology

This dissertation employs a set of complementary methodological approaches tailored to the objectives and source materials of each of the four sub-studies. While each article provides detailed methodological discussion in its own context, the overarching approaches are outlined below.

Historical Case Study Evaluation

Article I[257] focuses on the curriculum of girls' *rüşdiyye* schools, tracing its development from the first version published in 1869 to the final iteration in 1898/1899. These curricula did not conform to modern definitions of a curriculum, lacking consistent inclusion of the four standard components—objectives, content, organisation of learning experiences, and evaluation. In the final version, content was elaborated, and brief guidance on organisation of learning experiences was provided, but evaluation decisions remained largely at the discretion of teachers, aside from general end-of-school examinations. Consequently, contemporary curriculum evaluation models are inapplicable. Instead, this study follows Stufflebeam's broad definition of curriculum evaluation as "a study designed and conducted to assist some audience to assess an object's merit and worth."[258] Within this framework, a case study evaluation was adopted, which allows in-depth examination of the curriculum within its historical and cultural context without intervention. This approach involves collecting and analysing all available documentation and contextual materials to describe the case as fully as possible.[259] In line with Sharan B. Merriam and Elizabeth J. Tisdell's classifications, this case

[257] Eren Aydınlık and Kenan, "Between Men, Time and the State."
[258] Daniel Stufflebeam, "Evaluation Models," *New Directions for Evaluation* 2001, no. 89 (2001): 11. Daniel L. Stufflebeam and Chris L. S. Coryn, *Evaluation Theory, Models, and Applications*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass & Pfeiffer Imprints, Wiley, 2014).
[259] Daniel L. Stufflebeam and Chris L. S. Coryn, *Evaluation Theory, Models, and Applications*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass & Pfeiffer Imprints, Wiley, 2014), 292.

study is historical in nature.[260] The study examines both the content and historical development of the curriculum, situating it within the broader cultural context through analysis of contemporary women's and education magazines. For comparative purposes, boys' curricula from the same period were also critically analysed.

Qualitative Thematic Analysis

The second and fourth sub-studies,[261] employ qualitative thematic analysis, drawing mainly on the framework developed by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke,[262] while also integrating the methodological considerations proposed by Westberg.[263] Braun and Clarke's six-phase approach served as the foundation of the analytical process: familiarisation with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and producing the report.[264] As Westberg emphasises, however, this process is flexible and adaptable, continuously adjusted to align with the objectives of the research project.[265]

Given that coding is a contested concept in qualitative research, particularly within historical studies of education, this dissertation adopts the concept of indexing, following Westberg's recommendation[266] and as defined by Jane Ritchie, Liz Spencer, and William O'Connor.[267] Indexing involves identifying which themes or concepts are addressed in specific sections of the data, rather than assigning fixed or narrowly defined codes.[268] Guided by these principles, the selection and analysis of texts required repeated close readings of substantial portions of material, without reliance on digital search tools. The selection and analysis were informed by terminology relevant to women's and girls' education for Article II, and women's teacher training and school life for Article IV. Through iterative

[260] Sharan B. Merriam and Elizabeth J. Tisdell, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, 4th ed. (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 40.
[261] Eren-Aydınlık, "(Re)Shaping Ottoman Women;" Badegül Eren-Aydınlık, Creating *Muallime*s: Female Teachers and Their Education in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Republic of Turkey (1869–1933), Unpublished Manuscript, in Review.
[262] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77–101.
[263] Johannes Westberg, "Historical Methods in Educational Research: Sources, Contextualisation, Periodisation and Analysis," *Paedagogica Historica* 61, no. 6 (2025): 994–1014.
[264] Braun and Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis."
[265] Westberg, "Historical Methods," 17.
[266] Ibid., 18.
[267] Jane Ritchie, Liz Spencer, and William O'Connor, "Carrying out Qualitative Analysis," in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, ed. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis (London: SAGE, 2003), 237.
[268] Ibid.

processes of re-reading and indexing, categories were established, from which recurring themes subsequently emerged.

Stereotypes and Countertypes

The third sub-study[269] focuses on how the notion of the educated woman was articulated and negotiated through both written and visual materials, including illustrations and photographs. As an analytical lens, the study draws on George Mosse's understanding of stereotypes as formative mechanisms in the construction of social and national norms.[270] In Mosse's framework, stereotypes gain meaning through their opposition to countertypes.[271] Building on this approach, David Tjeder conceptualises countertypes not merely as representations of an external "Other," but as expressions of internal social tensions and alternative normative possibilities.[272] Drawing on these perspectives, the study analyses how such counter-images shaped dominant expectations and how they were articulated in both the textual and visual content of the magazines.

Given the political and social constraints of the period, authors frequently relied on indirect language and implication to express their views. To capture these dynamics, the analysis attends both to explicit formulations and to silences and omissions within the texts. Particular attention is paid to recurring contributors who frequently addressed questions of women and education as well as to editorials[273] and articles that defined the ideal roles and characteristics of Turkish-Muslim or Ottoman women.

The visual dimension of the magazines presents additional methodological challenges, as early issues contained few and largely recurring images. In later issues, visual material expanded to include advertisements, reproduced artworks, portrayals of "Eastern" women, and photographs of actresses and models.[274] From issue 117 onwards, contributors began to publish personal photographs alongside both Westernised and traditionally "Eastern" representations, though these images were seldom accompanied by explanatory captions. Following Ines Dussel and Karin Priem, the study approaches images not as carriers of fixed meanings but as

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[269] Badegül Eren-Aydınlık, "Education as 'The True Dowry:' Ideals of Womanhood in Late Ottoman Women's Magazines (1913–1921)," *History of Education* 54, no. 5 (2025): 533–55.
[270] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 6.
[271] Ibid., 56.
[272] David Tjeder, *The Power of Character: Middle-Class Masculinities, 1800–1900* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2003), 94.
[273] The editorials written under the name of the magazine were most probably written by Ulviye Mevlan, the founder of the magazine.
[274] Given that there was no information on the origin of the visuals, we can only guess about their possible origins.

"objects to think with," embedded in historical and social entanglements.[275] Visual material is therefore analysed in conjunction with textual discourse, as part of a broader assemblage through which educational and gender norms were produced and reinforced.

Contributions from Co-authors

Article I included in this dissertation is co-authored with Seyfi Kenan.[276] Although I am the principal author, responsibilities were shared evenly, and most stages of the research were carried out collaboratively, including joint analysis of the material. I was responsible for the overall design of the study, including problem formulation and the selection of empirical sources, while Kenan focused on compiling the historical background. Methodological choices, theoretical framing, and analytical decisions were made jointly. I assumed primary responsibility for drafting the final version of the article, revising it in response to external reviewers' comments, proposing revisions, and preparing the manuscript for publication.

[275] Inés Dussel and Karin Priem, "The Visual in Histories of Education: A Reappraisal," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 6 (2017): 646. See also: Heidi Degerickx et al., "'What Kind of Silence Is Being Broken?': A Visual-Rhetorical History of the Out-of-Home Placement of Children in Poverty in 1990s Belgium," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 6 (2017): 707–29. On photography's function as an active tool in shaping societal structures and its being deeply embedded in existing power dynamics, see Ian Grosvenor, "On Visualising Past Classrooms," in *Silences & Images: The Social History of the Classroom* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 83–104.

[276] Eren Aydınlık and Kenan, "Between Men, Time and the State."

Summary of Articles

Article I: Between Men, Time and the State: Education of Girls During the Late Ottoman Empire (1859–1908)

This article offers a comprehensive and critical examination of the curriculum of girls' *rüşdiyye* schools – the first modern public secondary schools for Muslim girls in the Ottoman Empire – from their establishment in 1859 to the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period in 1908. Its primary aim is to understand how girls' secondary schools were conceptualised, structured, and transformed during this period, and how these changes related to broader social demands and state ideology. To achieve this, the study centres on three key research questions: (1) How was the curriculum of girls' *rüşdiyye*s formed and developed over time? (2) What social demands shaped its content? (3) How did girls' curricula compare to those of boys' *rüşdiyye*s in the same years? Through these questions, the article ultimately argues that women's education was designed as part of a wider state project of moral regulation, social disciplining, and ideological formation, with girls being treated as a crucial target group for shaping the next generation.

Methodologically, the study adopts Stufflebeam's historical case-study evaluation model, treating the curriculum itself as the singular unit of analysis.[277] This approach allows the authors to analyse the curriculum in its "natural setting" – the Ottoman educational bureaucracy and its social context – while tracing changes across time.[278] The research draws on extensive archival sources, particularly three official versions of the girls' *rüşdiyye* curriculum documented in: 1) the 1869 Regulation of Public Education, 2) Ottoman State Yearbooks from 1877/78, 1878, and 1878/79, and 3) the Yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education from 1898/99 to 1901/02. For each curriculum revision, the authors compare the girls' curriculum with the boys' curriculum printed in the same documents. This comparison is operationalised in two ways: identifying common and divergent courses and categorising all courses into six instructional fields – religion, language and expression, mathematics, social studies, foreign languages, and arts/domestic skills.

[277] Stufflebeam, "Evaluation Models," 34.
[278] Stufflebeam and Coryn, *Evaluation Theory, Models*, 292.

To understand the social demands influencing educational policy, the authors also systematically review Ottoman women's magazines and education journals published between 1859 and 1908. These include some of the earliest examples of women's press – *Terakkî-i Muhadderat*, *Vakit yahud Mürebbî-i Muhadderat*, *Âyine*, *Âile*, *İnsâniyet*, *Parça Bohçası*, and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* – alongside the education journal *Maârif*. Because these magazines correspond to the three periods of curriculum reform, they help to reconstruct contemporary debates on women's education, the gendered division of social roles, and cultural anxieties surrounding girls' schooling.

The first major finding relates to the initial curriculum of 1869, which reveals strong parallels between the newly emerging women's press and the educational programme designed by the state. The earliest magazines emphasised women's religiously sanctioned inferiority, while simultaneously insisting on the necessity of their education for the sake of family stability, children's moral upbringing, and the progress (*terakkî*) of the nation. Within this ideological frame, women were cast as obedient wives, efficient household managers, and moral mothers responsible for nurturing the next generation. The 1869 curriculum reflects these priorities: although girls and boys were offered an equal number of courses, girls were given fewer mathematical and social studies subjects, simplified linguistic instruction, and domestic training in household management and embroidery. Boys additionally had access to geometry and bookkeeping, signalling a distinction between their future professional roles and girls' domestic responsibilities.

The curriculum of the 1877/78 period, examined alongside magazines of the 1870s such as *Âyine* and *Vakit yahud Mürebbî-i Muhadderat*, demonstrates a gradual expansion of girls' schooling but also an intensification of content on morality. The magazines of this decade justified girls' education through religion, history, and the needs of a rapidly changing world, yet continued to frame women's primary duties as motherhood and domestic service. This intellectual atmosphere helps explain why the 1877/78 girls' curriculum contains more religious courses and fewer scientific and linguistic subjects than the boys' curriculum. Religious Sciences appeared in every school year for girls, compared to only two years for boys, indicating early signs of an emerging imbalance in moral education. The subject *Ahlâk* (Morals), absent from boys' curricula at the time, further embedded religious obedience, gendered virtue, and domestic discipline for girls.

The most substantial transformation occurs in the 1898/99 curriculum and its associated Hamidian-era magazines (*HMG*, *Âile*, *Parça Bohçası*, *İnsâniyet*). The authors show that by the 1880s and 1890s, women writers began challenging presumed inferiority of women, drawing on contemporary scientific knowledge about the brain to refute claims that women were intellectually incapable. Yet these writers still endorsed separate social roles for women and men, stressing that education should equip girls for motherhood, household management, and the moral formation of the nation's children. The Hamidian state strongly encouraged this approach: the regime aimed to strengthen central authority by cultivating a morally disciplined, religiously loyal population. Women were seen as the ideal intermediaries for this political project, since they shaped family life and early childhood environments. This view is consistent with Somel's argument that the Ottoman state used public schools as mechanisms of social disciplining.[279]

Correspondingly, the girls' curriculum in 1898/99 became even more saturated with religious and moral instruction. Courses such as *Qur'an Recitation*, *Religious Sciences*, and *Morals* appeared with greater intensity and contained more detailed subject matter for girls than for boys. Although curricular differences in mathematics and social studies had narrowed by this period, girls still received simplified content and lacked access to subjects such as advanced arithmetic, geometry, or comprehensive world geography. Domestic subjects – including household management, hygiene, embroidery, and tailoring – remained central components of girls' education and were allocated some of the highest weekly course hours. Meanwhile, the boys' curriculum gradually adopted more secular subjects and diversified content, especially in languages and sciences.

Across all revisions, a clear pattern emerges: the proportion of religious and moral content in girls' curricula increased over time, whereas boys' curricula became more specialised and academically oriented. This divergence underscores the state's intention to educate women not for professional life but for domestic service, moral guardianship, and ideological conformity. By the end of the Hamidian era, the girls' *rüşdiyye* curriculum had effectively become a tool for shaping obedient, pious, and disciplined subjects – first and foremost as mothers – who would transmit state values to future generations.

In conclusion, the article demonstrates that the development of girls' *rüşdiyye* education was closely intertwined with Ottoman modernisation,

[279] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*.

gender ideology, and the political priorities of different reform eras. While the curriculum did expand and become more structured over time, its content increasingly reflected the state's attempts to prioritise women as instruments of social discipline. Women's magazines, although varied in their tones and arguments, generally reinforced this model by advocating for women's education within a framework of maternal duty, domesticity, and moral responsibility. The study thus reveals how early modern public education for girls in the Ottoman Empire evolved within the intersecting pressures of state building, gender norms, and the imperative to manage social change.

Article II: (Re)Shaping Ottoman Women: The Construction of Female Subjectivities Through Educational Discourse in Women's Magazines (1869–1908)

This article investigates how Ottoman women's subjectivities were shaped within educational discourse produced in women's magazines from the publication of the first women's periodical in 1869 until the Second Constitutional Period in 1908. Situating itself within the expanding scholarship on Ottoman women's intellectual history, print culture, and gendered modernisation, the study seeks to understand how ideas about Western-style education, modern womanhood, and the imagined West were negotiated in these magazines. The central research aim is to trace the debates surrounding modern and Western-style education for women and to uncover how these debates produced ambivalent, and sometimes contradictory constructions of womanhood. Two key theoretical frameworks guide the analysis: Ahıska's concept of "Occidentalism", understood as a fantasy structure through which the Ottoman/Turkish self defines itself against or through the West,[280] and Kandiyoti's notion of "patriarchal bargaining," which explains how women negotiate within patriarchal constraints to secure gains, albeit limited.[281]

Methodologically, the article employs a qualitative thematic analysis of Ottoman women's magazines published between 1869 and 1908. The corpus includes early periodicals such as *Terakki-i Muhadderat,* as well as later publications that emerged in the increasingly vibrant public sphere of the Hamidian era. These magazines – written mostly by women but also including contributions from male intellectuals – serve as primary sources that reflect evolving ideas about womanhood, education, family roles,

[280] Ahıska, *Occidentalism in Turkey*.
[281] Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy."

modernisation, and the Empire's relationship to Europe. The study systematically examines editorials, advice columns, essays on pedagogy, reports on girls' schools, biographies of exemplary women, and discussions of motherhood, morality, and progress. By reading these texts against broader social and political developments, the article reconstructs how the magazines' authors engaged with Western models of education and how they articulated visions of female subjectivity amid competing pressures.

The analysis begins by situating women's education within the broader Ottoman encounter with Western modernity, highlighting that the West served both as an aspirational model and as a source of anxiety. This double positioning is conceptualised as an Occidentalist fantasy, as defined by Ahıska, in which the West appears simultaneously as a threat and a desirable point of comparison. The article argues that this fantasy shaped not only institutional reforms but also discursive representations of women's education. The magazines often embraced Western pedagogical ideals – scientific motherhood, rational discipline, hygiene, literacy – yet articulated these within a framework meant to protect Ottoman moral and cultural integrity. This ambivalence, as the article contends, generated tensions that informed the construction of women's subjectivities.

Three recurring tensions emerge from the discourse. Firstly, the magazines endorsed *Western education despite the West*. They advocated for modern schools for girls, female teachers, and new pedagogical methods derived from Western models. Yet these same texts frequently warned against blindly imitating the West or losing sight of Ottoman-Islamic values. Authors walked a fine line between embracing progress and defending cultural authenticity. The imagined West thus functioned as both a source of modern techniques and a symbolic Other against which Ottoman identity was defined. Secondly, the discourse oscillated between *home and school*, reflecting conflicted attitudes toward women's roles as mothers. The magazines expressed strong desires for women to be educated – especially in science, hygiene, and rational childrearing – specifically to strengthen the family and secure the Empire's future. Yet they remained anxious that too much formal education or "excessive" Westernisation might lead women away from motherhood. Motherhood, portrayed as women's natural and patriotic duty, served as the moral anchor that legitimised women's access to education. Thus, even as education empowered women symbolically, the discourse reproduced a gendered hierarchy by continuously reaffirming motherhood as their primary function. Thirdly, the magazines articulated an *anxiety about the Western gaze*. Authors expressed resentment toward Orientalist depictions of Ottoman

women as oppressed or backward, while also seeking validation from Western observers. This complex position produced discourses that aimed to demonstrate Ottoman women's capacity for progress, refinement, and modernity. At the same time, these authors remained suspicious of Western moral influence. The imagined Western observer became a silent interlocutor shaping how Ottoman women represented themselves and argued for their educational rights.

The article demonstrates that within these tensions, women writers engaged in what Kandiyoti describes as patriarchal bargaining. They strategically framed their demands for education in ways acceptable within patriarchal society. For example, they argued that educated mothers would raise stronger sons for the Empire; that literate women would strengthen the family rather than challenge the social order; and that moral, virtuous education would shield women from the influence of immoral Western practices. This rhetorical strategy enabled women to expand their educational opportunities while avoiding direct confrontation with patriarchal norms. The study highlights that these negotiations did not reflect passivity but rather careful and tactical engagement with existing power structures, as this article defines as tools for patriarchal bargaining. Through their writings, Ottoman women claimed discursive authority and carved out a space for self-definition. Their ambivalence toward the West, rather than being a mark of ideological inconsistency, emerges as a creative mode of navigating the pressures of modernisation. The magazines reveal a sophisticated understanding of Western modernity as both a resource and a threat, and they portray women as central actors in shaping the Empire's future.

The article concludes that between 1869 and 1908 the educational discourse of women's magazines produced a distinctly Ottoman model of modern womanhood, shaped through selective engagement with Western ideas under the dynamics of an Occidentalist fantasy. This discourse cast women as mediators between progress and tradition, generating tensions that function as patriarchal bargains, enabling new forms of agency. Ultimately, the study shows that Ottoman women did not passively accept Western educational ideals; they negotiated and reshaped them in line with local cultural expectations. In tracing these negotiations, the article reveals how non-Western societies engaged creatively with global modernity and how women became key actors in this process.

Article III: Education as "The True Dowry:" Ideals of Womanhood in late Ottoman Women's Magazines (1913–1921)

This article explores the fundamental role of educational discourse in the Late Ottoman Empire in shaping new and complex ideals of womanhood. Positioning the debate during a period of intense political and societal upheaval – including the restoration of the Constitutional Monarchy, consecutive wars, and the Allied occupation leading up to the Turkish War of Independence – the study argues that the roots of the ideal modern Republican woman can be traced back to these earlier discussions concerning women's education and status in the modernising Ottoman state. Given the widespread belief that education was vital to saving the Empire from collapsing, it became the main tool for societal transformation, preparing individuals for dramatically changing social roles. The research investigates how the emerging ideal of an educated Turkish woman was portrayed in the magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası*, and how education influenced power dynamics and identity formation among various groups of women.

The study employs a qualitative methodology rooted in the conceptual framework provided by George Mosse's conceptualisation of stereotypes as positive constructs that act as a driving force for "the nation and society at large."[282] Supplementing this, David Tjeder's concept of countertypes is utilised, recognising that these figures are necessary constructs against which the normative ideal can define itself.[283] Crucially, the analysis views countertypes as more complex than mere antitheses, embodying "the possibilities within" the ideal and helping to shape the normative identity.

The primary source material for this investigation is the women's magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası*, which published 208 issues between 1913 and 1921. The magazine was founded by Ulviye Mevlan and served as the publication of the Ottoman Women's Rights Defence Society. Its uniqueness stems from the fact that it featured contributions exclusively from women, thereby providing an invaluable lens through which to understand women's perspectives on modernisation and education. The Society's ongoing discussions focused on three main goals: reforming women's outer garments, alleviating women's poverty by integrating them into the workforce, and advancing women's education. The research involved analysing editorials and articles – especially long serial works by writers such as

[282] Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 6.
[283] Tjeder, *The Power of Character*, 22.

Sacide, Ulviye Mevlan, and Aziz Haydar – as well as visual elements, approaching images as "objects to think with" to understand complex historical entanglements. Given the sensitive political climate, writers often conveyed their intentions through subtext, necessitating careful analysis of deliberate word choices and omissions.

Figure 9. An image of a (seemingly) Western woman with children, accompanied by the caption: "An episode from family life: Feast." Source: *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 115 (1329 [1913]): 9

The analysis revealed that the writers systematically framed all discussions regarding women's status and rights through the educational discourse. This is vividly illustrated by Sacide's series *Kızlarımızın Çeyizi Ne Olmalıdır?* (*What should be the dowry of our girls?*), which redefined *çeyiz* (dowry) from material possessions to essential physical, intellectual, and moral education. Education, therefore, became the girl's true dowry and the fundamental solution to women's issues. The main result of this negotiation was the construction of the ideal educated patriotic Muslim-Turkish woman, typically middle-class. This ideal woman was deemed critical for the progress of the Empire. Her education was initially justified by the need for scientific motherhood, requiring formal training in pedagogy, child-rearing, and household management to raise patriotic sons who would serve to protect the homeland. Education was also seen

essential to secure women's economic self-sufficiency, granting them the right to work, contribute to local production, and avoid dependence on men – a prerequisite for achieving dignity and claiming their rights.

Figure 10. An image of a woman with the caption: "Women in the East." Source: *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 106 (1329 [1913]), 4.

Ideals were constructed in dynamic tension with several stereotypes and countertypes. *Captive Women* (confined by traditionalism and ignorance) and *Enduring Women* (trapped in oppressive marriages) were depicted as figures whose suffering was directly attributable to their lack of education and financial independence. Education was presented as the means to freedom from this "captivity." The stereotype of the Western Woman (Figure 9) was used ambivalently, serving as an ideal in terms of educational content and method, yet transforming into a countertype when the limits of what constituted acceptable Western-style education were transgressed. This tension allowed writers to (re)define the limits of Muslim-Turkish womanhood. This boundary crossing was represented by the *Westernised Snob Woman*, who imitated European culture and fashion blindly, prioritising appearance and speaking French over genuine intellectual learning and Turkish literacy, thereby lacking nationalist and patriotic values. Furthermore, the *Immoral Woman* was portrayed as a "real threat," allowing writers to argue that education was the only source of morality and virtue for women, an argument deployed to counter those opposing girls' public education.

The most distinct boundary was drawn between the *Ideal Patriotic Turkish Woman* and the *Ignorant Anatolian Woman*. As the Empire suffered territorial losses, educated, urban writers turned their attention to Anatolia as the centre of national identity. By focusing on the lack of modern education among peasant women, they constructed the Anatolian/peasant woman as ignorant, thereby justifying the educated women's mission to spread modern education and save the nation from military and moral defeat (Figure 10). Similarly, *Ignorant Mothers* (older women opposing their daughters' education) served as a countertype, enabling the younger, educated generation to place the blame on the "devastating burden of the

past" and start anew. In these dynamics, education, rather than age, determined whether a woman was categorised as an ideal or a countertype.

In conclusion, the fluid nature of stereotypes and countertypes – such as the captive, enduring, Westernised snob, immoral, ignorant/Anatolian, and patriotic Muslim-Turkish woman – was continually negotiated within the educational discourse of *Kadınlar Dünyası*. These constructions were shaped by competing forces: modernisation, nationalism, class distinctions, Western influence, and internal patriarchal structures. Education stood at the centre of these debates, functioning both as a tool of empowerment and as a mechanism for defining gendered expectations. By framing their demands for rights, employment, and public visibility within the highly respected discourse of education, women were able to navigate patriarchal constraints and introduce novel ideas into the public sphere. Through this multifaceted negotiation, the magazine helped forge a complex image of the educated woman – disciplined, morally upright, nationally conscious – that would later become central to the ideal of the modern Republican woman. The study thus demonstrates that this ideal did not emerge *ex nihilo* in the 1920s but was actively shaped in the preceding Ottoman decades, revealing how educational discourse provided a powerful platform for women to influence sociopolitical change during a critical period of transformation.

Article IV: Creating *Muallime*s: Female Teachers and Their Education in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Republic of Turkey (1870–1933)

This article examines the emergence, education, and representation of *muallimes* (female teachers) in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republic of Turkey between 1870 and 1933. It investigates how their professional identities and the expectations surrounding their work were constructed in women's magazines, education journals, autobiographical texts, and selected literary works. By applying qualitative thematic analysis, the study identifies recurring themes related to morality, motherhood, patriotism, pedagogy, and institutional reform. The central argument is that the *muallime* occupied a unique symbolic and functional place in Ottoman and Republican modernisation projects, simultaneously embodying modern pedagogical ideals and gendered expectations tied to national and moral regeneration.

The study begins from the nineteenth-century premise, widely expressed in Ottoman intellectual circles, that women's education was a measure of

a nation's progress. The founding of the *Darülmuallimat* in 1870 gave institutional form to this belief, making female teachers central actors in girls' schooling and among the first women to hold state employment. Their emergence unfolded in a period marked by reform, war, imperial collapse, and nation-building. During the late Ottoman era, educational reform was informed by transnational encounters – especially with European school models – while the early Republic reframed these influences within a secular, nationalist, scientific worldview. Women themselves increasingly entered public debates through a growing press culture, and many graduates of teacher-training schools became influential voices in the Ottoman women's movement. The reorganisation of female teacher training under the Republic, including the transformation of *Darülmuallimat* into the *Kız Muallim Mektebi*, reflected broader continuities and ruptures in policies concerning women's education.

Existing scholarship has explored early girls' education, informal teaching activities before 1870, and the institutional development of teacher training, but research explicitly focused on the construction of the female teacher remains limited. Studies have illuminated institutional frameworks and provided extensive analysis of late Ottoman female teachers as a professional class. Other works have examined literary representations of female teachers, showing a shift from individualised feminine subjectivity in *Tanzimat* novels to nationalist maternalism in Republican narratives. Building on these contributions, this study widens the source base by focusing on periodical literature and autobiographical materials in order to reconstruct the cultural and political framing of *muallime*s across a transformative period.

The primary sources include seven women's magazines and seven education journals published between 1870 and 1933, supplemented by autobiographical works, pedagogy books, fictional narratives, and contemporary newspapers. Methodologically, the study draws on Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis[284] but adapts it to historical inquiry by following Westberg's concept of indexing rather than coding.[285] Through repeated close readings of a wide range of texts, themes emerged around training, expectations, daily school life, and broader educational debates. Terminology relating to women's teacher training guided the identification of relevant material.

[284] Braun and Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis."
[285] Westberg, "Historical Methods."

Across these sources, two interconnected ideas repeatedly shaped how female teachers were imagined. First, they were considered indispensable to national progress. Writers argued that a nation could not modernise without well-trained women teachers who would educate the future mothers of enlightened families. Second, the moral and intellectual tone of the future nation was believed to depend directly on the influence of these teachers. Teaching was portrayed as the most suitable profession for women and the field in which they could serve the nation without challenging gender hierarchies. While women's magazines framed this in terms of women's empowerment and social participation, education journals – typically written by men – cast female teacher training within evolutionary narratives and comparisons to the West. The West itself appeared as both a model to emulate and a moral threat, reflecting the ambivalences of Ottoman modernisation.

The texts also reveal a set of expectations regarding the ideal characteristics of female teachers. Moral integrity and chastity were emphasised throughout the period, though their meanings shifted. Earlier discussions linked morality closely to religion, whereas later ones incorporated national and scientific values. Women writers tended to define morality as proper behaviour and education, while male writers invoked chastity as central to women's moral character. Domesticity and motherhood were similarly persistent ideals: the early teacher-training curriculum aimed to cultivate "scientific motherhood," and writers insisted that a good teacher must also be a good wife and mother. Patriotism became an increasingly prominent expectation, especially during the Second Constitutional, wartime, and early Republican periods. Teachers were urged to serve in provincial Anatolia as a national duty and to raise patriotic future citizens, while fictional narratives such as *Refet* and *Çalıkuşu* reinforced these ideals through stories of female teachers undertaking sacrificial service.

Beyond personal traits, periodicals engaged deeply with pedagogical theories and classroom practice. They frequently criticised the insufficient professional training in female teacher education, noting the lack of courses in pedagogy, psychology, and modern teaching methods. These critiques highlighted a gap between the symbolic importance of women teachers and the limited preparation they received. Traditional disciplining methods constituted another central concern: many writers, especially women, condemned corporal punishment as cruel and ineffective, calling instead for humane and modern disciplinary approaches. Advice on pedagogy focused on the importance of child-centred instruction, fostering self-confidence, encouraging critical thinking, and promoting physical activity. Authors and pedagogues such as Ayşe Sıdıka played an important

role in disseminating contemporary pedagogical theories, while others encouraged teachers to understand students' emotional and intellectual needs rather than rely on rote learning or harsh discipline.

The sources frequently expressed dissatisfaction with the institutional conditions of girls' schools and teacher-training colleges. Writers highlighted severe shortages of schools, overcrowded classrooms, limited resources, inadequate facilities, and reliance on foreign teachers. *Darülmuallimat*, in particular, was repeatedly criticised for its poor physical environment, lack of materials, and insufficient pedagogical instruction. Calls for increased state investment, more professional coursework, the establishment of additional teacher-training institutions, and improved supervision were widespread. These critiques appeared in both women's magazines and education journals, although women writers were more likely to voice them explicitly as demands directed at the Ministry of Education.

In conclusion, the study shows that representations of *muallime*s in print culture reveal the tensions inherent in Ottoman and early Republican modernisation. Female teachers were expected to be simultaneously modern and moral, professional and maternal, patriotic and self-sacrificing. While celebrated symbolically as agents of national progress, their actual training and working conditions often lagged far behind these ideals. Yet, through writing, teaching, and public engagement, women themselves actively shaped discussions about their profession and participated in redefining the meaning of women's education. Finally, female teachers and their advocates successfully articulated a nascent professional consciousness, positioning the profession as a vital vehicle for women's social participation while navigating severe structural limitations. The *muallime* thus served as both a product and an active producer of the late Ottoman and early Republican modernisation project.

Results and Discussion

The present thesis provides an investigation of the construction of womanhood and female subjectivities in the educational discourse of the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey by getting into this larger discourse of women's education from different entry points of girls' *rüşdiyye* schools, women's education's relation to "the West," stereotypes of women, and representations of female teachers. By approaching the topic through these distinct yet interconnected sub-studies, the dissertation traces both continuities and transformations in the relationship between education and gender from 1859 until 1933. In addition, drawing on a wide range of official school documents, women's magazines and education journals, this dissertation has examined the interactions between Ottoman/Turkish state discourses and counter-public discourses on public education, women's education, and the social roles assigned to women during a period of rapid modernisation and Westernisation in Turkey. In what follows, the central findings of the dissertation are outlined by revisiting the research questions and synthesising the results within the overarching theoretical frameworks.

From Schoolgirls to Teachers: Education and Transformation

Each research question corresponds to individual sub-studies of the dissertation; thus, the findings of each study are delineated under the research questions and the contribution made to the state of art is also presented.

The first sub-study (Article I) investigates: *How was the curriculum of girls' secondary schools formed and developed in terms of social demands, in comparison with the curriculum of boys' secondary schools during the late Ottoman Empire?*

This sub-study begins with the establishment of the first modern public school for girls in 1859 and extends to the regime change marked by the onset of the Second Constitutional Period in 1908. In this respect, it contributes to the literature by examining girls' schooling and education from an earlier period, in contrast to much of the existing scholarship, which concentrates primarily on the post-1908 era. It is also noteworthy that women's contributions were largely absent from the earlier women's

magazines and increased only during the Hamidian period. Although it is difficult to compensate for this limited presence of women's voices, the study adopts a comparative approach and draws on a multiplicity of sources in order to develop a more nuanced understanding of girls' education. The findings indicate that revisions to the girls' *rüşdiyye* curriculum closely reflected shifting social expectations, gender ideologies, and state priorities from the *Tanzimat* period (1839–1876) through the Hamidian era (1876–1908). While there appears to be a broad continuity across these periods, closer analysis reveals notable changes in both the official educational discourse articulated through curricula and the public discourse expressed in women's magazines, with each curriculum revision corresponding to evolving debates on the education of girls and women. The 1869 curriculum aligned with early women's magazines in framing girls' education as necessary for family stability, moral upbringing, and national progress, while clearly differentiating future roles for boys and girls. Although girls and boys followed similarly structured programmes, girls' instruction emphasised basic literacy, morality, and domestic skills, whereas boys were prepared for public and professional life. By the 1877/78 revision, amid intensified social change on the eve of Hamidian era, educational discourse increasingly stressed moral regulation. This shift was reflected in expanded religious and moral instruction for girls, including the introduction of *Ahlâk*, reinforcing women's roles as obedient, virtuous mothers and household managers – while assigning relevantly universal moral ideals to boys.

The most significant transformation occurred during the Hamidian era, particularly with the 1898/99 curriculum, when both state policy and women's writing converged on the idea of women as central focus of moral discipline. While some women writers challenged claims of female intellectual inferiority, they largely accepted differentiated gender roles, emphasising motherhood and domestic responsibility. Accordingly, girls' curricula became heavily saturated with religious and moral content, while boys' education grew more towards academic specialisation. Across all revisions, girls' education increasingly functioned as a mechanism of social disciplining rather than preparation for professional life. It has already been argued in the existing scholarship on the Hamidian public education that the state used religious and moral focus for social disciplinisation to safeguard the future of the empire. What this study adds is that social disciplining attempts were actually more intense within the official discourse of girls' education. The arguments on women's education in public discourse supported these attempts. Overall, the study demonstrates that girls' public education in the late Ottoman Empire evolved within the pressures of modernisation and state-building,

expanding in form but narrowing in purpose through its growing emphasis on moralisation and domesticity.

Seeing the increasing presence of women in public discourses, by contributing to the magazines by recurrently referring to "the West," the second sub-study (Article II) aims to answer: *How were female subjectivities constructed and affected by imaginations of the West within educational discourse in the Ottoman women's magazines between 1869–1908?*

As the scholarship on Ottoman women's agency often focuses on the post-1908 period, this sub-study investigates an earlier period to trace the women's voices and agency by delving into the educational discourse of the magazines covered in the first sub-study. The findings show that women's education in pre-1908 period was shaped by an ambivalent engagement with Western modernity, conceptualised as an Occidentalist fantasy in which the West functioned simultaneously as an aspirational model and a source of moral anxiety. I argue that this ambivalence generated recurring Occidentalist tensions in women's magazines that functioned as *patriarchal bargains* rather than mere ideological contradictions. These tensions are discussed under three main themes: 1) Western education despite the West, 2) motherhood between fear and desire, and 3) the anxiety of the Western gaze between desire and resentment. First, writers promoted Western-style education for girls while simultaneously cautioning against uncritical imitation of the West, positioning it as both a source of progress and a symbolic Other. Second, debates oscillated between school and home, as women's education was encouraged to strengthen motherhood and the family, yet feared for its potential to distance women from their maternal roles. Motherhood thus legitimised education while reinforcing gender hierarchy. Third, authors navigated with an anxiety over the Western gaze, resisting Orientalist portrayals of Ottoman women while at the same time seeking Western recognition. This shaped how women articulated their educational claims and modern identities. It is noteworthy that these tensions were always in the making in the texts, continually being defined and re-defined.

Taken together, these Occidentalist tensions reveal how women writers negotiated patriarchal constraints through – conscious or unconscious – strategic discursive positioning. Rather than rejecting Western modernity or fully embracing it, they used its promises and threats as rhetorical resources to advance claims that remained intelligible and acceptable within the patriarchal society. This process is explained by Kandiyoti's concept of patriarchal bargaining, whereby women sought to maximise educational access and social authority by aligning their demands with dominant

norms of morality, family, religion and national duty. The study thus shows that ambivalence toward the West was not always a sign of inconsistency but a productive strategy through which Ottoman-Muslim women carved out a space for agency. Through these negotiated engagements with modernity, women emerged as important actors in shaping an Ottoman model of modern womanhood that balanced progress with tradition under the constraints of patriarchy.

Moving to post-1908 period, the third sub-study (Article III) addressed the research question: *How were stereotypes, ideals and counter-ideals of new Ottoman and Turkish womanhood constructed within the educational discourse of the Ottoman women's magazines between 1908–1921?*

This study utilised the women-only long-lasting women's magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* to understand how women constructed the new Ottoman/Turkish woman in their writings. The analysis shows that women writers consistently framed debates about women's status, rights, and social roles through the language of education, positioning it as the primary solution to women's problems. Education was redefined not merely as schooling but as women's "true dowry," encompassing intellectual, moral, and physical training. Through this framework, writers articulated the ideal of the educated, patriotic Muslim-Turkish woman, largely imagined as middle class and urban, and whose education was essential to the progress and survival of the Empire. Women's schooling was justified through a scientific motherhood, which required formal knowledge of pedagogy, hygiene, and household management. The aim was to raise patriotic sons and to achieve economic self-sufficiency, which in turn promised dignity, independence, and the ability to claim rights. In this way, education functioned as both a moral imperative and a practical means of social participation.

This ideal was constructed in tension with a series of fluid stereotypes and countertypes that defined the boundaries of acceptable womanhood. Figures such as the Captive Woman, Enduring Woman, Westernised Snob Woman, Immoral Woman, Ignorant Anatolian Woman, and Ignorant Mother were mobilised to demonstrate the dangers of ignorance, excessive Westernisation, and resistance to education. These contrasting types allowed writers to discipline women's aspirations while simultaneously arguing for expanded educational access. Education, rather than age or tradition, became the main criterion distinguishing the ideal woman from her countertypes. Eventually, by embedding claims to rights, work, and public visibility within the socially legitimate discourse of education,

women writers were able to negotiate patriarchal constraints and introduce new gendered expectations into the public sphere. The study concludes that the ideal of the modern Republican woman was not a sudden invention of the 1920s but was actively shaped in the late Ottoman period through educational discourse, which served as a powerful platform for women's sociopolitical intervention during a time of profound transformation.

Overall, this study enhances understanding of how educational discourse served as a space through which women navigated and shaped a rapidly changing society, contributing to the formation of a modern Turkish identity. Additionally, by juxtaposing the ideal of the educated woman with the countertype of the ignorant Anatolian woman, the study illuminates the complex interplay of age, class, education, and nationalism.

The fourth sub-study (Article IV) focused on the perception and education of female teachers, the first career women employed by the Ottoman administration. It sought to answer the following research question: *How were the emerging teaching profession of Ottoman/Turkish women and their education perceived and shaped through the lens of contemporary women's magazines and education journals of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Republic of Turkey from the foundation of Darülmuallimat in 1870 to the final curriculum revision of Kız Muallim Mektebi (Female Teachers Training Collage) in 1933?*

The findings demonstrate that *muallime*s (female teachers) occupied a central yet ambivalent position in late Ottoman and early Republican educational discourse. Across women's magazines and education journals, they were consistently portrayed as indispensable to national progress, as the moral and intellectual formation of future generations was believed to depend on their influence. Teaching was constructed as the most appropriate profession for women, enabling their participation in public life without fundamentally challenging gender hierarchies. While women's magazines framed this role in terms of empowerment and social contribution, male-authored education journals often situated female teacher training within evolutionary narratives of modernisation, drawing comparisons with the West as both a model to emulate and a moral threat. These ambivalences reflect broader tensions in Ottoman modernisation, in which women's professional visibility was encouraged but carefully circumscribed.

At the same time, the discourse imposed a dense set of expectations on female teachers, combining morality, domesticity, patriotism, and

professional competence. In the Republican period, moral integrity and chastity remained central, though their meanings shifted from religious to increasingly national and scientific frameworks. Teachers were expected to embody scientific motherhood, serve as wives and mothers, and, particularly in the Second Constitutional and wartime periods, demonstrate patriotic self-sacrifice by working in Anatolia. Yet this symbolic elevation contrasted sharply with critiques of inadequate training, poor institutional conditions, and limited state support. Writers repeatedly highlighted deficiencies in pedagogy, psychology, and modern teaching methods, as well as overcrowded schools and under-resourced teacher-training institutions for women. Through these critiques, women writers in particular articulated a growing professional consciousness, using print culture to demand better training and working conditions. The study concludes that the *muallime* emerged as both a product and an active agent of modernisation, navigating tensions between professionalism and domesticity while helping redefine women's education and public participation under structurally constrained conditions.

This study contributes to a deeper understanding of women's agency in relation to their education and professional lives by showing how women explicitly discussed, in their writings, the material conditions of teacher-training institutions and the deficiencies of their curricula, while male writers tended to address the education of female teachers at a more abstract and nationalist discursive level. By tracing women's appeals to a wide range of actors including the government, the Ministry of Education, male intellectuals, parents of schoolgirls, and female teachers themselves, the study further demonstrates that the articulation of these demands and criticisms itself constituted a significant form of agency through which women sought to influence educational policy and practice.

Educationalisation of Womanhood

During the period of transformation that began with the *Tanzimat*, education emerged as a dominant solution to a wide range of social problems, a tendency that previous scholarship has identified as characteristic of the era's *zeitgeist*. This dissertation scrutinises how this logic was mobilised specifically in relation to women, and in particular how women themselves appropriated and reshaped it. In a context marked by the transition from classical to modern social formations, the absence of clearly demarcated boundaries between the private and public spheres for women, and successive wars and economic crises, women confronted an unprecedented array of social challenges. These challenges were articulated

through recurring debates on religion, morality, motherhood, changing family structures, health and child-rearing, superstition, patriotism, poverty, emerging class distinctions, and generational tensions. Writings on women addressed these issues through overlapping strategies of educationalisation: presenting education as a means of acquiring the necessary understanding of the world and reframing social and moral problems as fundamentally educational in nature. While male and female authors at times employed these strategies similarly, they often mobilised them differently and toward distinct ends. This section examines how these strategies were deployed across the sources through selected thematic debates.

As demonstrated especially in articles I and II, when public education for girls and women was first introduced, it was frequently justified as a means for women to properly understand religious obligations and to perform moral duties more effectively. Education was thus closely aligned with morality, with religious instruction serving as a central legitimising framework in the earlier period. Although the emphasis on religion was strongest in the late nineteenth century, it remained a recurrent justification for girls' public education well into the twentieth century. As also shown in Article IV, with the establishment of the Republic, explicit religious references were largely abandoned; nevertheless, moral education – now articulated in secular and national terms – retained its centrality. Themes such as child-rearing, health, and motherhood persisted across periods, illustrating how strategies of educationalisation operated in tandem to define women's social responsibilities and legitimise their access to education. As girls' school curricula increasingly incorporated courses on hygiene, child-rearing, and eventually physical education, women's magazines both supported and amplified this trend by publishing instructional content and arguing that formal schooling was essential for ideal motherhood, often condemning traditional maternal practices as insufficient. In this way, the regulation of women's bodies, which Tuğba Demirci and Akşin Somel identify as beginning with state interventions in reproduction immediately before the Tanzimat,[286] was reinforced through the educationalisation of womanhood via curricula, school practices, and the press. This emphasis intensified during the Republican period, as evidenced, in educational journals, by the condemnation of abortion as a form of treason, obsession over physical education, and the emergence of eugenic concerns.

[286] Tuba Demirci and Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Women's Bodies, Demography, and Public Health: Abortion Policy and Perspectives in the Ottoman Empire of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 3 (2008): 417.

At other moments, women and men adopted markedly different positions in response to social problems, particularly in relation to poverty and resultant prostitution. As Hülya Yıldız has shown, in early Ottoman Turkish novels authored by men, the depiction of a young woman appearing alone in public space without a male relative, servant, or older female companion almost invariably marked her as a prostitute or a sexually available figure. Within this framework, male-authored solutions tended to emphasise the protection of women's chastity by men and the reinforcement of patriarchal control.[287] By contrast, particularly in Articles III and IV, this dissertation demonstrates that women writers consistently approached these issues through educationalisation as a strategy of empowerment. They discussed poverty, domestic abuse, and immorality as structural problems linked to irresponsible or absent husbands and fathers, rather than as moral failings inherent to women. Education and vocational training were presented as solutions that would enable women to achieve economic independence and dignity. Likewise, women writers rarely framed immorality in terms of sexual transgression; instead, it was attributed to ignorance and lack of education. They repeatedly emphasised the necessity of educating girls from an early age to cultivate moral judgement and the capacity to distinguish right from wrong. Nevertheless, early Republican education journals authored by men foregrounded education for *iffet* – a term denoting chastity, honour, and virtue – thereby continuing to frame morality primarily through sexuality. In sum, while male authors largely maintained a traditional moral discourse centred on sexuality and control, women writers reframed morality as an educational issue and mobilised it as a means to expand women's agency within society, albeit within the persistent constraints of patriarchal structures.

In relation to the approach to poverty, another important finding of this thesis is that the emergence of class issues regarding Anatolian women are clearly traceable within women's writings of the period – which is more visible in the findings in Article III. Following significant territorial losses in the Balkans and the resultant rise of nationalism, the focus shifted toward the Anatolian woman – often used interchangeably with the "peasant woman" – who later became a central figure for national Republican Turkish identity. This shift led to the construction of a specific countertype characterised by "ignorance" and "intellectual stagnation" due to isolation from modern "civilisation" and progress. Within the articles of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, this lack of education was sometimes framed as a moral threat. Ultimately, by portraying the Anatolian woman as an uneducated "Other," the urban, middle- and upper-class writers constructed a lower-class

[287] Yıldız, "Limits of the Imaginable."

opposite that served to justify their own mission to spread modern education and "save" the nation from military and moral defeat. In this way, I argue that the educationalisation of womanhood became a mechanism through which class boundaries were both defined and reinforced under the guise of patriotic duty.

Taken together, these findings suggest that while women strategically mobilised educationalisation to advance their educational, social, and political claims, this framework also entailed important limitations. By reframing a wide range of women's problems through education, issues such as poverty, economic inequality, and structural social hierarchies were often abstracted from their material contexts and recast as matters of individual moral or intellectual deficiency. Fatma Kılıç Denman defines this approach, where urban writers viewed gender issues almost exclusively through an upper-class lens, as "lady narcissism" (*hanım narsisizmi*),[288] revealing the socio-economic divide between urban elite writers and the rural population. At the same time, by anchoring educational demands in motherhood, morality, and national duty, women were able to legitimise their access to schooling and public participation, even as these arguments reaffirmed existing gendered expectations. Educationalisation thus functioned simultaneously as a language of aspiration and as a disciplining framework that circumscribed women's claims to rights, modernity, and emancipation. Despite inadequate training and poor institutional conditions, women nonetheless used educational discourse to articulate an emerging professional consciousness and to demand recognition and reform, as clearly shown in Article IV. In the end, education operated as a powerful, multi-layered site through which womanhood was (re)shaped, modernised, regulated, and politicised, enabling new forms of agency while also reproducing gendered, classed, and national hierarchies.

Occidentalist Tensions as Patriarchal Bargains

During the late Ottoman reform period, "the West" functioned as a persistent site of anxiety and ambivalence. While many reforms were inspired by Western models, concerns over authenticity and cultural continuity compelled reformers to adapt these models to local traditions and social needs, a dynamic particularly evident in educational reforms. This dissertation has examined how references to "the West" were mobilised in discussions of women's education, especially in women's magazines, where education-related concepts and Western-oriented vocabularies frequently

[288] Kılıç Denman, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde*.

intersected. Although Article II addressed this relationship most explicitly, the analysis demonstrates that engagements with Western concepts permeate women's writings across the broader source base, as we can see glimpses of it in each article. Accordingly, I argue that women's subjectivities were shaped through authors' reflections on "the West," producing fields of tension and ambiguity within debates on Western-style education for women.

Viewed through the overarching theoretical framework, the findings show that the educationalisation of womanhood at the discursive level was also structured by ambivalent engagements with Western modernity. Women writers selectively appropriated Western pedagogical ideals while situating them within Ottoman-Islamic moral and cultural boundaries, generating what this study conceptualises as Occidentalist tensions. These tensions, in turn, functioned as forms of patriarchal bargaining, particularly when women's education was justified not in terms of individual emancipation but as a means of producing rational, healthy, and patriotic mothers responsible for raising the nation's future. By foregrounding this dynamic, the dissertation offers a novel theoretical perspective for understanding the complexities of women's educational discourse in an early and under-researched period, illuminating how women navigated modernisation through negotiation rather than simple adoption or rejection of Western models.

Contributions to the History of Women's Education

The study on the girls' secondary schools in Article I presented how seemingly similar transformation of curriculum brought a stronger social disciplining on girls than boys, by assigning social, religious, and moral responsibilities to girls more than boys. Thus, this thesis contributes to the existing scholarship on the history of women's education with a more nuanced and complex interpretation of gender differentiation in the construction of womanhood in the earlier years of modern public education of girls in the Ottoman Empire. Since there is a scarcity of research on women's education in the early years of public education of girls in the Ottoman Empire due to the paucity of the sources, this thesis also contributes to understanding of girls' education with a deeper reading of the curriculum as a historical document together with the public documents.

Another contribution of this dissertation to the history of women's education lies in its examination of the divergent ways male and female authors represented womanhood, as especially shown in articles III and IV. A

review of the existing literature on women's representations reveals a consistent difference between male and female perspectives, a distinction this study explores by centring women's own perceptions of education as articulated in women's magazines. When the female stereotypes produced in male-authored literary works are compared with those constructed in the women's periodicals analysed here, a clear divergence emerges in approaches to defining womanhood. While male writers tended to rely on rigid, moralised, and often hierarchical stereotypes that reinforced normative expectations, women authors developed more fluid representations. These stereotypes functioned not as fixed or state-imposed definitions of womanhood but as sites of negotiation, debate, and reinterpretation. By framing such representations within educational discourse, women writers were able to question and rework dominant gender norms, positioning education as a crucial arena through which the meanings of womanhood were actively contested rather than passively inherited.

Theoretically, this dissertation adopts the concept of Occidentalism to analyse how Western ideals were translated into an Ottoman-Muslim context during a period in which Westernisation had not yet crystallised as an explicit goal of modernisation. In doing so, the study offers a new theoretical perspective for interpreting the complexities of women's educational discourse in an early and under-researched historical moment. Moreover, by bringing together the concepts of educationalisation and gender, the dissertation enables a nuanced analysis of the distinct, and at times divergent, ways in which men and women mobilised education to address the challenges of a period marked by profound social and political upheaval. This conceptual combination contributes to a deeper understanding of women's agency in a non-Western context by demonstrating that educational discourse functioned as a critical site of negotiation through which Ottoman women introduced new ideas into society, whether deliberately or inadvertently. Future research may build on this framework by identifying and theorising distinct gendered strategies of educationalisation.

Concluding Remarks

Engaging with a thesis inevitably involves identifying gaps that future research could address more thoroughly. In the context of this study on the professional lives of female teachers, women's magazines provide valuable yet ultimately limited insights. These sources are insufficient for reconstructing the everyday experiences of women teachers, particularly those assigned to provincial and rural areas. Given the strong pressure placed on female teachers to serve in remote regions of the country, there remains a striking lack of knowledge about the conditions under which they worked. Some important questions remain largely unexplored: What were the physical conditions of village schools and teacher accommodations for young women? How were modern, unmarried female teachers received by local communities? Did teachers, and female teachers in particular, submit petitions or appeals to the Ministry of Public Education regarding their working and living conditions?[289] Addressing such questions requires future research drawing on a broader range of sources, including personnel records, court documents, petitions, minutes of teachers' associations, and local newspapers.

While working with the thesis, apart from considerations for future research areas, it is also inevitable to think with the present in mind and to relate the findings to today's educational context. In recent decades, Turkey has experienced a significant structural shift in its educational system.[290] Consequently, debates over the perceived disadvantages of co-education have gained renewed prominence. Several civil society organisations have produced reports advising the government to revoke the legal framework supporting co-education and to pave the way for gender-segregated schooling.[291] A further step proposed in these reports is the development of differentiated curricula for girls and boys, justified by claims that they possess inherently different ways of learning, thinking, and behaving.[292] Notably, in addition to academic research, these

[289] For example, on how female teachers' well-being was jeopardised by the threats of isolation and male violence in the first decades of the twentieth century in Sweden, see Sara Backman Prytz and Johannes Westberg, "'Arm the Schoolmistress!' Loneliness, Male Violence, and the Work and Living Conditions of Early Twentieth-Century Female Teachers in Sweden," *History of Education Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (2022): 18–37.
[290] Ece Cihan Ertem, "Rising Authoritarianism and Changing Education Policies of 21st Century Turkey," *On Education. Journal for Research and Debate* 7, no. 20 (2024).
[291] See, for example, Maarif Platformu, *Karma Eğitim Tartışmalarına Pedagojik ve Bilimsel Bakış Çalıştay Raporu*, 01 (İstanbul, 2023).
[292] Ibid.

recommendations often supported by parental survey data reflecting the demands of the parents.

Viewed in light of the findings of this study, however, curriculum differentiation along gender lines risks reproducing historical patterns of inequality. Historically, differentiated curricula in girls' schools created reduced academic content and an increased emphasis on moral instruction – a tendency that finds contemporary parallels in the current focus on "values education" – when compared with boys' curricula. While direct analogies between past and present should be drawn cautiously, historical research in education allows us to develop a more accurate understanding of the past and to draw insights that enhance our comprehension of present developments. From this perspective, the discursive similarities between past and present debates on girls' education may serve as important indicators of emerging gendered inequalities, particularly with regard to equal access to comprehensive and academically rigorous education.

Recent developments over the past decades suggest a partial return to discourses and systemic approaches that earlier generations of school reformers – both men and women – had deliberately sought to move beyond, from the late Ottoman period through the early Republican era and beyond. In this light, the findings of this thesis serve as a timely reminder of historical periods we would do well not to repeat, while also providing a foundation for more informed and critical discussions about contemporary educational policy and practice – particularly in relation to girls' education. By situating current debates within a historical perspective, the thesis offers insights that can guide policy and discussion toward more equitable and academically rigorous educational practices.

Sammanfattning på svenska

Kvinnlighetens pedagogisering: Konstruktioner av kvinnlig subjektivitet i utbildningsdiskurser från det sena Ottomanska riket till den tidiga republiken Turkiet (ca 1859–1933)

”Kvinnofrågan”, med kvinnors utbildning som en central komponent, har varit en omtvistad fråga i Turkiets politiska, kulturella och sociala historia. Även om Republiken Turkiet grundades först 1923, uppstod debatter om kvinnors roller, rättigheter och möjligheter till utbildning mycket tidigare. Sådana debatter intensifierades särskilt under 1800-talets andra hälft, vilket var en period som även mer allmänt präglades av omfattande reformer och samhällsomvandlingar inom det dåvarande Ottomanska (eller Osmanska) riket. Befintlig forskning inom utbildningshistoria såväl som inom kvinnohistoria har betonat vikten av att närmare studera utvecklingen under denna sena osmanska period för att bättre förstå grunderna för kvinnors samhällsställning och utbildning i det moderna Turkiet. Forskningen har pekat på både kontinuitet och förändringar mellan den sena osmanska perioden och den tidiga republikanska eran, samt konstaterat att tiden karaktäriserades av en snabb modernisering och av västerländsk påverkan.

Mot denna historiska bakgrund undersöker föreliggande avhandling konstruktioner av kvinnlighet och kvinnlig subjektivitet inom olika utbildningsdiskurser från och med inrättandet av den första offentliga skolinrättningen för muslimska flickor i det sena Ottomanska riket år 1859, till en betydelsefull reformering av lärarutbildningen för kvinnor i den nybildade republiken Turkiet 1933. Via ett brett spektrum av källor – officiella skolbestämmelser, läroplaner, kvinnotidningar och utbildningstidskrifter – analyseras hur osmanska och senare turkiska statliga diskurser interagerade med motdiskurser rörande offentlig utbildning samt mer specifikt kvinnors utbildning och deras förväntade samhällsroller. Teoretisk inspiration hämtas i huvudsak från ett övergripande ramverk som sammanför genus och *pedagogisering* (eng. *educationalisation*), vilket i avhandlingen kompletteras med begreppen *patriarkal förhandling (eng. patriarchal bargaining), occidentalism* och *social disciplinering*.

Avhandlingen är uppbyggd kring fyra sammanhängande delstudier, som var och en behandlar en specifik forskningsfråga:

Delstudie 1: Hur utformades och förändrades läroplanen för flickor i sekundärskolan i relation till det sena Ottomanska rikets samhälleliga förväntningar och normer, och hur skilde sig detta jämfört med läroplanen för pojkar i samma skolform?

Delstudie 2: Hur konstruerades kvinnlig subjektivitet och hur påverkades den av föreställningar om västvärlden inom utbildningsdiskursen i osmanska tidskrifter för kvinnor mellan åren 1869 och 1908?

Delstudie 3: Hur konstruerades stereotyper, ideal och anti-ideal relaterade till den nya osmanska och turkiska kvinnan inom utbildningsdiskursen i osmanska kvinnotidskrifter mellan åren 1908 och 1921?

Delstudie 4: Hur uppfattades och formades det framväxande läraryrket och lärarutbildningen av ottomanska och turkiska kvinnor i kvinnotidskrifter och utbildningsrelaterade tidskrifter i det sena Ottomanska riket och i den tidiga republiken Turkiet (mer specifikt från grundandet av lärarinneseminariet *Darülmuallimat* 1870 till revideringen av läroplanen vid lärarhögskola för kvinnor 1933)?

I linje med forskningsfrågorna undersöker den första delstudien läroplanen för *rüşdiyye*-skolor, vilka var de första moderna offentliga sekundärskolorna (ungefär motsvarande högstadienivå) för muslimska flickor i det Ottomanska riket. Analysen sträcker sig från deras grundande år 1859 fram till det regimskifte som inleddes med den andra konstitutionella perioden år 1908. Med hjälp av en historisk läroplans- och fallstudieanalys är syftet med delstudien att nå kunskap om hur flickors utbildning begreppsliggjordes, strukturerades och förändrades under perioden, och hur förändringarna relaterade till bredare samhälleliga förväntningar och statlig ideologi gällande kvinnor. Kvinnors egna bidrag i denna process var i huvudsak frånvarande i de tidiga kvinnotidskrifterna, och de ökade först under den senare delen av perioden.

Även om det är svårt att helt kompensera för denna begränsade närvaro av kvinnors egna röster, kan studien ändå via en mångfald av källor och en jämförande metod utveckla en mer nyanserad förståelse av flickors utbildning än vad tidigare forskning har kunnat ge. Resultaten visar att revideringarna av flickornas rüşdiyye-läroplan i stort återspeglade mer allmänna förändringar av sociala och samhälleliga förväntningar, könsideologier och statliga prioriteringar vad gäller flickor och pojkar. Även om det finns en stark kontinuitet under perioden visar analysen även på

tydliga förändringar, detta både i den statliga officiella utbildningsdiskurs som uttrycktes via läroplanerna och i den offentliga publika diskursen som avspeglades i kvinnotidskrifterna.

Den första läroplanen överensstämde helt med de tidiga kvinnotidskrifterna i sina framställningar av flickors utbildning som i första hand nödvändig för familjens stabilitet, för moralisk fostran och för ett nationellt framåtskridande. Samtidigt definierades tydligt åtskilda framtida roller för pojkar och flickor. Trots att de skulle följa snarlika utbildningsprogram, centrerades flickornas undervisning kring grundläggande läs- och skrivkunnighet, moralfostran och hushållskunskaper, medan pojkarna i stället skulle förberedas för det offentliga livet och yrkeslivet. Under perioden blev flickornas läroplaner alltmer fokuserade kring ett religiöst och moraliskt innehåll, medan pojkarnas utbildning blev mer akademiskt specialiserad. I befintlig forskning om offentlig utbildning just under Hamideran (1876–1908) har det hävdats att staten använde ett religiöst och moraliskt kunskapsgods för att skapa social disciplin och säkra imperiets framtid.

Vad denna avhandling tillför till den tidigare kunskapen är att försöken till social disciplinering var betydligt mer intensiva inom den officiella diskursen rörande flickors utbildning än vad som tidigare har klarlagts, samt att argumenten för kvinnors utbildning i den offentliga debatten stödde dessa försök (detta trots ett visst ifrågasättande av den gängse uppfattningen om kvinnors intellektuella underlägsenhet). Sammantaget visar studien att flickors offentliga utbildning i det sena osmanska riket tog form under trycket av modernisering och statsbyggande. Samtidigt som flickors utbildning förvisso expanderade, avgränsades utbildningens syfte och innehåll till att centreras kring moralfostran och hushållskunskaper.

Avhandlingens andra delstudie syftar till att undersöka kvinnors röster och handlingsutrymme genom att fördjupa sig i den pedagogiska diskursen i de kvinnotidskrifter som även användes i delstudie 1. Två teoretiska ramverk styr analysen, dels Meltem Ahıskas begrepp ”occidentalism”, som här förstås som en ”fantasistruktur” (eng. *fantasy structure)* genom vilken det ottomanska/turkiska jaget definierar sig själv i relation till föreställningar om ”västvärlden”, dels Kandiyotis begrepp ”patriarkal förhandling,” som förklarar hur kvinnor skapar ett utrymme för förhandling inom patriarkalt begränsande strukturer, detta för att åstadkomma strategiska men ofta avgränsade vinster. Resultaten av den andra delstudien visar att diskussionerna om kvinnors utbildning före 1908 präglades av ett kluvet förhållningssätt till västerländsk modernitet och påverkan.

Utifrån Ahıskas teorier kan det begreppsliggöras som ett slags occidentalistisk fantasi, där västvärlden både fungerade som en förebild och som en källa till moralisk oro. I studien av tidskrifterna visas att denna ambivalens skapade återkommande spänningar som, snarare än att vara uttryck för rena ideologiska motsättningar, fungerade just som *patriarkala förhandlingar*. Dessa spänningar diskuteras under tre huvudteman: 1) ”Västerländsk utbildning trots västvärlden”, 2) ”Moderskap mellan rädsla och längtan, och 3) ”Ångesten inför västvärldens blick – mellan längtan och bitterhet.”

Studien visar först av allt att författarna bejakade västerländsk utbildning för flickor, samtidigt som de varnade för en okritisk imitation av västvärlden. Väst positionerades här både som en källa till framsteg och som en beklagansvärd ”symbolisk andre.” För det andra visar studien att debatterna pendlade i en ambivalens mellan skola och hem som utbildningens huvudsakliga intresseområden, detta eftersom kvinnors utbildning i första hand uppmuntrades för att stärka moderskapet, hemmet och familjen. Samtidigt låg i utbildningen något både hotfullt och lockande, nämligen en potential att distansera kvinnor just från sina modersroller. Moderskapet var dock det som starkast legitimerade utbildning under undersökningsperioden, något som samtidigt förstärkte könshierarkin. För det tredje visar studien att författarna navigerade i vad som kan ses som en rädsla över den västerländska blicken och västs föreställda syn på Orienten. De ställde sig högst kritiska till stereotypa och orientaliserade skildringar av ottomanska kvinnor, samtidigt som de sökte ett västerländsk erkännande och inspirerades av hur kvinnor i väst uttryckte utbildningskrav och friare moderna identiteter.

Sammantaget avslöjar dessa ”occidentalistiska spänningar” hur kvinnliga författare, genom medvetna eller omedvetna diskursiva positioneringar, inträdde i en strategisk förhandling gällande tidens patriarkalt begränsande strukturer. I stället för att helt avvisa västerländsk modernitet eller omfamna den fullt ut, använde de både dess löften och hot som retoriska resurser för att framföra krav som var acceptabla inom det dåtida patriarkala samhället. Denna process utgör därmed ett exempel på Kandiyotis begrepp patriarkal förhandling, där kvinnor försökte maximera tillgången till utbildning och social auktoritet genom att anpassa sina krav till dominerande normer för moral, familj, religion och nationell plikt. Studien visar således att ambivalensen gentemot västvärlden inte alltid var ett tecken på inkonsekvens, utan en produktiv strategi genom vilken ottomanska muslimska kvinnor skapade ett handlingsutrymme. Genom dessa förhandlingar och genom att strategiskt välja ut delar av moderniseringen, framträdde kvinnor som nyckelaktörer i utformningen av en

ottomansk modell för modern kvinnlighet, en modell som balanserade framsteg och tradition inom ramarna för patriarkatets begränsningar.

Den tredje delstudien använder den viktiga kvinnotidskriften *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913–1921) för att förstå hur kvinnor bidrog till att konstruera den nya tidens ottomanska/turkiska kvinna i sina skrifter. Analysen visar att kvinnliga författare återkommande initierade debatter om kvinnors status, rättigheter och sociala roller, och att de konsekvent lyfte fram utbildning som den viktigaste lösningen på kvinnors problem. Utbildning definierades inte bara som officiell skolgång, utan i vidare bemärkelse som kvinnors verkliga kall eller ”dowry”, och något som omfattade både intellektuell, moralisk och fysisk träning. Utifrån denna syn formulerade författarna ett kvinnligt ideal som centrerades kring idén om en utbildad, patriotisk, muslimsk turkisk kvinna, en kvinna som föreställdes som medelklass och urban, och vars utbildning var avgörande för imperiets framgång och överlevnad. Kvinnors skolgång motiverades i första hand i termer av ett slags vetenskapligt förankrat moderskap, något som i sin tur krävde formell kunskap om pedagogik, hygien och hushållsskötsel. Målet var att uppfostra patriotiska söner, men även att kvinnor skulle uppnå ekonomiskt oberoende, värdighet och förmåga att hävda sina samhälleliga och politiska rättigheter. På detta sätt kunde utbildning för kvinnor både framställas som en moralisk skyldighet och som ett praktiskt medel för socialt och samhälleligt deltagande.

Detta centrala kvinnliga ideal skapades i relation till en rad mer flytande stereotyper och anti-ideal, vilka hjälpte till att definiera gränserna för en acceptabel kvinnlighet. Till detta galleri hörde stereotyper och anti-ideal som ”den fångna kvinnan”, ”den uthålliga kvinnan”, ”den västerländska snobben”, ”den omoraliska kvinnan”, ”den okunniga anatoliska kvinnan” och ”den okunniga modern.” Dessa typer mobiliserades och kontrasterades för att visa på farorna med sådant som allmän okunnighet, överdriven västerländskhet och motstånd mot kvinnors utbildning. Skapandet av dessa typer gjorde det möjligt för författarna att aktivt styra kvinnors ambitioner och samtidigt argumentera för utökad tillgång till utbildning. Utbildning, snarare än ålder eller tradition, blev bland författarna det viktigaste kriteriet för att skilja den ideala kvinnan från hennes motsatser. Genom att förankra krav på rättigheter, rätt till arbete och synlighet i den publika diskursen gällande utbildning kunde kvinnliga författare lätta på patriarkala begränsningar och införa nya könsrelaterade förväntningar i det offentliga rummet. Studien drar slutsatsen att idealet om den moderna republikanska kvinnan inte var en plötslig uppfinning under 1920-talet, utan att den aktivt och gradvis hade mejslats fram under den sena osmanska perioden. Kvinnors tidskrifter, och den utbildningsdiskurs de

blev en del av, fungerade här som en viktig plattform för deras aktiva sociopolitiska deltagande.

Avhandlingens fjärde delstudie undersöker framväxten av en utbildning av kvinnliga lärare och representationer av dessa kvinnliga lärare i det sena Osmanska riket och i den tidiga Republiken Turkiet mellan 1870 och 1933. Den analyserar hur deras professionella identiteter och förväntningarna på deras arbete diskuterades och konstruerades i kvinnotidskrifter, utbildningsrelaterade tidskrifter, självbiografiska texter och i utvalda litterära verk. Genom en kvalitativ tematisk analys identifierar studien återkommande teman relaterade till moralfostran, moderskap, patriotism, pedagogik och institutionella reformer. Resultaten visar att kvinnliga lärare intog en central men ombytlig position i den sena osmanska och den tidiga republikanska utbildningsdiskursen. I källorna framställdes de genomgående som oumbärliga för en positiv nationell utveckling, detta eftersom det ansågs att den moraliska och intellektuella utvecklingen av framtida generationer även var centralt för nationens framtida välgång. Detta vari sin tur beroende av lärares kunskap och inflytande. Läraryrket framställdes vidare som det mest lämpliga yrket för kvinnor, detta eftersom det möjliggjorde deras deltagande i det offentliga livet utan att på allvar utmana könshierarkierna. Medan kvinnotidskrifterna framställde denna roll i termer av att stärka kvinnors ställning samt deras möjlighet att påverka och bidra till samhället, placerade utbildningstidskrifterna, med i huvudsak manliga författare, ofta in kvinnlig lärarutbildning i evolutionära berättelser om modernisering, och där man drog paralleller till västvärlden som både en förebild och ett moraliskt hot. Denna kluvenhet avspeglar bredare spänningar i den osmanska moderniseringen, där kvinnors yrkesmässiga synlighet å ena sidan uppmuntrades men å andra sidan noggrant begränsades.

Samtidigt ställde tidskrifterna en rad höga krav på kvinnliga lärare, såsom god moral, huslighet, patriotism och yrkeskompetens. Under den republikanska perioden förblev moralisk integritet och kyskhet centrala riktmärken, även om deras innebörder kom att skifta från religiösa till mer nationella och vetenskapliga konnotationer. Kvinnliga lärare förväntades förkroppsliga ett vetenskapligt moderskap, fungera som hustrur och mödrar och, särskilt under konstitutionella perioder och krigstider, visa patriotisk självuppoffring genom att arbeta i avlägsna landsbygdsområden. Denna symboliska upphöjelse av kvinnliga lärare stod dock i skarp kontrast till en parallellt existerande kritik i tidskrifterna och som rörde en ofta bristfällig utbildning, dåliga institutionella förhållanden och ett begränsat statligt stöd (inte minst vad gällde de kvinnliga lärarna). Författare lyfte även fram brister i pedagogik, undervisningsmetoder och

psykologisk förståelse av lärandet. Genom denna kritik uttryckte särskilt kvinnliga författare ett växande yrkesmedvetande, och använde samtidigt tryckta medier för att kräva bättre utbildning och arbetsvillkor. Studien drar därför slutsatsen att kvinnliga lärare framträdde både som ett resultat av, och en aktiv aktör i, moderniseringen. De navigerade mellan krav på professionalism och husligt kunnande, samtidigt som de, under strukturellt begränsade förhållanden, bidrog till att omdefiniera kvinnors utbildning och deltagande i det offentliga livet.

Sammantaget visar avhandlingens fyra delstudier att utbildning framställdes som en dominerande lösning på en rad olika sociala problem under undersökningsperioden. Detta är något som även har uppmärksammats i tidigare forskning. Denna avhandling visar dock mer specifikt hur denna tro på utbildning och på dess samhällsförbättrande potential mobiliserades i relation till just kvinnor och kvinnors utbildning, och i synnerhet hur kvinnor själva tillägnade sig, förhandlade och omformade denna process. I en historisk kontext präglad av övergången från klassiska till moderna samhällsinstitutioner, avsaknaden av tydliga gränser mellan det privata och det offentliga för kvinnor, samt återkommande krig och ekonomiska kriser, stod kvinnor inför en rad sociala utmaningar. Dessa utmaningar materialiserades i allmänna debatter om religion, moral, moderskap, förändrade familjestrukturer, hälsa och barnuppfostran, vidskepelse, patriotism, fattigdom, framväxande klasskillnader och generationskonflikter. Tidskrifterna och deras artiklar rörande kvinnor, kvinnors samhällsroll och utbildningsmöjligheter berörde dessa ämnen på många olika sätt, men de gemensamma och mest grundläggande strategierna var dels att presentera utbildning som ett sätt att förvärva nödvändig förståelse av världen, dels att omformulera sociala och moraliska problem som pedagogiska till sin natur. Även om manliga och kvinnliga författare ibland använde dessa strategier på liknande sätt, mobiliserade de dem ofta mot olika framtida mål.

Avhandlingens resultat visar alltså att kvinnor strategiskt använde pedagogiseringen av sina problem för att främja sina egna utbildningsmässiga, sociala och politiska krav, men att detta också medförde begränsningar. Genom att omformulera en rad olika kvinnliga problem till att handla om utbildning och om individers moraliska och intellektuella förbättring, gjordes exempelvis strukturella frågor om fattigdom, ekonomisk ojämlikhet och sociala hierarkier till något abstrakt. Vidare kunde kvinnor, genom att förankra sina utbildningskrav i argument om moderskap, moral och nationell plikt (en bekräftelse av dåtidens könsrelaterade förväntningar), legitimera sina krav på skolgång och på deltagande i det offentliga livet. Denna pedagogisering tillät på så sätt både ett nytt språk för att

formulera ambitioner gällande kvinnors roll i samhället och fungerade på samma gång som ett disciplinerande ramverk som begränsade kvinnornas krav på mer fullödiga rättigheter, modernitet och emancipation. I slutändan fungerade utbildning som en kraftfull men mångfacetterad arena genom vilken kvinnlighet (om)formades, moderniserades, regleradesoch politiserades. Detta möjliggjorde ett nytt handlingsutrymme samtidigt som köns-, klass- och nationella hierarkier reproducerades.

Sedd genom detta övergripande teoretiska ramverk var pedagogiseringen av kvinnlighet på diskursiv nivå också strukturerad av ambivalenta förhållningssätt till västerländsk modernitet. Kvinnliga författare tillägnade sig selektivt västerländska pedagogiska ideal samtidigt som de placerade dem inom ottomansk-islamiska moraliska och kulturella gränser, vilket gav upphov till vad denna studie begreppsliggjort som occidentalistiska spänningar. Dessa spänningar fungerade i sin tur som former av patriarkala förhandlingar, särskilt tydliga när kvinnors utbildning inte motiverades i termer av individuell emancipation, utan som ett medel för att forma rationella, hälsosamma och patriotiska mödrar med ansvar för att fostra nationens framtid. Genom att synliggöra denna dynamik erbjuder avhandlingen ett nytt teoretiskt perspektiv för att förstå komplexiteten i kvinnors utbildningsdiskurser under en tidig och relativt lite utforskad period, och belyser samtidigt hur kvinnor navigerade moderniseringsprocesserna genom förhandling snarare än genom ett enkelt accepterande eller avvisande av västerländska modeller. Därigenom erbjuder studien, genom att föra samman teoribildning om genus, pedagogisering och occidentalism genus, pedagogisering och occidentalism, ett analytiskt ramverk som möjliggör en analys av kvinnors handlingsförmåga i en icke-västerländsk kontext. Den visar att utbildningsdiskursen fungerade som ett förhandlingsbaserat rum snarare än som en linjär väg mot frigörelse.

Türkçe Özet

Kadınlığın Eğitimselleştirilmesi: Geç Osmanlı'dan Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'ne Eğitim Söyleminde Kadın Öznelliklerinin İnşası (1859–1933)

"Kadın meselesi" ve bu meselenin temel bileşenlerinden biri olan eğitim, Türkiye'nin siyasal, kültürel ve toplumsal tarihinde uzun süredir yoğun biçimde tartışılan bir konu olmuştur. Kadınların rolleri, hakları ve eğitime erişimine dair tartışmalar çok daha erken bir dönemde, Osmanlı'da geniş kapsamlı reformların yapıldığı ve büyük dönüşümlerin yaşandığı on dokuzuncu yüzyılda ortaya çıkmıştır. Eğitim tarihi ve kadın tarihi literatürü, modern Türkiye'de kadın eğitiminin temellerini anlayabilmek için bu dönemin önemini vurgulamış; geç Osmanlı dönemi ile erken Cumhuriyet dönemi arasında hem belirgin sürekliliklere hem de önemli kopuşlara dikkat çekmiştir.

Bu doktora tezi, 1859 yılında Osmanlı'da kızlar için ilk modern devlet okulun kurulmasından 1933 yılında kız öğretmen okulu eğitim programının son kez kapsamlı biçimde düzenlenmesine kadar olan dönemde, eğitim söylemi içerisinde kadınlığın ve kadın öznelliklerinin nasıl inşa edildiğini incelemektedir. Eğitim programları, kadın dergileri ve eğitim dergilerinden oluşan bir kaynak yelpazesine dayanan bu çalışma, hızlı modernleşme ve Batılılaşma sürecinde geç Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinde kamusal eğitim, kadın eğitimi ve kadınlara atfedilen toplumsal rollere dair devlet söylemlerinin, kadınların eğitimiyle ilgili üretilen kamusal söylem ve karşı-kamusal söylemlerle nasıl etkileşime girdiğini ele almaktadır. Tezin kuramsal çerçevesi, toplumsal cinsiyet ile eğitimselleştirme (*educationalisation*) kavramlarını bir araya getirmekte; bu çerçeve ataerkil pazarlık, Garbiyatçılık ve sosyal disiplin kavramlarıyla desteklenmektedir. Tez, her biri belirli bir araştırma sorusuna odaklanan ve birbirini tamamlayan dört alt çalışmadan oluşmaktadır. Araştırma soruları aşağıda sıralanmıştır:

1. Osmanlı geç dönemde kız rüştiyelerinin eğitim programı, erkek rüştiyeleri ile karşılaştırıldığında, toplumsal beklentiler bağlamında nasıl şekillenmiş ve zaman içinde nasıl değişmiştir?
2. İlk kadın dergisinin çıkarıldığı 1869'dan İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminin sonu olan 1908'e kadar, Osmanlı kadın dergilerindeki eğitim söylemi içinde kadın öznellikleri nasıl inşa edilmiş ve bu öznellikler Batı'ya dair tahayyüllerden nasıl etkilenmiştir?

3. 1908 ve 1921 yılları arasında Osmanlı kadın dergilerindeki eğitim söylemi içinde yeni Osmanlı-Türk kadınına ilişkin stereotipler, idealler ve karşı-idealler nasıl inşa edilmiştir?
4. 1870 yılında Darülmuallimat'ın kuruluşundan 1933 yılında Kız Muallim Mektebi eğitim programındaki son değişikliğe kadar olan süreçte, Osmanlı-Türk kadınlarının öğretmenlik eğitimi ve mesleği, kadın dergileri ve eğitim dergilerinde nasıl algılanmış ve temsil edilmiştir?

Birinci alt çalışma (birinci makale), Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Müslüman kızlar için açılan ilk modern kamusal eğitim kurumları olan kız rüştiyelerinin eğitim programlarını, 1859'da kuruluşundan 1908'de İkinci Meşrutiyet'in ilanıyla gerçekleşen siyasal dönüşüme kadar dönemde eleştirel bir bakışla incelemektedir. Tarihsel vaka çalışması değerlendirmesi yöntemi kullanılarak kızların eğitiminin bu dönemde nasıl kavramsallaştırıldığı, düzenlendiği ve dönüştürüldüğü incelenmektedir. Ayrıca bu dönüşümlerle dönemin toplumsal beklentileri ve devlet ideolojisi arasında nasıl bir ilişki kurulduğu araştırılmaktadır. İlk çıkan kadın dergilerinde kadınların katkıları sınırlı kalmış, fakat ilerleyen yıllarda bu katkılar giderek artmıştır. Kadın seslerinin bu sınırlı varlığını telafi etmek zor olmakla birlikte, kız eğitiminin daha ayrıntılı bir biçimde anlaşılabilmesi amacıyla, çalışma karşılaştırmalı bir yaklaşım benimsemekte ve farklı kaynaklardan yararlanmaktadır.

Elde edilen bulgular, kız rüştiyeleri eğitim programında yapılan düzenlemelerin değişen toplumsal beklentileri, kadın ve erkeğe biçilen rolleri ve devletin önceliklerini yakından yansıttığını göstermektedir. Bu dönem boyunca genel bir süreklilik göze çarpsa da, daha yakından yapılan bir incelemeyle, hem eğitim programları aracılığıyla ifade edilen resmi eğitim söyleminde hem de kadın dergilerinde yer alan kamusal söylemde dikkat çekici değişimlerin ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Eğitim programlarındaki her bir değişim, kızların ve kadınların eğitimi üzerine yürütülen tartışmalardaki dönüşümlerle örtüşmektedir. Hem eğitim programları hem de kadın dergilerinde kız eğitiminin aile saadeti, ahlaki terbiye ve ulusal ilerleme için gerekli olduğu fikri benimsenmiş, kızlar ve erkekler için öngörülen gelecekteki toplumsal roller açık bir biçimde birbirinden ayrılmıştır. Kızlar ve erkekler benzer şekilde planlanmış programları takip etmiş olsalar da, kızların eğitimi temel okuryazarlık, ahlak ve ev içi becerilere ağırlık verirken; erkeklerin eğitimi kamusal ve mesleki yaşama hazırlık doğrultusunda şekillendirilmiştir. Dönem boyunca kız programlarının giderek erkeklerde olduğundan daha yoğun bir biçimde dini ve ahlaki içerikle donatıldığı, buna karşılık erkek eğitiminin daha belirgin bir şekilde akademik uzmanlaşma yönünde geliştiği görülmektedir. Abdülhamid

dönemi eğitimi üzerine mevcut literatürde, devletin imparatorluğun geleceğini güvence altına almak amacıyla eğitimde dini ve ahlaki vurguları sosyal disiplin aracı olarak kullandığı ortaya koyulmuştur. Bu çalışmada ise, sosyal disiplinleştirme girişimlerinin, kız eğitiminin resmi programı içinde daha yoğun biçimde yer aldığı ve kadın eğitimi hakkındaki kamusal söylemin bu girişimleri büyük ölçüde desteklediği savunulmaktadır. Bu durum, kız eğitiminin devlet tarafından daha yoğun bir sosyal disiplin aracı olarak kullanıldığını ortaya koymaktadır.

İkinci alt çalışma (ikinci makale), birinci alt çalışmada ele alınan kadın dergilerindeki eğitim söylemine odaklanarak, kadınların seslerini ve failliklerini izlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Nitel tematik analiz yöntemi kullanılarak, Osmanlı'da 1869 yılında yayımlanan ilk dergiden 1908'de İkinci Meşrutiyet'in ilanına kadar geçen dönemde Osmanlıca yayımlanan kadın dergilerindeki eğitim söylemi içerisinde kadın öznelliklerinin nasıl inşa edildiği incelenmektedir. Analize yön veren iki temel kuramsal çerçeve bulunmaktadır: Meltem Ahıska'nın, Osmanlı/Türk benliğinin kendisini Batıya karşı ya da Batı üzerinden tanımladığı bir fantezi yapısı olarak ele aldığı Garbiyatçılık kavramı ve Deniz Kandiyoti'nin, kadınların ataerkil sınırlamalar içerisinde sınırlı kazanımlar elde edebilmek için nasıl müzakere ettiklerini açıklayan ataerkil pazarlık kavramı. Bulgular, 1908 öncesi dönemde kadın eğitiminin Batı modernliğiyle kurulan ikircikli bir ilişki içinde şekillendiğini; Batı'nın aynı anda hem arzu edilen bir ilerleme modeli hem de ahlaki kaygıların kaynağı olarak kurgulandığını göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada, kadın dergilerinde ortaya çıkan bu ikircikli tutumun basit ideolojik çelişkilerden ziyade, sürekli yeniden üretilen Garbiyatçı gerilimler olduğu; bu gerilimlerin de ataerkil pazarlıklar olarak işlev gördüğü savunulmaktadır. Dergilerdeki Garbiyatçı gerilimler üç ana tema altında ele alınmaktadır: 1) Batı'ya rağmen Batılı eğitim, 2) korku ve arzu arasında annelik ve 3) arzu ile hoşnutsuzluk arasında Batılı bakışın yarattığı kaygı. Bu temalardan ilkinde, yazarlar kızlar için Batı tarzı eğitimi teşvik ederken, Batı'nın eleştirel bir süzgeçten geçirilmeden taklit edilmesine karşı uyarılarda bulunmuş; Batı'yı hem ilerlemenin kaynağı hem de sembolik bir Öteki olarak konumlandırmıştır. İkinci temada, tartışmalar okul ile ev arasında gidip gelmiş; kadınların eğitimi anneliği ve aileyi güçlendirmek amacıyla savunulurken, aynı zamanda eğitimin kadınları annelik rollerinden uzaklaştırabileceği endişesi de ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bağlamda annelik, eğitimi meşrulaştıran bir unsur olarak işlev görürken, aynı zamanda toplumsal cinsiyet hiyerarşisini yeniden üretmiştir. Üçüncü temada ise yazarlar, Osmanlı kadınlarına yönelik Oryantalist bakışa direnç gösterirken, aynı zamanda Batı tarafından tanınma ve onaylanmayı arzulamıştır. Bu durum, kadınların eğitim taleplerini ve modern kimliklerini ifade şekillerini belirleyen önemli bir gerilim alanı yaratmıştır.

Bu Garbiyatçı gerilimler bir arada değerlendirildiğinde, kadın yazarların ataerkil sınırlar içinde, bilinçli ya da bilinçsiz olarak, stratejik söylemsel konumlanmalar aracılığıyla failliklerini müzakere ettikleri ortaya koyulmuştur. Kadınlar, Batı modernliğini bütünüyle reddetmek ya da tamamen benimsemek yerine, bu modernliğin vaatlerini ve tehditlerini kendi taleplerini kabul ettirmek için söylemsel kaynaklar olarak kullanmışlardır. Bu süreç, Kandiyoti'nin ataerkil pazarlık kavramı ile açıklanmaktadır. Kadınlar, eğitime erişimi ve toplumsal otoritelerini azami ölçüde artırabilmek için taleplerini ahlak, aile, din ve ulusal görev gibi baskın normlarla uyumlu hale getirmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma, Batı'ya yönelik bu ikircikli tutumun her zaman tutarsızlığın bir göstergesi olmadığını; aksine Osmanlı kadınlarının ataerkil sınırlar içinde faillik alanı açabildikleri üretken bir strateji olduğunu göstermektedir. Modernlikle kurulan bu müzakereci ilişkiler aracılığıyla kadınlar, ataerkil kısıtlar altında ilerleme ile geleneği dengeleyen bir Osmanlı modern kadınlık modelinin şekillenmesinde önemli aktörler haline gelmiştir. Ayrıca bu çalışma, kadın eğitimine ilişkin fikirlerin ulusötesi dolaşımı ve dönüşümünün içinde barındırdığı karmaşıklığı ortaya koyarak, geç Osmanlı döneminde kadınlığın inşasını daha iyi anlamamızı sağlamaktadır.

Üçüncü alt çalışma (üçüncü makale), kadınların yazılarında yeni Osmanlı ve Türk kadınını nasıl inşa ettiklerini anlamak amacıyla, yalnızca kadınlar tarafından çıkarılan ve uzun soluklu bir yayın olan Kadınlar Dünyası dergisini (1913–1921) temel kaynak olarak kullanmaktadır. George Mosse'nin stereotipleri olumlu kurucu yapılar olarak ele alan kavramsallaştırması, David Tjeder'in karşı-tip (*countertype*) kavramıyla birlikte kullanılarak, dergilerde yer alan eğitimle ilgili metinleri ve görsel unsurları incelemektedir. Araştırma sonucunda, kadın yazarların kadınların statüsü, hakları ve toplumsal rollerine ilişkin yürütülen tartışmaları istikrarlı bir biçimde eğitim dili üzerinden kurduklarını ve eğitimi kadınların sorunları için temel çözüm olarak konumlandırdıklarını göstermektedir. Eğitim, yalnızca okullaşma olarak değil, kadınların "hakiki çeyizi" olarak yeniden tanımlanmış; zihinsel, ahlaki ve bedensel eğitimi kapsayan bütüncül bir süreç olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu çerçeve aracılığıyla yazarlar, büyük ölçüde orta sınıf ve kentli olarak tahayyül edilen, eğitimi imparatorluğun ilerlemesi ve bekası için vazgeçilmez görülen eğitimli, vatansever Müslüman-Türk kadın idealini formüle etmişlerdir.

Kadınların eğitimi, bir yandan pedagojik bilgi, hijyen ve ev idaresine dair formel bilgiye sahip olmayı gerektiren bilimsel annelik söylemi üzerinden; diğer yandan ise onur, bağımsızlık ve hak talep edebilme imkânı sunduğu varsayılan ekonomik öz-yeterlilik üzerinden meşrulaştırılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda eğitim hem ahlaki bir zorunluluk hem de toplumsal hayata

katılımın pratik bir aracı olarak işlev görmüştür. Söz konusu ideal, kabul edilebilir kadınlığın sınırlarını çizen akışkan stereotipler ve karşı-tiplerle kurulan bir gerilim içinde inşa edilmiştir. Esir Kadın, Cefakar Kadın, Alafranga Züppe Kadın, Ahlaksız Kadın, Cahil Anadolu Kadını ve Cahil Anne gibi stereotip ve karşı-tipler; cehaletin, aşırı Batılılaşmanın ve eğitime direnmenin tehlikelerini göstermek amacıyla dolaşıma sokulmuştur. Bu stereotip ve karşı-tipler, kadınların beklenti ve arzularını denetim altında tutmaya hizmet ederken, aynı zamanda daha yüksek eğitime erişim yönündeki taleplerinin de gerekçelendirilmesini mümkün kılmıştır. Böylece yaş ya da gelenek yerine eğitim, ideal kadını karşı-tiplerinden ayıran temel ölçüt haline gelmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, hak, çalışma ve kamusal görünürlük taleplerini toplumsal açıdan meşru kabul edilen eğitim söylemi içine yerleştiren kadın yazarlar, ataerkil sınırlamalar içinde failliklerini müzakere edebilmiş ve kamusal alana yeni toplumsal cinsiyet beklentilerini taşımışlardır. Böylece modern Cumhuriyet kadını idealinin 1920'lerde ani bir biçimde ortaya çıkmadığı; aksine geç Osmanlı döneminde eğitim söylemi aracılığıyla aktif olarak şekillendirildiği ve bu söylemin büyük dönüşümlerin yaşandığı bir dönemde kadınların sosyo-politik müdahalesi için güçlü bir platform işlevi gördüğü ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca eğitimli Cumhuriyet kadını ideali ile cahil Anadolu kadını karşı-idealinin yan yana getirilmesi yoluyla, yaş, sosyal sınıf, eğitim ve milliyetçilik arasındaki karmaşık etkileşim görünür kılınmaktadır.

Dördüncü alt çalışma (dördüncü makale), geç Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinde, 1870–1933 yılları arasında, kadın öğretmenlerin ortaya çıkışını, eğitim süreçlerini ve temsillerini incelemektedir. Kadın öğretmenlerin mesleki kimliklerinin ve mesleklerine ilişkin beklentilerin kadın dergilerinde, eğitim dergilerinde, otobiyografik metinlerde ve seçilmiş edebî eserlerde nasıl inşa edildiği araştırılmaktadır. Nitel tematik analiz yöntemi kullanılarak, ahlak, annelik, vatanseverlik, pedagoji ve kurumsal reformlara ilişkin tekrar eden temalar tespit edilmektedir. Bulgular, kadın öğretmenlerin geç Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemi eğitim söylemi içinde merkezi ancak çelişkili bir konumda yer aldığını göstermektedir. Kadın dergileri ve eğitim dergilerinde kadın öğretmenler, gelecek kuşakların ahlaki ve zihinsel biçimlenmesinin, dolayısıyla ulusal ilerlemenin vazgeçilmez unsuru olarak sunulmuştur. Öğretmenlik, kadınların kamusal yaşama katılımını mümkün kılan ancak toplumsal cinsiyet hiyerarşilerini temelden sarsmayan en uygun meslek olarak kurgulanmıştır. Kadın dergileri bu rolü güçlenme ve toplumsal katkı çerçevesinde ele alırken, erkek yazarlar tarafından kaleme alınan eğitim dergileri çoğu zaman kadın öğretmen yetiştirilmesini evrimsel modernleşme anlatıları

içine yerleştirmiştir. Ayrıca Batı'yı hem örnek alınması gereken bir model hem de ahlaki bir tehdit olarak konumlandırmıştır. Kadınların mesleki görünürlüğü teşvik edilmekte ancak aynı zamanda dikkatle sınırlandırılmaktadır. Bu ikircikli tutum Osmanlı modernleşmesindeki daha geniş gerilimleri yansıtmaktadır. Aynı zamanda hem kadın hem eğitim dergileri, kadın öğretmenler üzerinde ahlak, ev içi roller, vatanseverlik ve mesleki yeterliliği bir araya getiren yoğun bir beklentiler bütünü oluşturmuştur.

Cumhuriyet döneminde ahlaki bütünlük ve iffet merkezi önemini korumakla birlikte, bu kavramların anlamları dini çerçevelerden giderek daha fazla ulusal ve bilimsel çerçevelere kaymıştır. Kadın öğretmenlerden bilimsel anneliği temsil etmeleri, eş ve anne rollerini yerine getirmeleri ve özellikle İkinci Meşrutiyet ve savaş yıllarında ülkenin uzak ve kırsal bölgelerinde görev alarak vatansever özveri göstermeleri beklenmiştir. Ancak bu sembolik yüceltilme, yetersiz eğitim, zayıf kurumsal koşullar ve sınırlı devlet desteğine yönelik eleştirilerle keskin bir tezat oluşturmuştur. Yazarlar, eğitim programlarında pedagoji, psikoloji ve modern öğretim yöntemlerine ilişkin derslerin eksikliğini; kalabalık sınıfları ve kadın öğretmen yetiştiren kurumların yetersiz kaynaklarını tekrar tekrar gündeme getirmiştir. Bu eleştiriler aracılığıyla, özellikle kadın yazarlar giderek güçlenen bir mesleki bilinç oluşturmuş; basılı kültürü daha iyi eğitim ve çalışma koşulları talep etmek için bir araç olarak kullanmıştır. Sonuç olarak kadın öğretmenin hem modernleşmenin bir ürünü hem de etkin bir faili olarak ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Kadın öğretmenler, yapısal olarak sınırlandırılmış koşullar altında profesyonellik ile ev içi roller arasındaki gerilimleri müzakere ederken, kadınların eğitimi ve kamusal hayata katılımının yeniden tanımlanmasına da katkıda bulunmuşlardır.

Genel olarak, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarındaki dönüşüm döneminde eğitim, çok çeşitli toplumsal sorunlara yönelik baskın bir çözüm yolu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Önceki araştırmalar, bu eğilimin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'ne uzanan dönemin ayırt edici bir özelliği olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu tez, eğitimselleştirmenin özellikle kadınlar bağlamında nasıl seferber edildiğini ve daha da önemlisi, kadınların bu mantığı nasıl sahiplendiğini ve yeniden şekillendirdiğini göstermektedir. Klasik toplumsal yapılardan modernliğe geçildiği, kadınlar için özel alan ile kamusal alan arasındaki sınırların henüz net biçimde belirginleşmediği ve süregelen savaşlarla ekonomik krizlerin şekillendirdiği bir dönemde, kadınlar daha önce benzeri görülmemiş ölçüde çok ve farklı toplumsal sorunla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Bu sorunlar; din, ahlak, annelik, değişen aile yapıları, sağlık ve çocuk yetiştirme, hurafeler, vatanseverlik, yoksulluk, ortaya çıkan sınıfsal ayrımlar ve kuşaklar arası gerilimler etrafında yinelenen tartışmalar aracılığıyla ifade edilmiştir.

Kadınlara ilişkin yazılar, bu meseleleri örtüşen iki temel eğitimselleştirme stratejisi üzerinden ele almıştır: 1) eğitimi dünyayı kavramak için gerekli bilgi ve donanımı sağlayan bir araç olarak sunmak ve 2) toplumsal ve ahlaki sorunları esasen eğitimle ilgili meseleler olarak yeniden kurgulamak. Erkek ve kadın yazarlar zaman zaman bu stratejileri benzer biçimlerde kullansalar da çoğu durumda onları farklı biçimlerde ve farklı amaçlar doğrultusunda seferber etmişlerdir.

Bu bulgular bir arada değerlendirildiğinde, kadınların kendi sorunlarının eğitimselleştirilmesini stratejik biçimde kullanarak eğitime erişim, toplumsal ve siyasal taleplerini ortaya koydukları; ancak bu çerçevenin aynı zamanda önemli sınırlılıklar da içerdiği görülmektedir. Kadınların karşılaştıkları sorunları eğitimselleştirme yoluyla yeniden tanımlanması, yoksulluk, ekonomik eşitsizlik ve yapısal toplumsal hiyerarşiler gibi meselelerin çoğu zaman maddi bağlamlarından koparılarak bireysel ahlaki yetersizlikler ya da eğitim eksiklikleri olarak yeniden kurgulanmasına yol açmıştır. Bununla birlikte, eğitim taleplerini annelik, ahlak ve ulusal görev gibi kavramlara dayandırarak kadınlar, eğitime erişimlerini ve kamusal yaşama katılımlarını meşrulaştırabilmiş; ancak bu argümanlar aynı zamanda mevcut toplumsal cinsiyet beklentilerini de yeniden üretmiştir. Eğitimselleştirme, bu anlamda, bir yandan arzu ve ilerleme dili olarak işlev görürken, diğer yandan kadınların hak, modernlik ve özgürleşme taleplerini sınırlandıran disiplin edici bir çerçeve oluşturmuştur. Yetersiz eğitim ve kötü kurumsal koşullara rağmen kadınlar, eğitim söylemini kullanarak filizlenen bir mesleki bilinci ifade etmiş ve tanınma ile reform taleplerini dile getirmiştir. Sonuç olarak eğitim, kadınlığın tekrar tekrar şekillendirildiği, modernleştirildiği, düzenlendiği ve siyasallaştırıldığı güçlü ve çok katmanlı bir alan olarak işlev görmüş; yeni faillik biçimlerine imkan tanırken, aynı zamanda toplumsal cinsiyet, sosyal sınıf ve ulusal hiyerarşilere ilişkin kabulleri yeniden üretmiştir.

Bu bütüncül kuramsal çerçeve içinden bakıldığında, kadınlığın eğitimselleştirilmesinin söylemsel düzeyde Batı modernliğiyle kurulan ikircikli ilişkiler tarafından da yapılandırıldığı görülmektedir. Kadın yazarlar, Batılı pedagojik idealleri seçici biçimde sahiplenirken, bu idealleri Osmanlı-İslami ahlaki ve kültürel sınırlar içine yerleştirmiş; böylece bu çalışmanın Garbiyatçı gerilimler olarak kavramsallaştırdığı bir dizi söylemsel gerilim üretmiştir. Kadın eğitimi bireysel özgürleşme üzerinden değil, akılcı, sağlıklı ve vatansever annelerin yetiştirilmesi yoluyla ulusun geleceğinin güvence altına alınması olarak gerekçelendirildiğinde, Garbiyatçı gerilimler, ataerkil pazarlık biçimleri olarak işlev görmüştür. Bu dinamiği merkeze alan tez, erken ve görece az çalışılmış bir dönemde kadınların eğitimine dair söylemin karmaşıklığını anlamaya yönelik özgün bir kuramsal

perspektif sunmakta; kadınların modernliği Batılı modelleri basitçe benimseyerek ya da reddederek değil, müzakere ederek nasıl deneyimlediklerini görünür kılmaktadır. Böylece çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet, eğitimselleştirme ve Garbiyatçılık kavramlarını bir araya getirerek, Batıdışı bir bağlamda kadınların failliğini analiz etmeye imkan tanıyan bir çerçeve sunmakta; eğitim söyleminin kadınlar için doğrusal bir özgürleşme yolu olmaktan ziyade, müzakereye dayalı bir alan olarak işlediğini göstermektedir.

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Appendix: Tables for Curriculum Comparison

Table 4. Six Categories of the Courses in Boys' and Girls' *Rüşdiyye* Schools

Course Categories	List of the Courses
1. Religious Courses	*Ulûm-ı Dîniyye* (Religious Sciences) *Kurân-ı Kerim Maa-Tecvid* (Reciting Quran by its Rules) *Ahlâk* (Morals)
2. Language and Expression	*Kavâid-i Lisân-ı Osmanî* (Rules of Ottoman Language) *Kırâat* (Recitation) *İmlâ* (Spelling) *Hüsn-i Hat* (Calligraphy) *Kitâbet* (Literary Composition) *Sülüs* (Thuluth – A calligraphic style) *Rik'a* (Riq'ah – A calligraphic style) *Dîvanî* (Diwani – A calligraphic style) *Medhal-i Kavâid* (Introduction to Grammar Rules) *Müntehabât-ı Edebiyye* (Selected Readings) *Muhâzarât-ı Türkiyye* (Rhetorics in Turkish) *Mîyar'ül-kelâm* (Meter of the Word) *İlm-i Belâgat* (Knowledge of Eloquence)
3. Mathematics	*Hesâb* (Arithmetic) *Hendese* (Geometry) *Tadâd ve Terkîm ve Amâl-i Erbaa* (Arithmetic and Four Operations) *Usûl-i Defterî* (Methods of Bookkeeping)
4. Social Studies	*Târih* (History) *Coğrafya* (Geography)
5. Foreign Languages	*Arabî* (Arabic) *Fârisî* (Persian) *Fransızca* (French)
6. Arts, Sports and Other Courses	*Mâlûmat-ı Nâfia* (Useful Information) *Tersîm-i Hutût* (Drawing) *Hıfzıssıhha* (Hygiene) *İdâre-i Beytiyye/Tedbir-i Menzil* (Household Management) *El Hünerleri* (Handicrafts) *Resim* (Painting) *Hıyâtet/Ameliyât-ı Hıyâtiye* (Tailoring) *Mûsıkî* (Music) *Cimnastik* (Gymnastics) *Resâil-i Selase* (Three Pamphlets) *Nakış* (Embroidery)

Table 5. Common Courses for Girls' and Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1869 Regulation of Public Education

Common Courses	
Curriculum of Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s	Curriculum of Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s
Mebâdî-i Ulûm-ı Dîniyye (Religious Sciences for Beginners)	*Mebâdî-i Ulûm-ı Dîniyye* (Religious Sciences for Beginners)
Lisân-ı Osmanî Kavâidi (Rules of Ottoman Language)	*Lisân-ı Osmanî Kavâidi* (Rules of Ottoman Language)
İmlâ ve İnşâ (Spelling and Writing)	*İmlâ ve İnşâ* (Spelling and Writing)
Mebâdî-i Kavâid-i Arabiyye ve Fârisiyye (Rules of Arabic and Persian for Beginners)	*Tertîb-i Cedîd Üzere Kavâid-i Arabiyye ve Fârisiyye* (Rules of Arabic and Persian According to New Order)
Muhtasar Târih ve Coğrafya (Brief History and Geography)	*Târih-i Umûmî ve Târih-i Osmânî* (General History and Ottoman History)
	Coğrafya (Geography)
Hesâb ve Defter Tutmak Usûlü (Arithmetic and Bookkeeping Methods)	*İlm-i Hesâb* (Science of Arithmetic)
	Defter Tutmak Usûlü (Bookkeeping Methods)

Table 6. Different Courses for Girls' and Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1869 Regulation of Public Education

	Different Courses
Curriculum of Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s	*Müntehabât-ı Edebiyye* (Selected Readings) *Tedbîr-i Menzil* (Household Management) *Nakşa Medâr Olacak Derece Resim (*Art to Help with Embroidery) *Ameliyât-ı Hıyâtiye (*Tailoring) *Mûsıkî* (mecburî değildir) (Music [not compulsory])
Curriculum of Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s	*Tersîm-i Hutût* (Drawing) *Mebâdî-i Hendese* (Geometry for Beginners) *Cimnastik* (Gymnastics) *Fransızca (istekli olanlara dördüncü sene)* (French [At the fourth grade for those who are willing])

Table 7. Common Courses for Girls' and Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1877/1878 Ottoman State Yearbooks

Common Courses	Years Taught	
	Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s	Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s
Ulûm-ı dîniyye (Religious Sciences)	4	2
Lisân-ı Osmânî (Ottoman Language)	3	3
İmlâ (Spelling)	2	4
Hesâb (Arithmetic)	4	3
Sülüs (Thuluth – A calligraphic style)	4	2
Rik'a (Rik'ah – A calligraphic style)	4	4
Arabî (Arabic)	3	2
Fârisî (Persian)	3	3
Târih (History)	3	1
Coğrafya (Geography)	2	3
Kırâat-ı Türkiyye (Recitation in Turkish)	2	2
Medhal-i Kavâid (Introduction to Grammar Rules)	1	1
Total	35	30

Table 8. Courses Exclusive to Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1877/1878 Ottoman State Yearbooks

Courses Exlusive to Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s	Years Taught
Ahlâk (Morals)	1
Mâlûmât-ı Nâfia (Useful Information)	1
Hıyâtet (Tailoring)	1
Nakış (Embroidery)	2
Total	5

Table 9. Courses Exclusive to Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1877/1878 Ottoman State Yearbooks

Courses Exlusive to Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s	Years Taught
Muhâzarât-ı Türkiyye	3
Tadâd ve Terkîm ve Amâl-i Erbaa (Arithmetic and Four Operations)	1
Resim (Painting)	3
Mîyar'ül-kelâm (Meter of the Word)	1
Resâil-i Selase (Three Pamphlets)	1
Hendese (Geometry)	1
Usûl-i Defterî (Methods of Bookkeeping)	1
Dîvânî (Diwani – A calligraphic style)	1
İlm-i Belâgat (Knowledge of Eloquence)	1
Total	13

Table 10. Common Courses for Girls' and Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1898/1899 and 1899/1900 Yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education

Common Courses in Girls' Curriculum	Weekly Course Hours				Common Courses in Boys' Curriculum		Weekly Course Hours			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total			1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total
Kurân-ı Kerim Maa-Tecvid (Reciting Quran by its Rules)	3	2	1	12	*Ma' tecvid-i Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye* (Reciting Quran by its Rules and Religious Sciences)		3	2	2	7
Ulûm-ı Dîniyye (Religious Sciences)	2	2	2							
Kavâid-i Lisân-ı Osmanî (Rules of Ottoman Language)	2	1	2	13	*Türkçe* (Turkish)	*Kavâid (son sene Nahiv)* (Rules [Syntax in the last year])	2	2	2	17
Kırâat (Recitation)	2	1	1			*Kırâat* (Recitation)	2	2	1	
İmlâ (Spelling)	2	1	1			*İmlâ* (Spelling)	3	2	1	
Arabî (Arabic)	-	2	2	4	*Arabî* (Arabic)		1	2	2	5
Fârisî (Persian)	-	1	1	2	*Fârisî* (Persian)		-	1	2	3
Hesâb (Arithmetic)	2	1	1	4	*Hesâb* (Arithmetic)		2	2	2	6
Târih (History)	2	2	1	5	*Târih* (History)		-	2	2	4
Coğrafya (Geography)	2	2	2	6	*Coğrafya* (Geography)		2	2	2	6
Hüsn-i Hat (Calligraphy)	1	1	1	3	*Hüsn-i Hat* (Calligraphy)		1	1	1	3
Mâlûmat-ı Nâfia (Useful Information)	1	1	1	3	*Mâlûmat-ı Nâfia* (Useful Information)		1	1	1	3
Total	19	17	16	52	Total		17	19	18	54

Table 11. Courses Exclusive to Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1898/1899 and 1899/1900 Yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education

Courses Exlusive to Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s	Weekly Course Hours			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total
Kitâbet (Literary Composition)	-	1	1	2
İdâre-i Beytiyye (Household Management)	2	2	2	6
Ahlâk (Morals)	1	1	2	4
Hıfzıssıhha (Hygiene)	-	1	1	2
El Hünerleri (Handicrafts)	2	2	2	6
Total	5	7	8	20

Table 12. Courses Exclusive to Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1898/1899 and 1899/1900 Yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education

Courses Exlusive to Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s	Weekly Course Hours			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total
Fransızca (French)	-	-	3	3
Hendese (Geometry)	-	-	1	1
Resim (Painting)	1	1	1	3
Total	1	1	5	7

Table 13. Common Courses for Girls' and Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1900/1901 and 1901/1902 Yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education

Common Courses in Girls' Curriculum	Weekly Course Hours				Common Courses in Boys' Curriculum		Weekly Course Hours			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total			1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total
Kurân-ı Kerim Maa-Tecvid (Reciting Quran by Its Rules)	3	2	1	12	*Ma' tecvid-i Kurân-ı Kerîm ve Ulûm-ı Dîniyye* (Reciting Quran by its rules and Religious Sciences)		3	3	3	9
Ulûm-ı Dîniyye (Religious Sciences)	2	2	2							
Kavâid-i Lisân-ı Osmanî (Rules of Ottoman Language)	2	1	2	13	Türkçe (Turkish)	*Kavâid (son sene Nahiv)* (Rules [Syntax in the last year])	2	2	2	14
Kırâat (Recitation)	2	1	1			*Kırâat* (Recitation)	2	1	0,5	
İmlâ (Spelling)	2	1	1			*İmlâ* (Spelling)	2	2	0,5	
Arabî (Arabic)	-	2	2	4	*Arabî* (Arabic)		2	2	2	6
Fârisî (Persian)	-	1	1	2	*Fârisî* (Persian)		-	2	2	4
Hesâb (Arithmetic)	2	1	1	4	*Hesâb* (Arithmetic)		2	2	2	6
Târih (History)	2	2	1	5	*Târih* (History)		-	2	2	4
Coğrafya (Geography)	2	2	2	6	*Coğrafya* (Geography)		2	2	2	6
Hüsn-i Hat (Calligraphy)	1	1	1	3	*Hüsn-i Hat* (Calligraphy)		2	1	1	4
Mâlûmat-ı Nâfia (Useful Information)	1	1	1	3	*Mâlûmat-ı Nâfia* (Useful Information)		1	1	1	3
Ahlâk (Morals)	1	1	2	4	*Ahlâk* (Morals)		1	1	-	2
Hıfzıssıhha (Hygiene)	-	1	1	2	*Hıfzıssıhha* (Hygiene)		-	-	1	1
Total	20	19	19	58	Total		19	21	19	59

Table 14. Courses Exclusive to Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1900/1901 and 1901/1902 Yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education

Courses Exclusive to Girls' *Rüşdiyye*s	Weekly Course Hours			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total
Kitâbet (Literary Composition)	-	1	1	2
İdâre-i Beytiyye (Household Management)	2	2	2	6
El Hünerleri (Handicrafts)	2	2	2	6
Toplam	4	5	5	14

Table 15. Courses Exclusive to Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s in 1900/1901 and 1901/1902 Yearbooks of the Ministry of Public Education

Courses Exclusive to Boys' *Rüşdiyye*s	Weekly Course Hours			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	Total
Hendese (Geometry)	-	-	1	1
Resim (Painting)	1	1	1	3
Toplam	1	1	5	7

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