

**WOMEN POLITICS IN THE MODERNIZATION
PROCESS: A COMPARATIVE CASE OF TURKEY AND
IRAN IN 1920's**

**Thesis submitted to the
Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements**

for the degree of

Master of Arts

In

International Relations

By

Ayşin YILDIRIM

Fatih University

August, 2005

© Aysin YILDIRIM

All Rights Reserved, 2005

To my mother, who has believed in me and offered her generous support throughout my life...

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. Lütfullah KARAMAN
Head of Department

This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. Ömer ÇAHA
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Ömer ÇAHA _____

Prof. Dr. Lütfullah KARAMAN _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent ARAS _____

It is approved that this thesis has been written in compliance with the formatting rules laid down by the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mehmet ORHAN
Director

Date
August 2005

AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

- i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
- ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

Ayşin YILDIRIM

August, 2005

ABSTRACT

AYŞİN YILDIRIM

AUGUST, 2005

WOMEN POLITICS IN THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS: A COMPARATIVE CASE OF TURKEY AND IRAN IN 1920's

This thesis will deal with women policies pursued under modernization policies lead by Atatürk and Reza Shah, considering the significant political steps they'd taken in the near history of Turkey and Iran, the two countries representing two different identities of the Middle East. The thesis will seek to understand why these policies have held out different consequences despite the similarities in political developments and parallel policies. For both countries, woman has been both a motivational factor and a symbol of modernization attempts on the one hand, and has taken upon a catalytic role in facilitating social consent. The thesis has been arranged to follow three main chapters in finding the answer to the original question. The first chapter will give an overview of women policies beginning from the final period of the Ottoman Empire up to the history of the Republic including a critique of policies pursued by Atatürk. The next chapter will look into the Iranian modernization movement corresponding to the same period and focusing on the period of Shah. Finally in the last chapter, women policies with regard to the approaches of Atatürk and Shah will be put under a comparative analysis. Emphasis will be laid on similarities and differences that have the potential of producing different results in spite of similar policies. The will then be finalized in the concluding section.

Key Words: Woman, modernization, national identity, Islam

KISA ÖZET

AYŞİN YILDIRIM **AĞUSTOS, 2005** **MODERNİZASYON SÜRECİNDE KADIN POLİTİKALARI:** **1920 LERDE TÜRKİYE VE İRAN'IN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI** **ÇALIŞMASI**

Bu tezde, Ortadoğu coğrafyasının farklı iki kimliğe sahip ülkeleri olan Türkiye ve İran'ın yakın dönem tarihlerinde önemli politik adımlar atmış olan Atatürk ve Rıza Şah'ın modernleşme siyasetleri çerçevesinde kadın politikaları ele alınacaktır. Tez, benzer politik süreçleri yaşamalarına ve paralel politikaları takip etmelerine karşın her iki ülkede neden farklı sonuçlar doğurmuş olduğu sorusunun cevabını aramaktadır. Kadın, her iki ülke için de modernleşme adımlarının hem motive unsuru ve sembolü olmuş, hem de toplumsal onayın kolaylaşmasında katalizör görevi yüklenmiştir. Tez, bu sorunun cevabını vermek amacıyla üç kısımdan oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde Osmanlı son döneminden cumhuriyet tarihine uzanan kadın politikaları ortaya konacak, Atatürk'ün dönem içinde takip ettiği politikaların kritiği gözden geçirilecektir. İkinci kısımda, aynı döneme karşılık düşen modernleşme hareketlerinin İran cephesi ortaya konarak, Şah odaklı olarak kadına dair takip edilen tutum ve politikalar masaya yatırılacaktır. Üçüncü kısımda ise, her iki ülke tarihçelerinde Atatürk ve Şah bağlamında kadın politikaları karşılaştırılmalı bir analize tabi tutulacaktır. Benzer politikaların farklı sonuçlar doğurmasını sağlayabilecek bir takım benzerlikler ve farklılıklar üzerinde ayrıntılı biçimde durulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın, modernleşme, ulus kimlik, İslam

LIST OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION PAGE.....	iv
APPROVAL PAGE	v
AUTHOR DECLARATIONS.....	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
KISA ÖZET.....	viii
LIST OF CONTENTS.....	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1	6
WOMEN POLITICS IN TURKEY DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD	6
1.1. Historical Background For Women Politics	7
1.2. Women Politics in the Republican Period	19
1.2.1. Social Reforms Concerning Women	24
1.2.2. Political Reforms Concerning Women.....	27
1.2.3. Legal Reforms Concerning Women.....	31
CHAPTER 2	37
WOMEN POLITICS IN IRAN DURING THE SHAH PERIOD	37
2.1. Women Politics Before Shah	38
2.2. Women Politics During the Shah Period.....	46
2.2.1. Social Reforms Concerning Women	49
2.2.2. Political Reforms Concerning Women.....	54
CHAPTER 3	58
WOMEN AND MODERNIZATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IRAN AND TURKEY	58
3.1. An Overview of Women Politics in the Middle East: The Case of Turkey and Iran.....	59
3.2. Similarities Between the Two Countries Concerning Women Politics 61	
3.2.1. The Modernization Process and the Leaders.....	61

3.2.2. State Feminism.....	63
3.3. Differences Between Two Countries Concerning Women Politics...	68
3.3.1. Different Attitudes In Women Politics	68
3.3.2. The Use of Different Political Instruments	69
3.3.3. Different Perceptions Between the Sunni and Shia.....	74
Understanding of Women	74
CONCLUSION.....	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge all those who have contributed to the preparation of my thesis. First and foremost I owe my special thanks to Prof. Ömer Çaha who provided me with the necessary guidance and insight in preparing this thesis.

I want to thank my family and my father especially for all support in insisting on my educational well being.

I would also like to acknowledge the abundance of sources the library of Indiana University has offered me.

I should also thank Zeynep Sahin without whose encouragements I might not have found enough motivation to begin writing in the first place.

And special acknowledgement for the editing of the text goes to Ayse Zirh and Zekiye Ark without whose assistance the use of English would be incomplete.

INTRODUCTION

Gender is a controversial problem for scholars and analysts of the Middle East. It is already known that Iran and Turkey are among countries with particular significance in terms of both their political understandings and their unique positions in the Middle Eastern geography. The present study deals, on a comparative basis, with the historically parallel periods of Atatürk and Reza Shah, two political figures that have been influential in bringing about the socio-political change these two countries have been undergoing up to now. Rather than presenting the two courses of development as they are, the essential purpose here has been to focus on the differences and similarities between these leaders and their periods within the context of the policies they have adopted with regard to women.

Perhaps it will be useful to note that the answer to the question of why we have chosen to deal with the periods of Atatürk and Reza Shah and their women policies will determine the framework of this study. It needs to be pointed out that the most crucial and fundamental action throughout the modernization process in the history of these two countries has been taken during what could almost be named as a single man reign for both administrations. Such action taken in the field of modernization has been influential to the point of shaping the changes that were to take place later on. The aim in the reforms made in each social domain had been to make possible a social transformation through the help of a fundamental change.

The ultimate point to be achieved in these developments had been planned to become Western. To this end, they have engaged in an effort for change and development headed for Westernization.

As mentioned before, the reason for focusing on the periods of Atatürk and Reza Shah in particular, lies in their significance in terms of establishing the fundamental basis of the reforms. This of course holds wider implication as far as the reforms to be made in the subsequent periods are concerned. Both figures have strongly influenced the latter reforms. Looking at the history of Modernization in Turkey, it seems evident that Atatürk's modernization policies have shaped the whole era starting from the early years of the Republican period well up nowadays?

Similarly, regarding Reza Shah, it was the ground set by his reforms that constituted the triggering factor for the modernization policies engaged in by his successor and son Mohammed Shah Pahlavi. This influence was seen in two different ways in what could be referred to as, the two different phases of his reign. During the first phase, while maintaining the flow of his father's policies he adopted a lighter and more freedom oriented attitude. Throughout the second phase however, he preferred to be more despotic in enacting the policies initiated by his father. Either way, it was Reza Shah's reforms that set the ground for Mohammed Shah's policies, leading all the ways up to the Revolution.

As for the question of why the choice of an evaluation and comparison of two leaders within the context of women policies in particular, this will find a

concrete answer once the policies of both Atatürk and Shah are looked into. Woman is known to have an important role in achieving social change and to be a significant indicator of the level of change attained. Taking into view that both societies come from a strong Islamic tradition, it can be seen in the changes aimed on women that, both leaders have made use of women as symbols and considered them as moving forces in maintaining continuity in the revolutionary changes. In the case of political involvement by women in Turkey for instance, it was thanks to the space opened by modernization policies that the 1970's Leftist movement received assistance from leftist women. Similar examples show why woman has been seen as an important instrument in understanding the changes that took place during these periods as well as their consequences.

The study will attempt to find out the dynamics that caused different consequences in Turkey and Iran despite their use of common reforms. After his visit to Turkey, Reza Shah got impressed by the reforms in Turkey and thus initiated a similar movement of change in Iran. He followed Atatürk's reforms in these initiatives and legal arrangements similar to those in Turkey aimed at a social reform during the period are made in Iran as well. Now comes to the question of why the same policies have produced such different results. Taking women as symbol and indicator of modernization, the answer can be found in the difference of approaches to and treatment of women as political instruments used in the implementation of the reforms.

The study follows the order of first dealing with the Periods of Reza Shah and Atatürk beginning with the *Meşrutiyet* and constitutional reform processes and then making a comparison of the two periods where similarities and differences will be put forth.

Apart from all this, it may need pointing out that two particular points related to the content of this study may create confusion. Firstly, that because the study aims at finding out the relevance of women policies to the Iranian revolution for purposes of the said comparison, its answer to why Iran underwent a revolution in the first place might end up as a more woman centered interpretation. This is why it should be kept in mind that the study does not seek to deal with all the factors making way for the revolution. Closely related with this is the second point that should be considered. Many of the factors put forward in comparing the two woman policies may have had their influences in terms of other aspects. Because it is important limit the study for purposes of achieving its objective, only woman policies and their impacts have been focused on, leaving aside the whole of the matter as far as its entirety and unity is concerned.

One other aspect of the study is that it has been prepared on a comparative basis. Atatürk and Shah Periods have been compared within the context of woman studies resulting in various evaluations. Dealing individually with both periods independent of a concern for comparison however, would lead too much different critique. Yet this should not be taken to mean that the results obtained from the comparison lack consistency.

The women of Turkey and Iran offer researchers a wide field for investigation in the Middle East. These two countries continue to constitute an important prototype for this region primarily as far as women are concerned as well as a productive ground on which the critiques of modernization can be made.

CHAPTER 1

WOMEN POLITICS IN TURKEY DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The position of women is one of the main issues in Turkish political life. In Ottoman society all the elements that would prove changing in women's status, all the elements of the social construction while the judicial construction has the priority, were closely related to the political construction. When we analyze the woman in the contexts of right and politics, the necessity to focus on republican history is revealed. It can be observed that women take part in the group that is affected at first from all the changing that social and political life underwent in republican period woman politics. In this period, while there is a radical break off from reforms to revolution, the continuity of women problem took part in ottoman intellectual's agenda since the *Tanzimat (Reform)* period. In terms of being the agent and/or object, women politics can be categorized into periods before republican era: *Tanzimat* and *Mesrutiyet (constitutional)* periods. These periods coincide with the periods during which social change intensified. The women issue came into agenda with the *Tanzimat* period of 1839-1876. The *Tanzimat* era can be accepted as the initial stage of the women issue for the Turkish case. Secondly, *Mesrutiyet* was the period of emergence of indigenous feminism (Çaha, 1996; 100). The Republican era started with the proclamation of the new republic and ended in 1935 with

the closure of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Union of the Turkish Women). Several scholars preferred to label this period as the *period of state feminism* drawing attention to the role of the state as the main agent of reforms in favor of women. After this period - from 1935 to 1975 –women started to live a period that might be named as the Period of Recession up until 1980s. In the case of Turkey, women have raised their voice in the aftermath of the 1980s in the streets through different campaigns and activities. The reason behind this is discussed in the following parts of this study.

1.1. Historical Background For Women Politics

For ones who do not know the steps taken in modernization area in Ottoman Empire's last periods, Kemalist revolution can be seen as a completely original and brave experiment. In fact, republican period politics are the last phase of the politics whole that are inherited from the last period of the Ottoman Empire. To criticize Kemalist Revolution in the most proper way, it is necessary to be aware of the tradition that it inherited from Ottoman intellectuals as well as understanding its share in the radical transformation that separated from the Ottomans (Zurcher, 2002; 44).

When this point is taken into consideration, *Tanzimat* is a corner stone for the reform package that brings together the despotic enlightenment and some political rights in Turkish modernization history. With the concepts such as equality, freedom, which was put on the agenda with *Tanzimat* edict, the individual's way to become the compatriot of the nation is opened. In this

ideal expansion, women's status took place in intellectual's agenda; women's status in society was set up as a new opinion in many newspapers and journals.

As well as not containing a special part related to women, *Tanzimat* edict brought important changes in administrative, legal and educational areas relating to human rights. In this context, small but meaningful steps were begun to be taken (Yaraman, 2001; 23).

Women became one of the most important agendas of this period a close relationship between society's getting behind and women is began to be drawn. *Tanzimat* intellectual, generally dwelled upon city-dweller women and their problems, the idea that women should function with education was very much on the map now. The writers who were interested in women issue of the time were Namık Kemal, Ahmet Mithat ve Şemseddin Sami.

Namık Kemal dwelled upon "woman issue" in his articles, criticized system of arranged marriage, and wrote articles that opposed men's beating their wives. In *Diplomalı Kız*, *Felsefe-i Zenan*, *Tevhül* ve *Eyvah* Ahmet Mithat defends the thesis that the rights that Islam gives to women are not known well and expresses that meeting, should choose the partners in the marriage the virtues of monogamy, that there should be equal education possibilities between girls and boys.

Like Ahmet Mithat, Şemseddin Sami, too, focuses on the education of women. He expresses that the level of the society can only be increased by this way and he is in favor of monogamy. Sami's Woman Book (*Kadın Kitabı*),

Namık Kemal's "The Education of Women (*Kadınların Eğitimi*) and Sinasi's "The Marriage of the Poet (*Şair Evlenmesi*)" are among the works that shape the color of the period (Tekeli, 1998; 340).

In the period's literary works, woman is drawn as a one who can control her life, who can make her own decisions, and who is educated. Women rights issue was put forward in a way that underlined the rights that were given to women by Islam, it was claimed that it was better than its position in the West.

Appearances of women writers who published publications about woman issue coincide with this period (Kurnaz, 1998; 64-65). Fatma Aliye and Nigar Binti Osman are among these. They defended women rights in the boundaries of Islam, opposed polygamy, dwelled upon the importance of women's education. In this context, woman was described as good mother, good wife and good Muslim (Kandiyoti, 1991; 27).

In the period, men or women in various journals and newspapers deal with woman issue. The publication of the period that attracts attention was Terakki newspaper. The newspaper began to be published in 1868 and could deal with woman even in a period when it was difficult to talk about her. The newspaper, which published the wish and complaint letters that were sent by its female readers, was criticized by some peripheries. Muhadderat, İnsaniyet, Hanımlar, Şukufezar, Mürüvvet, Parça Bohçası, Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete, Ayine, Aile, Takvim-i Nisa are the examples of some publications that were published in this period (Altındal, 1985; 124-125).

Woman issue in the discussions in this period could not go ahead of being an issue that intellectuals discussed in a limited frame. However, the conversation basis that was uncovered by these discussions opened door to the judicial arrangements. In social life, which began to undergo West influence, the changing in education, art and literature gave birth to the idea of increasing of the level of woman's education. As a result of these, woman, for the first time, got historically important opportunities related to education and women began to make their voices heard in publication life.

After the concepts' entry in society's agenda by intellectuals, some social reforms, too, found the basis to appear. Looking at the reforms that are made in the field of education, it is possible to see that official education for women took place firstly in cultural and professional spheres of activity. It was in this period that schools which gave professional education such as midwife school, girl industry school, and girl teacher school, were opened for the first time.

In children schools which were arranged with the 1869 Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, 7-11 age obligation were brought, in 1859 the first girl school named *rüstiye* was opened in Sultanahmet. The number of the girl school could be moved to the outside of Istanbul showing a serious increase during the Abdulhamid II period (Kurnaz, 1997; 51-52).

Again, in this period, Darulmuallimat, (female teacher school) which was one of the most important events in the history of the Turkish woman's education, was opened. The first woman administrator was being

commissioned in the school that was founded to train teacher for the girl schools coincides with the year 1881. The teachers wanted to be women but this wish could not be realized completely as a result of teacher lack, at the beginning. Only the teachers of sewing- embroidery lessons were women and these generally were from non-Muslim subject. However, since 1882 female teacher number has overtaken the number of male teachers (Kurnaz, 1996; 91). With the opening of this school, the education opportunity for women expanded, their active entry to the professional life appeared with education area (Ibid, 44).

When we look at the judicial arrangements that were realized related to women, a dualism draws our attention. Although, in Ottomans, only Islamic law was operated as current law, after 1839 besides Islamic law, the laws that were quoted from Europe were begun to be operated (Yaraman, 2001; 24).

While, the daughters could be the holder of the right on their father's lands by paying the value of title deed and when there is no sons, with a new law father's land was begun to be shared equally among all the siblings. Also, the 'bridal tax' that was taken from the girls who got married was abolished and concubine institution was put an end (Altındal, 1985; 123).

Also, various edicts about the clothing's of women were declared, some prohibitions and obligations were brought. As well as not coming across this kind of practices in Tanzimat period, the custom of determining the ways of women's existence in social life with reform editcs continued in this period,

too. Abdulhamit II banned black veiled dress as he thought wearing black veiled dress and having veil resembled to the Christian's mourning dress (Yaraman, 2001; 25). Again, with a law that was published in this period it was banned for women to enter the shops to do shopping and go to the places special for men, in the same way, to walk around in the streets at night was banned for them (Kurnaz, 1996; 121).

Although in Tanzimat period there was a transition between west and Islam in terms of law, some reforms were made, the real results of these works would be realized in republic (Kurnaz, 1998; 58).

When the Second Constitutional period (*İkinci Meşrutiyet*) was declared, regarded as being synonymous with the declaration of freedom, it was welcomed with great enthusiasm and the hope that new improvements would be achieved (Toska, 1998; 75). With the relative freedom created by the 1908 Revolution, the first feminist women entered the scene in the Ottoman-Turkish context. It is important to note here that, women, for the first time, went beyond the position of being the object and as such, began to act as agents. Within this context, both the experience and the newly constructed consciousness were transferred to the Republican period. Specifically woman modernization stated on education and appearance, continued to Republican era.

One of the most important differences separates Second Constitutional struggle. In this period, there was an increase in the number of the journal

and newspaper that were published by women, they began to benefit from the education opportunities more (Tekeli, 1982; 198).

In the background of this development İttihad ve Terakki's politics, which were directed towards women and family, being effective in this period lies as well as the necessity for women labors in Crimean, Balkan and First World War (Durakbaşı, 2000; 98). The intellectual-bureaucrats of this period were in the same camp in that the present society should have a fundamental change, by turning their faces to the west around the concept of "ideal society". At this point the elites saw women as the conveyor actor in transforming the society (Çaha, 1996; 93).

According to Ziya Gökalp, who was in the Turkish wing of the period, there were three basic elements that were family, state and nation, constituting the society. The focal point of these basic elements was woman. For that reason, woman was not in charge only in family but she was an important indicator, which shows the quality of development of the state and the nation. At this point, making reference to the tradition of Turks before Islam, Gökalp was criticizing Islam in the context of equal right status.

In this period, like in every area, the discussions about the education of the girls continued. The mobilization of girl's education, which began with Tanzimat, continued in Mesrutiyet, too. In Abdulhamit II period the number of these schools increased, however, the required quality could not be catches yet. Mesrutiyet intellectuals dealt with the matter of women's education with the tradition coming from Tanzimat, made proposals around a

content discussion relating to the issue how and in what form this education should be.

The most important activity of this period in terms of woman education is the opportunity for women to attend to the university for the first time. In 1914, the lessons directed towards girls began in Istanbul Darülfünun. In the lessons issues such as women rights, general health, women health, history, information about the domestic life and pedagogy were taught. As the lessons' being given by male teachers was reacted against greatly, the ministry opened a distinct girls department in university constitution and in the next days they united the departments again. On the other hand, as the days go on the number of the students having education in teacher schools increased and the students who were brought up in these schools had their place in the front in the education mobilization in the republican period (Caporal, 1999; 114-115).

When the appendixes of newspapers for women became separate magazines, they were seriously read by Ottoman women between 1908-1923. The number of journals concerned with the women issue was twenty-seven (Kurnaz, 1991; 95), even though some of them were still published by men and majority of articles belonged to men. Taking this into consideration, it was claimed that, men continued with their activities on behalf of women. They tried to examine women's problems, find some solutions and in this sense create a new modern woman. Wide range of publications proved freedom rights by contributing to the richness of the period. The most

important magazines published in Istanbul and Salonica were *Kadın*, *Mehasin*, *Kadın Bahçesi*, *Kadınlar Dünyası* and *Kadın Kalbi*. Women were actually taught by these magazines and were created their own experience. After gaining the necessary government support, an effort was made to realize the legal framework for women's emancipation. For the first time, Ottoman scholar prepared indigenous, original decree and the intellectuals educated in the West.

The first one of these reforms that were made in 1911 is related to the adultery law. The assembly witnessed hot debates about the issue that women and men should be equal in front of law in terms of adultery. According to the accepted law, while it was approved that the woman who killed her husband catching him in the act of adultery would be punished, it could regard the husband under the same conditions as innocent. Additionally, by sentencing the woman and man to prison from two months to two years, equality in punishment was accepted as principle. Apart from this, while giving the man money punishment up to 100 liras, for this the continuity of the man's relationship was stipulated.

Another judicial development related to the women was realized in 1915. The Sultan who was delivered a fatwa gave women the right to ask for divorce when the husband leaves home, when he does not look after his home, when he is crazy or when he has a serious illness such as leprosy (Caporal, 1999; 120-121).

The government approved Civil Law Decree in 1917 as the first civil law decree among Muslim countries. It granted some official rights that were assessed as reforms for women's emancipation. For instance, engagement was accepted as a formal bond, a marriage age limit of eighteen for men and seventeen for women was laid down. With the start of performing official marriage ceremonies, the state began to interfere in the marriage institution. Before this law, marriage among the Ottoman subjects was regulated by imams (prayer leader men) were independent from the state. Polygamy was restricted and the right to apply to the court to obtain a divorce was given to women as had been given to men (Çaha, 1996; 58). Ironically enough, this decree suited different ideological tendencies that held completely different ideas and projects about women emancipation until the Tanzimat era. While Westernizers, Turkists and Islamists demands were met; minorities were disturbed by the state involvement to their family life. When British forces occupied Istanbul, the decree was abolished. Family law decree was implemented in Iraq and Syria until 1970s (Ibid, 58).

Moreover, as mentioned before, women and men supported women emancipation gave importance to education due to its direct influence on modernization. Education was the most important means by which the Ottoman women managed to break away from their traditional role (Caha, 1995; 115). Women there were secondary schools, high schools in 1913, and then İnas Darül Fünunu -the women university- in 1914 was established (Taskiran, 1973; 15). Particularly, private schools belonging to minority

groups served women education. Serious effort was made to train women in all fields.

After 1908 a great number of women began to participate in public life by working in different manufacturing industries such as food, textile, chemistry goods, cigarette etc.

Similar to all periods women movements were supported in that era too by some groups such as foreign cooperation, Ottoman government and new bourgeois class. This had had positive influence on the movements.

Meşrutiyet period made the woman rights and the changing of the view about women gain a great acceleration, things that were made were in the quality of the preparation of a lot of decisions that would be taken in republican period. In this period, partial developments related to the issues that were discussed, giving equal rights to the partners in marriage and divorce, abolishing the veiled dress and veil, transferring to mixed education in education institutions especially in universities, women's being able to work in almost every area of the economic life, women's being able to be together with men in places open to the public -such as bus, tram, park and theatre-, these arrangements could be realized fully in republican period (Kurnaz, 1996; 238).

When we come to the period of national struggle, women took place in the national struggle in front or behind the front with the help of the experiences that they had in the previous periods, participated in constituting-developing a definite political conscious.

The strivers names of the period that tried to underline the fact that women are also a part and an indispensable element of the national struggle with a series of lectures, arranged various demonstrations gathering great masses. For the first time, a meeting was arranged in Darülfünun halls to protest the massacres done to the civil Muslim Turks in Macedonia and the Turkish women made a concrete effort to have a say in the fate of the country (Yaraman, 2001; 109).

After İzmir's occupation in 1919 a series of actions was begun, women participated almost in all of them. In the demonstration that was made in Istanbul Fatih and in which thousands of people participated, Halide Edib started the meeting as the speaker. In addition to this Kadıköy, Üsküdar and eventually famous Sultanahmet meetings were organized. In Sultanahmet meeting Halide Edib who was speaking in the jammed crowded arena was being the interpreter of the feelings of the group. In the following other Sultanahmet meetings Nakiye Hanım the head of Muallimler Cemiyeti, Münevver Hanım were making stresses which were calling the nation to fight and which were including women in the movement.

These demonstrations are very meaningful in terms of showing that Turkish woman who have decided to have a say in the fate of the nation together with men, are as effective as men in the power of directing the public. This qualitative transformation is an important junction point for women in the way from the profile of a passive and an ornament or a maid woman whose place is consisting of house, to the individuals who are taken

as collectors that have a say and action in the fate of the nation and that are of use.

During Liberation War, women both took their place in the front and continued their activities founding associations. Hilali Ahmer Kadın Kolları, Türk Ocakları ve Muallimler Cemiyeti ve Anadolu Kadınları Müdafai Vatan Cemiyeti are some of them. Through these associations women tried to provide the army with food and cloth, called wide masses to help and served in health care (Kurnaz, 1998; 160).

1.2. Women Politics in the Republican Period

Nationalism, secularism or being the supporter of civilization in another sense, became the basic elements of Kemalism. The mental atmosphere in which the Kemalist group grew up gave its color to the remaining part of the process. This "*kemalist neurology*" with Ahmet İnel's interpretation, witnessed the collapse of the state and is composed of the mental trauma that the elite group who grew up in the lost lands had. (İnel, 2002; 17). This neurology had an effective role in the freshness struggles', which continued since Tanzimat, giving their place to a sharper and transformable reformist position.

In this context, the duty of the state and the republic elite was to compose a civilized society from the disorganized community remaining from the empire (Cosar, 1996; 66). At this level nationality was installed as the state or official nationality instead of as a public movement that took place

apart from the state. In the area that was opened by this nationality perception, Kemalist group that coded the community as property and the state as its owner signed a whole of reforms that were established on the mentality "for the public despite the public". This is an important element in Kemalist revolution. On the other hand, young Kemalism, while being a continuation of the civilization reformism in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, it broke off from the Ottoman tradition on the basis of nationality.

In the republican period, which was strengthened by a more vertical interference understanding, the way to reach the civilization level was to seem civilized, first. Society's lifestyle, appearance, alphabet, language, music and religious institutions were a bit more radical than the reform mentality that tradition brought and became an important tool in supplying the break off from the past. When these got civilized the country would be civilized, too, new Turkish Republic would only be formed when it went far away from its historical background.

When all the reforms that are related to 'women' that influenced them directly or indirectly are dealt with in this context, the criticisms will be more in its proper place.

It was with the establishment of the Republic in 1923, that women movements entered a new phase, labeled as state sponsored feminism. These efforts would bear significant continuity with women movements in the Ottoman era. All policies and drastic changes concerning the women issue were related basically to the nation-building project of state elites. All

cultural codes tried to be reconstructed with the aim of creating new citizen types such as healthy. Young, strong sports men and robust kids, etc. The female identity as such was perceived as one of these new constructed identities as a citizen of the Turkish Republic. Under these circumstances, rather than being the determined actors of a strong rooted women revolution on women liberation, women were projected as symbols of the new Republican Turkey aimed to integrate with the Western World. Though the state elite's main concentration was causing a Social change and cultural reform, they could not achieve this in a short period of time. One should bear in mind that reforms and policies on the women issue did accelerated social change but this didn't mean an entire change. In order to make mention of change, cultural codes needed to change in strictly in a long term. Deniz Kandiyoti labeled this process "*the emancipation of women*" and not liberation. Improvements in the Republican era, prepared the ground for following developments. In comparing the Turkish experience with its counterparts, the political and social rights women were granted were much more important.

This close relationship between women rights and national interests are not particular for Turkish Republican case, all developing countries put great emphasis on the modernization of women or using them as symbols (Cagatay-Sosyal, 1990; 301). Kemalist reforms did not aim to emancipate or liberate women were used to be perceived only in terms of their roles in the family as mother and wife. It should be obvious that they needed to be

educated and their status should be improved in order to train better generations, to become a good wife and to contribute economic development of new Republic. At the same time, women were chosen to create a fundamental break from the Ottoman Islamic tradition and directing the nation toward the aims displayed as it to. The Interesting point here is that while for some Muslim countries, the reference point of cultural feminism was Islam, Turkish feminism in the Republican era found its point of reference in the pre-Islamic period of Turkish culture (Durakbasa, 1998; 37) similar to the emphasis put on Central Asia as far as the Turkish official history thesis is concerned. With attempts regarding Westernization, traditional patriarchal system transformed the Western type patriarchy in terms of women status in the society. Yeşim Arat argued that this transformation was significant continuity between the Ottoman Era and Republican Turkey. This new type of none-religion based patriarchy, though being more liberal still did exist as a certain dominating masculine element (Arat, 1989; 88). Hence the male preserved its existence as agent in the nation-state building process. This was not independent, of course, from the non-western world experience where cultural feminisms emerged in the process of integration with modern world as in the Turkish model (Durakbasa, 1998; 36).

Although they were granted some rights and opportunity to integrate with the male public sphere as a Turkish citizen, their potential to become a threat on breaking male superiority had been taken into consideration by

male reformers. While beginning to participate in the public sphere on the one hand, women tightly linked to private sphere that they had to be existed traditionally in there. It seems worth pointing out that Anatolian women were claimed to be more suitable for this new female identity due to their docile body. Therefore exclusion of Istanbul women was witnessed in the discourses of state elites. The Anatolian female was sublimated as the genuine female of the republic. Leaders of women movements were accused of carelessness, and being preoccupied only with self-position. (Toska, 1998; 81). The Turkish male mentality with regard to new women who had accepted to live for others and to practice national responsibilities as mentioned above, survived up to this day. This understanding has been shared by Leftist males who claimed to stand at a different point than that of Kemalist and Islamist males who claimed to exist in a different cultural sphere devoid of specific criteria (Berkday, 1998; 2). Certainly womenization should be limited, controlled and appreciate to nation-state building process. Another way to overcome the threat of women, who would go beyond their limits in the public sphere, was to force them to give up their sexuality. She was expected to behave as the mother of society and her own family (Ibid, 4). They would first define their identity as Turkish citizens and only then could assess it terms of being female. Parallel to this understanding the new republic, emancipated female from veiling as a part of the integration project for providing room in the public field for women, and it found in itself the right to such a course of action.

Founder of the Republic and a reformist, Atatürk gave importance to possible contribution of Turkish women to society and expressed this in his speeches. Several of his discourses formed around of equality of sexes, importance of motherhood and working together. While he stated the male at the center of the modernization process, females were given a peripheral role for the purpose of speeding up the process (Arat, 1998; 54). At this point, it must be recalled that, while her role was regarded as being peripheral, serious amount of emphasis was put on her symbolic appeal. Women rights were strategically important for him and the state elites with regard to challenging groups labeled as traditionalist and Islamist who were especially sensitive about the women issues.

1.2.1. Social Reforms Concerning Women

After, the state was saved both militarily and politically, Kemalist staff set up the priority as reaching the level of Western civilization by modernizing the society. For Mustafa Kemal and his associates this seems possible only by a secular and national state (Zurcher, 2002; 50). At this point, women used the area that the reforms based on secularism opened in the name of change, in the context of psychological support.

What did Kemalist rulers do in the context of secularism? They abolished caliphate, closed religious courts and Muslim theological schools, accepted hat as the national cap, banned Ottoman style music, accepted Christian calendar, adapted weekends to the West. In summary, the revolution

became no longer the desired dream of the upper class; it interfered in things that would make it easy for people to cut their ties with the tradition in their daily lives. What forced the tradition most was letter reform and after this reform the number of literate women increased greatly in proportion to the previous period in the mobilization that was realized in the name of education.

With Tevhidi Tedrisat (Unification of Education) Law, which was enacted in 1924, all the education institutions were gathered in one hand, lesson programmed had a standard and religious contents were abolished from lessons. The development began from the last quarter of the 19th century and continues until the women's entrance to the university was guaranteed with this law (Yaraman, 2001; 133).

For women to whom the duty to be the circulator of the national ideal, the number of the female profession schools (Kız Meslek Lisesi) was raised, primary school education was accepted as fundamental in bringing up citizens suitable for republic. Founded Village institutes had a great role in transporting the new values to the provinces, this value transporting was realized through women teachers who are loyal to the republic's new values and who devoted themselves to the republic enough to work in the provinces (Durakbasa, 2000; 125).

In 1925 clothing law was enacted and with this law traditional clothes were banned for men. However, in the same law an arrangement about women is not in question. Kemalist administration that wanted to reach a

Western image in public area wanted to give a message to the West in this way but was touching neither veiled dress nor veil which was in opposition to the western appearance. Nevertheless, in big cities women opened themselves a broad movement area whether by the interferences of destroying the tradition that they brought from the last periods of the Ottomans or by the changes that were made (Arat, 1998; 55).

In working life, women, too, participated in the industrialization move that began with Atatürk and women's working life was subjected to an arrangement with a working law that was enacted in 1936. According to the law, it was forbidden for women in every age to work in mines, installing cable, sewer system and tunnel constructions, also they were not allowed to have premium pay, by law (Kırkpınar,1998;25).

Apart from these, there are interferences that can be regarded as radical for that period's people directed to regulating the society's psychology in the name of weakening the opponent voices' ground. In 1929, Cumhuriyet newspaper, which was supported by the government, organized a "beauty contest" for the first time in a society the majority of which consists of Muslims. The press defined the process of choosing Miss Turkey in a detailed and dense way, gave it a great agenda. It was another reflection of the political struggle of being perceived with new Turkey identity in European agenda rather than being a commercial event. Two years after the first participation, the most beautiful girl of Turkey whose participation in Nations Association (Milletler Cemiyeti) was realized, takes the crown of being the

world beauty, and this became an important sign of Kemalist revolution's favorable reception in international sense, in a way. Again in 1930s, public beaches were opened to women and Atatürk's photograph could be taken with his spiritual daughters, the prominent people of the revolutionist staff and their wives (Ahmad, 2002; 108-109).

1.2.2. Political Reforms Concerning Women

The most important other step of the republican period in the context of the women rights is the right of enfranchisement. The republican women, who began to participate in political life actively, expected a lot of things from the revolution.

In the first years of the new Republic, some important women movements were observed, excite us their demand to being agent. With regard to organization experience in Ottoman era, they established Women' People Party (Kadınlar Halk Fırkası). When compared with former experiences against the official authority, the departure point was that the new Party was organized in order to serve Republic's interests based on main principles (Toska, 1998; 81). Kadınlar Halk Fırkası caused serious debates among state elites and was not approved by the government. Given up its name, led by Nezihe Muhittin, Türk Kadınlar Birliği (Association of Turkish Women) was established on February 7, 1924 as an association (Toska, 1998; 84).

In one of her articles which was published in *Vakit*, Nezihe Muhittin expresses that time of the women movement on the basis that was prepared

by the reform in terms of the political rights, has come and in the association of which she is the head (Zihnioglu, 2003; 125), Nimet Remide became the second head, Latife Bekir, Şüküfe Nihal, Matlube Omer, Nesime İbrahim, Zaliha, Tuğrul ve Faize Hanim became the other members (Yaraman, 2001; 150-151). The association, at first, did not give place to political aims and demands in its rules and regulations; it even put the expression "this movement has no connection with politics" in its regulations and the statues of the association. Nezihe Muhiddin, who began to publish a publication called "Türk Kadın Yolu" by her own opportunities in 1925, began to present the contents and aims of the political movements to the public and in a sense; they put their political right demand on their agenda with this publication (Yaraman, 1997; 47). According to Muhiddin, the reason of their movement was "To take action to make Turkish woman a complete citizen". She severely criticized these rights being given to somebody who smokes hash in coffeehouse satellites and being grugged to an educated, perfect woman who can perceive herself (Yaraman, 2001; 153).

In the second assembly, with elimination of religious man and scholar being different form the first one, and with Mustafa Kemal's close friends' being more active; the assembly became more convenient for discussing the political rights of women. In 1924 constitution discussions, in the title that each Turk has the right to participate in deputy elections, some deputies defended that women also be included in the statement of Turkish citizen but this proposal was not accepted and the statement was changed as every

Turkish man. Kemalist politician Recep Peker who became Prime Minister later, made a speech addressing to the traditional wing that opposed the proposal saying;

"You say Turkish state is the state of the public and is a public republic. Well, do not Turkish woman form the half of the population? The statement 'every Turk' should also be applied to all Turkish women who are thirty years old."

But he could not be an effective in this decision.

Although it was not accepted, 1923 elections in a lot of election places, people voted for women whose names became symbols as the second candidates, though they were not candidates and did not have the right to be elected. Latife Hanım in Konya and Halide Edib in Afyon took their places early in the list in vote order. People of the period perhaps seemed more prepared than the politicians (Ahmad, 2002; 107).

Although the second assembly was convenient for giving political rights to women, the request of Kadınlar Birliği to participate in the elections could not be answered as the preparations for the elections were made and such a thing could not be put into practice without an arrangement in constitution. Why this change took time would be better understood when it is noticed that women rights reform was applied in a determined order and preparing country thoughts. As a matter of fact, while women were given the right to participate in local elections in 1930, it was waited for four years to give the right to participate in deputy elections (Tekeli, 1982; 211).

When the statement that women's interfering in party struggles leaving their houses is "contradictory to women's political ideal" which one of the symbol women of the revolution and Atatürk's daughter in law Afet İnan expressed in a conference, in the period, it is seen that rather than portrait of a woman who fights for her rights, is opponent and political, women who have become social but not political, are duty conscious, are approved more by the regime. The summary of the scene is that: Women were asked for both to have these rights and to remain in "symbolic level" instead of using these rights actively.

According to Tekeli, who claimed that other political accounts lie in the background of the political rights given to women, Atatürk was accused of being a dictator because of the one-party government at that period when the fascists were in power in Europe. Contrary to Germany that holds women outside of the political life with kitchen-church-child trio, Turkey that gives political rights to women would prove that Turkey is among the democrat countries. Thus, women's entrance to the parliament was useful in symbolic plane rather than in participation in politics (Tekeli, 1982; 216).

While its members thinking there is no need for association just before the elections dissolved Kadınlar Birliği, with 1935 elections 18 women were put in the assembly by Atatürk. The percentage of the elected women to the whole parliament is 4,5. This ratio could not be again reached during the republican history; women could not find the chance to be represented in this consistency.

It is a thought-provoking situation that the elected women did not include anybody from the names that took part in women movement coming from the Ottomans. Only Nakiye Elgün could be successful in being an exception as she assumed a mild attitude, considered being a teacher as a superior duty to politics and being a woman. In a way, she formed a good example to Kemalist ideology's woman profile that serves to the revolution in social life with a sexless attitude (Yaraman, 1997; 52).

1.2.3. Legal Reforms Concerning Women

There is a close relationship between law and social change. However, sometimes law can be used as a proper tool of raising the society to the modernization level (Yaramaner, 1999; 222). Atatürk revolutions can be subjected to evaluation in the context of the second alternative. During this period laws were put into practice in the frame of plan and foresight related to the future instead of being composed in the axis of asocial demand. Kemalist staff believed that the political government is to realize the social and economic revolution and only in this way they can be successful, like the previous İttihat's (Ahmad, 2002; 91).

In the republican period, women, although were not dealt with as an issue of a specific law, were influenced by all the changes directly or indirectly. In the first assembly of the republican history, the assembly was mingled upon the proposals of women's being examined by the doctor and their being regarded from the population, namely regarded as citizens,

during the negotiation of some laws which are not directly related to the women, again in the same period, Minister of Education who invited the women teachers to the teachers congress that was gathered in Ankara, was forced to resign. It was expected that the women who had an active role in a justly finished war, is inside the social life enough for making speech to thousands of people, has actually gone out, return to her position before the war (Tekeli, 1982; 206-207). As a matter of fact, woman, with Fatmagül Berktaş's expression, was still staying as an existence which adopts its domestic, social, national duties and living for others in the mind other republic's man who is not very new (Berktaş, 1998; 2).

The result of the civil code's first negotiations remained even behind 1917 law. To tell their opinions about this draft of law, women made a protest meeting and composed civil code research commission. Halide Edip, Nezihe Muhiddin, Nakiye Hanim, Rezzan Emin, Nigar Sevki Hanim, Aliye Esat Hanim, Sabiha Zekeriya Hanim and Naciye Faham hanim were among the names that took place in the commission (Caporal, 1999; 43).

When severe criticisms took place in the press, Halide Edib makes an invitation to the men who wish to develop. She invites them to take their place besides Turkish women to have the rights level that their western sisters have. The reform lines that Mustafa Kemal intending to realize is only possible in a state which founded secularism (Ibid, 48-49). This is seen the fact that women, in order to gave more freedom, have made use of scope created by political attempts aiming at establishing a secular order instead

of making use of the laws concerning them. The acceptance of the civil code that forms the basis of the women's rights and improving the position of women in the society coincides with the year 1926. Firstly, in 1924 some addition was made to the law remaining from the Ottomans, but the changing was left in suspense. Then, with Atatürk's command, Swiss civil code was accepted by making small changes (Kırkpınar, 1998; 21).

Civil code is one of the important steps in the Turkish Revolution. In Tanzimat and Mesrutiyet periods, many judicial changes were made; sometimes-religious law's rules were partially abolished in administration, trade and punishment areas. However, family is one of the most untouchable monopolies of the religious law. The modifications those were prepared before this was including some developments that would remain in reform scope. Nevertheless, the one that is realized now was an imported family law, whose ties with past was cut completely, from civilized Europe (Lewis, 1996; 271-272).

Civil code can be subjected to evaluation in terms of the reforms it made in two main headlines: Abolishing polygamy and giving women the right to get divorced.

In this context, in a marriage, two sides were given marriage and divorce rights with equal rights. The law, also, made it possible for a Muslim woman to get married with a non-Muslim man. This was an important breach in Muslim perception. While the law was put into practice more firstly in villages

and small towns that were near to railways and main roads, the practices that were brought by the tradition continued in remaining parts.

Apart from Civil code's being the first step of the changing process suitable to the revolution in women-men relationship which is required to be done, there are also criticisms that it did not open a new area to free women. In his book *Sivil Kadın* (Civil Woman) Ömer Çaha says that the civil code included titles that would be in opposition as well as not bringing equality to women. According to him, leaving women's working to their husbands' permission is to take the right to work without getting permission from their husbands, which they got with the demands of the women who took place in 1924 İzmir Economics Congress, from the hands of the women with this law. Again, the woman type, which the titles in the civil code that give the child's guardianship to the father if there is not agreement, that define father as the house's head and that take the mother responsible for the care of the children put forward was being housewife being same with the previous period and the role estimated for her is being mother (Çaha, 1996; 112).

Well, what did the law include completely? Firstly, it is necessary to state that for the first time woman and man are defined as equal Turkish citizens in front of the law. In inheritance and ownership matters this equality was seen as basic principle. While the responsibilities in the household were

¹ While criticizing the civil code Zihnioglu also expresses that it whether in working permission matter or in defining father as the head of the house, legalized the inequality and did not locate women as free individuals (Zihnioglu, 2003;223).

being determined, the equality balance had a different dimension with role dissociation between the sexes.

The marriage age for the girls was determined as 18, staying loyal to the previous family law, performing the marriage ceremonies in front of the witnesses, in municipalities, were stipulated.

The law gives the family the priority and defined the contents of the rights in the areas that this priority opens. According to this, when she gets married the woman takes her husband's surname and is taken under the protection of her husband who is the head of the house. The men will decide where they will live but will take the social position of the woman. The woman will be able to live in a different house during the divorcing process as well as file a suit to get divorced. The children's guardianship is given to the father if there is no agreement. The law drew a woman profile that is left to the man's initiative about the woman's working life. As a job owner, to maintain it depends on the husband's approval, for a woman. Moreover, woman can not deal in without her husband's approval. If the woman proves that her continuation in her job is for her family's benefit, the husband's permission authority is abolished. However, as it can damage the family institution's happiness this kind of solution is not preferred.

The civil code gave the same rights with the man to the woman in getting divorced. The pairs can demand to get divorced by adducing one of the proofs that the law regards as a reason (İnan, 1975; 161).

In the criticisms related to the law, some researchers state that the greatest success of the civil code in terms of the new regime is to take the family under the control of the state. On the other hand, while the Islamic patriarchy was being abolished, that the western patriarchy began to arrange life is an important point that is dealt with from another perspective. According to this, actually, the civil code maintained the division of labor depending on sex and the male dominance; it did not bring great changes to the society's general opinion basically (Saktanber, 2002; 323).

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN POLITICS IN IRAN DURING THE SHAH PERIOD

The way to understand women in Iran goes through understanding some main titles that are related to each other. Woman is one of the elements that both the scholar-state relationship, the opposition perception that is nourished from Shiism, and the socio-economic development affected strongly.

The 1979 Iranian Revolution, the leader of which was Humeyni, is an exceptional public uprising in 20th century and at the same time in Islamic history. With the arising public reaction, the government was forced to undergo a strong change; a new structuring was done which was fitting to the spirit of the revolution in political institutions and constructions (Dađı, 1998; 63).

What space were women holding in the political change that occurred with a large scale social effect? What sort of a process was undergone and how did these affect Persian women? It is necessary to understand the process before the revolution. The perception of Islam and government resulting from Shia rulings stamped the last century of Persia which was affected strongly by Shia since the Safavis. A serious effect of scholar-intellectual began to cause the government to perceive its burden on it in the constitutionalism movements that occurred in the beginning of 20th century and in tobacco protest, and

this situation continued until the period of Reza Shah, who is contemporary of Atatürk. Reza Shah was the ones who were in power in the periods of unease that nourished the process that resulted in the Islam revolution. We come across the critics on the politics that Reza Shah followed, as an important indication to understand the process that brought the revolution in general and to understand the activity of women in this period, in particular.

In this chapter, the general frame of the opposition movements in the period before Reza Shah will be analyzed and then women politics will be put forward in the context of Reza Shah's general politics.

2.1. Women Politics Before Shah

Since the 19th century the "women question" in Iran had always been upheld by the reformist intellectuals and forces in opposition to the monarchy had pushed for modernization and social change, including women's rights (Tohidi, 1994; 132). Generally, the pioneers of this early women's movement were middle class. These women had been educated at home and had grown up, enlightened circles. Somehow they found the courage to break with tradition and to espouse the strange and new idea of women's rights.

Iranian modernization began being well founded on defense industry resembling to the Ottomans. By Abbas Mirza's leadership a group of students were sent to abroad to get modern education, these students began to teach

the palace high officials Western language and techniques when they returned to their country. In Iran, where students' going to the West continued in Muhammad Shah's (1807-1848) period, these new intellectuals admired parliamentary regime with the influence of the education in Western axis and saw religious institutions and religious men as one of the great obstacles in front of the development. This became the beginning of the cliff between the intellectuals and the public that will become deep later; we come across intellectual panorama that is broken from its public as one of the pushing elements of the process that ended with revolution resulting from the scholars.

Mülküm Khan who was one of the people in control in this constitutional monarchy period, was in favor of making justice and law reforms that were in Western style and by proposing the same ways with last period Ottoman intellectual Abdullah Cevdet for salvation of Persia, prepared a reform package that can be regarded as similar to the reforms in the Ottomans. On the other hand, with the influence of the intensive translations from French, nationalism idea began to develop by the intellectuals such as Akhundov. This modernization period which shows parallelism with the Ottomans has similarities in an important degree. Also, with Alev Başer's expression (Başer, 1999; 322-323) the first private newspaper's name became "Vatan" being parallel to the Ottomans. The number of the published newspapers increased in this period, also Education Council (Maarif Encümen) was founded. Until 1906, the number of the primary schools in Tehran increased up to 36. The

characteristic of these schools is that although they had a religious basis, in later process they were turned out to be the places where secular education was given. This dual system is one of the typical characteristic of the Ottoman constitutional monarchy period. However, scholars spreaded the message that their children will leave Shiism to the families that sent their children to these schools, approaching doubtfully to these schools. A part of scholar supported these new developments that came with constitutional monarchy, thus the schools were connected to the Ministry of Education by being centralized.

As all this process puts forward, like Mustafa Kemal's building a new republic on the ideal and law area of the constitutional monarchy that was borrowed from the Ottomans, in Turkey, in Persia the foundation of the radical changes that Rıza Shah realized was laid in this period. It can be said that in both countries constitutional monarchy movements constituted roots of the modernization movements.

In the 19th century before centralized modern state, women were regarded as the reservoir of the society's honor, not to be touched, insulted or violated by the police. For instance; when more than 1000 women, protesting against the scarcity of bread in Tehran, blocked the road and prevented Naser Din Shah's passage, the Shah's ordered the arrest of the women's husbands. This was an important point: Iranian women were given certain immunity from harm and a freedom not shared with Iranian men.

Alongside this however, there were also woman figures and political involvements challenging the widespread view of women. In this period, woman intellectual Bibi Khanum who challenged the patriarchal order that denied women's basic human rights opposed the oppressive and male-dominant culture of this term in Iran. She thought that all the problems in this country are men's doing and dared to question publicly the patriarchal religious and cultural beliefs and practices woven throughout Iran's social fabric (Moghissi, 1994; 28).

As far as political action is concerned, The Tobacco Protest was the first episode of the organized involvement of Iranian women in political activities which were a part of the food riots of late 19th century. It was the first of a series of collective efforts that culminated in the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1911 (Ahmad, 2004; 428). This Constitutional movement crystallized the desire for freedom and independence in the demand for nationhood and the transformation of Iran from a dependent backward society to a modern independent nation state became a major political preoccupation for the constitutionalists (Paidar, 1996; 78).

In the revolution, women joined underground activities against foreign forces, boycotted the import of foreign goods, organized street riots, participated in some fights and the demolition of a Russian bank, and raised funds for the establishment of the National Bank. In the course of this struggle, women who were somewhat enlightened realized the potential of women for political struggle and used the momentum provided by the

revolution as a venue. Some feminist women have increased conscious of the oppressive so they have established secret societies in order to discuss the women's position and to share their personal problems, feelings and experiences. The Women's Freedom Society and The Society of Masked Women, two of the most important secret societies, made in numerous writings in papers about to give women the right to vote (Ahmad, 200; 428).

However, clerical and conservative men successfully opposed women's suffrage and similar measures while through these organization women wrote letters to magazines and to parliamentary deputies protesting their exclusion from the political process. Some liberal newspapers and magazines argued the desirability of giving women access not only to vote but also to education and participation in public life. These women published or translated some articles from European magazines about women's education, health, marriage, divorced child rearing.

In 1906, although the nationalist movement succeeded in establishing a constitution demanding the equality of all citizens, women were not included in the definition of citizen. However the majority of men opposed women's emancipation, such as Taqi Zadeh who was atheistic against the pleas of secular constitutionalist could argue that "women's societies were not against the constitution which recognized both men and women as "citizens of Iran" in the parliament (Moghissi, 1994; 30). Several women involved in the movement went back to their homes and the task carrying the struggle was left to a few educated women who dedicated themselves to the development

of an independent women's movement concerned with improving the social status of women in the country (Ahmad, 2004; 428). In this term a desire for women's rights was specifically expressed only by a limited number of intellectual women constitutionalist and not by all of the women who supported the constitution and national independence.

The important point about this period was that, there was a relationship between the nationalist movement and the women's rights movement. There is some evidence to suggest those Iranian women who supported and participated in the early stages of the women's movement were both participants in the constitutional and the nationalist movements of the early 1900s in Iran. The first woman manager of an Iranian newspaper, Sediqeh Dovlatabadi, *Zaban Zanan* (Women's Voice), had been a founding member of the patriotic National Ladies Society established in 1910. Exposure to such ideals had awakened in the minority of educated Iranian women a desire to be recognized on an equal footing with men. They became conscious of the low position of Iranian women through their constitutional and nationalist efforts and began to advocate major reforms in the status of women (Sanasarian, 1982; 22-23).

An interrupted chain of activities on behalf of women's rights was pursued in the urban centers in three ways: the publication of women's periodicals, the formation of women's organizations and the establishment of girls schools (Sanasarian, 1985; 91).

Between 1910 and 1930 more than 20 women's periodicals were published. In 1910, the first newspaper, *Danesh* (Knowledge), was published by women and was written for them. Then *Shokufeh* (Blossom) was entirely dedicated to the question of women's education. Its goals were to acquaint women with literary works, instruct them on childcare and housework, encourage their education, fight against superstition among women and uplift their moral standards (Sanasarian, 1982; 32). Another important women's newspaper was *Zaban Zanan*. Dowlatabadi, in this newspaper, was more outspoken than other women criticized the veil and women's general condition. She wrote that if women had the right to vote they would never elect the type of people men elected people of the upper classes who worked only for their own interests. Dowlatabadi was also the founder of *Kanune Banovan*, a women's committee, which later played a prominent role in women were unveiling during Reza Shah's reign (Ettehadieh, 2004; 92).

Other newspapers in this term, *Nameh-e Banovan* (Women's Letter) and *Jahan Zanan* (Women's World) began publishing around 1920. It emphasized that being a good Muslim did not require suppressing women's rights and its purpose fully adopted a moderate tone in addressing the training and education of women. Iranian graduate of the school edited *Alam Nesvan* (Women's Universe), which belonged to the Association of Graduates of the American Girls School, it started in 1920 in Tehran. It also discussed health and medical reports, housekeeping methods, information on new clothing fashions in Western countries, literary works, and news about international

movements (Sanasarian, 1982; 34-35). Such women's press placed less emphasis on the question of constitutionalism and patriotism and more on women's issues. Some women translated biographies as well as articles and books on manners, home economics and short stories to ridicule society's customs. Men also wrote on women's issues. These women and men paid attention to the development of the women's movement in Europe and the West's educational system (Ettehadieh, 2004; 92).

Efforts change women's statuses were not limited to these publications. Both before and after the Constitutional Revolution in 1906, there were established various women's societies and organizations. Women's Freedom Society was established by a number of male and female intellectuals. The focus of organization was the inferior condition of women, and in order to build women's self-confidence. While this organization emphasized such internal factors as the restraining force of the clergy, other some organization, such National Ladies Society, blamed foreign domination for the low status of women (Sanasarian, 1985; 93-94). Patriotic Women's League of Iran was another well-known radical women's organization. Its purposes were the training of young girls, the expansion of national industry, the education of women, the protection of orphan girls and the establishment of hospitals for poor women (Sanasarian, 1982; 36).

One other important component of action taken for advancement of women was the formation of girls' schools. When the first school for girls was founded foreign missionaries in 1874, the first Muslim girl's school,

Namus, was founded in 1907 and the first public could be founded in 1918 in Tehran. Either individual women or women's groups established most of the girl's school. For these schools, the government was not willing to provide any financial or physical protection. The clergy also accused these schools of being centres of prostitution and corruption and opposed a curriculum they could not control. But persecution and threats of banishment did not deter the pioneers of the women's movement.

2.2. Women Politics During the Shah Period

Reza Shah announced himself as Prime Minister in 1923. In his term in Iran, like in Turkey, the idea of establishing an Iranian Republic came on the agenda. Reza Shah, being a reformist like Mustafa Kemal, took steps to establish a new social order and modernize his country. These steps included making social, political and legal reforms. Taking a more detailed look into these reforms will help to better understand how these reforms shaped modernization in Iran. It needs to be pointed out that although there were many social and political reforms, the legal reforms were quite limited in number and thus it will be clearer to make mention of these under social reforms where the connection between them will be better understood.

To Reza Shah, social reforms meant modernization, which in turn meant westernization. Thus, the reforms were carried out with a westernized and secular orientation. "*The traditional Islamic beliefs and institutions were*

incompatible with a realization of the country's goals, and therefore expandable' (Vatandoust, 1985; 125). To achieve his goals Reza Shah created a strong executive power with centralized authority and one party political administration. He circumvented the legislative process, which he had conveniently turned into a rubber stamp parliament; and in an authoritarian fashion he implemented certain measures including mandatory conscription, adoption of western clothing, removal of the chador, and reduction of the power of ulema (Islamic scholar) that were popular and exercised considerable influence upon the masses (Vatandoust, 1985; 108).

Reza Shah's anti-clerical crusade, which reduced the legal, social and political influence of the clergymen, can be considered as a positive move in women's emancipation. Through extended educational and employment opportunities and formal legal rights, women's integration into national processes was targeted. Shah's program in relation to gender touched upon two broad areas: women's social participation and the family. Its main aims were: first, women's integration into social life as this was considered to be the hallmark of modernity and essential for progress in the country. More women gained access to public education- a major long-time goal of women's rights activists; second, the creation of educated mothers to improve the prospects of the future generations; third, preservation of the patriarchal family system despite the fact that this did not go hand in hand with the other two aims.

Considering such contradictory conditions upon which the goals were built, contradictory results emerged since the reforms were implemented through political repression and autocratic and paternalistic means. An analysis of the two major social reforms in women's favor- the judicial reforms and outlawing the veil- reveals the superficiality and paternalistic character of Reza Shah's pro-women reforms (Moghissi, 1994; 37-38). "*The unveiling of the women and the Islamic dress code; birth control and the glorified motherhood, women dependent on male wage earners and female guerrilla fighters, monogamy and polygamy, limited access to resources for women in an officially egalitarian society...*" were incongruous phenomena (Friedl, 1987; 195).

The process of capitalist development and modernization in Iran, despite the country's great potential and resources and extensive efforts in social engineering, failed to bring fundamental changes in the status of the majority of women. This was chiefly due to the equation of social reform with modernization, and modernization with westernization. The transforming impact of the legal and social reforms on the position of women in the family, in the workplace and in society in general remained limited.

On the other hand, the state's determination in issuing the decree and implementing it vigorously, despite widespread opposition by public and religious leaders, convinced many early feminists to support the decree as a progressive measure necessary for confronting clerical misogynistic approaches to women's concerns. The success of the state in winning the

support of women activists and some intellectuals resulted in further alienating clerics and a larger segment of secular intellectuals and activists from Reza Shah's modernization program.(Mahdi, 2004; 430).

2.2.1. Social Reforms Concerning Women

Shah started to make a series of reforms for realizing his goals. He made primary education compulsory and a new order was rapidly introduced into education, which became almost entirely state controlled (Avery, 1965). The main beneficiaries of the state's social reforms were no doubt the upper and middle classes. Although the legal reform of the family was limited in nature, there may have been a decline in polygamy and temporary marriage during this period. Women of these classes were the main points of the state's gender policies including unveiling, education, desegregation and employment (Paidar, 1996; 87).

First of all, Reza Shah chose some women who were involved in education, activism in women's rights, and pro-Shah allegiances of their husbands or fathers. In this gathering, the idea of establishing a "**Ladies Centre**" under the honorary presidency of his daughter was proposed and the aims and objectives of the centre were discussed. The Ladies Centre of Iran is instituted under the honorary presidency of Princesses Shahms Pahlavi and the patronage and supervision of the Ministry of Education, for the purpose of achieving the under mentioned objectives:

- 1- *To provide adult women with mental and moral education, and with instruction in housekeeping and child rearing on a scientific basis, by means of lecturers, publications, adult classes.*
- 2- *To promote physical training through appropriate sports in accordance with the principles of health preservation.*
- 3- *To create charitable institutions for the support of indigent mothers and children having no parent or guardian.*
- 4- *To encourage simplicity of life and use of Iran- made goods.*
- 5- *This centre has legal personality is the legal representative of the centre (Paidar, 1995; 104).*

The centre organized lectures on unveiling. These lectures covered subjects such as ethical duties of women in society, women's education and social duties, health of mothers and babies, women and the professions, women and the economy and women in Turkey. They were quite unified in their overall understanding of women's role in society. Apart from these lectures, The Ladies Centre also conducted debates on the position of women.

According to Sanasarian (Sanasarian, 1982; 68-69), three aspects of the Ladies Centre distinguished it from previous women's organizations.

First, it was established under the auspices of the government and received a considerable sum of money from Ministry of Culture. This type of relationship between a women's group and the central government was unprecedented. Second, the objective of the Ladies Centre was not to win

equal rights for women. Third, the Center's work was geared toward social and charitable activities for women. For the first time charity projects were being systematically pursued by women's organizations. Such charity work began with Reza Shah and expanded considerably during the reign of his son. Taking radical steps, it was acting under direct orders from the government. All their members were unveiled; this was more than a year before the unveiling law passed.

Shah did not abolish polygamy, but he did make some minor reforms in the marriage and divorce laws. The articles for these laws were changed a number of times between 1926 and 1940. The more significant reforms were as follows: religious courts were abolished, at least by name, and were required to be registered with the Ministry of Justice; parties to the marriage could put into their contract any condition they wished, for instance, a woman could insert a clause stating that behalf of her husband, the groom was required to inform the bride whether he had a wife, and, regarding the age of marriage, only people who had reached puberty could be married. These legal measures were not radical in nature and the basic shariah (Islamic Law) was preserved. How well these laws were enforced is not clear. There were many parts of the country, especially in the rural areas, that did not have a state registrar and had to rely on the clergy. Also, the question of when someone reaches puberty was a subject open to interpretation. The popular belief was that girls reached puberty much earlier than boys; therefore, that notion could not serve as preventive measures for

child marriages. There is evidence, though, that Reza Shah's reforms in the other areas of education and the outlawing of the veil were enforced more rigorously (Sanasarian, 1982; 60-61).

Reza Shah encouraged the education of women, but one of the major obstacles to educating women was lack of women teachers. In 1934 the Majlis approved laws for the establishment of a number of teacher training colleges. The University of Tehran was opened in 1936 and the first group of women entered the University along with men that same year. The number of public and private schools began to expand in the capital and other cities of Iran. However, most of these schools were private and liberal intellectual men or women believing in the expansion of female education in Iran founded many of them. The upsurge of girl's schools in the late 1920s and the early 1930s could be attributed to the support and tacit protection that the private schools received from the Reza Shah regime. Previous regimes were either neutral or had taken sides with groups that opposed the education of girls. It is noteworthy to recall that first public school for girls was founded as late as 1918. Although the number of private boy's schools was also considerable, the number of primary and secondary public schools for boys was about four times that of public girl's schools.

The other area in the reforms was the outlawing of the veil and the chador in 1936. Various opinions were expressed both before and after the 1936 law, some in favor and some against unveiling. Since the mid-1920s it had become easier to criticize the veil. In 1923, four years before this

legislation, Women's Word magazine invited debate on the issue of the veil. The response was overwhelming and pro and con arguments were raised passionately. A small-town medical doctor asserted in a long article that the unveiling of women would contribute to the moral degradation of young men and the society at large. The act of unveiling was merely an imitation of Western appearance, he continued (Ibid, 63).

On the other hand, there were many who saw the prohibition of the veil and the imitation of Western costumes as a positive step in the improvement of women's condition. During the reign of Mohammed Reza Shah, the date of outlawing of the veil was celebrated every year, symbolizing from an official standpoint the date of women's liberation. The Western press has usually followed the official line of this issue; others criticized the outlawing of the veil. The underlying motive of the leftist opposition to the unveiling law was its hostility toward the monarchy, not the issue of women's rights.

In discussing the issue of the veil two major factors must be dwelled upon. Because the women's movement opposed the veil in Iran and they believed that the veil was a symbolic representation of the low status of women. Thus one strategy involved the direct unveiling of women. The number of these women among the educated classes, especially in the capital, was on the rise when Reza Shah took power. Their numbers increased because Shah sent strict, secret orders to the police to safeguard these women from the mobs. Other women preferred changing the color of the veil (Paidar, 1996; 55-57).

Other major factor that must be addressed when discussing the issue of the veil deals with the effects of the unveiling law. One consequence was that a number of women became isolated at home. They identified unveiling with nudity and refused to leave the house. As a result, in order for such women to leave the house, their male relatives undertook some unusual procedures. A second consequence, much stronger than the first, was the forceful but short-lived nature of the law. After Reza Shah left the country in 1941, the enforcement of the law waned at the same speed it had been enacted (Sanasarian, 1982; 65).

As one may surmise, though for the first time some steps were taken by the government to improve women's condition, many basic changes were never initiated. Changes in the marriage and divorce laws were meager, and Shariah still prevailed. The outlawing of the veil was merely for display and did not serve any profound purpose. The educational reforms, however, were encouraging, though not ideal.

2.2.2. Political Reforms Concerning Women

If we are to make a critique of the government and the social construction in Iran, it needs priority to put forward the ties between religion and politics, clearly. Because, besides having a strong effect on all the dynamics of the society, religion and the politics in this geography has a historical background in the depth of the relationship between these two institutions. Understanding this relationship will help us in understanding the

social construction and change. Although Pahlavi period tried to bring a fast secularism in every area of life, the point that has been reached today shows that the religious reaction given to the secular politics, in fact the religious movements and the activity of these movements goes on without being broken. ¹

Reza Shah's establishing of a strong executive power did indeed provide the Majles with protection against internal chaos and external interference. This political autocracy had an important effect on the development of the women's movement and political parties in this historical conjuncture. He considered democracy and independent political action a hindrance to rapid modernization. Political parties and the women's movement during this period continued to be sustained by the urban upper and middle classes, but

¹ The separation between that period Sunni and Shii fractions became clear on the evolution of the institutional qualities of the government and the state and on the religious thought and the construction of the organization (Ahavi, 1990; 23).

After the prophet's death the period that is called Four Caliphs was experienced. After Hz. Ali, who was the last caliph of this period, was killed as a martyr by a foreigner, Emevi Dynasty was established and whereas the caliphs were commissioned by election beginning from this period, caliphate became an institution that passed from father to son. A group among that period's Muslims, who thought that the caliphate was Hz. Ali's and his son's right as they were coming from the prophet's ancestry, sowed the seeds of a serious disagreement. Shiite doctrine brought a serious interrogation related to the seriousness of the legality of the government by accepting Hz. Ali and his sons besides him, as the legal authority and by defending that Hz. Omer and Osman usurped the caliphate position. Emevi Dynasty Yezidin the place called Kerbela was killing this disagreement reached the bloodiest point by Hz. Hasan's and Hüseyin's as a martyr. This killing as a martyr had an important role in Shiite doctrine's revolutionist transformation (Ari, 2004; 45).

the rise of the labor movement resulted in some working class political participation (Paidar, 1995; 101).

Policy towards the women's movement in the Shah period was derived from his dislike for any force that wished to exist outside the state's control or did emphatically endorse him. Early, most women's organizations and journals supported his reforms. With creeping state control over civil society and increasing police repression, the activities of women's groups, along with other political and trade union organizations, however, were restrained and finally banned. The continual opposition to women's activities by the ulama and the government forced many women's organizations into closing to the point that in 1932, Reza Shah banned the last independent women organization, The Patriotic Women' League of Iran. Socialist women's organizations were suppressed and their leaders were arrested.

The Shah did not even tolerate the liberal women who endorsed his reforms, demanding further changes. While implementing these repressive measures, the government continued its pro-women's rights propaganda for external consumption. Hosting the Second Congress of Eastern Women in 1932, which brought Middle Eastern and South East Asian women to Tehran, was part of this campaign. The Congress endorsed the resolutions of the first congress which included demands for equal rights for women in the family, the abolition of polygamy, compulsory elementary education, women's franchise, and equal pay for equal work (Moghissi, 1996; 40).

The prevailing view of the period saw the reorganization and regrouping of political parties and democratic organizations for women, quite a new phenomenon in Iranian political culture. With secular middle class and working-class bases, these parties felt obliged to address women's issues, or at least to show concern for women's status. The liberal Iran party formed a women's organization, while the conservative Democrat Party included a clause on women's rights in its program. The government-sponsored Women's Centre was disbanded and replaced by several women's associations, including the Women's Party, founded by Safiyeh Firouz, and Women's League, with various groups of aristocratic women in leadership positions. Several women's magazines also started publication. The weakness of the central government allowed women's organizations in this period to be more outspoken, but almost none was independent of party politics (Ibid; 42)

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN AND MODERNIZATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IRAN AND TURKEY

Up to now, we have taken a look at women policies in Iran and Turkey and touched upon how these policies played a role in shaping modernization policies in each country. The task in this chapter will be to bring together both processes and make a comparison that will help to better understand the significance of women policies in shaping other policies related to modernization in the Middle East. In order to do this, we will first give an overview of women politics in the Middle Eastern geography in general. This may help to better understand the significance of making a comparison between two different policies. Then the comparison will be done in the form of first looking into the similarities and second, into the differences. Analysis of the similarities will focus on the role of the leaders in the modernization process and on the extent to which the state adopts a feminist attitude. Examining the differences will include an introductory background of the fundamental differences in attitudes which will further be detailed out with a discussion of the different instruments employed throughout the processes and finally end with an overview of the difference in perception between the Sunni and the Shia, an issue that could be considered to form the backbone of the dynamics in understanding the repercussions of the

fundamental discussion of the role of women policies in the process of modernization in Iran and Turkey, two crucial elements in the Middle East.

3.1. An Overview of Women Politics in the Middle East: The Case of Turkey and Iran

There is a great deal of dissension among scholars and analysts of Middle East over the issue of gender. Since the position of women has always aroused a lot of interest, a plethora of serious scholarly work on Middle Eastern women's history and women movements in the Middle East has been conducted. The findings of such studies has led to the association of those movements with the ones for social reforms and modernization during the era of post-colonial state formation that spanned the periods between the 19th century and early decades of the 20th century. This period exhibits striking discursive parallels between Turkey, Iran and Egypt, establishing a lasting framework for discussions of the women question.

In all these cases, nationalism and modernization in a western way were leading points through which issues pertaining to women's position in society were articulated (Kandiyoti, 1996; 8). Despite the prevalence of significant variations in the condition of women in Muslim societies stemming from the different political projects of modern nation-state- among other things, all Muslim societies had to struggle with the obstacles of establishing modern nation states and forging

new notions of citizenship. As Kandiyoti states women's rights were discussed and legislated in the search for new ideologies to legitimize emerging forms of state power (Kandiyoti, 1991; 2).

In this context, state-building projects in the Arab world have ranged from experiments with Arab socialism to continuing monarchic rule. Despite reforms permitting educational, juridical and state institutions greater autonomy from religious authorities, sharia (Islamic Law) -inspired legislation in family and personal status codes continued to persist even where secular laws had been adopted in every other sphere. To illustrate, personal laws granting men special privileges in the areas of marriage, divorce, custody, maintenance and inheritance circumscribe equal citizenship rights of women guaranteed by national constitutions.

Yet, Muslim modernists, being aware of the contradiction the government is in, put emphasis on the reflections of the shift on family. They denounced sex segregations, arranged marriage, repudiation and polygamy and argued that the subjugation of women hinders national progress (Kandiyoti, 1998).

Most of the commentary on gender and politics in this area assigns a central place to Islam, but there is little agreement about the analytic weight it carries in accounting for the subordination of women or the role it plays in relation to women's rights (Kandiyoti, 1991; 1). The discrepancy originating from the each country's application of Islamic

personal status laws to women in a different fashion is responsible for the ambiguity. In addition, the fact that the dominance of patriarchal values differ in degree within and between other Muslim states contributes to the complexity of determining the role Islam plays in relation to women's rights (Kazemi, 2000).

3.2. Similarities Between the Two Countries Concerning Women Politics

In this comparative case study, first the similarities then the differences between Mustafa Kemal and Reza Shah's reforms concerning women will be discussed. It is very important to understand these two states, which are at two divergent points regarding their political systems and social orders. There are a lot of advantages to knowing the reasons for this differentiation considering that they had both started modernism movements from the same point approximately 200 years ago and went through similar political and social steps throughout these years. Especially when considering the serious close up between the two countries during the governments of Atatürk in Turkey and Reza Shah Pehlevi in Iran, this differentiation becomes even more important (Milani, 1999; 66).

3.2.1. The Modernization Process and the Leaders

A look at the historic foundation of the reforms would reveal a very significant similarity between the two countries. The reforms carried out in

20th century were actually a continuation of the ones that were made in the 19th century. In Turkey, the Young Turks, and in Iran, Mulk-i Muhan, can be counted as examples to the groups who took the initial steps in the modernization process.

So, it can be said that the two leaders, Reza Shah and Mustafa Kemal, took further steps in the modernization process. When the two leaders came to power, both Iran and the young Turkish republic were going through a transitional period. The 600 year-old Ottoman Empire had been dissolved with great land losses. The new republic was thus established afterwards. In Iran, similarly discussions for establishing a republic were made. And then began a new period both in Iran and Turkey.

Another similarity in the modernization process of the two countries lies in the leaders characteristics. Both were reformists who had military backgrounds and were pragmatic and fast in putting their decisions into action. They were sharing the same ideas about establishing a new social order and modernizing their country. Hence both of them believed in the centralization of authority, the one-party political administration, and being autocratic instead of democratic for realizing the reforms. Therefore, both states of Turkey and Iran were ruled by autocrat regimes: In this period under the leaderships of Atatürk and Shah respectively, both leaders tried to replace their own social structures with western models, thus they had to fight against the Islamic social order.

In general, it could be said that Shah, like Atatürk, was not contented only with social, and political reforms, he also wanted to change the life styles of Iranians and to realize in Iran something similar to the complete transformation realized by Atatürk in Turkey. Shah made his only foreign visit to Turkey, which had a great influence on the reforms he aimed to realize. After he returned to Iran he took many measures to decrease the authority of religion. Thus, in Iran that modernization means westernization and secularization movements started a political struggle between the political authority and the clergy.

In Turkey during the Republican Period, like in Iran, “westernization” and “secularism” were the modernization movements, which took important criticism. After taking over political power, Atatürk abandoned the models of west-Islam synthesis and the ones aiming to turn back to the Ottoman institutions (Köker, 1993; 126). He gave more importance to westernization and secularization ideas. Because secularization for the young republic meant the abandonment of the traditional social institutions that were established according to the Islamic principles and, westernization meant the establishment of the new institutions according to the western social model.

3.2.2. State Feminism

State feminism undermined women’s ability to develop a broad-based feminism that incorporated the interests of women from the lower classes,

and particularly women in the rural areas, where the social engineering of the state did not take root. Sirin Tekeli (Tekeli, 1998; 340) notes that

The few women who benefited from rights "educated, professional elites" experienced excitement of being pioneers so passionately that they could realize that their own position did not reflect the real conditions of most Turkish or other women. And so they were led into a "tragic schizophrenic" illusion: the new identity of these women was not one that they had selected themselves, but an ascribed one. And the ascribed was the state. When the state decreed or forced supposedly emancipator social change on the population, feminist movement was discredited because of its association with autocratic, westernizing regimes. And feminism was perceived as a culturally "unauthentic", imported, alienating Western ideology with relevance to the women of Middle East.

Women were at the heart of the building of the modern nation state in both Turkey and Iran, particularly during the late 1920s and 1930s. Women's participation in nationalist movements had earned them the prerogative to articulate demands for the rights due them as citizens and members of a national collectivity. Their participation into the achievement of rights was that "women's rights" were not conceived of as "part of the problematic of civil liberties and individual rights", but rather were "formulated within the framework of policies" that aimed to serve the social good.

In both Turkey and Iran, the symbolic value of women's emancipation was more important than the substance, since suffrage and or women's increased social participation and public visibility bolstered the external image of these states as modern nations. The membership of both of these countries in the international society of states was fragile and full acceptance by the other members as a true equal, rated very high on the agenda of nationalists. Thus seemingly trivial issues such as women's dress, for example, became highly charged and imbued with meaning. Women in the modern nation states of Iran and Turkey had to look like the civilized women of the world, namely European women, in order for these states to be accepted in this international society of state. (Fleischmann, 1999; 118-119)

In the thinking of Reza Shah and Atatürk the emancipation of women was sure to reduce the influence of the clergymen and they suggested giving more freedom to Iranian and Turkish women and as an indicator of their social status. In Turkey, religious control of religion on the legal structures such as family, marriage ended. Laws followed regarding woman's place in society and giving them the right to vote. These laws tried to change the traditional Islamic role of women in society. The reforms were followed by other reforms, such as the surname, hat dress law, and wearing religious costumes forbidden except for the religious officials.

As Nilüfer Göle states in *Modern Mahrem* (Göle, 1998; 90), the women rights issue and how it is treated carries a significant symbolic meaning. It

reflects the way the political regime enforces its ideology. In other words, it shows how far a country has adapted secularism since there is a dialectical relationship between the struggle given for women rights and the struggle given for religious authority. Consequently, it can be said that with the political rights granted to women and reforms concerning them, the exclusion of religion from the public life was intended. To reach this target, women were considered as a tool and catalyst.

In this context, in Iran, Ladies Centre was instituted under the honorary presidency of Prince Shahms Pahlavi and the patronage and supervision of the Ministry of Education. After closing and banning the independent women's organizations, it was established as a state-sponsored women's association. The center's goals were to prop up and reinforce domestic gender roles by educating women in child rearing and housekeeping on a scientific basis.

Likewise, in Turkey, the new republican state both circumscribed and defined parameters of the feminist movement, stifling and discouraging its independence, as the case of the Turkish Women's League demonstrates. Not long after the party's establishment, the government refused permission for it to incorporate on the grounds that women were not yet enfranchised, suggesting that it instead reconstitute itself as an association. In 1935, two weeks after Istanbul hosted the Twelfth Congress of the International Federation of Women, the government ordered the league to disband. The

president of the organization rationalized its closure and the dispersal of its assets by stating that, since its goals had been fulfilled, it had served its purpose, and there was no further justification for its continued existence.

The other tools for state feminism in Turkey were village institutes. Village Institutes were co-educational, and many girls came from distant places to attend. Administrative document it was ordered that girls be educated as "housewives" and "village" mothers. Thus the rare opportunity that the institutes had offered for girls to acquire practical, functional skills that would fit them for an active role in production was soon curtailed, and girls were reproduction. Indeed, after the 1950 elections girls' students were separated completely from the Village Institutes. Since the pioneering days of the Village Institutes it seems that little has been done to ensure the provision of education and training for women of a kind that would prepare them for and encourage them to participate in social production (Browning, 1985; 23). Moreover they founded for transporting the new values to the provinces, this value transporting was realized through women teachers who are loyal to the republic's new values and who devoted themselves to the republic enough to work in the provinces (Durakbasa, 2000; 125).

3.3. Differences Between Two Countries Concerning Women Politics

Apart from these similarities, an analysis of the differences between the two periods would make it easier to understand the reforms concerning women. In order to go through the analysis, one needs to focus on approaches and the political instruments employed by the two leaders. Such a study would be useful in evaluating Atatürk's and Reza Shah's effectiveness.

3.3.1. Different Attitudes In Women Politics

While Atatürk successfully included women in the modernization period by maintaining a holistic attitude, Reza Shah failed to display such coherence and consistency in his reform policies. The differences in attitude become more evident in the way the two leaders utilized political instruments of socialization by modeling and socialization by prohibition. Moreover, the two leaders' treatment of women's status clearly demonstrates that the attitudes were quite distinct from each other.

It seems a good idea, first, to study Atatürk's and Reza Shah's approaches to reforms concerning women. Atatürk deemed modernization a project and treated all political and social institutions as important constituents and components of this project. For this reason, all the reforms since the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923 were coherent and

consistent with each other. For instance, as Atatürk entirely changed the Civil Code, he both increased the age of marriage and banned polygamy. In a society where everything about women and her rights were perceived as a taboo, the coherency and success of the transformation was determined by the measure of women. Thus, Atatürk ensured that all the reforms supported and were in harmony with the ones regarding women.

When we assess Iran under Reza Shah, we encounter a different picture. Reza Shah being deeply affected by his visit to Turkey and Atatürk's revolutions sought to realize a social change of a similar extent. Yet, many of the reforms he carried out remained only to be changes since they lacked to maintain coherency and consistency among social institutions. For example, despite the reforms made in the civil code, many of the provisions were based on Shariah while some improvements were made in issues as the age of marriage and divorce, polygamy was allowed. Reza Shah himself had three wives.

3.3.2. The Use of Different Political Instruments

The political instruments employed by Atatürk and Reza Shah also signify the differences between approaches adopted by the two leaders. While Atatürk utilized the modeling method in implementing and expanding reforms concerning women, Reza Shah used banning to stabilize the reforms.

Throughout the modernization process, Atatürk acted as both the first follower and teacher of all the reforms he planned and worked with the state officials to establish them firmly in all layers of the society. This can be clearly seen in all reforms, particularly in ones concerning women. Atatürk, himself with his own family and friends set out examples in issues related to women and family such as monogamy, dress-code and education. Atatürk, acting in accordance with the law that bans polygamy, had one wife. In a society, where boys were highly favored, Atatürk chose to foster girls. He made use of such an attitude that carried a great symbolic meaning as a political instrument. In addition to being the first and best Turkish women in terms of adopting European styles of clothing, these girls became pioneers in activities in the fields of art and education. Putting a lot of emphasis on modeling, Atatürk appeared in public with his wife in her European dress. He allowed for his photographs to be taken on beach in Moda, Istanbul with his foster child, Afet İnan, who is known as the first woman female professor of the Republic, and a group of men and women in swimsuits. Yet, Atatürk neither brought prohibitions nor limited women not complying with the reforms concerning them. Nevertheless, he greatly encouraged transformation and demonstrated models. For instance, in spite of his criticism on veil, Atatürk made no attempts to change the situation by preparing and enforcing new laws.

On the contrary, Reza Shah chose to use prohibition for the acceptance and firm establishment of the reforms relating to women. Instead of employing a method involving a consideration for the power of socialization and educational policies, he put a ban on the hijab (the traditional veil). The new female dress code was stringently enforced during Reza Shah Period. Police had strict orders to pull away and tear down hijab from any women wearing it in public.

The de-veiling law was no longer enforced after the abdication of Reza Shah (1924-1941). But it nevertheless remained as the focal point of criticism brought to the modernization program that tried to create westernized (Iranian) women by force.

In addition to the analysis of the differences between approaches and political instruments employed by Atatürk and Reza Shah, a closer look at the two leaders' treatment of women's status would help us make a better comparison between the two periods.

In the new Republican Turkey, the modernization process depended on the ideology of creating the "new wives" and comrades of the "new men" (Arat, 1998). In women's emancipation with the reforms, Atatürk idealized the role of women as purveyors and protectors of the new regime, and such idealization was supported through the literary novels of the period. For instance, Halide Edip, a Turkish novelist, praises the new women who have

given up their sexuality and dedicated themselves to the country, and not to their husbands. In her novels, Halide Edip defines woman from a male perspective. The new Republic's women are grateful to Atatürk's reforms and ready to fulfill their duties for the sake of their country.

On the other hand, the educational and employment opportunities obtained by Iranian women bore much different results than Reza Shah had expected. Unsatisfied with the new identity defined by prohibitions, the educated women of the Revolution started to seek a new one. Ulema's religion-based objections to the new western model imposed by Reza Shah put the women in a dilemma.

The ideological current pioneered by Ali Shariati had in fact served as a kind of answer to the Iranian women's searches for a new identity. Ali Shariati put forward the daughters of Prophet Muhammed's, Fatima and Zeynep as examples by briefly calling his model as "return to the roots". To him, Fatima and Zeynep represented the Muslim women, non-domesticated, non-passive, socially engaged and politically militant (Tohidi, 1994).

Using an anti-imperialistic discourse, Shariati was asking Iranian women to adopt and protect the identity. (Şeriatî, 1980) His reforms had their basis in Islam (religion). This ironically bears a resemblance with the women that Atatürk in fact idealized where women had been given responsibility in carrying out the reforms. In Turkey, the women rose in Halkevi (the People's

Houses) and teacher training schools played an important role in taking the reforms to rural areas. Ali Shariati advocated a similar method for the Iranian women who lacked a mission in the reforms and thus the modernization period as a whole. (Şeriatî, 1980) But there was a big difference concerning the attitude towards reforms in that they would never question or criticize them. They acted as fervent supporters of the Revolution. In other words, the new Turkish women became subjects as well as symbols of the movement.

Iranian women, on the other hand, accumulated what could be called a static energy as a result of the passivity caused by being used as object-symbol only. Following the alternative model of Ali Shariati, which urged more involvement, they even took part in street demonstrations. Thus, toward the end of process Iranian women integrated into politics and played an important role in events that eventually led to the Islamic Revolution.

To summarize, differences in approach between Atatürk and Reza Shah concerning women had actually constituted the determining force as far as the success of the reforms is concerned. The two leaders also assigned different missions and roles to women in carrying out the reforms concerning themselves. It would be possible to say that it had been a matter of defining women as either subjects or objects of the Revolutions that caused deviations in the process.

3.3.3. Different Perceptions Between the Sunni and Shia

Understanding of Women

Both countries are composed of the societies in which different sects of beliefs are dominant. Thus, the way for understanding an element, which is related to the religion, goes through in putting forward these differences.

Specific rights vary according to Shia or Sunni interpretations of Islamic law, as determined by the individual's faith, or by the courts in which various contracts, including marriage, have been made. While both Shia and Sunni women have the right to initiate a divorce, religious courts may refuse the request. Occasionally Shia women seeking divorce under unusual circumstances must travel abroad to seek a higher ranking opinion than that available in the country. Women of either branch may own and inherit property and may represent themselves in all public and legal matters. In the absence of a direct male heir, a Shia woman may inherit all property. In contrast, a Sunni woman-in the absence of a direct male heir-inherits only a portion as governed by Shariah; the balance is divided among brothers, uncles, and male cousins of the deceased.

In the context of women perception, although women are dealt with in the lines that Islam brought in, with the activist approach that reaches the top in Shariati, in shia women had their share from the opponent line that the sect carries. In the frame that Shariati puts forward women were described with an active approach in shia. Woman the pillar of the family is

the perfect target for the conspirators (Yeganeh, 1982; 48). Shariati who took the perfect example from the Prophet's daughter and wife, sees women as the carrier of the reasonable Islam revolution. Women are both clever, educated and protector of their matter and they are the ones who will bring up the next generation in the way of the ideal Islam state. (Şeriatî, 2001)

In this context, as Gole expresses (Gole, 1998, 145), against the Islamic manner that suggesting "taking the Persia Revolution as the example and a political arming and building an Islamic state to make the society Islamic again, the other manner gives importance to religion against the politics and to individual against the state. One of these approaches can be described as an Islamic revolution model from up to down and community weighted tendencies of making Islamic from down to upside. This can be related to the different sect perceptions' being fixing in these two countries. In Shia perception ideal state will be reached and in this way Muslim women will get political enough for participating in street demonstrations and protest meetings as militants as in the revolution. On the other hand, in sunni tradition in the principle of obedience to state individual is a person in the community and Islamic revival will be realized with the community's becoming conscious. In this way, no matter how much the Islamic movement that appeared with liberalism after 80s and the women expression in this movement became radical, sub consciousness of keeping the harmony point with the state stands out. This turns the women into a weaker social

movement mode instead of composing a revolutionist energy; women get acceleration in the way of forming association.

CONCLUSION

Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and Reza Shah in Iran have laid particular emphasis on women throughout the reform process aiming at modernization. They have regarded women both as an indicator of and a facilitating element in the society's adoption of reform action related to women. It is possible to provide a summary of this study in the following three points: that Atatürk has followed a more posed policy compared to Shah; that the political platform in Iran leaves room for opposition on the women's side; and that the reform process in Iran is more externally influenced and lacking any unity as far as consistency among each of its related elements are concerned.

It is possible to see when compared with Shah, that Atatürk has approached reforms related with women with more caution and control. When employing the political instrument, instead of issuing legal arrangements, he has chosen to focus on psychological factors that would speed up the social change. Although this attitude required a long-term policy, it nevertheless managed to bring forth a social dissolution as well as social acceptance. Shah on the other hand has chosen pressure instead, which resulted in an opposing reaction among society.

One other point is that the political grounds in Iran were more susceptible to creating opposing action. All the pressure that brought along dissatisfaction and duality caused pejorative organizations that lead women to take on active opposing roles. Women had become both the source of

and the reinforcing element in the action opposing the revolution, where unveiled women would join street demonstration with black veils on head to toe. The opposing reaction to the revolution in Turkey however, had remained as either individual attempts or was too limited. Furthermore, the political environment Atatürk had caused to develop had left women with an apolitical identity.

A final aspect is that, the reformist action Shah had engaged in after his visit to Turkey ended up as individual policies with no organic unity instead of the realization of a planned project. The missing pieces in this picture have served as effective components making way for the revolution. The reforms that aimed at demonstrate its modernization through the woman image, but failing to establish any social background, had sown the seeds for opposing reaction. Having been portrayed as symbols, women continued to serve as symbols for the realization of the revolution. An obvious illustration of this lies in the fact that the veil banned by Shah had served as a reinforcing element in bringing forth the revolution and that it had returned back to public agenda with a different kind of ban after the revolution.

To recapitulate, women, with the priority given to them in terms of their role in the transformation process within the Middle Eastern Context, while having symbolic significance, continue fall behind the desired level of status and rights, as has can be seen in the position they have held in two cases within the Middle Eastern context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahavi, Şahruh (1990), *İran'da Din ve Siyaset*, İstanbul: Yönelis Yayınları
- Ahmad, Ali Akbar (2004), "The Iranian Women's Movement: A Century Long Struggle", *The Muslim World*, Vol 94
- Ahmad, Feroz (2002), *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 3. Baskı
- Altındal, Aytunc (1985), *Türkiyede Kadın*, İstanbul: Süreç Yayınları
- Anbarcioglu, Meliha (1983), *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve İran'da Yapılan Reformlar*, Ankara:Ankara University Yayinlari
- Arat, Yeşim (1989), *The Patriarchal Paradox-Women Politicians in Turkey*, London: Farleigh Dickinson University Press
- Arat, Zehra (1998), "Kemalism ve Türk Kadını " in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul:Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları,p 51-70
- Arı, Tayyar (2004), *Geçmişten Günümüze Ortadoğu Siyaset, Savaş ve Diploması*, İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları
- Avery, Peter (1965), *Modern Iran*, New York: Frederic A. Praeger Inc
- Berktaş, Fatmagül (1998), "Cumhuriyet'in 75 yıllık Serüvenine Kadınlar Açısından Bakmak" in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları,p 1-11
- Browning, Janet (1985), *Atatürk's Legacy to the Women of Turkey*, England: University of Durham Press
- Çaha, Ömer (1996), *Sivil Kadın*, İstanbul: Vadi Yayınları
- Caporal, Bernard (1999), *Kemalizm ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını I,II,III*,İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Yayınları

Cosar, Simten (1999), "*Türk Modernleşmesi, Aklilesme, Patoloji, Tikanma*",
Dogu Batı Dergisi, Türk Toplumunu ve Gelişimi, Yıl 2, Sayı 8, Ankara: Dogu Batı
Yayınları

Çağatay, N; Sosyal Y (1990), "*Uluslaşma Süreci ve Feminizm Üzerine
Karşılaştırmalı Düşünceler*", in *Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980 ler Türkiye'sinde
Kadın*, (der) Tekeli, S, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, p263-272

Dagi, İhsan (1998), *Ortadoğuda İslam ve Siyaset*, İstanbul: Boyut Yayınları

Durakbaşı, Ayşe (2000), *Halide Edib Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*,
İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Durakbaşı, Ayşe (1998), "*Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek
Kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve Münevver Erkekler*" in *75 yılda
Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p 29-50

Ecevit, Yıldız (1988), "*Kentsel Üretim Sürecinde Kadın Emeginin Konumu ve
Değişim Biçimleri*", Kadınların Bakış Açısından 1980ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın, (der)
Tekeli, S, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Eqbal, Ahmad (1982), "Comment on Skocpol", *Theory and Society*, vol 11,
no 3

Esfandiari, Haleh (1997), *Reconstructed Lives: Women and Iran's Islamic
Revolution* (Paperback), Washington: The John Hopkins University Press

Ettehadieh, Mansoureh (2004), "The Origins and Development of the
Women's Movement in Iran, 1906-41", in *Women in Iran*, Edited By Lois Beck
and Guilty Nashat, Urbana and Chicago, p 85-101

Fleischmann, Ellen L (1999), "The Other Awakening" in *Women & Gender in
the Modern Middle East*, Edited by Margaret Meriwether and Judith Tucker,
Boulder CO: Westview, p 104-123

Friedl, Erika (1987), "*The Dynamics of Women's Spheres of Action in Rural Iran*", Conference on the History of Women, Wellesley Mass, p 195-213

Gheissari, Ali (1998), "Iranian Intellectuals in the 20th Century", Austin: University of Texas Press, First Edition

Göle, Nilüfer (1990), *Modern Mahrem*, Istanbul: İletisim Yayinlari Istanbul

İnan, Prof.Dr Afet (1975), *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadının Hak ve Gorevleri*, İstanbul: MEB Yayınları

İnsel, Ahmet (2002), "*Kemalizm,Modern Turkiyede Siyasi Düşünce*", İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2.Edition

Kandiyoti, Deniz (1991), "*End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey*" in *Women, Islam and State*, London: Macmillan Press, p 22-47

Kandiyoti, Deniz (1996), "*Contemporary Feminist Scholarship and Middle East Studies*", *Gendering the Middle East*,London:Tauris Publish

Kazemi, Farhad (2000), "Gender, Islam and Politics", in *Social Research*, Vol. 67, No 2, summer, p 453-474

Kirkpinar, Leyla (1998), "*Toplumsal Degisme Surecinde Kadin*", in *75 Yilda Erkekler ve Kadınlar*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları,p 13-28

Köker, Levent (1993), *Modernleşme, Kemalizm ve Demokrasi*, İstanbul, İletisim Yayınları

Kurnaz, Sefika (1997), *Cumhuriyet Öncesi Türk Kadını*,İstanbul:MEB Yayınları

Kurnaz, Şefika (1991), *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını (1839-1923)*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayınları

Lewis, Bernard (1996), *Modern Türkiyenin Doğusu*, İstanbul:Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 6. Edition

Milani, Kemal (1991), *The Impact of Modernization Movements in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Bogazici University

Moghissi, Haideh (1996), *Populism and Feminism in Iran*, London: St Martin's Press

Paidar, Parvin (1995), *Women and the Political Process in 20th Iran*, London: Cambridge University Press

Poya, Maryam (1999), *Women Work and Islamism*, London: Zed Books Ltd

Saktanber, Ayse (2002), *Kemalist Kadın Söylemi, Modern Türkiyede Siyasal Düşünce*, Kemalizm Cilt 2, İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 2. Edition

Sanasarian, Eliz (1982), *The Women's Rights Movement in Iran*, New York: CBS Publishing

Sanasarian, Eliz (1985), *Characteristics of Women's Movement in Iran*, in *Women and the Family*, Edith A Fathi, Netherlands: Leiden, p 86-106

Şeriati, Ali (2001), *Dinler Tarihi*, Çev. Erdoğan Vatansever, İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları

Şeriati, Ali (1980), *Medeniyet ve Modernizm*, Çev. Fatih Selim, Abdurrahman Aslan, İstanbul: Düşünce Yayınları

Kurnaz, Sefika (1996), *II Mesrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: MEB Yayınları

Taskiran, Tezer (1973), *Cumhuriyet'in 50.Yılında Turk Kadın Hakları*, Basbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı, Ankara: Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yıldönümü Yayinlari

Tekeli, Sirin (1982), *Kadınlar ve Siyasal ve Toplumsal Hayat*, İstanbul: Birikim Yayinlari

Tekeli, Sirin (1998), "*Birinci ve İkinci Dalga Feminist Hareketlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi Üzerine Bir Deneme*", in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, p 337-346

Tohidi, Nayereh (1994), "*Modernity, Islamization and Women in Iran*" in *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies*, Edith Moghadam, United Kingdom

Toska, Zehra (1998), "*Cumhuriyetin Kadın İdeali; Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar*" in *75 yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul:Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, p 71-88

Upton, Joseph (1961), *The History of Modern Iran an Interpretation*, Massachusetts: Harward University Press

Üşür, Serpil (1991), *Din Siyaset ve Kadın*, İstanbul: Alan Yayınları

Vatandoust, Gholam-Reza, (1985), "*The Status of Iranian Women During the Pahlavi Regime*", in *Women and the Family*, Edith A Fathi, Netherlands:Leiden, p 107-30

Yaraman, Ayşegül (2001), *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*, Ankara: Bağlam Yayınları,

Yaramaner, Dr. Şerafettin (1999), *Atatürk Öncesi ve Sonrası Kültürel Değişim, Değişimin Felsefesi ve Toplumsal Özü*, İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 2. Edition

Yeganeh, Nahid (1982), "*Women Struggles in the Islamic Republic of Iran*", in *In the Shadow of Islam the Movement in Iran*, compiled by Azar Tabari and Nahid Yeganeh, London: Zed Press, p 26-71

Zihniođlu, Yaprak (2003), *Kadinsiz Inkilab*, Istanbul: Metis Yayınları

Zurcher, Erik-Jan (2002), "Kemalist Düşüncenin Osmanlı Kaynakları", in
Modern Turkiyede Siyasi Dusunce-Kemalizm Cilt 2, Istanbul: İletisim Yayınları