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October 01, 2021
Prof. Dr. Aytekin ISMAN
Sakarya University

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FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF STATE UNIVERSITIES IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT
In Turkey, the financial resource of state universities is mainly depending to the national centralized budget. The amount of financial resources to a university is determined after end of a series negotiations with the central government for each year. The total budget of a state university is classified into five main headings: (1) personnel expenses, (2) Social Security Premium expenses, (3) purchase of goods and services, (4) current transfers and (5) capital investment. There are different classifications related to the categorization of universities in the world. One of them is college age. In other words, the foundation year is considered in the classification. In Turkey, 103 state universities were established between 1933 and 2011 during the Republic period. These universities are divided into six separate categories by the author according to their year of establishment. In the study the financial data belonging to the period 2010-2014 was utilized. According to these data, the state universities totally received TL 9.33 to 15.19 billion (US$ 5.94 to 7.91 billion) per year from the central budget in the working years. The paper summarizes the final data of a study performed on the share of the state budget of the state universities in Turkey and evaluates the distribution of state resources according to the university categories.
Keywords: financial resource, higher education, state university, university category

Introduction

Universities should be a higher education institution to be integrated with the industry and producing information rather than the institutions that carry out classical education and training services, in developed countries mostly transform their researches to the society. Universities in relevant countries are supported by the governments in order to transform and accelerate transformation, which is considered as a strategic change. It should be noted that state support for North American universities is largely towards to research and development projects. It has been stated that should be followed in detail how the results are reflected in society. Leifner (2003) states how to allocate resources according to performance for a higher education institution. Winston (1998) stated that the transformation in universities must be ensured and that higher education institutions must not be managed like a company and underlined that certain balances within the institution must be absolutely protected. For this reason, Author thinks that studies have been carried out and methods have been proposed which include specific evaluation criteria in order to make the universities more effective and productive (Tosun, 2004, 2006, 2011, 2015, 2016, 2019a and 2019b).

As of the end of 2019, there are 130 public universities across the country, and these universities receive a significant portion (more than 95%) of their budgets from the central government budget. The state allocates an average of US$ 10-12 billion each year to universities. These budgets are finalized every year as a result of interviews by officials from universities and the Ministry of Finance. No performance indicators are taken into account when distributing the budget. In this study, the financial resources of public universities are explained and the University categories proposed by the author are evaluated on the basis of these resources. At the end of the study, it makes recommendations by distributing the resources received from the central government budget depending on the performance values of universities.

Materials and Methods

A public budget is a document that determines the income and expenses of the state for a certain period of time as an estimate, contains issues related to the collection of its revenues and realization of its expenses. In the law on public financial management and control No. 5018, the central government budget is defined as “the law showing the income and expense estimates of the state administrations within the scope of the central government, authorizing and allowing their implementation and execution”. The budget, prepared by the government as a draft law for each year, is submitted by the Council of Ministers to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey at least 75 days before the financial year and is discussed and decided by the financial year.

The values transferred to public institutions within the framework of the budget law are outlined under three main headings: (1) general budget administrations (Table I), (2) special budget administrations (Table II) and (3) regulatory and supervisory organizations. The budget of the Higher Education Council and related organizations has been allocated within the scope of special budget administrations (Table II). The total budget of a state university is classified into five main headings: (1) personnel expenses, (2) Social Security Premium expenses, (3) purchase of goods and services, (4) current transfers and (5) capital investment.

Categorization of universities in developed countries can be done according to different factors such as age of establishment, teaching area, scientific yield, budget income levels, etc. In Turkey, so far, no assessment has been made on this basis. But after that, it is necessary to conduct such studies in order to make healthier determinations and shape the quality of teaching. In this study, all state universities in the country were classified into six separate categories, taking into account the years of establishment of the university. The main reason for creating categories according to the year of establishment is that universities are funded largely from the state budget, they invest with the government support they receive, and these investments constitute a significant accumulation depending on the years. Table 1 introduces the categories of state universities, established between 1933 and 2011 in Turkey. In Turkey. The hundred-three state universities were established between 1933 and 2011 during the Republic period. In this study, the financial resources of state universities were discussed on the basis of the categories defined in Table 1.

Table 1. The categories of State Universities on the basis of collage age.

Category	Number of Universities	Range for establishment year	The Covered Universities
A	9	1933-1971	İstanbul, İstanbul Teknik, Ankara, Ege, Karadeniz Teknik, Orta Doğu Teknik, Atatürk, Hacettepe and Boğaziçi.
B	10	1973-1978	Anadolu, Çukurova, Dicle, Cumhuriyet, Fırat, İnönü, Ondokuz Mayıs, Selçuk, Uludağ and Erciyes.
C	9	1982-1987	Akdeniz, Dokuz Eylül, Gazi, Marmara, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar, Trakya, Yıldız Teknik, Yüzüncü Yıl and Gaziantep.
D	25	1992-1994	Abant İzzet Baysal, Adnan Menderes, Afyon Kocatepe, Balıkesir, Bülent Ecevit, Celal Bayar, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart, Dumlupınar, Gaziosmanpaşa, Gebze Yüksek Teknoloji, Harran, İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji, Kafkas, Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam, Kırıkkale, Kocaeli, Mersin, Muğla, Mustafa Kemal, Niğde, Pamukkale, Sakarya, Süleyman Demirel, Eskişehir Osmangazi and Galatasaray.
E	41	2006-2008	Adıyaman, Ahi Evran, Aksaray, Amasya, Bozok, Düzce, Erzincan, Giresun, Hitit, Kastamonu, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Namık Kemal, Ordu, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Uşak, Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen, Artvin Çoruh, Batman, Bilecik Şeyh Edebali, Bingöl, Bitlis Eren, Çankırı Karatekin, Karabük, Karamanoğlu Mehmetbey, Kırklareli, Kilis 7 Aralık, Mardin Artuklu, Muş Alparslan, Nevşehir, Osmaniye Korkut Ata, Siirt, Sinop, Ardahan, Bartın, Bayburt, Gümüşhane, Hakkâri, Iğdır, Şırnak, Tunceli and Yalova.
F	9	2010-2011	Abdullah Gül, Bursa Teknik, Erzurum Teknik, İstanbul Medeniyet, İzmir Kâtip Çelebi, Necmettin Erbakan, Türk-Alman, Yıldırım Beyazıt, Adana Bilim ve Teknoloji.

Results and Discussion

As detailed in the previous section, the estimated budgets of 103 public universities taken into account in the study of Tosun (2015) are given in 6 separate items. Table 2 also shows the change in the values of expenditure items contained in line II of the central government budget law by year on the basis of the total budget for all state universities in Turkey. Figure 1 graphically presents the distribution of relevant data for each working year. According to these data, more than 50% of university budgets are allocated for personnel expenses. If personnel expenses are assessed together with Social Security State premiums, they exceed 60% of the budget. The share of capital expenditures, including the expenditure item of the University's investments, in the total budget is 22.0% on average. The share of purchases of goods and services in the budget was 14.3% on average.

Universities should ensure optimization in spending items given in the budget and use resources more effectively and efficiently. For this purpose, the author appropriates to examine the expenditures of universities in three separate items (total budget, personnel expenses and capital expenses) contained in the budget according to the defined categories of universities. In Table 3, the ratio of the total budget values given to universities to the defined University categories is presented as numerical size in line II of the central government budget law. A graphical representation of the four-year average values of the relevant data is given in Figure 2a. As can be seen from the relevant table and figure, universities in Category A, consisting of 9 universities, receive about 1/4 of the central

budget of the higher education system, which includes 103 universities (25.3 percent). The other 1/4 of the total budget belongs to 25 universities in Category D (24.6 percent).

Table 2. Expenditure items and their values coming from the Central Government Budget for all state universities considered in the study.

Expenditure items	2010		2011		2012		2013	
	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)
Personnel	4.718.388,0	50,5	5.827.938,0	50,7	6.693.091,0	52,6	8.005.798	52,7
SSP*	914.550,0	9,8	1.030.721,0	9,0	1.153.877,0	9,1	1.362.838	9,0
PGS**	1.336.157,0	14,3	1.574.652,0	13,7	1.858.978,0	14,6	2.193.536	14,4
Current Transfers	206.404,6	2,2	688.157,5	6,0	246.259,0	1,9	269.650,5	1,8
Capital Investment	2.161.643,0	23,2	2.363.332,0	20,6	2.762.422,0	21,8	3.362.056	22,1
Total	9.337.142,6	100	11.484.800,5	100	12.714.627,0	100	15.193.878,5	100

(*)Social Security Premium expenses (**) Purchase of Goods and Services

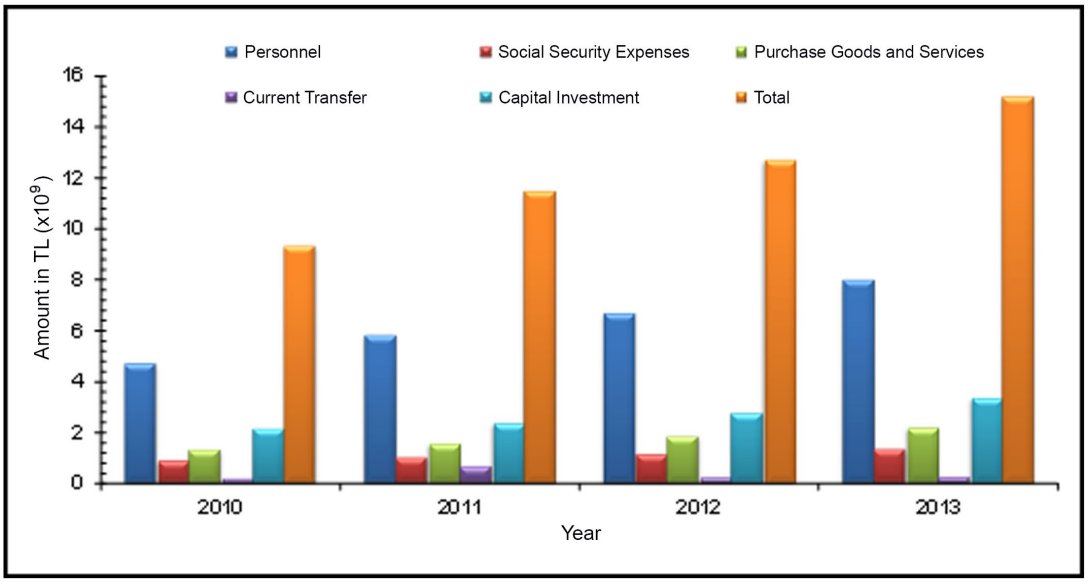

Figure 1. The values of expenditure items for all state universities considered in the study.

Table 3. Total budget amount for university categories

University Categories	2010		2011		2012		2013	
	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)	Amount (TL) x 1000	Rate (%)
A-Category (9 universities)	2.477.635,0	26,5	3.034.409,0	26,4	3.140.705,0	24,7	3.586.037,0	23,6
B-Category (10 universities)	1.733.366,0	18,6	2.109.517,0	18,4	2.266.005,0	17,8	2.623.311,0	17,3
C-Category (9 universities)	1.479.321,0	15,8	1.866.247,5	16,2	1.961.841,0	15,4	2.326.808,5	15,3
D-Category (25 universities)	2.377.406,6	25,5	2.810.255,0	24,5	3.092.767,0	24,4	3.660.160,0	24,1
E-Category (41 universities)	1.269.413,0	13,6	1.664.372,0	14,5	2.112.753,0	16,6	2.542.871,0	16,7
F-Category (9 universities)	-	-	-	-	140.556,0	1,1	454.691,0	3,0
Total	9. 337.141,6	100	11.484.800,5	100	12.714.627,0 0	100	15.193.878.5	100

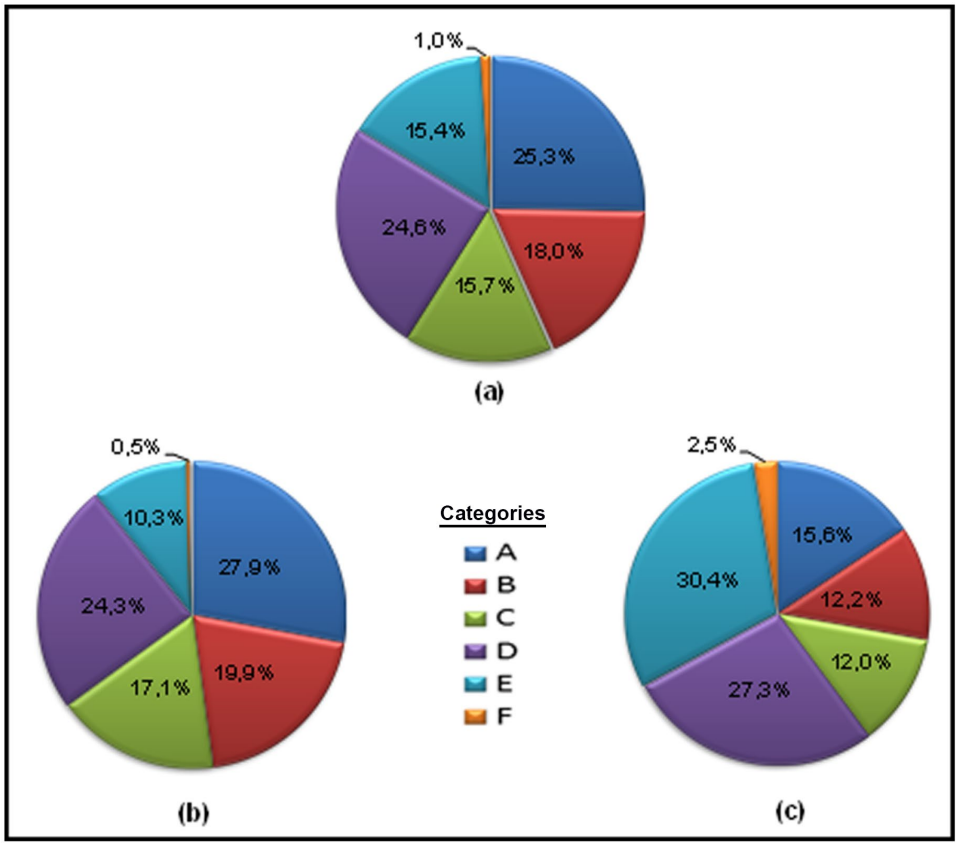

Figure 2. The distribution of expenditure items versus university category: (a) Total budget, (b) Personnel and (c) Capital Investment

Assessment with personnel expenses included in the public budget of universities is presented in Table 4. A graphical representation of the four-year average values of the relevant data is given in Figure 2b. According to these data, approximately one-third of personnel expenses are used by Category A universities (27.9 percent). Of this item, category D universities received a share of 24.3 percent, while for Category E universities, which included a total of 41 universities, share 10.3 percent on average. This unbalanced result is generally resulted from administrative staff numbers.

Table 4. Personnel expenses amount for the university categories

University Categories	2010		2011		2012		2013	
	Amount X 1000	Rate (%)	Amount X 1000	Rate (%)	Amount X 1000	Rate (%)	Amount X 1000	Rate (%)
A-Category (9 universities)	1.408.218,0	29,8	1.658.163,0	28,5	1.826.528,0	27,3	2.087.987,0	26,1
B-Category (10 universities)	979.320,0	20,8	1.169.729,0	20,1	1.325.622,0	19,8	1.522.578,0	19,0
C-Category (9 universities)	838.883,0	17,8	1.003.046,0	17,2	1.132.721,0	16,9	1.327.583,0	16,6
D-Category (25 universities)	1.149.596,0	24,3	1.425.838,0	24,4	1.622.756,0	24,2	1.935.454,0	24,2
E-Category (41 universities)	342.371,0	7,3	571.162,0	9,8	775.767,0	11,6	986.544,0	12,3
F-Category (9 universities)	-	-	-	-	9.697,0	0,2	145.652,0	1,8
Total	4.718.388,0	100	5.827.938,0	100	6.693.091,0	100	8.005.798,0	100

The capital investment expenditure item contained in the budget is a meaningful parameter that reveals the state of university investments. The distribution of this item by University categories for the four study years is presented in Table 5. In this item, a significant part of the budget is taken up by Category E universities, which include 41 universities established between 2006-2008 (average 30.4 percent). Another important portion of the

capital expenditures belongs to 25 universities established between 1992 and 1994 and included in Category D (average 27.3%). A graphical representation of the relevant data is presented in Figure 2c along with other data.

Table 5. The capital investment expenditure for the university categories

University Categories	2010		2011		2012		2013	
	Amount x1000	Rate (%)	Amount x1000	Rate (%)	Amount x1000	Rate (%)	Amount x1000	Rate (%)
A-Category (9 universities)	336.396,0	15,6	381.350,0	16,1	439.212,0	15,9	504.965,0	15,0
B-Category (10 universities)	259.110,0	12,0	302.856,0	12,8	326.651,0	11,8	403.504,0	12,0
C-Category (9 universities)	244.992,0	11,3	295.261,0	12,5	325.956,0	11,8	420.066,0	12,5
D-Category (25 universities)	662.854,0	30,7	648.971,0	27,5	720.260,0	26,1	833.677,0	24,8
E-Category (41 universities)	658.291,0	30,4	734.894,0	31,1	859.343,0	31,1	974.094,0	29,0
F-Category (9 universities)	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	91.000,0	3,3	225.750,0	6,7
Total	2.161.643,0	100	2.363.332,0	100	2.762.422,0	100	3.362.056,0	100

Conclusions

Currently the higher education institutes in Turkey are far from being homogeneous and productive. Most of them only have a functionality on education of young people, not on scientific research. Universities should have an institutional characteristic that illuminates the environment and influences social life rather than being classical institutions that provide normal education and carry out public affairs. Therefore, the performance of all higher education institutions in Turkey should be measured, their allowances should be given depending on their performance, and they should be transformed into institutions that are more effective in the production and transfer of information. For this, the method suggested above can be used effectively.

In Turkey, there is a board that evaluates the performance of universities within the higher education system. This board tries to do its duty in good faith by staying within the existing system. However, radical transformation should be achieved in the higher education system. The performance of universities should be determined every year using the method suggested above and state appropriations should be allocated according to the performance of universities. For example, universities should receive one-third of their total budget from local authorities. Universities should receive these fees each year in return for projects to be prepared in specific subjects, such as earthquake, flood, urbanization, social tissue treatment, mental health rehabilitation, water, land and mines, as well as for the effective use of local natural resources. It is clear that the issues mentioned above can be checked by a well-defined system on performance evaluation for the higher education system.

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GENDER AND POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN LEBANON'S ONGOING UPRISING

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Background: Women in Revolution

Feminist scholars have been tasked with the heavy burden of separating the *gender revolution* from namely, all "other" revolutions throughout scholarship and history. This is important to highlight. It is important because work on *gender and revolution* has been a consistent attempt to mend the divisions between the feminist scholarship on *women and revolutions* and the more mainstream study of *revolutions* where the feminist and women's agenda seems to take a back seat – or even more so, a seat at the back of the bus.

Traditionally, women's roles have been emphasized as crucial to the course and outcome of revolutions throughout history; however, many feminist scholars argue that revolutionary movements, perhaps even intentionally, have a history of subordinating women's interests to broader or more "fundamental" revolutionary goals. They further elaborate that revolutions and the states they yield have often continued to marginalize and exclude women from decision-making, often enacting legislation that emphasized women's more traditionally and "socially acceptable" family roles within the household.

On the other end of the stick, and in complete contrast to feminist scholarship, more mainstream studies of revolutions and their ideological agendas were geared toward overlooking women and gender issues throughout their discourses and analysis. Their description and analyses of particular revolutions' drives and consequences highlighted the social injustices, which lie in the notions of economic standing, social class, state corruption, as well as regional and international conflicts. Even more *traditional* definitions of "revolution" throughout the discourse, such as that presented by Skocpol (1979) for example, is one that depicts revolution as a process, which "[...] entailed a fast-paced foundational transformation of a society's state and class structures, including institutions and property relations".[1]

Scholastic work on *gender and revolution* has been centered upon not just integrating gender analysis in the wider discipline of revolution, but also distinguishing revolutions by their gendered consequences and repercussions. It ultimately grew from the evident reality that *all* revolutions had most definitely involved the participation of women in ways that disordered pre-existing social constructions of gender and women's roles. In her review of the social revolutions and various Third World populist revolutions, Moghadam (2018) found two types of revolution and dissected their implications upon women and the gender rhetoric.

According to her research, one group of revolutions fell into the "women in the family" or patriarchal model of revolution; while the other group of revolutions fell under the women's "emancipation", or "egalitarian model of revolution".[2] This differentiation is pivotal when we aim to understand the roles of women in revolutions, as it is important not to assume that "women" is a homogeneous group. It should be subsequently noted that in each revolution there has been variance in the outcomes it yielded, and continues to yield, upon women. This variance is strongly founded upon notions such as socio-economic standing, race, ethnicity as well as ideological divisions and other demographic considerations among women – especially in the MENA region. Nonetheless, revolutionary discourses and policies pertaining to women, the family and citizenship seem to fall into these two broad categories. So where will Lebanon's fall?

According to Moghadam, the *women's emancipation model* links both women's liberation and rights to the revolution's objectives, modernity, or the aim for social justice, development and overall transformation in a political and social system.[3] It constructs *Woman* as a major component of citizenship. She is to be equipped for economic and political action. She is to be freed from gendered roles, patriarchal constructions and societal expectations for her own liberation and active realization of her complete citizenship. The rhetoric of this model is deeply rooted *gender equality*

[1] Skocpol, T. (1979), States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 4- 41.
[2] Moghadam, V. M. (2018), Feminism and the Future of Revolutions, Socialism and Democracy, 32(1), 31-53.
[3] Moghadam (2018), Feminism and the Future of Revolutions, Socialism and Democracy.

rather than *gender difference*.[4] Historically, a clear example of this is that of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Although this revolution took place more than a century ago, remains one of the most *revolutionary* revolutions of all time. Its bold and unparalleled approach to raising the legal status and social positions of women at the time still echoes in Russia to this day.[5]

On another note, the *women-in-the-family model* of revolution is one that discounts women from the developments in the definitions and constructions of the revolutionary ideology. Whether in the definition of *independence*, *liberation* and *liberty*, this model tends to maintain the notion of a woman as second-class citizen in complete contrast to the ideology that they promote.[6] This model consequently bases its ideological rhetoric in patriarchal values, false notions of nationalism, as well as more traditional or religious depictions of an "ideal society". It assigns women the conventional roles of wife and mother, and associates women with the family unit, reproduction, *sex*, tradition, culture and religious connotations.

Although historically praised as the accelerator of the development of republics and democracies, The 1789 French Revolution is also seen as the historical precursor of the patriarchal model. Despite its many progressive features, as well as the fact that several of its central documents, such as the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, continued to enthuse movements for abolitionism and universal suffrage in the next century, the French revolution had an extremely conservative and traditionalist outcome for women. According to Darton (1989), women's primary duty in the Republic was biological reproduction and the socialization of children in the virtues of the republic.[7]

Feminist Revolutionary Theory and Scholarship

The notion of an international system and subsequently of international relations (IR) may be understood in a number of ways, and through a number of lenses. Furthermore, a number of international relations theories exist – essentially differing from one another in their in explanation of the driving force behind bi-lateral relations, local policies, political will, the interplay between security, power dynamics and actors of IR, etc.[8]

Feminist theory involves looking at the manner through which international politics affects (and is affected) by both men and women, and additionally delves into the manner through which core concepts that are employed within the discipline of international relations such as conflict, war and security are themselves rooted in gendered notions.[9] Feminist approaches to IR have not only encompassed a traditional focus of IR on states, wars, diplomacy and issues pertaining to state security, but feminist IR experts have additionally focused on the importance of tackling the manner through which gender outlines the current global political economy and political movements.[10]

Founding feminist IR scholars refer to using a "feminist consciousness" whilst addressing the intersection between gender issues in politics.[11] In her article *Gender is Not Enough: The Need for a Feminist Consciousness*, Cynthia Enloe urges IR scholars to delve into the issues at hand whilst maintaining a sensitive stance to both masculinities and femininities which constitute them.[12] In this way, the feminist consciousness, together with a gendered lens, allows for IR academics to discuss International Politics with a deeper appreciation and understanding of issues pertaining to gender around the world and how to include it in the development of the rhetoric at later stages.

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[11] Ackerly & True (2008), An Intersectional Analysis of International Relations: Recasting the Discipline.
[12] Enloe, C. (2004), 'Gender' Is Not Enough: The Need for a Feminist Consciousness, International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), (80) 1, 95-97.

Enloe describes just how the IR discipline proceedes to move forward and develop amid a major and fundamental lack in analysis of the experiences, actions and ideas of women in the international arena.[13] She further insists that this has proactively and indefinitely excluded them from the discussions in the theory of IR, as well as the rhetoric surrounding it.[14] To further elaborate on this point, Enloe describes Carol Cohn's (Founding Director of the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights and a Lecturer of Women's Studies at the University of Massachusetts Boston) experience in using the notion of a "feminist consciousness" while participating in the drafting of a document which outlines the actions undertaken in negotiating ceasefires, peace agreements and new constitutions.[15] Initially, the word "combatant" was used to describe those "in need" during these highly sensitive negotiations. The use of "combatant" in this context is particularly problematic as Carol points out, namely due to the fact that it implies one type of militarized individuals, mostly adult men carrying guns, and excludes the women and girls deployed as porters, cooks and forced "wives" of male combatants. This is a pivotal example of just how sensitive the inclusion of a gender component can be when negotiating a converging period – and the Lebanese case is no different. In the aforementioned example, the term "combatant" effectively rendered the needs of these women and their profiles *invisible*, and excluded them from the particularly critical IR conversation regarding "who needs what" in the highly pivotal and delicate period following a conflict. And this discussion is crucial. It is crucial not only for the analysis of the manner through which a range of masculinities are at play in the rhetoric and jargon of International Politics, but also for the comprehension of how those masculinities affect the women's agenda during conflict and peace periods.

In a similar approach, feminist IR scholar Charlotte Hooper effectively applies the notion of a "feminist consciousness" whilst taking into account the manner through which "IR disciplines men as much as men shape IR".[16] Instead of concentrating on "what and whom" IR discounts from the conversation, Hooper focusses her efforts on the manner through which masculine identities are preserved and are products of the practice of IR itself.[17] Hooper insists that a more in-depth look into the ontological and epistemological manners in which IR has been inherently "a masculine discipline" is necessary.[18] Ultimately, the inherent masculinity of IR is due to the fact that men constitute the vast majority of modern IR scholars across discourse and history. Moving from this reality, their masculine identities have ultimately been socially constructed across history through a number of pivotal political progressions. To elaborate on her point, Hooper tracks the masculine identities across history, where "manliness" is essentially measured in notions such as: militarism, public service and citizenship, ownership; authority of the fathers as both heads of states and households; and finally, competitive individualism and reason – all which she insists lay the foundation for the exclusion of a gendered rhetoric particularly in a post-conflict or an ongoing revolutionary setting.[19]

Women in Revolution in Recent History

More recently, in twentieth-century across developing countries such Mexico (1910-1920), Algeria (1954-1962) and Iran (1978-1979) revolutions had quite evidently patriarchal outcomes for women. Women were consigned to the *private* domain despite the significant roles women had assumed in the aforementioned revolutionary movements. In cases where the *women-in-the-family model* applies, men assumed power and monopolized the decision-making process, putting legislation in place which codified patriarchal-gender relations, and set the women's movement back centuries. If we are to move a little closer in both time and geography, the Arab Spring revolutions in their *first wave*, put women on the back burner and the patriarchal model triumphed in countries such as Egypt, Libya, and Yemen.[20]

[13] Enloe (2004), 'Gender' Is Not Enough: The Need for a Feminist Consciousness.
[14] Enloe (2004), 'Gender' Is Not Enough: The Need for a Feminist Consciousness.
[15] Enloe (2004), 'Gender' Is Not Enough: The Need for a Feminist Consciousness.
[16] Hooper, C. (1999), Masculinities, IR and the 'Gender Variable': A Cost-Benefit Analysis for (Sympathetic) Gender Sceptics, Review of International Studies, 25(3), 475-491.
[17] Hooper (1999), Masculinities, IR and the 'Gender Variable': A Cost-Benefit Analysis for (Sympathetic) Gender Sceptics.
[18] Hooper (1999), Masculinities, IR and the 'Gender Variable': A Cost-Benefit Analysis for (Sympathetic) Gender Sceptics.
[19] Hooper (1999), Masculinities, IR and the 'Gender Variable': A Cost-Benefit Analysis for (Sympathetic) Gender Sceptics.
[20] Esfandiari, H. & Heideman, K. (2015), The Role and Status of Women after the Arab Uprisings, Strategic Sectors: Culture and Society, 303-306.

So what determines each type of revolution or democratic transition and its gender outcomes? Simple, the consistency in the upward transition in the roles of women prior, during and after this process. This is where the true importance of women's participation in the 2019 Lebanese Revolution lies. In answering this question ideology and social structure are equally relevant. Often enough, where "revolutionaries" or the leadership of a transition are steered by a modernizing ideology, where reformist "leftist" parties are prominent, and chiefly where women and their organizations have had a strong presence, the aftermath of the revolution is more probably going to be emancipatory for gendered roles and structures.

In contrast, in the cases where these circumstances are not existing, and particularly where revolutions or political movements have been guided primarily without a strong female presence, *patriarchal* tendencies and ideologies are more likely to find new strength as a result. Despite momentary *distractions* throughout the period of the revolution, as women participate in the demonstrations and protests, pre-conceived and instilled patriarchal gender dynamics are often carried over in the post-revolutionary period, as the voices of these women and the feminist agenda is sidetracked and overlooked in the quest for the "greater good".

Political, economic and environmental crises in Lebanon have each been intersecting and deepening for decades now. Corruption and sectarianism amongst the ruling political class are devastating the country's social fabric, and it has been years since Lebanon has seen a functioning central government.[21] As people took to the streets for what they refered to as having had "enough of nepotism and a political system that is based on sectarian identities", the country continues to grapple through power cuts, the closure of of small and medium businesses, running water which is undrinkable in a number of neighbourhoods, as well as more than 25% of Lebanese citizens living in poverty at the moment.[22] Additionally, more than half of refugee communities in Lebanon live in extreme poverty, and the country's health system is "broken and very expensive" making even a basic check-up a financial hurdle for the majority of the country's population.[23]

Moreover, in Lebanon, this is an opportune time to turn the tables on the formerly oppressed feminist agenda – one which remains unaddressed amid taping the women's rights issue together by giving them their basic freedoms, as though these basic freedoms are to be "given" or as though they can be taken away in the first place. The women's agenda in Lebanon has been reduced to the provision of basic freedoms; however, women have entered the public sphere (although mildly) in the pre-revolutionary situation, one of the fundamental circumstances Moghadam argues where change is more likely to take place. Couple this, with the fact that incredibly overwhelming numbers of women took part in the revolution and assumed leadership roles in multiple civil society movements. In the cases of the Arab Spring revolts, one can apply this observation perfectly. These conditions were present Tunisia for instance, where the revolution shaped a woman's "role" in quite an unprecedented fashion in the county, but this was not the case in Egypt, Libya, and Yemen for instance, and as touched upon earlier.

Moving from this point, Lebanese women's role in the revolution which is currently "ongoing" across Lebanon, as well as currently setting a strong foundation for eagerly watching neighboring countries' own aspirations is evident, strong-willed and fundamentally important for the outcomes of these difficult times. It is fundamentally important toward the struggle for the feminist and women's agendas not to be overridden or stampeded under "broader" demands. It is fundamentally important because this is the wave of change women have been demanding for generations. And it is fundamentally important because the women's movement in Lebanon has already built such strong foundations for itself, this is the time where it gets to reap the benefits.

The Role of Women in Lebanon's Revolution

For months between late 2019 and 2020, Lebanon's capital has been hit with a triple-fold conflict – the likes of which it had not witnessed in years. Protestors from all factions of society demonstrated in the country's capital, as families, young people, women, and children stood against the sitting political elite, decades of perpetuated corruption, as well

[21] Salameh, R. (2014), Gender politics in Lebanon and the limits of legal reformism, Civil Society Knowledge Center, Lebanon Support, DOI:10.28943/CSR.001.007.
[22] Gemayel, F. (2019), More Than One Million Lebanese in Poverty, Le Commerce, Retrieved at: https://www.lecommercedulevant.com/article/29443-more-than-one-million-lebanese-in-poverty
[23] Gemayel (2019), More Than One Million Lebanese in Poverty.

as an escalating economic crisis.[24] Now, after an ease in Coronavirus restrictions, the revolution is brewing once again in several cities across the country.[25]

As the revolution swept across the country, women have been at the forefront. They have created an atmosphere of security that has allowed families with young children to return day in day out to the protests though their own civil society networks, non-governmenal organizations as well as grassroots movements.[26] Following months of protest, the serving political class eventually settled upon the resignation of then-serving Prime Miniser Rafik Hariri, and the establishement of a new "technocratic" government of "experts" under the leadership of Lebanon's new Prime Minister, Hassan Diab.[27] And despite its eruption into random unorganized violent incidents in recent months, the entire revolution largely remained peaceful, with women playing an essential role in keeping it as such according to multiple reports from the ground. At the forefront of the marches and focus groups, sit-ins and roadblocks, women have been a key driving force behind the movement according to an employee from the Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality who wished to remain anonymous for the purpose of this paper.[28] She insists: "In an 'outdated' political system where women are unceasingly underrepresented, revolutions like this one are where women make themselves, their rights and their demands heard. This has been the case in every revolution throughout history. And the case in the women's revolution of the 1950s and 1960s as well".[29]

One of the lasting symbols of Lebanon's 2019-2020 revolution, and one of its earliest, was infamously taken on its first night, during an altercation between a former Minister's bodyguard and a female protester. As one of the bodyguards waved and reportedly pointed his gun, a woman by the name of Malak Alaywe delivered a swift kick to his groin – now seen in almost every report of the protests around the world.[30] And the image of a woman lashing out at this representation of the country's corrupt and patriarchal political class is an enduring reality even if it has only recently been cemented visually in the discourse, served as a major catalyst in bringing more women out on the streets, and in instilling the image of the revolutionary woman in this part of Lebanon's history.[31]

However, one of the most fundamental impacts women have had on the protests is making them more peaceful. The first two nights of demonstrations in October 2019, were marked by violent clashes between police and protesters that continued deep into the night. But on the third evening, a group of women decided to form a human shield to separate the two sides. They called it the women's front line.[32] The clashes stopped immediately, and the protests continued to escalate over the coming days.

As a protestor who wishes to remain anonymous for the purpose of this paper states, "[…] when armed forces insisted on removing peaceful road blocks set up by protesters around Beirut by force, women stood on the frontlines to provide a peaceful baracade between police and protestors – insisting not to 'lose sight of why we are here'".[33] As the interviewee depicts, groups of women took it upon themselves to physically stand in the front line because police forces were "less likely to harm a woman".[34] And the role of women may be reduced to this if one were to address

[24] Mackinnnon, A. (2020), Why Lebanon's Protesters Are Back, Foreign Policy, Retrieved at: https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/01/lebanon-protests-back-streets-economic-crisis-debt-default-lockdown/
[25] Mackninnon (2020), Why Lebanon's Protesters Are Back.
[26] Kowal, C. & Stoumann Fosgrau, S. (2019), Women are on the frontlines of the Lebanese protests, Beirut Today, Retrieved at: https://beirut-today.com/2019/12/02/women-frontlines-lebanese-protests/
[27] DW News (2020), Lebanon announces new 'expert' government, Retrieved at: https://www.dw.com/en/lebanon-announces-new-expert-government/a-52102252
[28] Personal Communication (2020).
[29] Personal Communication (2020).
[30] Matar, M. (2019), NAYA| Woman of the Month: Malak Alaywe Herz, Lebanon's uprising icon, Annahar, Retrieved at: https://en.annahar.com/article/1065303-naya-woman-of-the-month-malak-alaywe-herz-lebanons-uprising-icon
[31] Personal Communication (2020).
[32] Anderson, A. & Cheeseman, A. (2019), Women stand defiantly at the vanguard of Lebanon's protest movement, Middle East Eye, Retrieved at: https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/women-stand-defiantly-vanguard-lebanons-protest-movement
[33] Personal Communication (2020).
[34] Personal Communication (2020).

this throw a shallow lens, but also carries ideological weight in itself. Revolutions across history have been at the center of exerting a "woman's role" in the society these women live in, and have subsequently served as an outlet for both political expression and well as political and agenda setting.[35] As demonstrators stood to face the country's corrupt political class in its entirety, each of the factions in place were forwarding a more centralized agenda as part of a larger theme – the women's agenda being one that has been a common denominator in the calls for reform across Lebanon for decades.

Hayat Arslan, President and Founder of the Committee for Women's Political Empowernment and Participation was front and center during these protests. She insists: "[…] it is essential to note that Lebanese women have gathered hand-in-hand to free themselves not only from sectarian divides, but also to unify against the inequality and oppression that comes with being a woman – no matter what faction of society you belong to".[36] She elaborates, "[…] one of the most notable and unique aspects about this Lebanese uprising is the participation of women in unprecedented numbers, but that should not come as a shock to anyone because women in Lebanon have been organizing themselves and mobilizing for change for decades – always waiting for the opportunity to ride a wave of change in the right direction, to ensure that what comes after this wave includes women's voices just as much as it includes the voices of the men participating in this movement".[37]

Civil society activist and gender rights advocate Bshara Samneh, Board Member of MOSAIC, the MENA Organization for Services, Advocacy, Integration and Capacity-building, insists that Lebanese women:
"[…] from all different ages and backgrounds are shaping the direction and character of the revolution so as to include a clear direction for the women's agenda. As the case generally is, that despite the fact that women are active participants in forwarding the change itself, they are often isolated from the decision-making and reform processes that follow. They are at the center of demonstrations, standing in the faces of armed forces, and serving as a reminder of their essential role in the political process. Lebanese women, still burdened by the Civil War era, have been insisting that this time around the revolution must be first and foremost about both national unity and gender equality. Women are protesting for an equal seat at the decision-making table. Because if this does not take place now, their voices will be silenced once more with superficial reforms"[38]

As Samneh insists: "I unquestionably am certain that our revolution in Lebanon is feminist at its center. Not only due to the fact that it evidently demands real transformative change, but also because it is intersectional, in that it is aiming to tackle multiple forms of oppression and human rights violations beyond economic inequalities. The revolutionaries on the ground are calling for an end to classism, patriarchy, racism, sexism and homophobia".[39]

As the system regulating personal status laws (marriage, divorce, custody and inheritance) in Lebanon remains un-unified by one comprehensive civil code, and rooted in 15 various denominational legal systems governed by religious leaders, the impact of these laws are disproportionate upon the women they impact.[40] Additionally, Lebanon's Nationality Law infamously still denies a Lebanese woman the right to pass on her nationality to her children if her husband is not Lebanese, while it allows a Lebanese man to do so.[41]

Lebanon has only six female lawmakers in its most recent Parliament (constituted of 128 members in total). Lebanon currently ranks at 140 out of 149 in the global Gender Gap Index ; and its ranking in terms of women's participation in the labor force is one of the lowest globally.[42] Women in Lebanon are also underrepresented in the political sphere:

[35] Personal Communication (2020).
[36] Personal Communication (2020).
[37] Personal Communication (2020).
[38] Personal Communication (2020).
[39] Personal Communication (2020).
[40] Human Rights Watch (2015), Human Rights Watch Submission to the CEDAW Committee of Lebanon's Periodic Report 62nd Session, Retrieved at: https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/LBN/INT_CEDAW_NGO_LBN_19385_E.pdf
[41] Human Rights Watch (2015), Human Rights Watch Submission to the CEDAW Committee of Lebanon's Periodic Report 62nd Session.
[42] Human Rights Watch (2015), Human Rights Watch Submission to the CEDAW Committee of Lebanon's Periodic Report 62nd Session.

their representation in the Parliament constitutes less than 5% - often backed by the support of a powerful political party, or on a nomination list as part of a gender-friendly image a political party wishes to convey.[43]

Dr. Guita Hourani, Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Law and Political Science at Notre Dame University-Louaize insists that the presence of women on the ground falls directly in-line with a feminist revolutionary ideology. She connects women's presence in this revolution, with their presence across decades in revolutions throughout history, but fears their fate will be yet again marginalized in the rhetoric surrounding the post-revolutionary era – such as in the case of the French Revolution for instance.[44] She highlights that it is often an overwhelming reality that the rhetoric for "equality" and "justice", are demanded independent of a gendered component.[45] Building on this point, when issues of equality and social justive are addressed, they often refer to economic standing between citizens rather than the political participation of all factions of society in the decision-making process. Hourani insists: "[…] by remaining perseverant and vocal in support of their political and socio-economic demands, women have become some of the Revolution's most iconic images. Not only have they defied gender stereotypes, they have also included patriarchy, injustice and militarization to the feminist agenda".[46]

On why women are inherently marginalized in a post-revolutionary era, and why this may very well be the case in Lebanon, Hourani insists that the issues are not only present in the patriatchal political structure in place, but rather that women need be more organized as a group and learn to "support other women".[47] She states:
"[…] there are many reasons why women are sidelined in post-revolutionary eras. I will mention two. One of these reasons, which is very rarely talked about, is financial ability/wealth that can facilitate women's access to politics and help them make an impact. The other reason is that women in our part of the world have yet to support other women in politics, in fact, women, as well as men, disempower women who are interested in politics, this happens through defaming, not voting for them, and accusing them of being aggressive and manly".[48]

Conclusion: Intersectional and Systemic Challenges amid Protest
The reality of the matter is that the women's rights discourse in Lebanon has largely been treated much like every other pressing and fundamental human rights issue the country faces: piecemeal reforms managed to provide temporarily solutions and instant gratification without making any meaningful and sustainable changes or improvements. Decades of these unaddressed grievances have given women additional reason to organize themselves in protests and revolutions.

Women have inspired the Lebanonese 2019-2020 revolution, led several sub-movements, and provided a space within this revolution for forwarding the women's agenda, gendered perspectives, as well as comprehensive policy approaches. As the spirit of this revolution centers on bringing about the reform necessary for the abolishment of sectarianism, bad governance, and corruption, the specific and disproportionate injustices women experience in the country intersect with these inherent injustices fundamentally. The challenges brought on by Lebanon's dwindling economic system are particularly amplified for women from poor socio-economic conditions, women in underdeveloped regions, migrant domestic workers, refugees, sexual and gender minorities, among other marginalized groups. Blatantly, according to Human Rights Watch, women are discriminated against in the country's laws, economic and labor practices, as well as in cultural, social and political norms.[49]

In sharp contrast to the realities on the ground, the extensively active participation and leadership of women in protests and revolutions across its history, Lebanon has been consistently ranked as one of the lowest in the region in terms of

[43] Human Rights Watch (2015), Human Rights Watch Submission to the CEDAW Committee of Lebanon's Periodic Report 62nd Session.
[44] Personal Communication (2020).
[45] Personal Communication (2020).
[46] Personal Communication (2020).
[47] Personal Communication (2020).
[48] Personal Communication (2020).
[49] Human Rights Watch (2015), Lebanon: Laws Discriminate Against Women: Pass Optional Civil Code; Reform Religious Laws, Courts, Retrieved at: https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/01/19/lebanon-laws-discriminate-against-women

Parliamentary representation of women.[50] Women's advocacy and civil society groups have lobbied to advance a draft electoral law, known as "the female quota," that would ensure a 30 percent quota for women for years now.[51] In 2017, in a move widely condemned by activists and civil society groups both locally and internationally, the government failed to pass the draft law or even make any promising progress in incorporating the proposal in Parliament.[52]

While the aforementioned depiction does not entirely capture the full picture when it comes to the state of gender discrimination in Lebanon, nor does it assist in identifying the extent to which women are at a disadvantage in the post-revolutionary period; it does serve as a clear emphasis of its systemic nature. Systemic forms of injustice build upon each other. Corruption, sectarianism, clientelism, racism, and patriarchal social norms all reinforce one another, producing an environment that is destructive to a women's presence and active participation in society. Emphasizing the urgency of dismantling these barriers is pivotal in a period of ongoing revolution, reform and convergence.

At the foundation of Lebanon's ongoing revolution is an otherwise overlooked collective struggle against the injustice women face daily in the areas of political participation, legal frameworks, social norms as well as personal status. Demonstrators have transcended sectarian, regional, generational, and traditional political loyalties to condemn a broken political and economic system, and this inevitably needs to constitute a major shift in the role of women in the public sphere. As women have been instrumental to the revolution's success, the revolution itself cannot succeed is key players in the revolution are not involved in the convergence period, in policy development, in power and at the decision-making table.

It is simply insufficient to solely give recognition to the fact that the revolution "would not be possible" without the leadership, courage, or engagement of women. It is important to recongnize that the revolution is unsuccessful and essentially incomplete if it does not champion women's rights and justice. Ultimately, inclusive and intersectional platforms are the sole means through which Lebanese women can play a leading role in shaping a key shift in the country's political, economic, social and cultural landscapes.

[50] Human Rights Watch (2015), Lebanon: Laws Discriminate Against Women.
[51] Human Rights Watch (2015), Lebanon: Laws Discriminate Against Women.
[52] Human Rights Watch (2015), Lebanon: Laws Discriminate Against Women.

WOMEN BEHIND THE PENS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TURKISH FEMALE AUTHORS FROM REFORM PERIOD TO MODERNISM

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ABSTRACT
In history, men dominated the political and professional realms while women were limited in domestic spheres and were accepted as the subordinate, "the second sex" or "other" (De Beauvoir, 1968, p. xvi) biologically and naturally. With the French Revolution (1789), women's suffrage movements emerged all over Europe and due to the wars and the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century onwards, gender shifts occurred because women were involved in the public spheres to substitute men. Under the influences of the western feminism, in the Ottoman Empire, feminist movements began with the Tanzimat Reforms (Zihnioğlu, 2013) in the second half of the 19th century and novelties of the century provided the age of "modernisation" in the lives of the Ottoman women. With the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908-1922), Turkish female authors appeared in the literary canon with their own names and reflected the social, cultural and political changes in the Ottoman society with feministic views. Through modern periods, there are noteworthy female authors, whose works are the documents of the Turkish Republican Era. Therefore, this study aims at examining the developments of female writings from the Tanzimat Reform Era to modern periods. The study involves three main parts. The first part focuses on the historical analysis of changes in Turkish literature. In the second part, certain Turkish female authors and their works are analysed to exemplify the contextual and discourse levels. Finally, the study concludes that the historical and social developments, which began during the 19th century, constitute the modern period feministic works in Turkish literature. Within this scope, the novels and short stories of Emine Semiye, Fatma Aliye, Nezihe Muhiddin, Halide Edip Adıvar and Leyla Erbil were studied. Based on the findings, it was concluded that feministic views and female writings have evolved from the Tanzimat Period to modern ages due to political, social and historical changes in Turkish culture.

Introduction

In history, men dominated the political and professional realms while women were limited in domestic spheres because women were accepted as the subordinate, "the second sex" or "other" (De Beauvoir, 1968, p. xvi) biologically and naturally. The French Revolution (1789) was the turning-point of feminist movements in France where French women sought for independence, liberty and gender equality. This movement influenced all the European women throughout the women's suffrage movements. After the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, women were involved in the public spheres to substitute men at war and gender shifts emerged almost in all patriarchal societies. Feminists' movements, which began in the 19th century in western cultures, aimed at changing the condition of women in patriarchal societies. Imprisoned at home, isolated from the society and accepted as the subordinate, women had to struggle for equal rights. Therefore, in the Ottoman Empire, feminist movements began under the influences of the western culture (Zihnioğlu, 2013).

For centuries, female authors have faced prejudices in literary canon because the act of creation have been associated with men, and thus, female writers were accepted as unethical, abnormal and a rebel to nature (Gilbert & Gubar, 2000, p. 6). Also, for male authors, the writings of women were accepted as too emotional, and therefore, women had to write with pseudonyms or under male names.

The Ottoman feminism dates back to the second half of the 19th century in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. Until the Tanzimat Period (1839 and 1876), women's rights were limited but with the reforms, women gained equalities with men. Novelties of the 19th century provided the age of "modernisation" in the lives of the Ottoman women. During the First (1876-1878) and the Second Constitutional (1908-1918) periods, many intellectual women tended to awake women's attention to the gender issues.

However, Turkish feminists and intellectuals advocated that women were still domesticated and alienated from the political and social spheres by the norms of the patriarchy. Therefore, they organized conferences, established institutions and charity organizations for women's employment and founded political parties and unions for women. *Teali-Nisvan* (*Organization for Women's Rise*) was one of the most significant union for women to struggle for liberation, political and social rights and equality on education (Erol, 1992; Arat, 1995; Adak, 2007; Gökçimen, 2008; Zihnioğlu, 2013).

Moreover, the Ottoman feminists published articles and wrote literary works both to criticize the expectations of the patriarchal society and create an awareness about gender inequalities. During the Tanzimat Period, female

writers published magazines as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (*Newspaper for Ladies*) and journals *Kadınlar Dünyası* (*Women's World*). This new movement attempted to challenge the perception of women by the society and stereotypical roles imposed on women by the patriarchy. In other words, for Berktay (2004), women not only demanded equal rights but also questioned the patriarchal system to define themselves in new ways. They demanded respect as individuals, education rights, and change in the imposed roles as mother, wives and daughters.

Female identity and role in society were the major concerns of intellectuals who believed that women's prosperity lead to a prosperous nation. Ottoman cultural integrity and development of the empire were associated with the status of women. In journals and magazines, Turkish feminists tried to awake the attention of women about the inequalities in the society, barriers of patriarchy, the struggles of western women, feminist movements within Europe, the arranged marriages and the subordinate position of women in marriage:

> It has to be acknowledged that neither is man created to serve his wife, nor is the woman created to be the slave of man. If a man is able to support both himself and his family with his skills and expertise, why should a woman not demand the same knowledge and skills? What is the difference between men and women if we have the same hands and feet, eyes and brain? Aren't we human beings as well? Is the reason why we have remained in the same place since our creation the difference of our sex? No one who has common sense can accept this! If we as Turkish women are supposed to remain uneducated and ignorant, then shouldn't the European women also be like us? If the reason for our illiteracy is the necessity of being veiled, then what about the peasant women who are working with their men in the fields and helping them by all means? (Rabia, 1869, p. 30).

> We, the Ottoman women have been living in indolence, living on our spouse's salary, and become wretched from extreme poverty when left alone by our men. We were illiterate, lazy, unskillful, and unable to support a family with our low income. From now on we need to come to our senses, help each other to reinvigorate the working and educational life [for women] and let us be saved from the wretchedness and destitution that continually threaten us (Fatih, 1912, pp. 2-3).

Kadıoğlu (1998) stated that the reforms during the Republic encouraged women to "educate the nation" and become teachers, but first they were expected to become good mothers and wives (p. 94). Therefore, the Tanzimat Period female authors believed that education was the only salvation for women to gain a self-identity and independence:

> Our men find us [women] guilty all the time. Whatever happens, they claim that 'women are ignorant.' Our women are illiterate! Yes, this cannot be denied. But, who are the ones that leave them uneducated? Is it our precious fathers who raise an objection against their daughters' pursuit of higher education after they are twelve? Let's say that our mothers are not conversant. I wonder how benevolent our men are towards us. What kind of a self-sacrifice and endeavor did they show us? None! Is not it? What do they expect from us? What right do they have to make demands on us? (Haydar, 1911, p. 2-3).

Although many male intellectuals advocated the feministic movements, there was no change in the status of women because Turkish women had to struggle in society similar to those in many European countries because the Ottoman society was based on a strict patriarchal system:

> Let us confess, today a woman lacks the rights to live and be free… her life is dominated by a father, a maternal or paternal uncle, a husband or a brother who takes advantage of traditions and customs. It is impossible for her to set a goal or an ideal for herself (Demirdirek, 1999, p. 74).

> Ottoman women's demands were parallel to the struggle for women's rights in the West. They followed women's movements around the world but underlined the fact that living in an Islamic society set different conditions for them. When they discussed their demands within the framework of Islam, they provided supportive examples from "asri saadet", the "undistorted" days of Islam, but they refused to compromise (Demirdirek, 1999, p. 79).

> Ottoman men and women have tried to legitimate and rationalize these kinds of Islamic principles by using a sociological formula based on the necessity of a social order that is in accordance with the nature of a 'woman' and 'man' (Durakbaşa, 2002, p. 105).
> [Osmanlı kadınları ve erkekleri, bu tür İslami ilkeleri, 'kadın've 'erkek doğası ile uyumlu toplumsal düzen ihtiyacına dayanan bir sosyolojik formülü kullanarak rasyonel gösterip meşrulaştırmaya çalışmışlardır]

The women's suffrage movements, which initiated with the Tanzimat period, reached its peak after the establishment of Republic in Turkish culture. Turkish women gained rights in education, marriage and divorce, inheritance and politics. Due to the women's inclusion in work places after the First World War and Balkan War,

Reform Acts in economic, social and political spheres were initiated (Kurnaz, 1991, p. 128). 1918-1923 time span was the period when the society was reshaped and experienced politic, economic and social changes. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic (1923), women found opportunities to criticize the gender equalities in the society. Although the republican era was the synthesis of old and new and traditional and modern, the change in the regime could not provide women their desires and expectations about equality: "the absolute domination of father," was handed over "to the republic of brothers" (Berktay, 2003, p. 105) and male domination ignored women as "concrete/factual female [subjects]" (Berktay, 2001: 357). The ideal woman of the Republic was shaped by the traditions of the Ottoman norms and the western culture: an "enlightened" mother and a "masculinized" social actor (Kandiyoti, 1995); chaste (Kadıoğlu, 1993), morally strong, virtuous, a modern partner of a man, "modern[ized] but modest" (Kadıoğlu, 1993), responsible of the education of the generations (Durakbaşa, 1998a: 36) and "a good mother, loyal wife and Muslim woman" (Toska, 1998, p. 75).

Female Authors From Tanzimat Era To Modern Period

Emine Semiye (1864-1944) was the daughter of a famous historian and statesman, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha and sister of Fatma Aliye. She was an Ottoman prolific author, a politician, journalist and teacher who supported women's education and professional life both in her novels and articles published in notable journals. She produced novels and stories involving biographical traces and criticism of the domestication of women. Emine Semiye was one of the first Ottoman Muslim educated women (Karaca, 2011) who attended to a formal school (Kurnaz, 1991, p. 30). In 1882, Emine Semiye worked as a Turkish and literature teacher in İstanbul and other towns (Karaca, 2011). She wrote articles for *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Ladies*), *Kadın* (*Woman*), *Saadet* (*Bliss*) and *İzler* (*Traces*), a math textbook and novels *Sefalet* (*Poverty*) and *Gayya Kuyusu* (*The Pit of Hell*).

Emine Semiye contributed to the Ottoman women movement (Kurnaz, 2012) by establishing charity organizations to support women's suffrage. In 1897, she founded *Şefkat-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (*Charity for Women*) and became a member of Committee of Union. While dealing with politics and writings, Semiye dedicated her life for the education of girls because she believed that education was essential for a prosperous nation. She travelled the country and educated girls in the distant places. Emine Semiye used her pen to educate not only women but also the Ottoman society (Karaca, 2011: 298).

In her article, "Kadınlık" ("Womanhood"), Semiye criticized the domestication of women and social identity imposed on women. The concept of "womanhood" was enriched and developed by Emine Semiye and Fatma Aliye and it aimed at investigating the condition of the Ottoman women in the patriarchal system, suggesting solutions to the gender inequalities and providing the Ottoman women a westernized modern world blended with the traditions. The main aim of the founders of this group was to educate women, help them find jobs, realize the issues of their society and be enlightened because for them the enlightened women could find their self-identities as an individual (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 45).

As mentioned before, the Ottoman feminists accepted education as the only salvation of girls and Emine Semiye underscored this issue in her novel, *Muallime (Tutor)* (1901). The novel is about the significance of education for women. İdris Molla is a teacher and he educated his daughter Bihbude. When blamed and dismissed from her uncle's home, Bihbude becomes a tutor in the house of Mahsul Bey. However, she was abandoned by her fiancé who accused Bihbude with adultery. The novel underscores how education saves the life of a woman who faced difficulties.

Similar to the intellectuals of the Tanzimat period, Emine Semiye underscored the significance of women's education for healthy families and a prosperous nation. Therefore, in her article "İslamiyet'te Feminizm" (Feminism in Islam), she stated that with education, women would begin struggling for their identity and rights in patriarchal societies. For her, the women were the most prominent part of the society, yet their potentiality was restricted by men"…medically, there is no difference between the mind of men and women" […tıbben kadınla erkek dimağı arasında hiçbir fark yoktur] (Emine Semiye, nd, p. 5). Reacting against the belief that considers women as the shadows of men, Emine Semiye used a critical attitude in her writings.

Fatma Aliye (1862-1936) was the first woman novelist who became the symbol of Turkish feminism (Esen, 2000, p. 120). She was the daughter of a significant bureaucrat and historian intellectual Ahmet Cevdet Pasha and the sister of Emine Semiye. Fatma Aliye was brought up in a conventional family and a conservative society in which there were problems of arranged marriages, polygamy and unfair treatments towards women. However, her family was highly educated and she had the chance of realizing her potential. She could not get a regular education but was interested in her brother's books and French, which she learned from a tutor. Having lived in a gender segregated society, she had the opportunities to use her skills due to her father's effort and sympathy.

After she got married, she was forbidden to read or write by her husband but after giving birth, Fatma Aliye became ill and her husband realized her passion for reading and writing. She translated the novel with the name of *Meram* under the pseudonym "Bir Kadın" ("A Woman"). Although nobody believed that it was translated by a woman, the positive comments encouraged her to continue. She wrote *Hayal ve Hakikat* (*Dream and Reality*) with Ahmet Mithat Efendi under the name of "A Woman". Using her real name in 1892, she published *Muhadarat (Muhazarat)*, which was later placed in The Women's Library of the World's Fair Catalogue. During 1892 and 1915, she wrote novels, *Udi* and *Nisvan-ı İslam* and wrote journals in *Hanımalara Mahsus Gazete* (*Newspaper for Ladies*), *Kadınlar Dünyası* (*World of Women*) and *İnkılab* (*Reform*).

Fatma Aliye dealt with gender relations, women and Islam, impacts of westernization, women's education, arranged marriages, and the roles of women in the Ottoman Islamic culture. Based on the conflicts emerged during the 19th century about the western world and Islam woman, Fatma Aliye coined a term "Islam woman" which referred to the enlightened and educated woman while preserving the traditional way of Islamic culture (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 48). She advocated the equality between men and women (Canbaz, 2007, p. 66), which she believed had a significant place in Islamic codes. Therefore, for her men and women were equal and thus should be treated equally (Canbaz, 2007, p. 66).

In her famous novels, Fatma Aliye depicted Turkish women as intellectual, educated and economically independent, yet, leading a life appropriate for their traditions. The teacher in *Refet* and a music teacher in *Udi* were portrayed as brave, intelligent and decent women who blended the western way of life with Islamic codes. Similarly, in *Muhadarat*, Fatma Aliye focused on the marriage and women's role in marriage. The female character, Fazıla marries Mukaddem due to her father's choice. Although she is depicted as an obedient passive girl, she accepts the marriage to escape from her family, and thus, she makes her own choice. After divorcing Mukaddem, Fazıla marries Remzi with her freewill. In the novel, Fatma Aliye depicts the ideal woman: a good mother, a good wife, a good Muslim, educated, virtuous, hardworking and determined and modern (Argunşah, 2012, p. 56).

Nezihe Muhiddin (1889-1958) was an author, activist and a pioneer of feminist movements. She was born in 1889 in a wealthy and intellectual family in İstanbul (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 35). Her father was a judge and her mother was the daughter of Ali Şevket Pasha (Coşar, 2006, p. 33). After the formal education, she continued her education at home with tutors and completed her training of Darülmuallimat (Dik, 2012, p. 4). She was the leading figure of *Kadın Birliği* (*Women's Union*) established in 1924 (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 150). In 1909 she worked as a science teacher at Kız İdadi Mektebi (Girls High School). Highly influenced by her father and cousins, she grew up in an environment of political discussions and learned about the western politics and culture. Muhiddin became the head of İttihat ve Terakki Kız Okulu (Union and Progress Girl School) in 1909 and she wrote articles about sociology, psychology and pedagogy in newspapers as *Sabah* and *Ikdam* to create an awareness for gender issues. She was the chief-editor of *Kadın Yolu* (*Woman's Path*) (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 169) and the author of *Türk Kadını* (*Turkish Woman*) (1931) in which she praised the Ottoman women in the women's suffrage movements. During her professional life as a teacher and director at schools, her main goal was to raise Turkish girls in accordance with the European schools (Baykan & Ötüş, 1999, p. 25).

Nezihe Muhiddin was an activist who dealt with politics by organizing seminars and establishing institutions for women's awareness and she was a member of *Osmanlı Müdâfaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (*Ottoman Women Rights Advocate Union*) which was established in 1913 to create an awareness of women's rights (Çakır, 1991, pp. 6-7). Nezihe Muhiddin became the leading figure of the journal *Kadınlar Dünyası (World of Women)* (Çakır, 1991, p. 91-97) and built *Türk Kadın Birliği* (*Turkish Woman's Association*) with her friends in 1924. This association was considered to be the first women suffrage movement of Turkish women. She devoted her life on educating girls at schools, organizing seminars for women to gain professions, training women about their rights in society and became one of the most effective contributors of women's right of voting in 1935.

Nezihe Muhiddin focused on the false modernization and westernization of the Ottoman women and advocated that ideal women should be educated and working. Fatma Aliye's "Islam woman" concept was replaced by the "Turkish woman" throughout the end of the First World War by Nezihe Muhiddin

> For Nezihe Muhiddin, the woman who possessed the traits of Turkish woman concept was the one who adapted the European rationalism and secularism based on science rather than the religious superstitions, was aware of her rights and fought for them, was acquainted with the economic and politic issues of her country and suggested solutions, protected the national issues and participated in the public spheres (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 77).

Her main goal was, therefore, to depict the new "Turkish woman" as equal to men in her notable novels:

> The writer, who mentioned about the negative impacts of social change, the consequences of wrong practices of westernization in her novels, advocated the 'educated-professional woman' that she considered as the ideal woman while criticizing the 'elegant woman, salon woman, westernized women' (Erdoğan, 1998, p. iii).
> [Romanlarında sosyal değişmenin olumsuz yönüne, batılılaşmanın yanlış uygulamalarının sonuçlarına değinen yazar, olumsuz olarak gördüğü 'artist kadın, salon kadını, batılı kadını' tiplerini eleştirerek, ideal kadın olarak gördüğü 'eğitimli-meslek kadını' tipini savunmuştur]

According to Doğan (2007), Nezihe Muhiddin "plays the role of a father who educates the society through a traditional culture and nationalistic discourse" [geleneksel kültür ve milliyetçi söylem doğrultusunda toplumu eğiten bir baba rolünü üstlenir] (p. 12). In her famous novel, *Benliğim Benimdir!* (*I Have My Self!*) (1929), the main character Zeynep is a slave girl who was sold to Nusretullah Pasha when she was thirteen. The story revolves around her attempts to kill herself in order to escape from the oppressions of the patriarchy and slavery:

> In my mind, a word without a definite aim goes around like a black winged butterfly: Escape, leave! But where…and to whom? ... I cannot expect from death anymore. I could not have it for twice (Muhiddin, 2006a, p. 75).
> [Fikrimde hiçbir hedefi olmayan bir kelime, siyah kanatlı bir kelebek gibi dolaşıyordu: Kaçmak, gitmek! Fakat nereye... ve kime? Artık ölümden halas bekleyemezdim. İki defasında da bana yâr olmamıştı!]

In the palace, Zeynep learns the piano and reading and falls in love with the son of the pasha. However, she is raped by the father and becomes his wife. Labelled as a prostitute, a thief and a fraud, Zeynep becomes the victim of the male dominated society. Nezihe Muhiddin not only criticized the conditions of women in a male dominated society but also focused on the essentiality of women's education.

In her article "Türk Kadınları Mebus Olmak İstiyor" ("Turkish Women want to be Deputy") in *İkdam* published in 1929. Nezihe Muhiddin (2006b) summarized the attempts of all feministic authors: "It is meaningless to tell us wait. Does it mean women are inexperienced? …What are we going to wait for? For women reborn with another nature?" [Bize bekleyiniz demek manasızdır. Yoksa kadın henüz tecrübesizdir, demek mi isteniliyor acaba? … Neyi bekleyeceğiz? Kadının başka bir hilkatla dünyaya gelmesini mi?] (p. 280). However, Nezihe Muhiddin was frustrated with the movements, ignored by the public and lost her life in a mental hospital:

> It has long been claimed that women were given their rights by the Kemalists and that they did not need to fight for them... Through the initiative of Nezihe Muhiddin, women did fight for their rights, including political rights, and sought full equality. Women's struggle was suppressed, Nezihe Muhiddin was silenced and the founding fathers could claim a tabula rasa – over which they could rewrite women's history as the granters of women's rights (Zihnioğlu, 1998, p. iii).

During the Turkish Independence War, women substituted men in public spheres for labor force, helped the army force as nurses, contributed to the economy of nation and provided environment for their children and elders. Through the Republican regime, reforms provided women certain suffrage rights in marriage, education and politics to appear in the western world. Therefore, women were accepted as the hidden figures of the national war. One of the most prominent heroines of the Independence War was Halide Edip Adıvar (1884-1964) who supported women's suffrage with her pen. Her father, Edip Bey, provided her a western education with private tutors and she graduated from the American College for Girls in 1901, as the first Turkish and Muslim student. She was also aware of the traditional way of the Ottoman culture due to her grandmother: "grows up slowly, being nourished by both the eastern and western culture; she either listens to the prayers of her Sufi grandma or feels the influences of the English discipline that an occidental father admires" [doğu ve batı kültürlerinden beslenerek usul usul büyür; kah Mevlevi bir anneannenin yakarışlarını dinler, kah alafranga bir babanın hayran olduğu İngiliz terbiyesini varlığı üzerinde hisseder] (Adıvar, 2005, p. 300).

In 1911, Halide Edip Adıvar worked for *Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (*Organization for the Elevation of Women*), which provided childcare and nursery classes for women and participated in *Türk Ocakları Derneği* (*Turkish Hearths Association*) where she constructed the concept of "the new woman". Adıvar (2005) explained her ideology of equality among genders: "This work imagines the era in which women will have the right to vote, and their life and human relations will be fairly and equitably" [Bu eser, kadınların oy sahibi olacağı, hayat ve insan münasebetleri makul ve muntazam olabileceği bir devri tahayyül ediyordu] (p. 187).

Similar to Fatma Aliye and Nezihe Muhiddin, Adıvar stated the significance of women's education and created an alternative woman who combined the traditional expectations with modern life. According to Acar (1990), it was a national priority for feminists to establish a society similar to the West: men and women have equal status in

society to achieve common goals of the nation. Therefore, feministic writings of this new period reflected the perception of women not only as mothers and wives but also as patriotic citizens and the equal status of women with men in nation. For Adıvar, therefore, it was inevitable for women to break the chains of patriarchy and establish an independent self for the national identity. For her, the "enlightened women" would become "enlightened mothers" to empower the national improvement:

> Women need to learn as much as men do, need to learn everything. In this case, the key concern of women cannot be different from that of men… Yet, these new needs should not let women avoid fulfilling their principal responsibilities, even cooking. No matter how high the knowledge that women possess, it must be in a perfect harmony with their womanly responsibilities, discretion and the role of governess […] A woman, first, is an Ottoman, a patriot. … The rights of a country are a thousand times more important and honourable than those of women. Thus, while yelling out for their rights, women must remember that these rights are for breeding a child for the homeland (qtd. in Demirdirek, 1993, pp. 38–40).
>
> [Kadınlar, erkekler kadar öğrenmeye, her şeyi öğrenmeye muhtaçlar. Bu hususta kadınların mevzuu erkeklerinkinden başka olamaz… Fakat bunları vezaif-i hakikiyelerinden, hatta yemek pişirmekten bile çekindirecek tarzda temessül etmemeli. Bildikleri şey ne kadar yüksek olursa olsun vezaif-i nisviyyelerine, muhakemelerine, mürebbiyelik rollerine ahenktar bir mükemmeliyet vermelidir […] Bir kadın evvela Osmanlı, bir vatanperverdir… vatanın hukuku kadınlık hukukundan bin kat mühim ve muhteremdir. Onun için kadınlar bugün hukukumuz diye haykırırken bunu kendileri için değil, vatana yetiştirecekleri evlada lazım olan terbiyeyi verebilmek için olduğunu der-hatır etmelidir]

Women were accepted to be the mothers of the nation to educate the future and Mustafa Kemal emphasized the essentiality of women's education as:

> as time passes, science, progress, and civilization advance with giant steps and we are aware of this. The education that mothers have to provide to their children today is not as simple as it has been in the past. Therefore, our women are obligated to be more enlightened, more prosperous, and more knowledgeable than our men. If they really want to be mothers of this nation, this is the way… our enemies claim that Turkey cannot be considered a civilized nation, because she consists of two separate parts, men and women. Can we shut our eyes to one portion of a group, while advancing the other and still bring progress to the whole group? The road of progress must be trodden by both sexes together, marching arm in arm" (Abadan-Unat, 1974).

For Halide Edip Adıvar, the ideal woman was supposed to blend the "Turkish nationalism and the Westernization ideal" (Jayawardena, 1986, p. 40); "a conservative modernist woman"; "educated [...] dressed in the new styles and attuned to Western ways - [...] yet whose role was primarily in the home [...]. They still had to act as the guardians of national culture, indigenous religion and family traditions…" (Jayawardena, 1986, pp. 12-14); modern but modest; nationalist; religious; educated; a virtuous wife and a sacrificing mother and "emancipated but unliberated" (Durakbaşa, 1998b, pp. 140-41). In other words, Adıvar's "Republican woman" was the combination of traditional and modern.

The new woman of the Republic was 'an educated-professional woman' at work; 'a socially active organizing woman' as a member of social clubs, associations; 'a biologically functioning woman' in the family fulfilling reproductive responsibilities as a mother and wife; 'a feminine woman' entertaining men at balls and parties" (Durakbasa, 2002:147). Halide Edip Adıvar was highly aware of the women problem in Turkey at the time of a national awakening, and therefore, her feministic views were discussed within a national framework as is seen in her famous novel, *Ateşten Gömlek* (*The Shirt of Flames*) (1922). The main character Ayşe is woman who has lost her son and husband during the war and who replaced her husband's role as a patriot. She rides horses, fights with men, appears in battlefields, wears men's clothes and becomes the symbol of "İzmir defence" (Adıvar, 2005, p. 68). Also, Ayşe is a traditional Turkish female who is aware of her responsibilities as a woman: "There is always lace or sewing in her hand" [Elinde daima bir dantel veyahut dikiş]' (Adıvar, 2005, p. 45), she does the chores and serves men. Throughout the novel, Adıvar takes her from the battlefield and assigns her the role of a nurse because Halide Edip was also aware of the fact that the society was not ready to accept a woman who is "strong, independent, determined and self-sufficient" [güçlü, bağımsız, kararlı ve kendine yetebilen kadını kabule hazır değildir] (Argunşah, 2015, p. 50).

Although women acquired certain rights after the Republic, there were still obstacles to the liberation of women in Turkish culture. Turkish feminists and scholars claimed that Turkish women were unrepressed but unliberated (Kandiyoti, 1987; Arat, 1989; Tekeli, 1995) and there was a clash between the western-traditional women due to "the necessary continuation of the patriarchal domination of men over women" (Tekeli, 1995, p. 10). Therefore, the cultural dilemma and the identity crisis of women became the prominent issue of women writers who focused

on the dichotomy among women and the clashes in the modernized Turkey. Turkish feminism after the 1980 presented the sense of autonomy, self-identity and liberty in the new modern world. Pınar Kür, İnci Aral, Ayla Parla and Leyla Erbil are the leading figures of the contemporary Turkish feminism. Many Turkish feminists have examined the perception of women by the patriarchy and Saktanber (1995) concluded that there were two opposing women in the 1980s: self-sacrificing mothers and virtuous wives or "available women" for men (p. 198).

Leyla Erbil is one of contemporary female authors who dealt with the themes of marriage, love, relations and self-realization of women in the patriarchal Turkish society. In her many works, Erbil has depicted two opposing females. One is defeated in man's world, oppressed under patriarchy, imprisoned and struggle with the repressed desires. The other rebels against the norms of the society, refuses to be restricted in domestic spheres and struggles for self-identity and individualistic existence. Therefore, unlike the women writers of the previous periods, in modern period, Erbil's novels represent the individualistic struggle of women rather than a community-based struggle.

In *Tuhaf Bir Kadın* (*A Strange Woman*) in 1971, Erbil dealt with the women's roles in society and woman's resentment in patriarchy. In the novel, Nermin states that women are passivized and isolated in patriarchal societies. The condition of woman is explained within the dualities as "Islam/west, tradition/modern, equality/difference and private/public" [İslam/batı, gelenek/modern, esitlik/farklılık, ve mahrem/namahrem (özel/kamusal) gibi mevcut ikilikler çerçevesinde] (Göle, 1997, s. 30). Although Nermin lives in a modern world, she is still trapped within the norms of patriarchy. When she goes to a club, men humiliate and abuse her (Erbil, 2005, p. 78) because women are seen as indecent and sinful. However, Nermin defends with a feministic way: "Atatürk opened these doors to me, who are you trying to put the Turkish woman into those dark dens again?" [Atatürk açtı bu kapıları bana, sen kim oluyorsun da yeniden o karanlık deliklere tıkmaya kalkıyorsun Türk kadınını ha?] (Erbil, 2005, p. 79). The only desire of woman in the novel is freedom: "If I cannot be happy without gaining my liberty, if the world resists giving it to me, it means I will not be happy" [Ben özgürlüğümü elde etmeden mutlu olamayacaksam, dünyada bana bunu vermemekte direnmekteyse mutlu olamayacağım demektir…" (Erbil, 2005, p. 22).

Conclusion

After the Tanzimat reforms, the Ottoman women gained rights in education and involved in business and social organizations. However, women were still expected to stay within the domestic spheres as wives and mothers, with their traditional roles imposed by the patriarchy. Due to the changes in the western culture, in the Tanzimat Period, the reform acts provided women a modernized world. Feminists of this period aimed at informing the women about the changes and their rights in notable magazines and journals. Emine Semiye, Fatma Aliye and Nezihe Muhiddin were the notable female authors that became the voice of the Ottoman women. Having developed the concept of "womanhood", Emine Semiye and Fatma Aliye tended to examine the condition of the Ottoman women in the patriarchal system by offering solutions to the gender issues, suggesting solutions to the gender inequalities and awakening the women's attention about their potentiality and power. While Emine Semiye advocated the superiority of women in society and emphasized her ideas with a critical attitude in her writings, Fatma Aliye supported the idea of equality among genders and she coined a new term: "Islam woman". For her, this new woman referred to the enlightened woman capable of blending the western modernity with the traditional Islamic codes (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 48). Throughout the end of the First World War, "Islam woman" concept was replaced by Nezihe Muhiddin's "Turkish woman" concept which adapted the western modernism and secularism to participate in the politic, economic and social spheres of the Turkish culture (Zihnioğlu, 2013, p. 77).

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, feminists focused on the natioanlism, equality of gender and women's education for a prosperous nation: "a good mother, loyal wife and Muslim woman" (Toska, 1998, p. 75). The previous concepts developed by the Ottoman feminists were replaced by Halide Edip Adıvar's the "Republican woman": educated, nationalist, conservative but modern, religious, virtuous and sacrificing (Durakbaşa, 1998a, pp. 140-41). In modern periods, Turkish feminists reflected the cultural dilemma and the identity crisis of women in their writings. In Leyla Erbils's novels, women charcters are portrayed in a struggle between their desire of independence and the society. Erbil's heroines are trapped within the norms of society and struggle to break the chains of the patriarchy for liberty. Therefore, it would not be wrong to state that the literal slavery of women like Zeynep in Nezihe Muhiddin's *Benliğim Benimdir!* became a symbolic slavery of women throughout the modern era in Turkish literature.

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