

Alternative History Education Modules for Armenia and Turkey

Authors: Ömer Turan, Kristine Sahakyan, Ece Nişli, Lilit Mkrtyan, Fırat Güllü, Karen Gasparyan, Yasemin Erdiç, Özlem Çaykent

Academic Consultants: Ömer Turan, Armen Ghazaryan, Özlem Çaykent

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Copy-editors: Maria Karapetyan, Garine Palandjian

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TARİH VAKFI

The History Foundation is a non-governmental organization working in the public interest with the objective of developing and extending history consciousness in Turkey. It aims at enriching and lending a new content to the way in which people regard history and at encouraging the conservation of the variety of historical heritage with a deep-rooted sensitivity and active participation of wide sections of the population.

IMAGINE

Center for Conflict Transformation

The Imagine Center for Conflict Transformation (Imagine Center) is an independent, non-political organization that is dedicated to positively transforming relations and laying foundations for lasting and sustainable peace in conflict-torn societies.



Association of Young Historians aims to unite active social science specialists and students; become a platform for the development of knowledge and skills of young scientists in the fields of history and social sciences; and become a bridge between young scientists and elder generation.

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About the Authors and Editors

Armen Ghazaryan is a researcher and lecturer, whose main areas of interest include migration studies, European studies, European migration policies and populism. He defended his PhD thesis on the issue of migration and security in Armenia. He studied Public Policy and Public Administration at Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Armen also spent two months at the University of Fribourg in a fellowship program to study migration and security in 2016. He is involved in different research programs on migration and populism issues. Currently he is the Head of Migration Service of Armenia.

Bülent Bilmez is a Professor at the History Department at Istanbul Bilgi University. He has a PhD from the Institute of Modern Near Eastern Studies at Humboldt University in Berlin. An amended Turkish version of his PhD dissertation entitled “Chester Project (1908-1923): A Case Study for the Eurocentric Modern Standardization Process in Modern Turkey” was published in Istanbul in 2000. Before starting his career at Istanbul Bilgi University in 2005, he taught at Free University in Berlin, Alexander Xhuvani University in Elbasan, and Yeditepe University in Istanbul. His research interests and publication themes include modern history of the Balkans; socio-economic, intellectual, and political modernization processes in the late Ottoman Empire; history of the Turkish Republic; minorities in Turkey; oral history, collective memory, and confronting the past; and the theories of (under)development, modernization, imperialism, and globalization.

Ece Nişli is a history teacher at the Enka High School in İstanbul. She was graduated from the Notre Dame de Sion High School in 2012. She received her Bachelor’s degree on History from the Boğaziçi University in 2017.

Fırat Güllü has a Bachelor’s degree in History and a Master’s degree from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University. He has carried out acting, instructing, and directing responsibilities within Boğaziçi University Players (BÜO) for years as well as acted in various productions at Theater Bosphorus (TB). His various translations and writings were published in *Mimesis – The Translation and Research Periodical of Theater*. He is a member of the Bosphorus Performing Arts Ensemble (BGST) and of the Editorial Board of *Mimesis*. In 2008, he published his work on Ottoman performing art history named “*Vartovyan Kumpanyası ve Yeni Osmanlılar*” [“Vartovyan Theatre Company and the Young Ottomans”]. Fırat is also one of the translators of the books titled “Creating a Role” by Konstantin Stanislavski and “Rainbow of Desire” by Augusto Boal and “Hagop Baronian’s Political and Social Satire” by Kevork B. Bardakjian. He is also a member of the History Foundation and of the Editorial Board of its periodical *Toplumsal Tarih* [Social History]. Fırat works as a history teacher in a private high school.

Karen Gaparyan is a Docent at the Chair of World History at the Faculty of History of Yerevan State University. At the same time, he is a history teacher in the Shirakatsy Lyceum International Scientific-Educational Complex and Global Bridge education complex. He received his PhD from the Faculty of History of the Yerevan State University. He is the vice-president of the Association for Young Historians. He is interested in the global peace issues and world order.

Kristine Sahakyan has been a history teacher since 2007 and started teaching World History in International Baccalaureate Diploma Program since 2014. She received her Master’s degree in English and History from Yerevan Brusov State University of Languages and Social

Sciences. Her thesis was focused on the significance and consequences of the Russian policies for Armenia at the beginning of the 20th century.

Lilit Mkrtchyan received her PhD in History from the Yerevan State University. She is Associate Professor at the Department of World History at Yerevan State University. Lilit is also Head of the Chair of Social Sciences at Anania Shirakatsy Lyceum. She founded the Association of Young Historians based in Yerevan and currently is President of the Association. Lilit has authored a monograph, four manuals in teaching methodologies, a collection of lecturing materials, and more than a dozen articles.

Maria Karapetyan had been with the Imagine Center between 2011 and 2018. She was a fellow with Rondine Citadel of Peace in Arezzo, Italy, where in 2013-2015 she was engaged in designing and implementing educational and training programs for Italian and international students. Simultaneously she concluded her Master's degree in Peace Studies at the University of Rome Three with a research focus on Narrative Mediation of Historical Narratives and Critical Discourse Analysis. She was one of the editors of the online analytical publication the Caucasus Edition – Journal of Conflict Transformation.

Ömer Turan is an Associate Professor at Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey. He received his PhD from the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Central European University. His academic interests include social theory, historical sociology, intellectual history, Turkish politics, and anthropology of compulsory military service. He co-authored “Devlet Akı ve 1915: Türkiye’de ‘Ermeni Meselesi’ Anlatısının İnşası” with Güven Gürkan Öztan (İletişim Yayınları, 2018). He has published articles in various journals including *Focaal: the European Journal of Anthropology, Philosophy and Social Criticism, International Review for the Sociology of Sport, Birikim, and Toplum ve Bilim [Science and Society]*. He is member of the Editorial Board of *Toplum ve Bilim* and *Toplumsal Tarih [Social History]*.

Özlem Çaykent is an Assistant Professor at the History Department of 29 Mayıs University. She received her Bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature from Boğaziçi University and her Master's and PhD degrees in History from Bilkent University. Her research interests are global and European intellectual history ranging from Scottish Enlightenment, modernity, to historiography; sociability; oral history; Eastern Mediterranean/Cyprus under British rule, history textbooks. She is one of the founders of the Mediterranean Worlds Conferences. Some examples of her published work include the co-edited book “Islands of the Eastern Mediterranean” and articles on the popular conceptions of Enlightenment ideas as well as childhood memories from the conflict-era of Cyprus. She has participated in various dialogue projects between Turkey and Armenia.

Philip Gamaghelyan is a conflict resolution scholar-practitioner, the co-founder and board member of the Imagine Center for Conflict Transformation, and the managing editor of the Caucasus Edition: Journal of Conflict Transformation (www.caucasusedition.net). He is also an Assistant Professor at the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies at the University of San Diego where he teaches courses in conflict analysis and resolution, mediation, politics of memory, and program design, monitoring & evaluation. He is the author of *Conflict Resolution Beyond the International Relations Paradigm: Evolving Designs as a Transformative Practice in Nagorno-Karabakh and Syria (2017)*.

Pınar Sayan is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Beykoz University, and a visiting researcher at the Institute for Turkish Studies at

the Stockholm University. She received Bachelor's degree from Marmara University; Master's degrees from Boğaziçi University and London School of Economics; and PhD degree from Marmara University. She worked at various universities and published on nationalism and ethnic politics. She takes part in the national and international civil society projects on conflict transformation, human rights and minority rights as a coordinator, consultant, trainer or facilitator. She acts as the Turkey Director of Imagine Center, co-editor of Caucasus Edition – Journal of Conflict Transformation and co-director of Roman Medya.

Yasemin Bozođlu Erdinç was graduated from Boğaziçi University History Department in 1999 and completed her MA in History in Social Sciences Institute at the same university in 2002. She has been teaching Social Studies, Democracy and Human Rights, History and Theory of Knowledge in public and private schools for twenty years. She has also worked at the Teacher's Academy Foundation for five years as a part-time teacher trainer and was actively involved in several projects that contribute to teachers' professional development in Turkey. Moreover, she has been engaged in various projects regarding the European Union, human rights, Social Sciences Education as the content provider and gave presentations in conferences and led workshops. She is currently working as a History and Theory of Knowledge Teacher in a private school in Istanbul.

Preface

In August 2016, the Imagine Center for Conflict Transformation and History Foundation agreed on a partnership to work on the history education in Armenia and Turkey. The first step was the project of “Politics of Memory and Forgetting in History Textbooks: Network Building for Historians and History Educators in the Context of Armenia-Turkey Relations” co-led by the History Foundation and the Imagine Center in cooperation with the Center for Sociology and Education Studies (SEÇBİR) of Istanbul Bilgi University and the Yerevan-based Association of Young Historians. The project was supported by the European Union Program “Support to the Armenia-Turkey Normalization Process: Stage Two”. Within the scope of the first project, two workshops in Armenia and Turkey were organized and a network of history educators, historians, academics, conflict transformation specialists were formed. The network has agreed to produce two co-authored and interconnected papers that was published in June 2017 as “History Education in Schools in Turkey and Armenia: A Critique and Alternatives”.¹

The first paper analyzed the history education in Armenia and Turkey including the legacy of the previous generations of textbooks, recent education and textbook reforms, the current history curricula and teaching methodologies, the politics of textbook development and the narratives of the history textbooks. It is argued that the narratives based on historicism, essentialism, nationalism, sexism, militarism with limited perspectives dominate the history textbooks in Armenia and Turkey.

Based on this critique, the second paper offered the following alternative principles for an inclusive and peace-oriented history education:

- re-politicizing education empowering students to question the reproduction of the existing order and relations of power, acknowledge conflict and contestation, and allow room for dissent and the imagination of possibilities for change;
- de-ideologizing education stripping it of ideologies;
- overcoming the omniscient single voice in favor of multiple voices and perspectives both in the textbooks and in the classrooms; increasing tolerance within educational communities towards incoherence, discontinuities, contradiction, and ambiguity in historical accounts; presenting history with discontinuities and complexity rather than in a linear, thin, progressive, and coherent narrative;
- taking a critical stance towards nationalism – a political ideology – as solely one of the competing worldviews in a pluralist competition;
- addressing militarism in education paying more attention to the human costs of wars, war avoiders or other types of dissenting voices, and promoting a general social history going beyond the framework of military history;
- moving away from essentialism;
- equipping students with skills and competencies to decipher, understand, and engage in a conscious and critical application of terms of time and space; encouraging a type of history education that is more inclusive, embracing of differences, and sensitive to possible patterns of discrimination;

¹ See: https://caucasusedition.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Tarih-Vakfi-and-Imagine_2ndEd_April2.pdf

- building learning environments where skills and competences are to be developed alongside knowledge; including the method of historical inquiry into the discipline of history;
- finding the proper balance between going into the depth of a single case and contextualization;
- breaking away with the textbook authority in general and redesigning textbooks to be collections of sources and guides in navigating these sources;
- encouraging students to question texts and understand the motivation behind and the implications of the language that they use;
- rethinking political history to incorporate modernization histories and histories of institutions during the phase of modernization; reformulating history in a less state-centric manner including marginalized, invisible, and silenced groups; including feminist histories into the curriculum;
- incorporating local histories into the curriculum (102-103).

The translation of this publication into Armenian and Turkish is concluded and they will be published in 2019. Meanwhile, the Imagine Center and History Foundation have focused on the second stage of the project in 2018 in cooperation with the Association of Young Historians. For the second step, the project of “Developing Alternative Education Modules for Armenia and Turkey” was implemented with the support of the “Support to the Armenia-Turkey Normalization Process” and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The project aimed at developing alternative education materials based on the critique and principles developed by the network. To that purpose, three workshops in Armenia and Turkey had been organized in addition to the meetings with stakeholders and students in both countries. The parallel findings in the student meetings were found especially illuminating by the network. Accordingly, the students in both countries had a preference on a student-centered, activity-based history education that also deals with “unusual” and “global” topics.

Based on these findings and their own expertise, the network members decided to develop three modules on the topics of “The Role of Media in the Nation-Building”, “Social Movements”, and “Women’s Movements and Feminisms in the 19th and 20th Centuries”. Each module is developed by teachers from Armenia and Turkey, an academic consultant and an editor. Each module includes lessons, notes to teachers, activities, comprehension questions, information and bibliography. The modules can be used as a whole or particular lessons or activities can be chosen for teaching activities.

The modules are the first products of a cross-border cooperation between Armenia and Turkey to develop alternative education materials by testing different methodologies. They were aimed to pilot alternative approaches and methods to the history education. The project partners – the Imagine Center and History Foundation – will continue to collaborate in an effort to build the professional capacity in both Turkey and Armenia in contemporary and alternative methods of historiography and history teaching that incorporates alternative narratives and oral histories, promotes critical thinking and multiperspectivity, and uses interactive, student-centered and discussion-based teaching methods.

Module 1: The Role of Media in Nation Building

By Kristine Sahakyan, Firat Güllü, Armen Ghazaryan, and Bülent Bilmez

A Note to Teachers

Module 1 consists of two Lessons. Lesson 1 introduces the concepts of media and nation and establishes a loose link between them. Lesson 2 builds on this link delving deeper into the interplay of media and nation building.

All lessons are completely student-led and activity-based. The lessons contain activities that may or may not be used, depending on the available time as well as the preferences of the students and teachers. The activities can also be assigned as homework, depending on the time and the preferences of the students and teachers.

“[...] the search was on, so to speak, for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together. Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful, than print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways.”

– Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1983

What is media? How does media influence /what is the role of media within human societies? What is a nation? What is the role of media in the nation building process? In this Module, we will explore the interplay of media and nation building.

Lesson 1. Media and Nations: Concepts and Methods

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 1 consists of two Sections. Section 1 is focused on introducing the concept of media and Section 2 is focused on introducing the concept of nation.

Both sections are designed to be completely student-led and activity-based. One or more of the activities can be assigned as homework, depending on the time and the preferences of the students and teachers.

In this Lesson, we are going to look at two concepts – the media and the nation. What do they mean and how did they come into being? Is there a link between them?

Section 1. Media: Definitions and Functions

Activity 1. Media in the Middle

A Note to Teachers

The aim of Activity 1 is to elicit the students' background knowledge on the term "media".

A possible learning outcome of the discussion to the last question could be grouping the identified examples of media into print media (newspapers, books, etc.) vs. electronic media (television, radio, the Internet, etc.). The identified examples of media can also be classified as traditional vs. new.

Part 1. Discuss the following questions in class:

1. What does the word "medium" and its plural form "media" literally mean? What are some of these contexts in which these terms are applied?
2. The words "the Mediterranean Sea", "medieval", "medium" as a person who conveys spiritual messages, "median" as a mathematical term and many others use the same root. How is the literal meaning of the root "medium" applied to these words?
3. What is the meaning of the word "media" in relationship to communication?
4. Develop a list of media sources and try to group them into categories.

Part 2. Following your discussion, develop a working definition of media in class. Display the definition in the classroom and make changes to it as students learn more about media throughout this Module.

Activity 2. Media as an Actor of its Time

Media is not only a means of communication that solely reflects what happens - it also shapes the society in different ways. Discuss the following questions in class or as writing assignments:

1. Do you think media as a means of communication is a modern phenomenon?
2. What kind of tools of communication were used in the pre-modern times?
3. Think of the types of media in the order of their emergence in human societies and discuss how they influence(d) the social, political, economic, and cultural life of people.

Activity 3. Media as a Source for History Writing

Media is often regarded by historians as an important source for history writing or historiography. A historian can analyze both *what* a media source tells about the events of a certain time and *how* this retelling is done.

Part 1. Watch the following video titled “Understanding Primary and Secondary Sources” that describes the characteristics of primary and secondary sources and how they can be used in the research process.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pmno-Yfctd8>

Part 2. Answer the following questions.

1. Which sources are considered primary? Give some examples.
2. Why is it important to use primary sources in a research?
3. Which sources are considered secondary? Give some examples.
4. What do secondary sources add to a research?
5. What sources can be both primary and secondary and why?

Activity 4. Identifying Primary and Secondary Sources

Using the list below, identify examples of primary or secondary sources for each of the topics:

1. the original of Leonardo da Vinci’s painting “The Mona Lisa”
2. a 1999 book about World War One
3. a piece of pottery made in 2018
4. a 2017 documentary film about Princess Diana
5. Roman coins made by the Romans in AD 45
6. a 1975 poster of a Van Gogh painting
7. a photograph of a family vacation
8. a newspaper article
9. yesterday’s weather record
10. your own example of a primary and a secondary source

Section 2. Nation, Nationalism, and National Identity

Activity 5. Defining Identity

Identity is concerned with the questions such as “Who are you?” and “What does it mean to be who you are?”. Identity embodies the qualities and expressions, the values and beliefs of a person or a group.

Discuss the following questions in class.

1. Who are you? Take a few minutes to think and formulate your answer to this question.
2. Share your answers in class and identify overlaps and differences between your answers.
3. Are there any groups emerging from your answers in terms of nationality, regional belonging, language, age, sex, gender, religion, etc.?

Activity 6. What is a Nation?

Part 1. Read the following two excerpts. The first is from an 1882 lecture titled “What is a Nation?” delivered by Ernest Renan at a conference that took place at Sorbonne University. The second is from the 1983 book *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson.

Excerpt 1.

“[...] A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things which, properly speaking, are really one and the same constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is the past, the other is the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present consent, the desire to live together, the desire to continue to invest in the heritage that we have jointly received.

Messieurs, man does not improvise. The nation, like the individual, is the outcome of a long past of efforts, sacrifices, and devotions. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate: our ancestors have made us what we are. A heroic past with great men and glory (I mean true glory) is the social capital upon which the national idea rests. These are the essential conditions of being a people: having common glories in the past and a will to continue them in the present; having made great things together and wishing to make them again. One loves in proportion to the sacrifices that one has committed and the troubles that one has suffered. One loves the house that one has built and that one passes on. The Spartan chant, “We are what you were; we will be what you are”, is, in its simplicity, the abridged him of every fatherland.

A people shares a glorious heritage as well, regrets, and a common program to realize. Having suffered, rejoiced, and hoped together is worth more than common taxes or frontiers that conform to strategic ideas and is independent of racial or linguistic considerations. “Suffered together”, I said, for shared suffering unites more than does joy. In fact, periods of mourning are worth more to national memory than triumphs because they impose duties and require a common effort.

A nation is therefore a great solidarity constituted by the feeling of sacrifices made and those that one is still disposed to make. It presupposes a past but is reiterated in the present by a tangible fact: consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation’s existence is (please excuse the metaphor) a daily plebiscite, just as an individual’s existence is a perpetual affirmation of life. [...]” (Renan 1882)

Excerpt 2.

“[...] I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. [...]

The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. [...]

It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. [...] nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so. The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state.

Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.” (Anderson 2006 (1983))

Part 2. How do the two authors define a nation? Discuss their ideas and what you think about these ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 7. Nations on My Mind

Part 1. Watch the following video titled “How Nations Make Up National Identities”.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9qF6FvwrHI&t>

Part 2. Discuss your ideas about the arguments in the video in class or in writing.

Part 3. Work in groups to create a mind map using some or all of the following words: nation, nation state, nationalism, language, borders, country, urbanization, technological developments in printed media and transportation, decline of the power of the church and feudal leaders, democracy, worshiping leaders, xenophobia, racism, militarism, total war for the nation. Present and discuss your mind maps in class.

A Note to Teachers

Here are some ideas that the discussion can be guided towards.

Nation, nation-state, and nationalism

It is disputed whether nations create nation-states or vice versa. Nationalism is the central ideology that holds together a group of people who believe to be a nation. The terms “language”, “borders” and “country” play an important role in nationalism. Members of a nation tend to see themselves as a community that speaks a common language, lives in a specific historical geographic location for a period of time, separated from other nations by means of national borders.

Urbanization, technological developments in printed media and transportation

Living together in towns and cities without practically knowing each other has led communities to think about their differences and common features. A conception of “we” expanded even further through the interaction of larger geographies through the printed media and transportation. Thus, technological innovations in how people and information travelled also played a role in the conception of “we” and nationalism.

Decline of the power of the church and the feudal leaders, democracy, and worshiping leaders

The decreasing power of the feudal leaders (kings, sultans, emperors, etc.), the church and the beginning of the people’s participation in government gave nation-states their democratic face.

However, often the “national heroes” or “liberators” of the nations also turned into leaders with powers similar to the feudal leaders.

Xenophobia and racism

Communities that embraced nationalism may begin to see themselves as superior and/or more powerful than other nations over time. Unfortunately, the history of humanity is full of such examples which can lead to the rise of xenophobia and racism.

Militarism and total war for the nation

If a nation considers itself superior to others or if it sees other nations as a threat for any reason, war becomes inevitable. In the history of societies that strongly embraced nationalism, an idea of strong total war that provides the nation’s existence has an ideological role.

Activity 8. The First National Newspaper

Part 1. Which newspaper do you consider your first national newspaper? Try to answer the following questions: what was the name of the newspaper? Where exactly was the newspaper published? How long it was published? In which language and alphabet was it issued? Who was the chief editor or publisher? Also, please share other details you think are of interest.

Part 2. Design a poster that depicts the front page of the newspaper from a specific date. Share your poster in class.

Part 3. What was important in deciding which newspaper you consider as your first national newspaper: the language or alphabet of the newspaper? The identity of the editor or publisher? The geographical location that the newspaper was published in? Another factor?

A Note to Teachers

Here are some options to be considered “first” from the Turkish perspective.

The first newspaper in the Turkish language (using the Arabic alphabet) was *Vakayı Misriye* launched by Mehmed Ali Pasha in Egypt in 1828.

The first state newspaper of the Ottoman Empire in the Turkish language (using the Arabic alphabet) was *Takvim-i Vekayi* launched by Sultan Mahmud II in Istanbul in 1831. It was also published in different alphabets and languages – Arabic and Persian using the Arabic alphabet, Armenian using the Armenian alphabet, Greek using the Greek alphabet, and French using the Latin alphabet.

The first state newspaper of the Ottoman Empire in the Armenian language (using the Armenian alphabet) was the Armenian version of *Takvim-i Vekayi* published with the title *Lro Gir*. The first private newspaper in the Armenian language (using the Armenian alphabet) were *Arshaluys Araratyan* (1840-1887) and *Azdarar Byuzandyan* (1840-1841).

The first private newspaper in the Turkish language (using the Arabic alphabet) owned by a Muslim editor (Agah Efendi) was *Tercüman-ı Ahval* launched in 1860.

Some foreigners also published Turkish-language newspapers in the Arabic or Latin alphabet such as *Ceride-i Havadis* launched in 1840 by William Nosworthy Churchill.

Here are some options to be considered “first” from the Armenian perspective.

The first Armenian-language newspaper was *Azdarar* launched by Harutyun Shmavonyan in Madras in 1794.

The first Armenian-language newspaper published in Yerevan was *Psak* launched by Vasak Papajanyan in 1880.

The first state newspaper of the First Republic of Armenia was *Karavarutyun Lraber* launched in 1918.

Lesson 2. The Media and National Identity

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 2 looks deeper into how the media contributed to modernization and the impact it has had on nation building.

The Lesson is completely student-led and activity-based. One or more of the activities can be assigned as homework, depending on the time and the preferences of the students and teachers.

In this Lesson, we will look deeper into the interplay of media and nation building.

Activity 1. Before Zuckerberg There was Gutenberg

Johannes Gutenberg a German blacksmith and publisher introduced the moveable type printing press to Europe in the mid-15th century. This started the era of the mass circulation of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other materials – in other words, the mass circulation of ideas.



A painting of Johannes Gutenberg and his partners. Artist: Unknown. Taken from: <https://www.businessinsider.com/gutenbergs-apprentice-by-alix-christie-2015-2>.

Conduct a small research on how the mass production of printed materials ushered in the era of modernization. What was the connection between the mass production of printed materials on

the one hand and mass literacy, the Protestant Reformation, the Renaissance, the Scientific Enlightenment, and the Industrial Revolution?

Activity 2. The Newspaper as a Ceremony

Part 1. Read the following excerpt from *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson.

“[T]he newspaper is merely an extreme form of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephemeral popularity. Might we say: one-day best-sellers? The obsolescence of the newspaper on the morrow of its printing – curious that one of the earlier mass-produced commodities should so prefigure the inbuilt obsolescence of modern durables – nonetheless, for just this reason, creates this extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption (‘imagining’) of the newspaper-as-fiction. We know that particular morning and evening editions will overwhelmingly be consumed between this hour and that, only on this day, not that. (Contrast sugar, the use of which proceeds in an unlocked, continuous flow; it may go bad, but it does not go out of date.) The significance of this mass ceremony – Hegel observed that newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayers – is paradoxical. It is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion. Furthermore, this ceremony is increasingly repeated at daily or half-daily intervals throughout the calendar. What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned? At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life. [... F]iction seeps quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations” (Anderson 2006 (1983)).

Part 2. Do you agree with Anderson’s argument that the newspaper is an extreme form of a book? Why do you agree/disagree with his argument? What “ceremony” is Anderson describing? Why does he call the community of people who engages in this “ceremony” secular, historically clocked and imagined? What do you think about the Hegelian idea of newspapers as the morning prayers for the modern person? Can you imagine a similar ceremony with new media such as telephones and social networks? What sort of a community are they building?

Activity 3. Empires vs. Nation-States in the Media

The classical empires were dragged into a serious crisis as the nationalist ideology began to spread and the nation-state became a dominant political organization. The Ottoman Empire was one of these. Especially in the 19th century, the rapid spread of nationalist ideology within different ethnic groups of the Ottoman Empire, which had to deal with serious political and economic problems, weakened the bonds that kept the empire together.

Part 1. Study the following sources.

Source 1. This is an excerpt from the editorial published by Lyuben Karavelov in the Bulgarian newspaper *Svoboda* in 1869.

“As animals living on Earth need air and fish need water, man needs freedom first and most of all. Without freedom a man cannot call himself a man, but half a man; without freedom a man cannot be what nature had intended him to be, so he cannot be happy either.

Everything an individual needs is also necessary for the whole nation. Only a nation, which has its own historical life and external and internal freedom, i.e. which has its own political and intellectual independence, can live and improve. Any nation, which does not have political freedom, is always – even with the most liberal government – exposed to some invisible influence of centralization of the ruling nation and rarely does this influence affect the enslaved nation in a positive way.” (Karavelov 1985)

Source 2. This is a translated excerpt from an article by Namik Kemal published in the Ottoman newspaper *Ibret* in 1873.

“It is clear that, within a 30-year period [spent to ensure social integrity], Mishon, Petraki, Karabet and Istocu [examples of non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire] will die together with Zeyd, Amr, Ali, and Veli [examples of Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire] while defending their homeland, if Josefs (an example of a subject of the Austria-Hungarian Empire) and Ivanovs (an example of subject of the Russian Empire) attack this land with the intention to rape this holy country. We will not allow any attempt to attack our country, no matter what nation the attack comes from.” (Kemal 2005)

Source 3. This is a caricature from an issue of the Greek newspaper *Aristophanes* published in 1882.



ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑ. Ἀφήστε με, βρεθείτε, θὰ φάγω τὸ μωρὸν
ΕΛΛΑΣ. Πήσω, κυρία Τουρκία. Ἐὶς σὲ διατηρῶ.

A caricature from an issue of the Greek newspaper *Aristophanes* published in 1882. Taken from: http://cdrsee.org/jhp/pdf/workbook2_eng_ed2.pdf.

It's written "Greece" on the cradle in the middle. The text below reads:

"TURKEY: Let me go, beware, I shall eat the baby.

EUROPE: Back off, Madame Turkey, it is thanks to me that you exist."

Source 4. This is an illustration from an issue of the Albanian newspaper *Dielli* published in 1913. The illustration shows the lady (Albania) defending the regions of Scutari and Janina from the monkey (Montenegro), the tiger (Greece), and the snake (Serbia).



An illustration from an issue of the Albanian newspaper *Dielli* published in 1913. Taken from http://cdrsee.org/jhp/pdf/workbook3_eng_ed2.pdf.

Part 2. Fill in the table below interpreting the meaning of the above sources.

	<i>Svoboda</i>	<i>Ibret</i>	<i>Aristophanes</i>	<i>Dielli</i>
What does the source depict or describe as the most essential thing for a nation?				
What does the source depict or describe as the most dangerous threat to a nation?				
What type of nationalism do you see in each source?				
How do newspapers contribute to nation building?				

Activity 4. Content or Form? What Has Been More Powerful in Shaping National Identities?

Jaffer Sheyholislami, a professor of linguistics, argues that the printed media contributed to the formation of nations and national identities in two ways – through content or discourse and through form or technical characteristics (Sheyholislami 2011).

Part 1. Read the following passage that presents the ideas of a scholar who emphasizes the content of the media or the discourse in shaping national identities.

Some scholars such as Ruth Wodak identify three main dimensions of a nation-building discourse – thematic contents, discursive strategies, and linguistic means and forms of realization. The first dimension includes thematic areas such as a common past, present, and future. Within the second dimension of discursive strategies Wodak identifies constructive strategies that build a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification, and solidarity as well as differentiation; perpetuating strategies that maintain and reproduce a threatened national identity in order to preserve, support, and protect it; transformational strategies that transform a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity; and destructive strategies that dismantle an existing national identity construct, but usually cannot provide any new model. In the last dimension of linguistic means and forms of realization, Wodak identifies the deixis² that contribute to nation building – spatial (here vs. there), personal (we vs. they), and temporal (now vs. then).

Part 2. Read the following passages that present the ideas of scholars, who emphasize the role of technical characteristics of media as a nation-building vehicle.

Other scholars argue that media communication is important in the emergence of nationalism and formation of national identities not because of its content but because of its technical characteristics or forms. Communication technologies enable people from far away to connect and interact, regardless of their messages. This interaction, over time, especially when it is in the same language, brings about commonality, unity, homogeneity or sameness, and, finally loyalty to a collective entity, the nation.

Let's look at some of the arguments of these scholars more closely.

“By the end of 16th century the flexibility of the alphabet and printing had contributed to the growth of diverse vernacular literatures and provided a basis for divisive nationalism in Europe.” (Innis 1951)

“What we call ‘nations’ did not and could not precede the advent of Gutenberg technology.” (McLuhan 1962)

“The printed book and the printed page, uniformity and repeatability gave to the political ruler a new instrument of centralism and homogeneity.” (McLuhan 1960)

“The most important and persistent message is generated by the medium itself.” (Gellner 1983)

“The spreading of effective communications has had an evident impact upon ethnic consciousness, but the full impact of the communications media did not precede the message of self-determination.” (Connor 1994)

Part 3. Comment on the two approaches to the role of the media in nation building. Which one do you agree with more?

² Deixis are words and phrases, such as “me” or “here”, that cannot be fully understood without additional contextual information such as the identity of the speaker or the speaker's location.

Activity 5. Nations Breaking News

Part 1. List the names of five newspapers that are currently published in your country and discuss the relation between the meanings of their titles and your nation as a modern collective identity.

Part 2. Study the front pages of the newspapers below. What explicit and implicit references do they make to the nation? How do they define and construct the nation?

Cumhuriyet

SALHI 3 TEMMUZ 2018 94. YIL SAYI 33872 KURUCUSU YUNUS NADİ (1904-1964) BAŞBAKANIRI NURİ NADİ (1909-1980) İKİNCİ BAŞKAN SELVUK (1902-2001) FİYAT 2 TL (DÖVRE KİTCE 2,5 TL)

Prof. Daron Acemoğlu, 'Toplum üzerindeki baskı kalkmalı' dedi

Özgürlük yoksa büyüme olmaz

SARAY'DAN TEKLİF GELMEDİ

DARON Acemoğlu, son günlerde kendisi hakkında çıkan "Türkiye'de ekonominin başına gelebilir" iddiasını da cevapladı. Acemoğlu, gazetemize yaptığı açıklamada, "Böyle bir teklif gelmedi. Konuşulanlar sadece defterkudandan ibaret" diye konuştu. » 7de



Daron Acemoğlu

SORUNLAR YAPISAL

MASSACHUSETTS Teknoloji Enstitüsü (MIT) iktisat profesörü Daron Acemoğlu, Cumhuriyet'in sorularını yanıtladı. Türkiye ekonomisinin sorunlarının "yapısal" olduğunu söyleyen Acemoğlu, "Son 10 yılda, çok fazla verimlilik artışı olmadı. Teknolojik gelişme veya gayrimenkul sektörü dışında yatırım artışı yaşanmadı" dedi.

RİSK BÜYÜK

TÜRKİYE ekonomisi için çok sert bir iniş riski olduğunu belirten Acemoğlu, "Siyasal özgürlüğü destekleyen siyasal kurumlar, büyüme için faydalıdır. Toplum baskıdan arındırılrsa, ifa ile özgürlüğü varsa, demokratik kontrol mekanizmaları söz konusu büyüme teşvik edilir" diye konuştu. » PELİN ÜNKEK 7de



Meksika'da zafer solcu başkanın

ÜLKE tarihindeki en kanlı seçim kampanyası sürecinin ardından Meksika pazar günü sandık başına gitti. Meksika'da zafer, açık ara farkla solcu başkan adayı Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador'un oldu. OBRADOR'UN zaferi, tek parti iktidarının son bulduğu 2000'den beri seçilen ilk solcu başkan olmasıyla dünyada yankı uyanırdı. » 7de



Obrador

YOK BAŞKA BİR CEHENNEM, YAŞIYORSUNUZ İŞTE *



SIVASTA 25 yıl önce gerillerin Madimak Otelini yakarak katlettikleri 33 aydın ve sanatçı, birlerce kişinin katliamıyla anıldı. Katliamda yaşamını yitirenlerin aileleri, öldürülen 33 aydının fotoğraflarını taşıdı. Madimak Otelinin önündeki anımsayma sadece milletvekilleri ve yaşamını yitirenlerin yakınları anıldı. ANMADA 25 yıldır adalet mücadelesi veren ailelerin görüşlerini sel oldu. "Madimak Utanç Müzesi olsun", "Bizim ahımızda kara leke yok, başını dik tut. Veran Madimak bize Kербetle olsun" dövizleriyle yürüyüş yapıldı. "Sivast'ın mağdumları olacak", "Karanlığa teslim olmayacağız" sloganları atıldı. ANMAYA katılan Alevi örgütleri adına ortak metni Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu Başkanı Hüseyin Güzelgöl okudu. Güzelgöl, "Canımız, canlarımız burada insanlık dışı bir saldırı ile can verdiler. Geçen 25 yıl rağmen burada, bu sokakta yaşanan katliamı yitirdiğimiz 33 canımızın ateşi hala yanıyor" dedi. » ÖZAN ÇELİK 8de

İstanbul Üniversitesi'nden atılan akademisyene savcılıktan temiz belgesi verildi

Niye ihraç edildim?

AKP'Lİ ELİTAS 19 Temmuz'da OHAL bitiyor

ESKİ AKP Grup Başkanvekili Mustafa Elitaş, sonbaharda erken yerel seçim iddialarına ilişkin olarak, "Bizim gündemimizde yerel seçimlerin ön alınması yok" dedi.

ELİTAŞ, olağanüstü halin kalkıp kalkmayacağı tartışmaları için de "18 Temmuz geçesi OHAL kalkması olacak diye düşünüyorum" ifadesini kullandı. » 5te



CHP İdareci Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, eski Bayrampaşa CHP İlçe Başkanı Zahit Gürdal'ın İstanbul'daki cenazesine katıldı.

İNCE'NİN TURU BAŞLIYOR

CHP'NİN cumhurbaşkanı adayı Muharrem İnce, "gideceğimi" illerinden başlatarak 8 il ziyaret edeceği açıkladığını doğrultusunda, ilk ziyarətini yarı Erzurum'a yapacak. Kulislerde, İnce'nin bundan sonra ilayeceği stratejiye ilişkin tartışmalar ise devam ediyor. » İLHAN ÖZDEK 9de

İSTANBUL Üniversitesi'nden ihraç edilince geçimini fasulye satarak sağlayan Yrd. Doç. Dr. Savaş Karabulut'a savcılıktan herhangi bir terör örgütü üyeliği ve ByLock kullanması olmadığına dair belge verildi. Ancak Karabulut henüz işine dönmemiş değil.



Karabulut, işten çıkarıldıktan sonra fasulye satarak yaşamaya devam ediyor.

BELGEYİ OHAL Komisyonu'na gönderen Karabulut, "İstanbul Üniversitesi Rektörü ve yönetimi beni savcılığa jale olma van hangi belgeye dayanarak ihraç etti ve günden hâlâ görevde iade edilmediğini biliyorum. OHAL komisyonunun kararını bekliyorum" diye konuştu. » ZEHRA ÖZDEK 9de

SÖZCÜ AKSOY: TSK ÇEKİLECEK

Dişileri: Afrin'i bırakıyoruz

16 ÜLKE'DEN basın kuruluşu temsilcilerini Afrin'e götüren Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın sözcüsü Hami Aksoy, Türkiye'nin Afrin'den çekileceğini açıkladı. Afrin konusunda Türkiye aleyhine bir algı operasyonu yürüttüğünü savunan Aksoy, çalışmalar bittikten sonra Türkiye'nin askeri olarak Afrin'den çekileceğini ifade etti. "Afrin'i Afrinlilere bırakıyoruz" dedi. » 6de

TERCİH KAOSU

Sistem ilk anda çöktü

LİSE kontenjanları açıklandı, başvurular başladı ama e-okul sistemi çöktü. Sisteme girilemedi. Snavla öğrencilerin aileleri okulları da da okulları yükselttili. » 4de

AĞ AVCILARI

'Denize borçluyuz'

SERÇO Ekişyan, Volkan Narıcı ve Ercan Akpolat'ın oluşturduğu Hayat Ağ Avcıları, yıllardır Marmara Denizi'nin ekosistemi tehlikeye atıyor. » İLHAN ÖZDEK 2de

Newspaper 4. This is the front page of the June 24, 2015 issue of the *Joghovurd* newspaper.

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100 դրամ

ԷԼԵԿՏՐԱԷՆԵՐԳԻԱՅԻ ՄԱԿԱԳԻՆԸ ՉՊԵՏՔ Է ԹԱՆԿԱՆԱ

Երեկ Հայաստանի կյանքում արտառոց իրադարձություն զրանցվեց. ոստիկանությունը բիրտ ուժ կիրառեց իրապես խաղաղ ցուցարարների նկատմամբ, ինչն իր բացասական արձագանքը գտավ ինչպես երկրի ներսում, այնպես էլ միջազգային ատյաններում: «Ժողովուրդ» օրաթերթը, հավատարիմ մնալով իր կոչմանը, մշտապես ժողովրդի կողքին է եւ ուժերի ներածին չափով պայքարելու է ջաղացացիների իրավունքների վերականգնման համար: Մենք եւս ԴԵՄ ենք էլեկտրաէներգիայի սակագնի բարձրացմանը եւ դատապարտում ենք ցուցարարների ու լրագրողների նկատմամբ կիրառված բռնությունները: Եւ ի աջակցություն երիտասարդության՝ այսօր «Ժողովուրդ»-ն իր առաջին էջը տպագրում է սովորականից տարբեր՝ օրվա երկու առանցքային իրադարձությունները՝ լրասանկարներով: ⇨ էջ 4, 5, 7



The front page of the June 24, 2015 issue of the *Joghovurd* newspaper. Taken from: <https://armlur.am/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/tttt1.jpg>.

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Module 2. Social Movements

By Ömer Turan, Ece Nişli, Maria Karapetyan, and Karen Gasparyan

A Note to Teachers

Module 2 consists of four Lessons. Lessons 1 and 2 are general and focus on definitions and types of social movements. Lesson 3 is a case study of social movements, exploring the setting in which India's independence movement emerged and Gandhi's contribution to the methods and strategies that brought it to success. Lesson 4 is another case study of social movements, focusing on the 1968 student movement.

All lessons are completely student-led and activity-based. It situates the 1968 student movement within the larger framework of social movements. The lessons contain activities that may or may not be used, depending on the available time as well as the preferences of the students and teachers. The activities can also be assigned as homework, depending on the time and the preferences of the students and teachers.

A social movement that only moves people is merely a revolt. A movement that changes both people and institutions is a revolution.

– Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*

What are social movements? What sets them apart from other types of social phenomena? What are some examples of social movements and how did they emerge? What type of changes did they bring about? In this Module, we will explore social movements worldwide.

Lesson 1. What Are Social Movements?

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 1 is an introduction to social movements. It is completely student-led and activity-based. It will allow students to exchange their background knowledge regarding social movements and establish a baseline against which learning can be constructed throughout Module 2.

The aim of the lesson is to introduce among students a basic understanding of social movements and how the latter are different and similar to other related social and political phenomena such as rebellions and revolutions. The lesson also aims to develop skills in building knowledge as a group through discussion and reflection.

In this Lesson, we will examine social movements and what sets them apart from other types of social and political phenomena.

Activity 1. Towards A Definition of Social Movements

A Note to Teachers

The aim of Activity 1 is to elicit the students' background knowledge on social movements. The Activity offers a number of questions. Teachers can add other questions that they find relevant for the students. Students should be encouraged to freely brainstorm answers for the questions without thinking about formal definitions or "correct" answers. The questions should be treated as opinion questions.

Part 1. Discuss the following questions in class.

1. What is a social movement? What is a rebellion? What is a revolution? How are these concepts different and similar?
2. Why do people join social movements? Why do people rebel? Why do people carry out revolutions?
3. What social movements, rebellions, and revolutions do you know? What prominent figures of social movements, rebellions, and revolutions do you know?
4. What tools and strategies do social movements use? Which of these tools and strategies do you find the most effective?
5. Do you think social movements are always aimed at progress?
6. What would you like to learn about social movements?

Part 2. Following your discussion, develop a working definition of social movements in class. Post it in the classroom and make changes to it as you learn more about social movements throughout this Module.

A Note to Teachers

Below is a brief review of several theories on social movements to provide a scholarly overview to guide teachers through the discussion. The aim of this review is not to provide a basis for the answers that the students are expected to generate. This is a scholarly review aimed at raising the capacity of teachers through further readings of the works mentioned in this review.

One way to look at social movements is through the Collective Behavior theory. In their extensive 1957 work "Collective Behavior", sociologists Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian define a social movement as "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or organization of which it is part" (Turner and Killian 1957). Turner and Killian also use the Emergent

Norm theory that argues that within social movements conventional norms stop functioning as guides to social action and instead people collectively overturn or go beyond the normal institutional practices and frameworks of society.

Even without naming the Collective Behavior theory, students can be encouraged to think what sets social movements apart from other forms of collective behavior such as a crowd of people attending a concert or the mass of people using a specific social media platform. Teachers can encourage students to think through what sets social movements, as a type of collective behavior, apart from organizational or institutional behavior such as a non-governmental organization with formal membership seeking change or a reform-seeking political party. Also, students can be encouraged to think of the interests, goals, and behavioral norms of social movements that set them apart from others forms of collective behavior.

Another way to look at social movements is through the Resource Mobilization theory. In their 1977 work “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory”, sociologists John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald define a social movement as “a set of opinions and beliefs which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society” (McCarthy and Zald 1977). The Resource Mobilization theory analyzes how a core group of a social movements works towards mobilizing resources – financial and human resources, media for coverage and visibility, building alliances with those in power, etc. – as well as the dynamics of cooperation and competition with other movements.

To think in the lens of this theory, students can be encouraged to think about the conditions under which the differing opinions and beliefs might turn into collective action and the types of resources necessary to carry out the initiative(s).

If the Resource Mobilization theory concentrates on the flow of resources in social movements, the Political Process theory takes the political struggle as the lens for analysis. In his 1984 work “Social Movements and National Politics”, sociologist Charles Tilly, defines social movements as a “sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of support” (Tilly 1984).

To come closer to this theory, students can be encouraged to think about what sets social movements apart from other forms of political contention such as coups, electoral campaigns, revolutions, etc. Students can also be encouraged to think about the repertoires that social movements can use such as marches, rallies, demonstrations, protests, strikes, boycotts, sit-ins, petitions, statements, pamphleteering, etc.

And finally, the New Social Movements attempts to explain the diversity of new movements that emerged in post-industrial Western societies since the 1960s. This approach relates social movements to structural and cultural changes. Scholars of New Social Movements such as sociologist Alberto Melucci in his 1980 article “The New Social Movements: A Theoretical Approach” underline that these movements shifted concern from economic production to cultural production of social relations, symbols, and identities (Melucci 1980). Student movements, civil rights movements, women’s movements, peace movements, and environmental movements are examples of new social movements.

Douglas McAdam and his colleagues focus on contention and contentious politics as episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects. Contention is a moment of tension and it includes condemning, opposing, resisting and demanding (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2004). According to McAdam and his colleagues, social grievance or social dissatisfaction does not always and directly lead to social movements (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2004). There are a number of

conditions that make a social movement happen. For example of a condition would be mobilizing structures. Often these are political parties or NGOs that facilitate the formation of a network of potential actors. These mobilizing structures promote communication and coordination among the potential actors. Another condition is a common worldview which is necessary for a shared interpretation of the social context and the emergent conflict. Thanks to this common worldview, it is possible to reach commitment among the actors. Another factor in social movements are the repertoires of actions that are crucial in making ideas and demands visible.

Activity 2. Two Quotes

Read the following two quotes and discuss them in class or in writing.

“A social movement that only moves people is merely a revolt. A movement that changes both people and institutions is a revolution.” – Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*

“When the whole world is silent, even one voice becomes powerful.” – Malala Yousafzai, *I Am Malala: The Story of the Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*

Lesson 2. Types of Social Movements

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 2 is the continuation of the introduction to social movements. It is completely student-led and activity-based. It will allow students to study types and examples of social movements from history as an activity or game with peers.

The aim of the lesson is to familiarize students with some examples of social movements and how these examples can be classified using various principles. The lesson also aims at developing skills in categorization/classification/typology in social sciences as well as the limitations and contestation of such categorization/classification/typology.

In the previous Lesson, we studied social movements and what sets them apart from other types of social and political phenomena. In this Lesson, we will study the diversity of social movements themselves. What are some features and dynamics of social movements that set them apart from each other? Can we use these differences in features and dynamics to make a classification of social movements?

Activity 1. A Journalist on a Quest for Social Movements

Imagine you are a journalist following social movements across the globe. Match (A) the type of the social movement, (B) its definition, (C) an example from history, and (D) the photograph of the example.

A. Types

Below are six types of social movements. First match the type with its correct definition. Then as you are looking through the examples in history, bear in mind that social movements can rarely be classified under a pure type. You can use the ribbons below to show that movements can be represented along a spectrum and tend to fall under one or other type. Also, one social movement can be classified under more than one type.

Type 1. Reformative Movements

Type 2. Revolutionary Movements

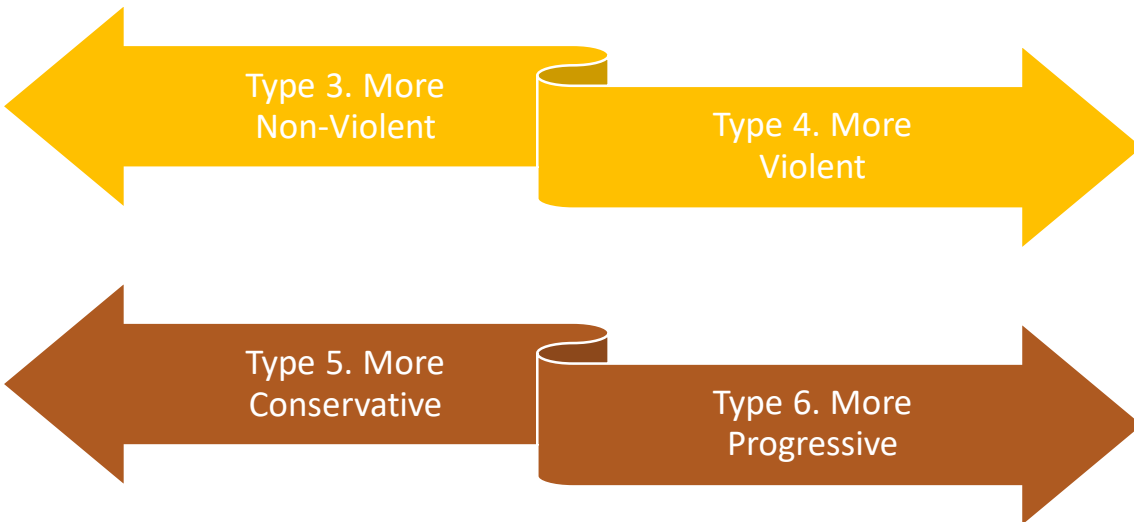
Type 3. Non-Violent Movements

Type 4. Violent Movements

Type 5. Conservative Movements

Type 6. Progressive Movements





B. Definitions

Definition 1. These movements pursue their aims using physical force, including but not necessarily armed struggle.

Definition 2. These movements pursue the change of all the norms and values of the social system. They seek to destroy and replace or transform the entire social structure. They usually advocate for a rapid and immediate change and are sometimes referred to as radical.

Definition 3. These movements pursue their aims using peaceful means and not physical force, to bring about political or social change.

Definition 4. These movements seek to introduce or change norms and values. They are also sometimes referred to as innovative.

Definition 5. These movements aim at preserving or restoring previous norms and values, structures and systems.

Definition 6. These movements pursue the change of only some of the norms and values of the system. They do not seek to destroy and replace or transform the entire social structure but to change it in a specific way. They usually advocate for a slow, evolutionary change, and are sometimes referred to as moderate.

C. Examples

Example 1. The Luddite Movement in Great Britain in the 19th century

The Luddite Movement was a series of spontaneous actions by workers against the introduction of machines and exploitation in Great Britain in the 19th century. The participants of these actions were breaking the machines as a demonstration of protest. Workers saw the machines as the culprit of their bad social and labor conditions.

The following is an account of machine-breaking that took place in March 1812 in the village of Linthwaite within the Yorkshire county in England. The account is given by a person named John Sykes to the local court.

“West Riding of Yorkshire

The complaint of John Sykes of Linthwaite in the said Riding clothdraper the servant of William Cotton of Linthwaite in the said Riding clothdresser taken upon oath this 6th day of March 1812 before me Joseph Radcliffe Esquire one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Riding –

Who saith that between one and two o'clock this Morning a number of people came to the door of his said Master's dwelling house and knocked violently at it, and demanded admittance or otherwise they would break the door open – to prevent which this Examinant opened the door and 30 or more people with their faces blacked or disguised came in and asked if there were any ammunition guns or pistols in the house and where the Master was, on being told he was not at home they secured or guarded every person of the family and then a number of them took a pound of candles and began to break the tools and did break 10 pairs of shears and one brushing machine the property of his said Master, that one of them who seemed to have the command said that if they came again and found any machinery set up, they would blow up the premises, soon after which they all went away –

Sworn before me – Joseph Radcliffe

The mark of John Sykes” (National Archives of Great Britain n.d.)

You can learn more about the Luddite Movement as well as other primary sources of that period by visiting the website of the National Archives of Great Britain at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/politics/g3/>.

Example 2. The LGBTI Rights Movement in the Netherlands in the 1960s and onwards

While homosexual movements in the Netherlands existed at the beginning of the 20th century, they went through a period of oppression during the Second World War and were revived shortly afterwards. In 1940, the first issue of the homosexual monthly *Levensrecht* (in Dutch, meaning “Right to live”) came out in the Netherlands. After the Second World War, the editors of the journal established the Shakespeare Club in Amsterdam that was renamed the Center for Culture and Recreation (COC) in 1948. The club organized social events and lobbied the authorities to exercise tolerance towards gays and lesbians.

In 1951, COC established the International Committee for Sexual Equality (ICSE) that was the forerunner of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), the current global umbrella organization for LGBT organizations. A panel of doctors, priests, and other professionals was set up in order to initiate a scholarly debate on homosexuality. In the 1960s the debate gained publicity and many rights started to be guaranteed to all individuals. In 1971, the distinction for the age of consent for homosexual and heterosexual acts was abolished. Two years later, gays and lesbians were allowed to join the army.

In the years following, COC gained statutory recognition, and many other organizations started advocating for LGBTI rights. You can read more about the LGBTI movement in the Netherlands in the corresponding entry in the “Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures” (Zimmerman and Haggerty 2000).

Example 3. The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa in the 20th century

The following is an excerpt from a 1973 article *Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity* written by Steve Biko an anti-apartheid activist and one of the leaders of the anti-apartheid Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa from the 1960's through the 1970's.

You can learn more about the Apartheid in South Africa by visiting the website of South African History Online: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-apartheid-south-africa>.

You can also read Steve Biko's entire article at <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/black-consciousness-and-the-quest-for-a-true-humanity>.

“The concept of integration, whose virtues are often extolled in white liberal circles, is full of unquestioned assumptions that embrace white values. It is a concept long defined by whites and never examined by blacks. It is based on the assumption that all is well with the system apart from some degree of mismanagement by irrational conservatives at the top. Even the people who argue for integration often forget to veil it in its supposedly beautiful covering. They tell each other that were it not for job reservation; there would be a beautiful market to exploit. They forget they are talking about people. They see blacks as additional levers to some complicated industrial machines. This is white man's integration, an integration based on exploitative values. [...] In order that Black Consciousness can be used to advantage as a philosophy to apply to people in a position like ours, a number of points have to be observed. As people existing in a continuous struggle for truth, we have to examine and question old concepts, values and systems. Having found the right answers we shall then work for consciousness among all people to make it possible for us to proceed towards putting these answers into effect. In this process, we have to evolve our own schemes, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values.” (Biko n.d.)

Example 4. The Labor Movement in the United States of America in the 18th-21st centuries

The following is an excerpt from the website of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Together these two organizations comprised the longest lasting and most influential labor federation in the United States of America to this day. They also contributed to the Labor Movement in the United States of America. You can learn more about the AFL-CIO as well as the Labor Movement in the United States of America by visiting their website at <https://aflcio.org/about/history>.

“Throughout our history, the labor movement has accomplished a lot. If you get weekends off or overtime pay, thank the union members who fought for those rights. None of our movement's achievements would have happened without the effort, organization and advocacy of our brothers and sisters. But injustice still runs amok. We must look to the past not only for inspiration, but for the tools we need to continue the fight. The roots of the problems we face today can be found in our past. So can the beginnings of the solutions we need for our future.” (Our Labor History Timeline n.d.)

Example 5. The Velvet Revolution of Czechoslovakia in 1989

In 1989, the so-called Velvet Revolution, led by the non-violent coalition Civic Forum, transformed Czechoslovakia into a democracy. The signature actions of the Velvet Revolution were enormous mass demonstrations and the rattling of keys as a collective show of defiance. Much of the strategy and the repertoire of the movement came from playwright Vaclav Havel who served as the President of Czechoslovakia after the Velvet Revolution. The movement had its roots in the decades of underground and cultural dissent, especially critical theatre, music, and seminars held at home that cultivated the spirit of dissent during the years of repression.

You can learn more about the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia through the posters of that time by visiting the website of City of Prague Museum at <http://en.muzeumprahy.cz/the-velvet-revolution-in-the-city-of-prague-museum-s-posters/>.

Example 6. The Troubles in Northern Ireland in the second half of the 20th century

The conflict in Northern Ireland around its constitutional status in the second half of the 20th century is known in history as the “Troubles”. The unionist and overwhelmingly Protestant majority of Northern Ireland wanted to remain part of the United Kingdom, while the nationalist and republican, almost exclusively Catholic, minority was to become part of the Republic of Ireland. The Troubles started with a civil rights march in Londonderry on October 5, 1968 and can be said to have ended with the Good Friday Agreement on April 10, 1998. During the Troubles, there were non-violent campaigns and movements such as the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement and those that engaged in violent action such as the Irish Republican Party (IRA) – the largest republican paramilitary organization during the Troubles.

To learn more about the Troubles, you can visit the section devoted to this period in history on the website of the BBC at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/troubles>.

Read the following excerpts quoting Gerry Adams the former leader of the Sinn Féin political party which served as the political wing of the IRA. The first excerpt is from an interview with Gerry Adams in April 2001. The second is from a speech Gerry Adams made in Belfast in October 2001.

“If I didn’t forgive the people who took me into the barracks and beat me unconscious over a period of days during the period when the British state was indicted for inhuman and degrading treatment in 1971-72, or even the guys who shot me, if you don’t forgive them, you end up with unnecessary baggage. I have no wish to carry that baggage.” (Hattenstone 2001)

You can read the entire interview published in the online version of the daily newspaper The Guardian at <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/apr/30/northernireland.northernireland>.

“In the past, I have defended the right of the IRA to engage in armed struggle. I did so because there was no alternative for those who would not bend the knee, or turn a blind eye to oppression, or for those who wanted a national republic.” (Speech by Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin President, 22 October 2001 n.d.)

You can read the whole speech by visiting the website Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN) hosted by the Ulster University in Belfast, Northern Ireland at <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/ga221001.htm>.

D. Photographs

Photograph 1. The Flint Sit-Down Strike in the city of Flint, state of Michigan, United States of America in 1937

In the below photograph, filmmaker and photographer Sheldon Dick captured how workers during a sit-down strike are guarding the window entrance to the Fisher Body Plant 3 – an automobile plant of General Motors in the city of Flint of the state of Michigan in the United States of America. They are demanding the recognition of their union – the United Auto Workers (UAW) as their bargaining agent as well as better working conditions.

You can learn more about the Flint Sit-Down Strike by visiting the audio-gallery website of Michigan State University at <http://flint.matrix.msu.edu/organization.php>.



Photograph 1. The workers during the sit-down strike in Flint, Michigan, United States of America in circa January-February 1937. Photo Credits: Cheldon Dick. Taken from the website of the Library of Congress of the United States of America: <http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8c28670/>.

Photograph 2. Students protesting the introduction of Afrikaans as an obligatory language of instruction in the town of Soweto, South Africa on June 16, 1976

In the photograph below, photographer Peter Magubane captured students protesting in the town of Soweto in South Africa on June 16, 1976. It received the name the “Soweto Uprising”. Students were protesting the introduction of Afrikaans language alongside English as an obligatory language of instruction. This was part of the policies introduced by the 1953 Bantu Education Act that was aimed at developing a sense of inequality for black students.

You can read more about the Soweto Uprising by visiting the website of the South African History Archives that commemorates the role that youth played in the struggle against Apartheid at http://www.saha.org.za/youth/bantu_education.htm.



Photograph 2. Students protesting the introduction of Afrikaans as an obligatory language of instruction in Soweto, South Africa on June 16, 1976. Photo Credits: Pere Magubane. Taken from: <https://medium.com/@DontParty/a-historic-account-of-south-africas-soweto-uprising-by-the-photographer-who-captured-it-3df9817905cf>.

Photograph 3. Demonstration during the Gay Liberation and Solidarity Day, also known as Pink Saturday, in city of Amsterdam, the Netherlands on June 28, 1980

In the photograph below, an unknown photographer captured the demonstration for the Gay Liberation and Solidarity Day, also known as Pink Saturday in the city of Amsterdam, the Netherlands on June 28, 1980. The first Gay Liberation and Solidarity Day was held in 1977. In 1979, the event was renamed Pink Saturday and is commemorated annually since 1981 in a different city in the Netherlands. Pink Saturday is usually held on the last Saturday in June to commemorate the so-called Stonewall Riots in the New York City in the United States of America in 1969 and generally regarded as the starting point of the modern LGBTI emancipation movement.

You can visit the website of COC to learn more about the organization's history and activities at <http://www.coc.nl/geloof-cultuur/roze-zaterdag-verwacht-50-000-bezoekers>.



Photograph 3. Demonstration for the Gay Liberation and Solidarity Day in Amsterdam, the Netherlands on June 28, 1980. Photo Credits: Unknown. Taken from the website of the Spaarnestad Collection of the National Archives of the Netherlands: <http://www.spaarnestadphoto.nl/search.pp?showpicture=7706&page=1&pos=1>.

Photograph 4. The image of a poster granting a reward for the arrest of the men who destroyed three knitting machines in January 1812

135

Frame - Breaking.

£.200 Reward.

WHEREAS, on Thursday Night last, about Ten o'Clock, a great Number of Men, armed with Pistols, Hammers and Clubs, entered the Dwelling-house of *George Ball*, framework-knitter, of Lenton, near Nottingham, disguised with Masks and Handkerchiefs over their Faces, and in other ways,---and after striking and abusing the said *George Ball*, they wantonly and feloniously broke and destroyed five STOCKING FRAMES, standing in the Work-shop; four of which belonged to *George Ball*, and one Frame, 40 gage, belonging to Mr. *Francis Braithwaite*, hosier, Nottingham: all of which were working at the FULL PRICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,

THAT if any Person will give Information of the Offender or Offenders, or any one of them who entered such Dwelling-house and were concerned in such Felony, he or she shall receive a Reward of

£. 200,

to be paid on Conviction, in the Proportions following, (viz.) £50 under the King's Proclamation, £25 from the Committee of the Corporation of Nottingham, and £125 from the said *Francis Braithwaite*.

WE, the under-signed Workmen of the above-named *George Ball*, do hereby certify that we were employed in working the under-mentioned Frames, on the Work and at the Prices hereinafter stated, when the Mob came to break them,—that we had never been abated in our Work, either by Mr. Braithwaite, the hosier, who employed the Frames, or by the said *George Ball*, our master; of whom we never complained, or had any Reason so to do.

QUALITY OF WORK.	PRICE.	WORKMEN.	OWNERS.
40 Gauge, Single Shape, Narrowed Two-plain,	Maid's, 29 Shillings per Dozen,	Thomas Rew,	Mr. Braithwaite.
36 Gauge, Single Shape, Narrowed Two-plain,	Men's, 29 Shillings per Dozen,	John Jackson,	George Ball.
38 Gauge, Single Shape, Narrowed Two-plain,	Maid's, 26 Shillings per Dozen,	Thomas Naylor,	George Ball.

NB. THE other two Frames were worked to another Hosier, but at the Full Price.

THOMAS REW,
JOHN JACKSON,
THOMAS NAYLOR.

Nottingham, 25th January, 1812.

W. Tappan, Printer, Nottingham.

Photograph 4. A poster granting a reward for the arrest of the men who destroyed three knitting machines in January 1812. Taken from The National Archives Kew: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/politics/g3/>.

Photograph 5. Protesters in Czechoslovakia during the Velvet Revolution in 1989

In the photograph below, photographer Karel Bucháček captured the protesters during the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1989.



Photograph 5. Protesters in Czechoslovakia during the Velvet Revolution in 1989. Photo Credits: Karel Bucháček. Taken from: <http://nasregion.cz/jedinecne-fotografie-podivejte-se-na-teprve-nedavno-objevene-snimky-z-listopadu-1989-9063>.

Photograph 6. The confrontation of the protestors with the British Army in the city of Londonderry, Northern Ireland on January 30, 1972



Photograph 6. The confrontation of the protestors with the British Army in the city of Londonderry, Northern Ireland on January 30, 1972. Photo Credits: Gilles Peress. Taken from: <https://www.magnumphotos.com/newsroom/northern-ireland-troubles-capturing-the-conflict/>.

Lesson 3. The Independence Movement in India

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 3 is a case study of social movements. It is completely student-led and activity-based. It aims to explore the setting in which India's independence movement emerged and Gandhi's contribution to the methods and strategies that brought it to success.

The British Crown directly ruled over the Indian subcontinent between 1858 to 1947. By 1880s, a middle-class had already formed in India, and in 1885, professionals and intellectuals from this middle-class founded the Indian National Congress, a movement and a party that led the Indian independence movement. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi or Mahatma Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Indian National Congress in 1921 and brought the Indian independence movement to fruition in 1947. Today, Gandhi has a controversial legacy. Although his methods of non-violence, civil disobedience, or non-cooperation continue to inspire people all over the world, his ideas and practices about race, women, and sexuality are increasingly criticized

Activity 1. Two Perspectives

Part 1. Read the following two excerpts.

The first is an excerpt from the speech by Gopal Krishna Gokhale who was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1905 and served as the leader of the moderate wing of the Congress that advocated for reforms to work with existing government institutions. The speech was delivered on February 25, 1910 at the Imperial Legislative Council and advocated for putting an end to the indentured labor of Indians in South Africa.

The second excerpt is from the speech delivered by Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India who served as the head of the British administration in India from 1916 to 1921. He was in charge of the reforms that created more self-governance in India which paved the way for independence. The speech was delivered on February 9, 1921 at the inauguration of the bicameral legislature of India – the Council of States and the Legislative Assembly – introduced by the reforms.

Excerpt 1.

"[...] My Lord [in reference to Lord Minto, Viceroy of India of the time], behind all the grievances of which I have spoken today, three questions of vital importance emerge to view. First, what is the status of us, Indians, in this Empire? Secondly, what is the extent of the responsibility which lies on the Imperial Government to ensure to us just and humane and gradually even equal treatment in this Empire? And thirdly, how far are the self-governing members of this Empire bound by its cardinal principles? Are they to participate in its privileges only and not to bear their share of its disadvantages? My Lord, it is not for me to frame replies to these questions; it is for the Imperial and Colonial statesmen to do that. But I must say this, that they are bound to afford food for grave reflection throughout this country.

My Lord, only a fortnight ago this Council passed an important Bill imposing serious restrictions on what is known as the liberty of the Press. I was one of those who gave their support to that measure, and I did this in spite of my strong disapproval of some of its provisions. I supported the Bill because I felt that something deeper and even more fundamental than the liberty of the Press was at stake in several parts of the country and was likely to be at stake sooner or later in other parts, unless preventive action was taken now, namely, the unquestioned continuance of British rule, with which all our hopes of a peaceful evolution are bound up. But, my Lord, what is the good of preventing an expression of ideas incompatible

with the continued existence of British rule, if causes are allowed to be at work which forcibly suggest such ideas to men's minds? I think I am stating the plain truth when I say that no single question of our time has evoked more bitter feelings throughout India – feelings in the presence of which the best friends of British rule have had to remain helpless – than the continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa.” (Patwardhan, Ambekar and Karve 1962)

Excerpt 2.

“Honorable Members of the Council of State and Members of the Legislative Assembly,

I have required your attendance here under Section 63 of the Government of India Act for an important ceremony.

The new Indian Legislature, which is to be opened to-day, is the outcome of the policy announced by His Majesty's Government in August 1917. That announcement has been described as the most momentous utterance in the chequered history of India; and I believe that it merits that description.

But history, as we have learnt to know, is a continuous process. In human affairs, as in nature, there are no absolute beginnings; and, however great the changes that may be compressed into a few crowded years, they are to the eye of the historian the inevitable consequences of other changes, sometimes but little noticed or understood at the time, which have preceded them. Nowhere is this clearer than in the record of British rule in India. The Act of 1919 involved a great and memorable departure from the old system of government. It closed one era and opened another. None the less its most innovating provision had their germ in measures reaching well back into the last century, and the purpose and spirit which underlay them are those that have throughout guided and inspired the policy of the British in India.

There are those who will dispute this interpretation of the character of British policy. In their eyes the real object of the British Government has always been the retention of all genuine power in its own hands, and every step in the liberalization of the structure of government has been a concession, tardily and grudgingly yielded, to demands which the Government deemed it impolitic wholly to refuse. I am confident that history will not endorse this charge. The historian of the future will detect in his survey of the achievements of the British in India many an error and shortcoming. But he will also recognize that throughout the years of their rule one increasing purpose has run and he will do justice to the unprecedented character and the colossal magnitude of the task which they set themselves. For no such task was ever attempted by the empires of the past. In these empires either free institutions had never existed or, as in the case of Rome, the growth of empire had proved fatal to such liberties as had previously been enjoyed by the founders of the empire. There were differences doubtless in the forms of local administration and in the personal privileges of the members of the various peoples and races of the State, but such variations in no wise affected the autocratic character of the Central Government. But the destinies of India and Britain became linked together at a time when in the latter country self-government had become firmly established, and it has since been the constant aim of the British Government to extend to India the benefits and privileges of her own institutions. Were any specific evidence needed of the truth of this proposition, I would appeal to the historic minute of Lord Macaulay upon the question of the medium of instruction in India. His argument that England could not impart the ideas of the Western world otherwise than in her own language carried with it tremendous consequences. It was familiarity with the literature and thought of English historians and teachers that did more than any other single cause to mold the minds of educated India in a way that inevitably led to a demand for political

development that should imitate the model held out to her [...].” (Cornell University Library n.d.)

Part 2. What three questions does Gokhale pose in his speech? Why do you think he asks these three questions? In this speech, does Gokhale favor reform or radical change? What does Lord Chelmsford say about history and changes? What does he think future historians would note about the British rule in India? In what way does Lord Chelmsford see the British Empire different from the empires of the past? According to Lord Chelmsford, where do the ideas of Indian intellectuals come from? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 2. Gandhi Holding onto Truth in South Africa

After studying in law in London and an unsuccessful attempt to build a career back at home in the city of Bombay (now Mumbai), Mahatma Gandhi moved to South Africa where he spent 21 years of his life between 1893 to 1914. Here Gandhi developed his political views and ethics and adopted his evolving methodology of Satyagraha.

Part 1. Read the following excerpt from Gandhi’s book “Satyagraha in South Africa”. Here he explains how the practice of Satyagraha emerged at a meeting in Johannesburg on September 11, 1906 after the government of the colony of Transvaal declared that the Indian and Chinese populations had to register as a colony.

“The meeting was duly held in September 11, 1906. It was attended by delegates from various places in the Transvaal. But I must confess that even I myself had not then understood all the implications of the resolutions I had helped to frame; nor had I gauged all the possible conclusions to which they might lead. The old Empire Theatre was packed from floor to ceiling. I could read in every face the expectation of something strange to be done or to happen. [...]

I give below a summary of my remarks just as I can recall them now:

‘[...] Hoping for the best, we may say that if a majority of the Indians pledge themselves to resistance and if all who take the pledge themselves to resistance and if all who take the pledge prove true to themselves, the Ordinance may not be passed and, if passed, may be soon repealed. It may be that we may not be called upon to suffer at all. But if on the one hand a man who takes a pledge must be a robust optimist, on the other hand he must be prepared for the worst. Therefore I want to give you an idea of the worst that might happen to us in the present struggle. Imagine that all of us present here numbering 3,000 at the most pledge ourselves. Imagine again that the remaining 10, 000 Indians take no such pledge. We will only provoke ridicule in the beginning. Again, it is quite possible that in spite of the present warning some of or many of those who pledge themselves may weaken at the very first trial. We may have to go to jail, where we may be insulted. We may have to go hungry and suffer extreme heat or cold. Hard labor may be imposed upon us. We may be flogged by rude warders. We may be fined heavily and our property may be attached and held up to auction if there are only a few resisters left. Opulent today we may be reduced to abject poverty tomorrow. We may be deported. Suffering from starvation and similar hardships in jail, some of us may fall ill and even die. In short, therefore, it is not at all impossible that and worse. If someone asks me when and how the struggle may end, I may say that If the entire community manfully stands the test, the end will be near. If many of us fall back under storm and stress, the struggle will be prolonged. But I can boldly declare, and with certainty, that so long as there is even a handful of men true to their pledge, there can only one end to the struggle, and that is victory.

[...]

None of us knew what name to give to our movement. I then used the term ‘passive resistance’ in describing it. I did not quite understand the implications of ‘passive resistance’ as I called it. I only knew that some new principle had come into being. As the struggle advanced, the phase ‘passive resistance’ gave rise to confusion and it appeared shameful to permit this great struggle to be known only by an English name. Again, that foreign phrase could hardly pass as current coin among the community. A small prize was therefore announced in Indian Opinion to be awarded to the reader who invented the best designation for our struggle. We thus received a number of suggestions. The meaning of the struggle had been then fully discussed in Indian Opinion and the competitors for the prize had fairly sufficient material to serve as a basis for their exploration. Shri Maganlal Gandhi was one of the competitors and he suggested the word ‘Sadagraha,’ meaning ‘firmness in a good cause’. I liked the word, but it did not fully represent the whole idea I wished it to connote. I therefore corrected it to ‘Satyagraha’. Truth (Satya) implies love, and firmness (agraha) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force. I thus began to call the Indian movement ‘Satyagraha’, that is to say, the Force which is born of Truth and Love or non-violence, and gave up the use of the phrase ‘passive resistance’, in connection with it, so much so that even in English writing we often avoided it and used instead the word ‘Satyagraha’ itself or some other equivalent English phrase [...]” (Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa 1968)

Part 2. Research the historical context in which the meeting at the Empire Theater in Johannesburg took place. What resolution did Gandhi offer to those gathered at the meeting? Why did Gandhi think that the phrase “passive resistance” did not fully express the spirit of the resolution?

Activity 3. On the Way to Independence

Gandhi returned to India in 1915, at the request of Gokhale who mentored him on Indian politics. Once Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Indian National Congress, he started escalating demands practicing Satyagraha, Swaraj or Self Rule, and non-cooperation with the British rule that implied boycotting British goods and institutions, resigning from government employment and several other ways crippling the British India government economically, politically, and administratively. The Salt March of 1930 is the most famous of the Satyagraha activities that Gandhi launched.

Part 1. Read the following two excerpts.

The first is an excerpt from the speech made by Winston Churchill to the Indian Empire Society in London on March 18, 1931 titled “Our duty in India”. By March 1931 the Viceroy of India of the time, Lord Irwin, had freed Gandhi and other Congress leaders from detention and reached an agreement with them called the Ghandhi-Irwin Pact. The Pact foresaw talks aimed at agreeing on a new federal constitution for India. Churchill and his Conservative party supporters opposed the negotiations.

The second is an excerpt from a speech Gandhi delivered at the Gowalia Tank Maidan park in Bombay (now Mumbai) on August 8, 1942 that became known as his “Quit India” speech in which he called Indians to “Do or Die”.

Excerpt 1.

“I am against this surrender to Gandhi. I am against these conversations and agreements between Lord Irwin and Mr. Ghandi. Gandhi stands for the expulsion of Britain from India. Gandhi stands for the permanent exclusion of British trade from India. Gandhi stands for the substitution of Brahmin domination for British rule in India. You will never be able to come to terms with Gandhi. [...]

To abandon India to the rule of the Brahmins would be an act of cruel and wicked negligence. It would shame for ever those who bore its guilt. These Brahmins who mouth and patter the principles of Western Liberalism, and pose as philosophic and democratic politicians, are the same Brahmins who deny the primary rights of existence to nearly sixty millions of their own fellow countrymen whom they call 'untouchable', and whom they have by thousands of years of oppression actually taught to accept this sad position [...] Side by side with this Brahmin theocracy and the immense Hindu population – angelic and untouchable castes alike – there dwell in India seventy millions of Moslems, a race of far greater physical vigor and fierceness, armed with a religion which lends itself only too readily to war and conquest.”

Excerpt 2.

“[...] Let me [...] hasten to assure that I am the same Gandhi as I was in 1920. I have not changed in any fundamental respect. I attach the same importance to non-violence that I did then. If at all, my emphasis on it has grown stronger. There is no real contradiction between the present resolution and my previous writings and utterances.

[...]

In the democracy which I have envisaged, a democracy established by non-violence, there will be equal freedom for all. Everybody will be his own master. It is to join a struggle for such democracy that I invite you today. Once you realize this you will forget the differences between the Hindus and Muslims, and think of yourselves as Indians only, engaged in the common struggle for independence. [...]

Then, there is the question of your attitude towards the British. I have noticed that there is hatred towards the British among the people. The people say they are disgusted with their behavior. The people make no distinction between British imperialism and the British people. [...] We must get rid of this feeling. Our quarrel is not with the British people, we fight their imperialism.

[...]

I, therefore, want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had. Freedom cannot now wait for the realization of communal unity. If that unity is not achieved, sacrifices necessary for it will have to be much greater than would have otherwise sufficed. But the Congress must win freedom or be wiped out in the effort. And forget not that the freedom which the Congress is struggling to achieve will not be for the Congressmen alone but for all the forty cores of the Indian people. Congressmen must forever remain humble servants of the people.

[...]

Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is: 'Do or Die'. We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery. Every true Congressman or woman will join the struggle with an inflexible determination not to remain alive to see the country in bondage and slavery. Let that be your pledge. Keep jails out of your consideration. If the Government keep me free, I will not put on the Government the strain of maintaining a large number of prisoners at a time, when it is in trouble. Let every man and woman live every moment of his or her life hereafter in the consciousness that he or she eats or lives for achieving freedom and will die, if need be, to attain that goal. Take a pledge, with God and your own conscience as witness, that you will no longer rest till freedom is achieved and will be prepared to lay down your lives in the attempt to achieve it. He who loses his life will

gain it; he who will seek to save it shall lose it. Freedom is not for the coward or the faint-hearted.” (Gandhi, *My Non-Violence* 1960)

Part 2. Why does Churchill oppose the negotiations with Gandhi? According to Churchill which group in India will benefit the most from independence and which groups will suffer from it? Why does Churchill think so? Why do you think Gandhi felt he had to assure the audience gathered at the park that he is the same person with the same beliefs? If the movement was non-violent, why did Gandhi call Indians to do or die? After all, India gained independence in 1947, but British India was partitioned into two countries – a Hindu-majority India and Muslim-majority Pakistan. Gandhi opposed this partition. What link did Gandhi see between democracy, non-violence, and unity? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Lesson 4. The 1968 Student Movement

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 4 is a case study of social movements. It is completely student-led and activity-based. It situates the 1968 student movement within the larger framework of social movements.

In this Lesson, we will explore the 1968 Student Movement as an example of social movements.

Activity 1. One Year, Many Movements

A Note to Teachers

Activity 1 aims to elicit the students' background knowledge on the 1968 student movement.

It would be helpful to emphasize the following two points during the discussion: first, the 1968 student movement was not a single event, but a series of events; and secondly, the 1968 movement did not belong to a single city or country, but a truly global wave of protests. Teachers are encouraged to take joint notes on a whiteboard or a flipchart as the students share theirs.

Part 1. Think about the following questions and take notes.

1. What do you know about the 1968 student movement?
2. In which countries and cities did the 1968 student movement unfold?
3. What were the demands of the students in the 1968 movement?
4. Who are the figures you remember from the 1968 student movement?

Part 2. Share and discuss your notes in class.

Activity 2. The Demands

A Note to Teachers

Activity 2 is designed to encourage student to think about two cases of the protests.

Students have the chance to hear from activists by watching a documentary and a fiction movie.

Part 1. Watch the following video from 4.00 to 11.30. It is a documentary film titled, *Delikanlım İyi Bak Yıldızlara* (“My Boy, Have a Good Look at the Stars”).

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zDB1IE4nU0o>

Part 2. Watch the following video. It is a French drama film titled, “Born in 68”.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oTTJwXIBR2A>

Part 3. Discuss the following questions in class.

1. What were the demands of students in Turkey?
2. What were the demands of students in France?

Activity 3. The Agendas and Strategies

A Note to Teachers

Activity 3 is a group discussion aimed at showing the diversity of strategies and agendas that protests had in the 1968 student movement. It also emphasizes the Vietnam War as a triggering factor that ignited a series of protests.

Study the following photographs and posters and discuss your ideas about them in class or in writing.

Photograph 1. The occupation of Istanbul University in June 1968.



Taken from: <http://oldmag.net/2014/08/10/68-direnisi/>.

Photograph 2. Meeting in the lecture hall of the Sorbonne University.



Photo Credits: Guy Le Querrec. Taken from: <http://www.zones-subversives.com/2015/03/une-histoire-des-mouvements-sociaux.html>.

Photograph 3. During the demonstration of May 1, 1968.



Credits: Jacques Marie. Taken from: https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2018/05/07/mai-68-des-femmes-dans-les-rues-mais-privees-de-parole-publique_5295644_3224.html.

Photograph 4. Women protesting in 1968.



Taken from: <https://www.girlsglobe.org/2018/09/13/when-womens-rights-are-not-enough/women-of-the-world-unite/>

Photograph 5. The Poster reads: “The Beauty is in the Street”.



Taken from: <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2018/05/01/may-68-posters-of-the-revolution/>.

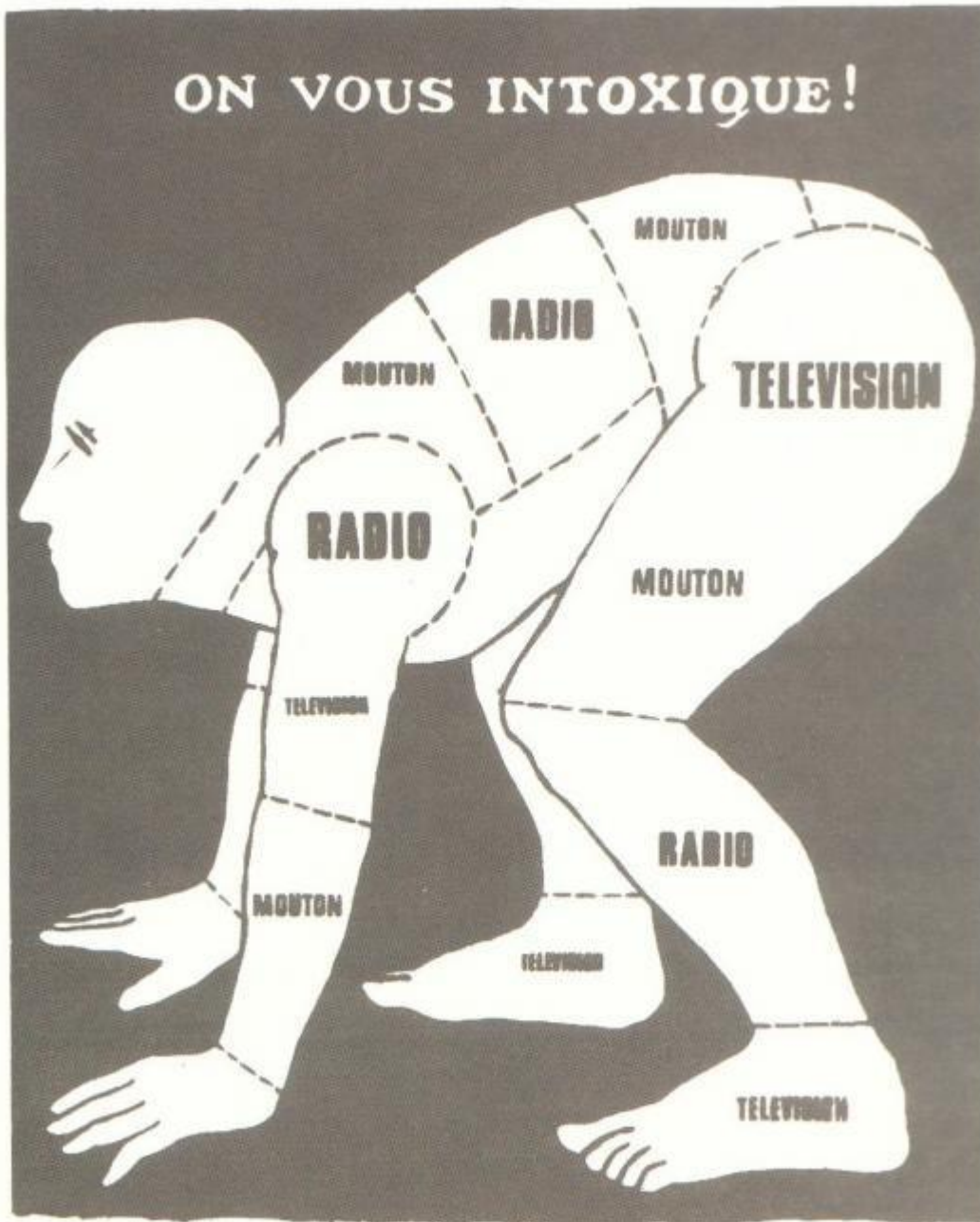
Photograph 6. The poster reads: “Borders = Repression”.

FRONTIÈRES
REPRÉSSION



Taken from: <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2018/05/01/may-68-posters-of-the-revolution/>.

Photograph 7. The poster reads: “Your are being intoxicated”.



Taken from: <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2018/05/01/may-68-posters-of-the-revolution/>.

Photograph 8. The Jeannette Rankin Brigade protesting the war in Vietnam in 1968.



Taken from: <https://weta.org/tv/program/vietnam-war/local/timeline>.

Activity 4. Global and Local Connections

Select three global and three local items from the following list and prepare a poster with visual materials explaining the phenomena. The chart needs to include arrows to show the local-global interaction.

Global	Local
The New Left	Workers Party of Turkey
Vietnam War	Robert Commer
The Civil Rights Movement	Mehmet Ali Aybar
Students for a Democratic Society (USA)	Federation of Idea Clubs (FKF)
Sorbonne Occupation	Istanbul University Occupation
Prague Spring	Land Occupation
Rudi Dutschke	Deniz Gezmiş
Red Army Faction	People’s Liberation Army of Turkey
Woodstock	Eastern Meetings

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Module 3. Women's Movements and Feminisms in the 19th and 20th Centuries

By Lilit Mkrtchyan, Philip Gamaghelyan, Yasemin Erdiñ, and Özlem Çaykent

A Note to Teachers

Module 3 consists of four lessons. Lessons 1, 2, and 3 focus on the history of women's movements and feminisms in the context of other social movements worldwide from the late 18th century to contemporary societies. Lesson 4.1 focuses on the women's movements in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lesson 4.2 focuses on the women's movements in Armenia in the 19th and 20th centuries – the movement of Armenian women in the Ottoman Empire, during the short-lived first Republic of Armenia, and in the Armenian Soviet Social Republic.

The lessons are based on different structures and methods. Some sections of the lessons are teacher-led while some are student-led, but all sections are student-centered, and more importantly, encourage their active involvement throughout the Module. The lessons contain sections and materials that may or may not be used, depending on the available time as well as the preferences of the students and teachers.

Feminism is the radical notion that women are human beings.

– Cheri Kramerae, *A Feminist Dictionary*, 1991

So what is feminism? When, where, and how did it emerge? In this Module, we will explore women's movements and feminisms in the context of other social movements worldwide.

Lesson 1. Introduction to Women’s Movements and Feminisms

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 1 is an introduction to women’s movements and feminisms in the world. The aim of Lesson 1 is to provide a basis for students to understand and analyze women’s movements and feminisms.

One or more of the activities can be assigned as homework, depending on the time and the preferences of the students and teachers.

In this Lesson, we will start by studying women’s movements and feminisms. We will study when, where, and how modern women’s movements and feminisms emerged and some ways in which they are conceptualized and studied.

Activity 1. Associations

A Note to Teachers

Activity 1 can be used as a warm-up to Lesson 1. The aim of Part 1 is to elicit the students’ background assumptions about the attributes and roles of the sexes taken as a binary opposition of female and male. In Part 2 of the activity, teachers should guide the students in analyzing how gender taken as a binary opposition of woman and man is socially constructed and how this leads to hierarchy and inequality between sexes and genders in the social, economic, cultural, and political spheres.

Part 1. What thought(s) comes to your mind when you think of “man” and “woman”? What words would you use to describe them? You can list attributes/adjectives, nouns/objects, verbs/actions, etc. Fill in the chart below with the associations you have. Share your associations with the class.

Woman (Female)	Man (Male)

Part 2. Do the words you in your chart represent positive or negative connotations? How do the negative connotations lead to any social, economic, cultural, and political problems for the individuals associated with them? Discuss these connotations and their implications in class or in writing.

Section 1. An Overview

A Note to Teachers

This Section can be assigned as a pre-class or in-class reading or introduced as a brief lecture by teachers. The Lesson will return to different parts of this Section – including the emergence of modern women’s and feminist movements in the late 18th and 19th centuries as well as how they evolved over time and what they stand for today.

From the second half of the 18th century and especially in the 19th century, states and societies started to change with a greater speed. Technological innovations and growing modernization became two interrelated processes. The colonialist expansions of the European states, the improved means of transportation and communication, and industrialization led to a growing integration of different parts of the world. New theories on economy, society, and government emerged. Major examples were liberalism, evolutionism, Marxism, and nationalism. These theories incorporated a great deal of criticism of the old and existing societal and governmental systems, especially bringing to the fore discussions about “rights” and “privileges” with a focus on concepts such as equality, freedom, democracy, participation, and fairness.

The liberal movement targeted the elitist nature of *Ancien Régimes*³ that granted “rights” and “privileges” to a small elite – the clergy, aristocracy, and military as well as the propertied – at the disadvantage of the common people or majority of society including the peasants, workers, and bourgeoisie. The exchange of goods and technologies created a material transformation along with a growing need for reforms in the governmental, legal, and military systems. Demands for equal rights, better working conditions as well as reforms in taxation and government were growing.

Concepts like the civil rights of citizens and human rights were rooted within these developments. Rights started to be described as something “inherent” and “fundamental” and arising from “natural or God-given law” in contrast to privileges which were endowed “merely” by a monarch, legislative body, or court. These debates materialized ideas of extended enfranchisement, equality of the propertied, and removal of elite immunities. There spurred up social and labor movements such as the trade union movements, anti-slavery campaigns, and women’s movements. The liberal movement’s emphasis on equality triggered a women’s movement that criticized inequalities between the rights of men and women.

The demands for equal educational and civil rights for women developed within urban elite women’s groups and became an important step within the mainstream liberal movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries, at times gaining support from progressive men within liberal politics. The French philosopher Charles Fourier coined the term “feminism” in 1837, but the term has undergone a great deal of change since then. In the 20th century, the women’s movements merged with many other social movements and linked to left-wing politics. Over the course of the 19th century, the women’s movements gained a political stance while feminism dealt with issues such as violence, gender roles, body politics, and ethics. Feminism now is also a range of social and political movements that not only demand equal educational and civil rights for women but point out to more systematic inequalities and hierarchies in society imbedded in gender roles, social systems, and culture. Some of these movements also have an anti-militarist and anti-violence streak. Most recently, the intersectionality of the inequalities and hierarchies has become a focus of intention, considering that sex, gender, class, race, religion, age, urban and rural backgrounds are all interwoven social categories.

³ *Ancien Régimes*, meaning “Old Order” in French, is a term coined after the French Revolution for the previous governmental and social systems.

Activity 2. What Would You Like to Learn?

In the general overview above, identify the concepts, terms, and phenomena that you would like to research further. Make note of these in your notebook and return to them at the end of this Module to see if you have achieved some of the learning goals you set for yourself.

Section 2. So What is Feminism?

A Note to Teachers

This Section together with Activities 3 and 4 would be best for in-class reading and discussion. Activity 5 can be assigned as homework or also used in class if there is sufficient time for in-class research in a library or a resource center with internet.

Feminism can have various definitions. Mary Hawkesworth⁴, a political scientist trained in feminist theory, says that feminism can be conceptualized as “an idea, a set of political convictions, a mode of identification with other women, a way of being a woman, a collective identity available to men and women, a form of political mobilization, a policy agenda, a legacy, a means of forging the ‘we’ that Beauvoir⁵ thought women lacked, a strategy for forging alliances and building allegiance, a praxis, a vision of alternative possibilities, an imagined community, a process of creating something new, a tactic for transforming social relations, an inclusive, participatory politics, and an expansive conception of justice encompassing economic distribution, political rights and liberties, collective responsibility, and dispute resolution” (Hawkesworth 2006). That is why we speak of feminisms in the plural number.

Karen Offen, a historian, defines feminism as the following: “Feminism is necessarily pro-woman. However, it does not follow that it must be anti-man; indeed, in time past, some of the most important advocates of women’s cause have been men. Feminism makes claims for a rebalancing between women and men of the social, economic and political power within a given society, on behalf of both sexes in the name of their common humanity, but with respect for their differences” (Offen 1988).

Feminism, thus, encompasses a variety of movements and ideologies that share the common goal of achieving personal, political, economic, and social equality of sexes.

Activity 3. Feminism is not Complicated

Part 1. Watch the following video titled “Feminism is not Complicated” in which feminist activist Malala Yousafzai explains feminism.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wfxLLyM8iGI>

Part 2. Take notes as or after you watch the video and share your thoughts on the content of the video in class or in writing.

Activity 4. The Emergence of the Modern Feminist Challenge

Part 1. Read the following excerpt⁶ from a text by Fatmagül Berktay, a professor of Political Science and Women’s Studies and a feminist writer and activist.

The modern social and political struggle for women started in the late 18th century. The emergence of feminism is closely linked with the theory of natural and universal human rights which are based on “modernization”, the “bourgeoisie revolution”, and “the rational man”.

⁴ Mary Hawkesworth is a political scientist specializing in Women’s and Gender Studies.

⁵ Simone de Beauvoir was a French feminist intellectual.

⁶ The excerpt was translated and adapted from Turkish by the co-authors of this Module.

However, the bourgeoisie which glorified “equality, liberty, fraternity” while formulating “human” rights ignored women, following the centuries-long traditional negligence of women. It was the nation-state’s fraternity i.e. “men’s fraternity” which obviously excluded women’s civil rights such as voting.

Feminist consciousness requires women acknowledging that they belong to an oppressed group and therefore are subject to injustices, and that these injustices are not natural but socially and culturally constructed. Women noticed and criticized the discrepancy in the theory and practice soon and demanded “natural rights” for themselves. Early feminists such as Mary Astell and Mary Wollstonecraft severely criticized the invisibility of women in the context of “natural rights”. Another activist woman, Olympe de Gouges published the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen in 1791 in response to the The Universal Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen after the French Revolution. Eventually, she was executed for her criticism, on the grounds that “she attempted to deal with politics which is an improper act for women” by the revolutionary court. (Berktay 2004)

Part 2. Describe the historical context in which the modern feminist challenge emerged. Research further if needed. Why and how did the feminists in the late 18th century take action and raise their demands?

Activity 5. Feminist Ethics

Part 1. Read the following excerpt from the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

“Feminist Ethics is an attempt to revise, reformulate, or rethink traditional ethics to the extent it depreciates or devalues women’s moral experience. Among others, feminist philosopher Alison Jaggar faults traditional ethics for letting women down in five related ways. First, it shows less concern for women as opposed to men’s issues and interests. Second, traditional ethics views as trivial the moral issues that arise in the so-called private world, the realm in which women do housework and take care of children, the infirm, and the elderly. Third, it implies that, in general, women are not as morally mature or deep as men. Fourth, traditional ethics overrates culturally masculine traits like ‘independence, autonomy, intellect, will, wariness, hierarchy, domination, culture, transcendence, product, asceticism, war, and death,’ while it underrates culturally feminine traits like ‘interdependence, community, connection, sharing, emotion, body, trust, absence of hierarchy, nature, immanence, process, joy, peace, and life.’ Fifth, and finally, it favors ‘male’ ways of moral reasoning that emphasize rules, rights, universality, and impartiality over ‘female’ ways of moral reasoning that emphasize relationships, responsibilities, particularity, and partiality.” (Tong and Williams 2009)

Part 2. Choose a real-life ethical problem, for example adultery, abortion, etc. and research how the criticisms raised by feminist ethics against traditional ethics would apply to this real-life ethical problem. Take notes on your research and discuss the criticisms in class. Which criticism(s) do you agree and disagree with and why?

Section 3. The Waves of Feminisms: A Tool to Understand the History of Feminisms

A Note to Teachers

Section 3 aims at introducing one way to systematize the history of feminisms. While the waves approach is highly debated, it can help students to gain insight into certain aspects of the women’s and

feminist movements over time and across different contexts. Teachers are recommended to use the table carefully, avoiding a linear approach.

Activity 6 can be carried out in class or assigned as homework, sharing the results at the start of the next lesson.

The emergence, development, and spread of feminisms is usually associated with “waves”. According to this approach, feminisms are classified into three main waves based on their agendas and the time period. Recently, there is debate on a fourth wave. While the waves approach is one of the main ways to study the history of feminisms, it is also criticized for lacking a holistic approach, failing to embrace non-western feminist movements, ignoring transitions between “waves”, and neglecting contributors other than mainstream or popular figures and events.

Activity 6. The Waves of Feminisms

Part 1. Analyze the table below.

First Wave

From the late 18th century to the early 20th century

Middle or upper class white women

Association with liberal movements

Strong emphasis on suffrage and some political equality; charity campaigns; involvement into abolitionist and temperance movements; problematizing the lack of education and violence against women

Mary Wollstonecraft, Emmeline Pankhurst, Olympe de Gouges, Jane Addams, Sojourner Truth, Elizabeth Blackwell, and others

Second Wave

From World War Two until the 1970s

Middle or upper class white women; women of color, working class women, and women in all parts of the world

Association with socialist, anarchist, and nationalist movements

Further campaigns on women's rights; claiming public domains; seeking financial opportunities and higher education; fighting against racial inequality and violence against women; later dealing with issues of sexuality, family, the workplace, reproductive rights (contraceptives, abortion, etc.)

Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Shulamith Firestone, and others; "Women Strike for Peace", the emergence of Women's Studies

Third Wave

In the 1980s and 1990s

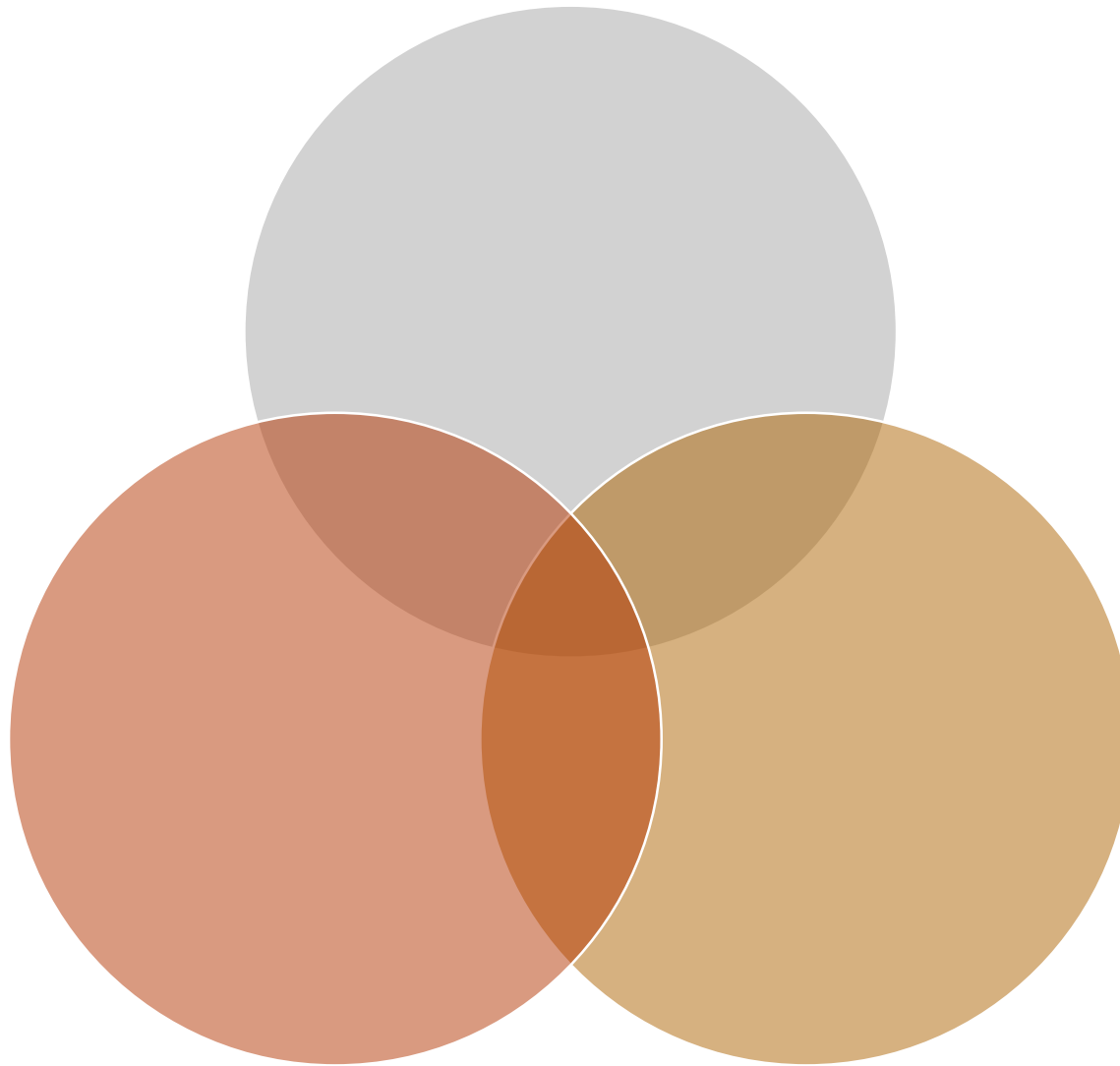
Women of all status

Association with a variety of movements including post-modernist interpretations (post-feminism)

Revisionist approach to gender roles and rights; conceptual questioning of sexes; seeking equal influence in institutional politics and media; fighting against domestic violence; sexual violence (rape, female genital mutilation, etc); sexual harassment; violence against women, queer, and LGBTI people; as well as for reproductive rights, maternity leave, and equal pay

Judith Butler, bell hooks, and others; Third Wave Direct Action Corporation; icons of powerful women: Madonna, Queen Latifa, Mary J. Blige; television series: Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Sex and the City, Girlfriends, and others

Part 2. Identify the similarities and differences among the different waves of feminisms, using the Venn Diagram below
Venn Diagram



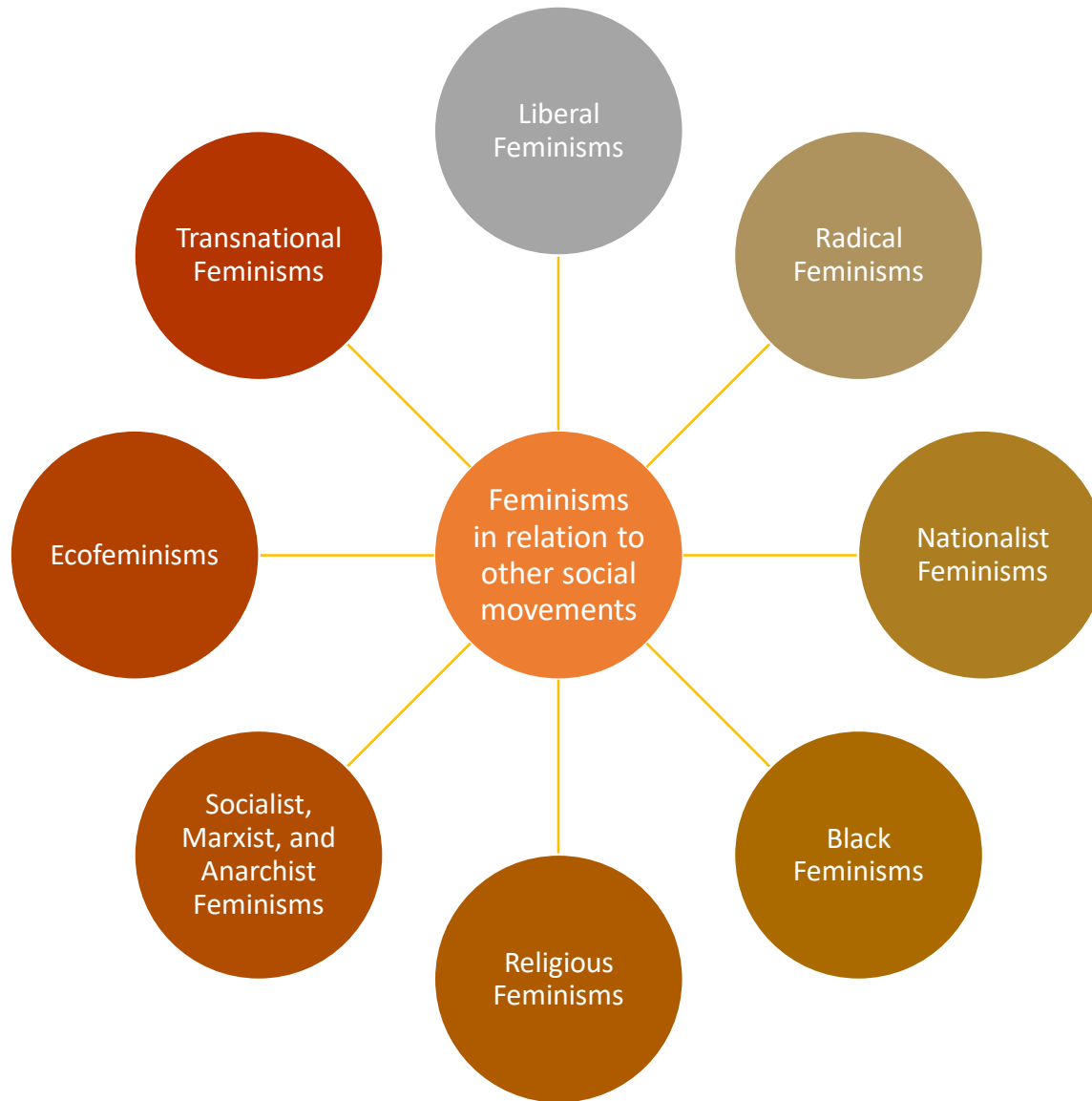
Lesson 2. Women's and Feminist Movements in Relation to Other Social Movements

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 2 is the continuation of the introduction to women's movements and feminisms across the world. The aim of Lesson 2 is to help students to further study that feminism is not a monolithic concept, and that there are different feminisms in different contexts all over the world, closely linked with other social movements.

Teachers can choose whether to cover all sections and activities in class or to assign some of them as homework, depending on the time and the preferences of the students and teachers.

In this Lesson, we will continue to study women's movements and feminisms in the context of different social movements from the late 18th century to contemporary societies. The chart below depicts some of those women's movements and feminisms.



Section 1. Liberal Feminisms

Liberal feminisms stay within the mainstream structure of society and try to integrate women into that structure. The roots of liberal feminisms stretch back to some ideas from the Enlightenment era. Liberal feminisms strive towards political and legal reforms for the rights of women equal to men and equal pay for equal jobs.

Activity 1. The Rights of Women

Part 1. Read the two excerpts below. The first is from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* in French) approved during the French Revolution by the National Assembly of France on August 26, 1789. The second is from the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen (*Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* in French), published on September 5, 1791 by Olympe de Gouges, a feminist activist.

Excerpt 1.

“The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, being constantly before all the members of the Social body, shall remind them continually of their rights and duties; in order that the acts of the legislative power, as well as those of the executive power, may be compared at any moment with the objects and purposes of all political institutions and may thus be more respected, and, lastly, in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all. Therefore the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.

[...]

4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

5. Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.

6. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.

[...]

10. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

[...]

13. A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all the citizens in proportion to their means.

[...]

17. Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.” (The Avalon Project n.d.)

Excerpt 2.

“The Rights of Woman

Man, are you capable of being just? It is a woman who poses the question; you will not deprive her of that right at least. Tell me, what gives you sovereign empire to oppress my sex? Your strength? Your talents? Observe the Creator in his wisdom; survey in all her grandeur that nature with whom you seem to want to be in harmony, and give me, if you dare, an example of this tyrannical empire. Go back to animals, consult the elements, study plants, finally glance at all the modifications of organic matter, and surrender to the evidence when I offer you the means; search, probe, and distinguish, if you can, the sexes in the administration of nature. Everywhere you will find them mingled; everywhere they cooperate in harmonious togetherness in this immortal masterpiece.

Man alone has raised his exceptional circumstances to a principle. Bizarre, blind, bloated with science and degenerated – in a century of enlightenment and wisdom – into the crassest ignorance, he wants to command as a despot a sex which is in full possession of its intellectual faculties; he pretends to enjoy the Revolution and to claim his rights to equality in order to say nothing more about it.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen

For the National Assembly to decree in its last sessions, or in those of the next legislature:

Preamble

“Mothers, daughters, sisters [and] representatives of the nation demand to be constituted into a national assembly. Believing that ignorance, omission, or scorn for the rights of woman are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments, [the women] have resolved to set forth a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of woman in order that this declaration, constantly exposed before all members of the society, will ceaselessly remind them of their rights and duties; in order that the authoritative acts of women and the authoritative acts of men may be at any moment compared with and respectful of the purpose of all political institutions; and in order that citizens’ demands, henceforth based on simple and incontestable principles, will always support the constitution, good morals, and the happiness of all.

Consequently, the sex that is as superior in beauty as it is in courage during the sufferings of maternity recognizes and declares in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Woman and of Female Citizens.

1. Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights. Social distinctions can be based only on the common utility.

[...]

4. Liberty and justice consist of restoring all that belongs to others; thus, the only limits on the exercise of the natural rights of woman are perpetual male tyranny; these limits are to be reformed by the laws of nature and reason.
5. Laws of nature and reason proscribe all acts harmful to society; everything which is not prohibited by these wise and divine laws cannot be prevented, and no one can be constrained to do what they do not command.
6. The law must be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens must contribute either personally or through their representatives to its formation; it must be the same for all: male and female citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, must be equally admitted to all honors, positions, and public employment according to their capacity and without other distinctions besides those of their virtues and talents.

[...]

10. No one is to be disquieted for his very basic opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum, provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order.

[...]

13. For the support of the public force and the expenses of administration, the contributions of woman and man are equal; she shares all the duties and all the painful tasks; therefore, we must have the same share in the distribution of positions, employment, offices, honors, and jobs.

[...]

17. Property belongs to both sexes whether united or separate; for each it is an inviolable and sacred right' no one can be deprived of it, since it is the true patrimony of nature, unless the legally determined public need obviously dictates it, and then only with a just and prior indemnity.

Postscript

Woman, wake up; the tocsin of reason is being heard throughout the whole universe; discover your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer surrounded by prejudice, fanaticism, superstition, and lies.” (Fundación Márgenes y Vínculos n.d.)

Part 2. What do the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Declaration of the Rights of Man demonstrate about the French Revolution? Why do you think Olympe de Gouges wrote this document? Why do you think she modeled her document after the Declaration of Rights of Man instead of coming up with a new format? Research the French Revolution to understand the

context in which these two documents appeared in. Take notes on your research and discuss these questions in class or in writing.

Section 2. Socialist, Marxist, and Anarchist Feminisms

These feminisms were inspired by the Marxist, Socialist, and Anarchist ideas. Socialist and Marxist feminists focus on investigating and explaining the ways in which women are oppressed through systems of capitalism and private property. They argue that patriarchal capitalism survives on the exploitation of working people and especially women. Anarchist women, however, opposed all types of hierarchy including the one in the family, the state, etc.

Activity 2. What is There in Anarchy for Woman

Part 1. Read the following excerpt from an interview with Emma Goldman, an anarchist and feminist activist and writer.

“Do you believe in marriage?” I asked.

‘I do not,’ answered the fair little Anarchist, as promptly as before. ‘I believe that when two people love each other that no judge, minister, or court, or body of people, have anything to do with it. They themselves are the ones to determine the relations which they shall hold with one another. When that relation becomes irksome to either party, or one of the parties, then it can be as quietly terminated as it was formed.’

[...]

‘The alliance should be formed,’ she continued, ‘not as it is now, to give the woman a support and home, but because the love is there, and that state of affairs can only be brought about by an internal revolution, in short, Anarchy.’

She said this as calmly as though she had just expressed an ordinary every-day fact, but the glitter in her eyes showed the ‘internal revolutions’ already at work in her busy brain.

‘What does Anarchy promise woman?’ It holds everything for woman – freedom, equality – everything that woman has not now.’

‘Isn’t woman free?’

‘Free! She is the slave of her husband and her children. She should take her part in the business world the same as the man; she should be his equal before the world, as she is in the reality. She is as capable as he, but when she labors she gets less wages. Why? Because she wears skirts instead of trousers.’

‘But what is to become of the ideal home life, and all that now surrounds the mother, according to a man’s idea?’

‘Ideal home life, indeed! The woman, instead of being the household queen, told about in story books, is the servant, the mistress, and the slave of both husband and children. She loses her own individuality entirely, even her name she is not allowed to keep. She is the mistress of John Brown or the mistress of Tom Jones; she is that and nothing else. That is the way I think of her.’” (Falk 1992)

Part 2. Why doesn’t Emma Goldman believe in marriage? What does she think anarchy will give to women? What do you think about her ideas? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Section 3. Feminism and Nationalism

Some feminisms would consider nationalism as detrimental to feminism since the latter often assumes transnational solidarity. However, some would argue that nationalism in this neocolonial age of capitalist globalization may serve the feminist causes of women in nations that suffer disproportionately under this system.

Activity 3. The Daughters of Ireland

Part 1. Read the following passage from the website of History Ireland Magazine.

“*Inghinidhe na hÉireann*/Daughters of Ireland was founded by Maud Gonne MacBride in 1900. Ironically, in view of later events, the organizational meeting took place at Easter 1900. The organization was solely for women and adopted St. Brigid as patron. Its agenda was political, social and feminist: it opposed the Irish Parliamentary Party and Home Rule, opting instead for full independence, but supported the Irish-Ireland movement, the concepts of self-reliance later preached by Sinn Féin, free meals in schools and women’s suffrage. It organized programs of distinctively Irish cultural activities and promoted national self-awareness. The stated objectives of *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* were: to re-establish the complete independence of Ireland; to encourage the study of Gaelic, of Irish literature, history, music and art, especially among the young (by organizing and teaching classes dedicated to the above aims); to support and popularize Irish manufacture; to discourage the reading and circulation of ‘low’ English literature, the singing of English songs and the attending of ‘vulgar’ English entertainments at the theatres and music halls; to combat in every way English influence, which was seen to be doing so much injury to the artistic taste and refinement of the Irish people; and to form a fund called the ‘National Purposes Fund’.” (History Ireland Magazine n.d.)

Part 2. Research the historical context in which the organization *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* operated. Take notes from your research. Discuss how the organization combined nationalism with elements of socialism and feminism in class or in writing.

Section 4. Radical Feminisms

Radical feminists believe that the main cause of women’s oppression originates from male supremacy and patriarchy. The main difference between radical feminisms and other branches is that they do not strive towards equalizing the distribution of power. Instead, they focus on completely eliminating patriarchy by transforming the entire structure of society.

In her book “The Variety of Feminisms and their Contributions to Gender Equality”, scholar in Sociology and Women’s Studies Judith Lorber, says:

“Radical feminism argues that patriarchy is very hard to eradicate because its root – the belief that women are different and inferior – is deeply embedded in most men’s consciousness. It can best be resisted, radical feminists argued, by forming nonhierarchical, supportive, woman-only spaces where women can think and act and create free of constant sexist put-downs, sexual harassment, and the threat of rape and violence. The heady possibilities of creating woman-oriented health care facilities, safe residences for battered women, counseling and legal services for survivors of rape, a

woman's culture, and even a woman's religion and ethics forged the bonds of sisterhood and the rationale for separation from men.

Radical feminism turns male-dominated culture on its head. It takes all the characteristics that are valued in male-dominated societies – objectivity, distance, control, coolness, aggressiveness, and competitiveness – and blames them for wars, poverty, rape, battering, child abuse, and incest. It praises what women do – feed and nurture, cooperate and reciprocate, and attend to bodies, minds, and psyches. The important values, radical feminism argues, are intimacy, persuasion, warmth, caring, and sharing – the characteristics that women develop in their handson, everyday experiences with their own and their children's bodies and with the work of daily living. Men could develop these characteristics, too, if they “mothered,” but since few do, they are much more prevalent in women.” (Lorber 1997)

Activity 4. The FEMEN Movement

Part 1. Read the following excerpt from the website of the FEMEN movement.

“We live in the world of male economic, cultural and ideological occupation. In this world, a woman is a slave, she is stripped of the right to any property but above all she is stripped of ownership of her own body. All functions of the female body are harshly controlled and regulated by patriarchy. Separated from the woman, her body is an object to monstrous patriarchal exploitation, animated by production of heirs, surplus profits, sexual pleasures and pornographic shows. Complete control over the woman's body is the key instrument of her suppression; the woman's sexual demarche is the key to her liberation. Manifestation of the right to her body by the woman is the first and the most important step to her liberation. Female nudity, free of patriarchal system, is a grave-digger of the system, militant manifesto and sacral symbol of women's liberation.

FEMEN's naked attacks is a naked nerve of the historic woman-system conflict, its most visual and appropriate illustration. Activist's naked body is the undisguised hatred toward the patriarchal order and new aesthetics of women's revolution.” (FEMEN n.d.)

Part 2. Why does the FEMEN movement consider the woman's body and female nudity of paramount importance in the feminist struggle? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Section 5. Black Feminisms

Black feminisms assert that sexism, class oppression, and racism are interrelated. The way these concepts relate to each other is called intersectionality. Scholar of critical race theory Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the term “intersectionality” in 1989 to denote how overlapping or intersecting social identities - particularly minority identities - relate to systems and structures of oppression, domination, or discrimination.

Activity 5. Black Feminism

Part 1. Read the following passage from the website of Blackfeminisms.com – a platform for scholar-activism.

“Black feminism aims to empower Black women with new and on critical ways of thinking that centered how racism and sexism worked together to create Black women's

social issues and inequalities. that arise from of mutually constructed systems of oppression. Women such as Sojourner Truth exemplify Black feminist activism in the nineteenth century. In 1892 another Black woman, Anna Julia Cooper published *A Voice from the South*, a book in which she described the importance of the voices of Black women for social change. Another exemplary Black feminist, Ida B. Wells, an activist and journalist, led a crusade against lynching during the 1890s. The work of these three and other Black women shows how Black community politics laid the foundation for social justice toward sexism from Black men, marginalization from White feminists, and disenfranchisement under White male privilege.

A significant aspect of Black feminism is intersectionality. Intersectionality refers to the way gender, race, and other social categories interact to influence an individual life outcome.” (Black Feminisms n.d.).

Part 2. Research the life and ideas of Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, or Ida. B. Wells. Take notes on your research and discuss what is intersectionality for Black feminism in class or in writing.

Section 6. Religion and Feminism

The 21st century is witnessing a revival in religiosity and spirituality or what can also be seen as new interpretations of religions. The assumed incompatibility of Christian, Islamic, and other creeds and womanhood have been argued as invalid. Muslim women globally expressed their criticism towards feminist approaches that considered inequality just based on economic background and ideological premises. Moreover, Muslim women focused more on identity politics and different cultural experiences in the women’s and feminist movements. Religious feminisms try to understand equality within moral, social, and spiritual grounds from the perspective of their creeds. Some of the major issues for Christian feminists (some prefer the term “Christian egalitarianism”) are the ordination of women, biblical equality in marriage, recognition of equal spiritual and moral abilities, and reproductive rights. Likewise, historian Margot Badran explains that Islamic feminism is “a feminist discourse and practice articulated within an Islamic paradigm” (Badran 2002).

You can visit The Christian Feminism Today as an example: <https://eewc.com>

Activity 6. Islamic Feminisms

Part 1. Read the following passage from the lecture titled, “Islamic Feminism” by Liv Tønnessen.

“As the Islamic Republic of Iran evolved, Mir-Hosseini argues, Muslim women activists came to believe that patriarchal laws entrenched within state Sharia law were Islamically unjust. Iranian women began to question the legitimacy of the state’s monopoly on interpretation and application of Sharia in public and private spheres of law. Islamic feminists in Iran do not support the state, on the contrary, but simply try to extract rights from it using the same Quran that the state itself invokes. Mir-Hosseini asks:

To what extent and by what means can limitations imposed on women by Sharia texts be renegotiated? [...] a ‘feminist’ re-reading of the Sharia is possible – even becomes inevitable (...). This is so because once the custodians of the Sharia are in power, they have to deal with the contradictory aims set by their own agenda

and discourse, which are to uphold the family and restore women to their ‘true and high’ status in Islam. The resulting tension – which is an inherent element in the practice of the Sharia itself, but is intensified by its identification with a modern state – opens room for novel interpretations of the Sharia rules on a scale that has no precedent in the history of Islamic law. [citation removed]

According to Ziba Mir-Hosseini, the emergence of Islamism then is a condition for the on-going dialogue between Islam and feminism.

Islamic feminists acknowledge the inequalities facing Muslim women under Islamic law today, and in most parts of the Muslim world they most frequently refer to family law or personal status law. According to Suad Joseph, particularly family law has become ‘a benchmark of feminist struggle’ in the Islamic world. But Islamic feminists are not advocating the abolition of Islamic law in matter of personal status; rather, they argue that the solution to women’s empowerment is to be found through a re-interpretation of the fundamentals of Islam. The basic argument of Islamic feminists is that the Quran supports the principle of equality and justice of all human beings but that the practice of equality of women and men in today’s Muslim societies have been corrupted by patriarchal ideas, customs and practices.

In fact, Islamic feminists often do not refer to it as re-interpretation, but rather un-interpretation.” (Tønnesse 2014)

Part 2. How do Islamic feminisms challenge non-religious feminisms and how do they find compatibility with Islam? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Section 7. Transnational Feminisms

Transnational Feminisms are concerned with how globalization and capitalism affect people across nations, races, genders, classes, and sexualities. Transnational feminisms recognize differences and borders while building solidarity and transcending those borders.

Activity 7. Women in Black

Part 1. Read the following passage from the website of the Women in Black network.

“Globalization and transnationalism are an important part of the 21st century movements. The influence can be traced in women’s movement as well. Women in Black are a transnationalist anti-militarist women’s network with countless groups all over the world. For instance, anti-militarist women from Serbia cooperate with Women in Black from Israel in their response to the Palestinian Intifada with the message ‘Stop the Occupation’.

Who are Women in Black?

Women in Black is a world-wide network of women committed to peace with justice and actively opposed to injustice, war, militarism and other forms of violence. As women experiencing these things in different ways in different regions of the world, we support each other’s movements. An important focus is challenging the militarist policies of our own governments. We are not an organization, but a means of communicating and a formula for action.

[...]

A feminist perspective

Women in Black groups do not have a constitution or a manifesto, but our perspective is clear from our actions and words. It is evident for instance that we have a feminist understanding: that male violence against women in domestic life and in the community, in times of peace and in times of war, are interrelated. Violence is used as a means of controlling women. In some regions, men who share this analysis support and help WiB, and WiB are supporting men who refuse to fight.” (Women in Black n.d.).

Part 2. Research whether there is a Women in Black network in your community and, if yes, what agenda and activities they have. Take notes on your research and discuss your ideas on their agenda and activities in class or in writing.

Section 8. Ecofeminisms

Ecofeminisms see connections between the domination of nature and the exploitation of women. Ecofeminism is also an intersectional approach that applies a feminist lens on environmental issues.

Activity 8. Ecofeminism

Part 1. Read the following passage by scholars and ecofeminists Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva.

“Th[e] capitalist-patriarchal perspective interprets difference as hierarchical and uniformity as a prerequisite for equality. Our aim is to go beyond this narrow perspective and to express our diversity and, in different ways, address the inherent inequalities in world structures which permit the North to dominate the South, men to dominate women, and the frenetic plunder of ever more resources for ever more unequally distributed economic gain to dominate nature [...].

[...E]verywhere, women were the first to protest against environmental destruction. As activists in the ecology movements, it became clear to us that science and technology were not gender neutral; and in common with many other women, we began to see that the relationship of exploitative dominance between man and nature, (shaped by reductionist modern science since the 16th century) and the exploitative and oppressive relationship between men and women and prevails in most patriarchal societies, even modern industrial ones, were closely connected...

If the final outcome of the present world system is a general threat to life on planet earth, then it is crucial to resuscitate and nurture the impulse and determination to survive, inherent in all living things.” (Mies and Shiva 1993)

You can watch the following clip on Vandana Shiva’s Interview about Ecofeminism by visiting: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fM8TLXjpWk4>

You can also watch this video about how environmentalism and feminism are linked in ecofeminism by visiting: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jM524nIzQdQ>

Part 2. Discuss your ideas on the links between environmentalism and feminism in class or in writing.

Lesson 3. Group Research and Presentations on Women's Movements and Feminisms

A Note to Teachers

The aim of Lesson 3 is for students to further acquire, build, and share knowledge about specific women's movements and feminisms in different contexts and develop critical thinking, research, presentation, and discussion skills. It is completely student-led and offers assessment through a peer evaluation form. Teachers can provide students with resources to start their research, but they should encourage students to search for resources independently as well.

In this Lesson, we will engage in group research on a specific women's movement and/or a type of feminism. Then we will conduct group presentations and host discussions in class.

Content of the Group Presentation

The final product of your group research is the presentation, which should include the following components:

- provide a definition and explain the main features of a specific women's movement and/or a type of feminism;
- explain the aims, agenda, and methods of the women's movement and/or a type of feminism;
- highlight the key historical developments and historical figures associated with the women's movement and/or a type of feminism;
- discuss the transformation of the women's movement and/or a type of feminism over time and/or its variations;
- evaluate the role of the women's movement and/or a type of feminism within the larger context of social movements;
- include the presenters' own perspectives and interpretations.

Structure and Delivery of the Group Presentation

- The presentation may be conducted in various ways (presentation of slides, lecture, role-play, poster presentation, performance, round-table discussion, etc.). Reading from notes or slides is not acceptable.
- The presentation should have a clear structure.
- The presentation should be delivered in a creative manner.
- The presentation should be engaging for the audience.
- All members of the group should be actively involved.
- The presenters should use their body language, voice, and tone effectively.
- The presentation should be delivered within the allocated time.
- The presentation should include visual elements that are relevant and support the content.

References

- All sources used during the research and presentation must be acknowledged properly, including visual elements.

Assessment

- The presentation will be evaluated through a peer-evaluation form.

Peer Evaluation Form for Group Presentations

Topic:

Group members:

	Excellent 4	Good 3	Average 2	Poor 1
Content				
The presentation provides a definition and explains the main features of a specific women’s movement and/or a type of feminism.				
The presentation explains the aims, agenda, and methods of the women’s movement and/or a type of feminism.				
The presentation highlights the key historical developments and historical figures associated with the women’s movement and/or a type of feminism.				
The presentation discusses the transformation of the women’s movement and/or a type of feminism over time and/or its variations				
The presentation evaluates the role of the women’s movement and/or a type of feminism within the larger context of social movements.				
The presentation includes the presenters’ own perspectives and interpretations.				
Structure and Delivery				

The presentation has a clear structure.				
The presentation is delivered in a creative manner.				
The presentation is engaging for the audience.				
All members of the group are actively involved.				
The presenters use their body language, voice, and tone effectively.				
The presentation is delivered within the allocated time.				
The presentation includes visual elements that are relevant and support the content.				
References				
All sources used during the research and presentation are acknowledged properly, including visual elements.				
Additional Comments				

Recommended Sources for Lessons 1, 2, and 3

Books and Articles

Echols, Alice, and Ellen Willis. *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Gamble, Sarah. *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism*. London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2009.

hooks, bell. *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Donovan, Josephine. *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions*. New York: Continuum, 2012.

Hill-Collins, Patricia. 2015. "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas." *Annual Review of Sociology* (41): 1-20.

Websites

The website and teaching tool called the Genderbread Person at <https://www.genderbread.org/>.

Lesson 4.1 Women's Movements in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in the 19th and 20th Centuries

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 4.1 focuses on the specific contexts of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is designed to explore how women's movements emerged and flourished in the late 19th century in the Ottoman Empire and continued developing in the early Republican era.

In this Lesson, we will look into women's movements in the specific contexts of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. We will explore how women's movements emerged, including other women's organizations' agendas and activities during that time period. We will also attempt to reconstruct a narrative on women's movements based on a variety of primary and secondary sources.

Section 1. An Overview

A Note to Teachers

This Section can be assigned as a pre-class or in-class reading or introduced as a brief lecture by teachers. The Lesson will come back to the different parts of this Section – the emergence of modern women's and feminist movements in the late Ottoman Empire as well as how they evolved in the early Republican era.

During the 19th-century Ottoman Empire, middle class and elite women of various religious communities and perspectives started to collectively discuss common troubles from both the private and public spheres. They wanted more respect at home and a greater share within the public life. The mainstream liberal wave of improvement and progress contributed to their cause. Women's voices rose first among non-Muslim women in Selanik, Edirne, and Istanbul inspired by intellectual networks from Europe but also Tbilisi. The commonly voiced problems included the following: the lack of women's education, restricted legal rights, limited public presence, but few asked for political rights. The first women's magazines were published in different languages such as Greek, Armenian, French, and Turkish.

Women became more active during the Second Constitutional Period (*II. Meşrutiyet* in Ottoman Turkish) from 1908 onwards. More and more women were able to obtain education. Some women participated in demonstrations, organized private seminars, public conferences, established new societies and magazines for women, demanded jobs and appropriate dress codes (for example, in 1915 women were allowed to remove their *ferece*⁷ while performing office work). A growing interest in economic activity was present as well. Vocational seminars were organized to help women become more economically independent.

⁷ A ferece, abaya, or burqa is a long cloak with long sleeves and sometimes a head cover that women had to wear when they were in public.

Women’s activities continued during the Balkan Wars, First World War, and the consecutive establishment of the Republic of Turkey. These wars, like everywhere else in the world, contributed to changes in women’s lives. Women gained larger presence in the public sphere. They contributed to the survival of their families economically and often replaced men in their previous workplace. During these years, some of the women’s groups drew greater ties with national discourses and made efforts to establish a political party. A number of women’s societies offered intellectual programs that went beyond charity work and transformed women.

However, the deportations and massacres during the Hamidian Era, in 1915, during the Independence War of Turkey and the population exchange of 1923 were challenging years for women. It was a big rapture for the women’s movement in the geography of the old Ottoman Empire as Armenian and Greek women activists either died or had to leave the region, which hampered and left the movement in Turkey incomplete. The rising Turkish nation state contributed to but also limited the women’s movement. Following the liberal reforms, the state contributed to the educational and suffrage rights of Turkish women. However, this state feminism adopted the discourse of “we have given them their rights” and started to manipulate and dominate the egalitarian women’s activism. The women’s movement was limited to the issues of women’s education, especially in rural areas, and political rights with some rising voices against honor killings and violence well into the 1980s.

Activity 1. Women’s Organizations in the Late Ottoman Empire

A Note to Teachers

Activity 1 can be used as a warm-up to Lesson 1. It will help students gain a first insight into the active role played by women’s organizations in the Ottoman Empire during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Part 1. Study the chart below that was translated and adapted from Turkish from the book titled, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (“The Ottoman Women’s Movement”), by Serpil Çakır, a Political Scientist specializing in feminist history writing (Çakır, 2016, pp. 87-131).

Name of the Association	Features
<i>Azganver Hayouhats Enkeroutioun</i> (meaning “Armenian Patriotic Women’s Society” in Armenian)	The society was established by Zabel Hancıyan in Istanbul in 1879 in order to establish schools for girls and to contribute to the education of Armenian women in Anatolia. In 1879-1894, the society founded 10 schools in the provinces.
<i>Dprotsaser Tiknants Enkeroutioun</i> (meaning “School-Loving Ladies’ Society” in Armenian)	The society aimed to promote the education of Armenian women and training of teachers for the provinces. It was founded in 1879. The founders of the society were graduates of the girls’ middle school in Ortaköy. In March 1919, they also founded an orphanage.
<i>Muhadenet-i Nisvan Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association for the Friendship of Women” in Ottoman)	The association was one of the pioneers of the Ottoman women’s associations founded by Fatma Aliye Hanım in Istanbul in 1896.

Turkish)	
<i>Beyoğlu Rum Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniyesi</i> (meaning “Beyoglu Greek Women’s Charity Association” in Ottoman Turkish)	The association was founded in Istanbul in 1887 to help women in need.
<i>Türk ve Ermeni Kadınlar İttihat Cemiyet-i Nisvaniyesi</i> (meaning “Union of Turkish and Armenian Women Charity Association” in Ottoman Turkish)	An example of an association established by non-Muslim women primarily for non-Muslim women but also open to Muslim members.
<i>Şevkat-i Nisvan</i> (meaning “Compassion of Women” in Ottoman Turkish) and later <i>Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi</i> (meaning “Ottoman Women’s Compassionate Philanthropic Society” in Ottoman Turkish)	The society was established in Selanik in 1898 by Emine Semiye Hanım to help poor women and orphan children and to establish schools especially for girls.
<i>Donanma Cemiyeti Hanımlar Şubesi</i> (meaning “Association of Navy-Women’s Branch” in Ottoman Turkish)	Founded by Nezihe Muhittin and Halide Edip, the main aim of the association was to fundraise for the Ottoman navy during the Balkan Wars.
<i>Müslüman Kadın Birliği</i> (meaning “Union of Muslim Women” in Ottoman Turkish) and later <i>Sulhperver Türk Kadınlar Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association for Peace-loving Turkish Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	This association aimed to raise money for the poor but later changed its name and purpose from organizing conferences to advocating for peace during the First World War.
<i>İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Kadınlar Şubesi</i> (meaning “Association of Union and Progress, Women’s Branch” in Ottoman Turkish)	This association founded by Emine Semiye Hanım provided employment for poor women, established delivery rooms, assisted the Red Crescent, helped the poor without any discrimination of ethnicity or religious belief, and contributed to women’s progress.
<i>Société des Abeille’s</i> (meaning “Association of Bees” in French)	This association was led by Madam Pompard and sponsored by the Consulate of France in Istanbul.
<i>Osmanlı-Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği</i> (meaning “Association for the Protection of Ottoman-Turkish	This charity association was established to help poor women and their children, especially in providing education and employment for the women.

Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	
<i>Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association for the Defense of Ottoman Women’s Rights” in Ottoman Turkish)	Known as the famous “feminist” women’s association and established in 1913, it aimed to integrate women into social and economic life, educate an enlightened generation of women, advocate for reforms in the family life (right to divorce, demand of monogamy, and right to inheritance), the dress codes, etc. The members were well-known activists and writers of the period like Ulviye Mevlan, Yaşar Nezihe, Nezihe Muhittin, and Şükufe Nihal.
<i>Domens Kadınlar Kulübü</i> (meaning “The Domens Women’s Club” in Ottoman Turkish)	Established by non-Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire in 1914, this was one of the less-known associations. Its aim was to increase and promote sisterhood and encourage solidarity. Their activities were reflected in the French version of the journal “ <i>Kadınlar Dünyası</i> ” (meaning “Women’s World” in Ottoman Turkish).
<i>Osmanlı Kadınlarını Çalıştırma Derneği</i> (meaning “Association for Employment of Ottoman Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	Established in 1916, this association was founded by men such as Enver Paşa, İsmail Hakkı, and Ali Rıza Bey, with the primary aim of providing employment opportunities for women, especially widows.
<i>Asri Kadın Cemiyeti</i> (Association of Modern Women)	Founded in 1918, this association advocated for modernization through equipping women with appropriate skills and education.
<i>Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association for the Elevation of Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	This was one of the most active associations. Founded in 1908 by Halide Edip and Nezihe Muhittin, this association contributed to women’s education and offered conferences and courses.
<i>Musiki Muhibbi Kadınlar Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association of Music Loving Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	Established in 1918 in Istanbul, the association aimed to organize musical events for women.
<i>Kırmızı-Beyaz Kulübü</i> (meaning “Red and White Club” in Ottoman Turkish)	This club was founded in Selanik to educate women in literature and science.
<i>Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi</i> (meaning “Women’s Auspicious Association for the Consumption of	The main aim of this association, founded in 1913, was to encourage the manufacture and consumption of domestic products as well as to provide employment to women in the textile industry.

Domestic Products” in Ottoman Turkish)	
<i>Nisvan-ı Osmaniye İmdad Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association for Helping the Ottoman Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	The association was founded by Fatma Aliye in 1908 to help poor women.
<i>Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyeti</i> (meaning “Commission of Women in the Red Crescent Association” in Ottoman Turkish)	The commission was founded by doctor Besim Ömer Paşa in 1912 to help women refugees of the Balkan Wars, and to provide them with employment. Later it also fundraised for the army during the First World War.
<i>Çerkes Kadınları Teavün Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association for the Solidarity of Circassian Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	The association aimed at helping poor Ottoman-Circassian women through employment opportunities. It also provided cultural education for Circassian children.
<i>Kürt Kadınları Teali Cemiyeti</i> (meaning “Association for the Elevation of Kurdish Women” in Ottoman Turkish)	The association was founded by Emine Hanım and Encüm Yamulki in Istanbul in 1919 to help refugees, widows, poor Kurdish women as well as their children, to provide adults with employment and support them financially.

Part 2. Analyze the names, aims, and activities of the women’s organizations in the late Ottoman Empire. Create a mind-map of these women’s organizations according to their aims and activities. What are some of the challenges you are facing while classifying these women’s organizations? Share your thoughts in class or in writing.

Section 2. Writing the History of the Women’s Movements in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Years of the Republic of Turkey

A Note to Teachers

This Section is completely student-led. These activities contain excerpts from primary and secondary sources that would be best for in-class reading and discussion. Teachers can create groups and distribute the sources to students. After examining and analyzing the sources, each group can contribute in class to building a narrative of women’s movements in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican era. Some of the activities can also be assigned as homework.

Below you will find a variety of primary and secondary sources on the women’s movements in the late Ottoman Empire and in the early years of the Republic of Turkey. Try to understand the

women's voices to deepen your understanding of the women's movements from this period. Study the sources and take notes, then be prepared to discuss your answers to the questions in class or in writing.

Activity 2. The Emergence of the Women's Movement in the late Ottoman Empire

Part 1. Study Sources 1, 2, and 3.

Source 1. Excerpt⁸ from the text "Turkish Feminism: A Short History" by Nükhet Sirman, an anthropologist.

From 1839 to 1876, far-reaching reforms were undertaken by the Ottoman bureaucrats in the fields of administration, legislation and education. [...] Bureaucrats as well as young thinkers educated in Europe had begun debating the meaning of the French revolution and the new ideas emanating from it. Freedom, equality, and the notion of citizenship were among these ideas. The modernization project of the empire was highly debated between two groups: One stressed progress will be attained through rationalist, positivistic world view that existed in the West, the other argued that decline of the empire was caused by the materialistic Western values and neglecting the Islamic way of life.

[...] the position of women in the Ottoman polity was constituted as an ideological terrain upon which these two opposing viewpoints fought out their conflicts. The progressivists argued that the emancipation of women was a prerequisite of civilization. To create responsible citizens, it was necessary first to educate and enlighten the women who were the mothers of the modern citizens of the Ottoman Empire. [...] By contrast the conservatives (i.e. the Islamic viewpoint) argued that the Koran provided a readily available blue print according to which social life was to be organized, and any deviation from these regulations would lead to corruption and moral depravation. It was in this climate when the scattered voices of women themselves begun to be heard in newspapers and journals of the period. (Sirman 1988-1989)

Source 2. Excerpts from the progressive magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* (meaning "Women's World" in Ottoman Turkish).

We learn from the magazine about their willingness to follow the women's rights movement in the West:

"Avrupa, Amerika kadınları mahiyet-i nisana dair müteaddit kitaplar, risaleler neşrediyorlar. Hukuk-ı nisaya ait mühim mebhaslar yürütüyorlar. Cemiyet-i medeniye içinde, muhit-i insaniyet dahilinde kadınların dahi bir mevki, bir hakk-ı hayati olabileceğini anlatmak istiyorlar. Velhalsıl kadınların erkeklerden cismen firkaları olduğu gibi hukuken dahi firkaları olup olamayacağını hal ve tayin gayretindedirler.

Biz Osmanlı kadınları, hem-sınıfımızın bu gayretine, açmış oldukları bu çığıra terbiye-ictimaiyemiz, adap ve adatımız dairesinde girmek istiyoruz." (Issue No. 1 from April 4, 1329 titled "Hukuk-ı Nisvan" 2009, 3)

However, they do not want to be as radical as the women's rights movements in the West:

⁸ The excerpt has been slightly modified for ease of comprehension.

“Biz Osmanlı kadınları: erkelerimizin cehl ve taassubuna, adet ve ulfetine karşı birdenbire isyan etmek arzusunda değiliz. Biz, tedrici bir tekamül ile hayat-ı içtimaiyemizi temin etmek fikrindeyiz.” (Issue No. 17 from April 17, 1329 titled "Avrupa Matbuatı Münasebetiyle" 2009, 134)

They emphasize that they are not an imitation of the movement in Europe:

“Biz şimdi Avrupa’yı taklid etmiyoruz. Eğer istediklerimiz ve yapacaklarımız onların hareketlerine benzerse onları taklid etmiş gibi telakki edilmemeliyiz. Bu mesele, kadınlık meselesi, şu asrın yetiştirdiği yeni zihniyetlere, doğru düşüncelere göre en birinci mesele olmalıdır. Artık hepimiz anlamalıyız ki kadın bir he’yet-i içtimaiyenin (toplum, sosyal yapı) ruhudur.” (Çakır 2016)

However, they have reservations about their political rights:

“Biz Osmanlı Kadınları, erkelerimizin siyasiyyatına henüz akıl erdiremeyiz; karışamayız. Fakat bir hayat-ı içtimai sahibi olmak itibarıyla ittihad edip terakki yoluna girerek hayat-ı mesaimizi tanzime, irfan ve seviyemizi i’laya çalışabiliriz. Bu hakkı meşru’muzu takip eder ve mevcudiyetimizi gösterebilirsek, bir de memleketimizin bir uzv-i nafti’ ve muhimmi olmuş oluruz.

Bizim sükûtumuz bizim hakk-ı intihabı istemediğimiz için değil, henüz onun zamanı gelmediğine kani olduğumuz içindir. Kadınları hakk-ı intihab taleb eden memleketlerde kadınlar madenlerde, fabrikalarda, büyük ticaret mağazalarında, ufak dükkanlarda çalışıyorlar; sokaklarda satıcılık ediyorlar.

Bizim kadınlığımız, henüz maatessüf hayat-ı cemiyete girmemiştir, girememiştir. Mesai-i umumiyye iştirak edememiştir. Binaenaleyh biz henüz hakk-ı intihaba malikiyetten bahsedemeyiz.” (Issue No. 55 from May 28, 1329 titled "Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Programı" 2009, 44)

Yet, they emphasize that they do not lag behind men in any subject:

“Kadınlar sanayide olsun, ticarete olsun, hatta idare-i umur-ı cumhurda olsun erkeklerden dun kabiliyette olmadıklarını teslim etmek lazımdır.” (Issue No. 38 from May 11, 1329 "Erkekler, Kadınlar Yalnız Meyve Değildir" 2009, 382)

A Note to Teachers

Below is a selection of magazines published by women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Ottoman Empire that can also be used for studying feminist publications in the Ottoman Empire.

1845	<i>Kypseli</i> (meaning “Bee Hive” in Greek), the first Greek women’s magazine, editor: Efrosini Samarcidis
1862-1863	<i>Gitar</i> (meaning “Guitar” in Armenian), the first Armenian women’s magazine, editor: Elbis Gesaratsyan
1886	<i>Şüküfazar</i> (meaning “Flower Garden” in Ottoman Turkish), the first Muslim women’s magazine, editor: Arife

1895-1908	<i>Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete</i> (meaning “Women’s Newspaper” in Ottoman Turkish), editors: Makbule Leman, Nigâr Osman (Şair Nigâr), Fatma Şadiye, Mustafa Asım, Faik Ali, Talat Ali, and Gülistan İsmet
1905-1907	<i>Dzaghik</i> (meaning “Flower” in Armenia), the longest running Armenian women’s magazine of the Ottoman women’s movement; editor: Haykanush Mark
1913-1921	<i>Kadınlar Dünyası</i> (meaning “Women’s World” in Ottoman Turkish), the first Muslim intercultural magazine and the longest running Muslim women’s magazine of the Ottoman women’s movement, editor: Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan
1920-1923	<i>Diyaner</i> (meaning “Our Mother” in Circassian), the first Circassian women’s magazine, editor: Seza Polar (Istanbul Kadın Müzesi n.d.)

Source 3. Excerpt⁹ from “*Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*” (meaning “The Ottoman Women’s Movement”) by Serpil Çakır, Political Scientist specializing in feminist history writing.

It was men who started journalism focusing on women due to the fact that women were excluded from social and political activities. The aim of the earliest publications was to discuss the roles and responsibilities of women in a changing society. *Terakki* [meaning “Progress” in Ottoman Turkish] newspaper published letters of women anonymously. The first women’s journal is considered *Terakki-i Muhadderat* [meaning “Progress of Muslim Women” in Ottoman Turkish] that published by *Terakki* newspaper in 1869. The journal published women’s letters most of which focused on the education of women. There were also other journals *Vakit Yahut Mürebbi-i Muhadderat* [meaning “Time or Education of Muslim Women” in Ottoman Turkish] started in 1875, *Aile* [meaning “Family” in Ottoman Turkish] started in 1880, *İnsaniyet* [meaning “Humanity” in Ottoman Turkish] started in 1883, and *Hanımlar* [meaning “Ladies” in Ottoman Turkish] started in 1883. The first¹⁰ journal whose owner and workers were women was *Şükufezar* (published in 1886). In the preface, the aim of the journal was stated as follows: ‘We are the ones, targeted, humiliated and teased as long-haired and short-minded. We will strive to prove the opposite. We will not choose womanhood over manhood or vice versa’. Poets and writers such as Leyla Hanım, Şair Nigar, Fatma Aliye wrote in several journals in the late 1890s. The agenda of the women in this period was to acquire liberty and recognition of their role, equality in every sphere of life, and encouragement of women’s education. (Çakır 2016, 59-65)

⁹ The excerpt was translated and adapted by the co-authors of this Module.

¹⁰ Note by the co-authors of the Module: *Terakki* and *Terakki-i Muhadderat* were the first publications focusing on women’s issues in Ottoman Turkish, but they were run by men. The first Muslim women’s magazine run by women was *Şükufezar* (meaning “Flower Garden” in Ottoman Turkish). Earlier women’s magazines were *Kypseli* (meaning “Bee Hive” in Greek) published in 1845 in Greek and *Gitar* (meaning “Guitar” in Armenian) started in 1862 in Armenian.



Fatma Aliye Hanım's portrait appears on one of the banknotes of the Republic of Turkey. The photograph was taken from: <https://goo.gl/8qiYB5>.

Part 2. Based on Sources 1, 2, and 3, describe the context in which the women's movement emerged in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century and the distinction between liberal and conservative feminists. Discuss your thoughts in class or in writing.

Activity 3. Arguments and Demands

Part 1. Study Sources 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Source 4. Excerpt from “*Namagani ar Intertaser Hayuhis*” (meaning “Letters to the Armenian Woman Fond of Education” in Armenian) written in 1879 by Elbis Gesaratsyan. She was the first female Armenian journalist and editor of the first Armenian women's newspaper “*Gitar*” (meaning “Guitar” in Armenian).



Photograph of Elbis Gesaratsyan. Taken from: <https://twitter.com/muvaffakiyet/status/638845444211253248>.

“You may have often experienced women who are more thoughtful, more foresighted and more hard-working than their husbands; but they knowingly and blindly succumb to men who do not know the right way to do something; because the woman should be a bird without a tongue and the man, even if he is a crow, he must sing and rule with pride. Yes, my sister, these are my thoughts. Our opinions should blossom. Capable persons should take this as a duty, should activate the sluggish brains in lawful ways, should be awake in holding on to her the freedoms and should be eager to educate ourselves and encourage other women to educate themselves. We should create reading rooms and societies and possess such knowledge addressing hearts and brains so that we take steps on the way of development and be counted as human beings.” (Istanbul Kadın Müzesi n.d.)

Source 5. Excerpt from “*Kiny Khaghaghutyan Hamar*” (meaning “Woman for Peace” in Armenian) written in 1911 by Zabel Yesayan, an Ottoman-Armenian socialist, feminist, and pacifist writer.



Photograph of Zabel Yesayan. Taken from: <https://goo.gl/UwDBRK>.

“All over the world, and quite independently of each other, there is a growing wish for peace. This idea travels around the world, growing stronger all the time and becomes one irresistible and universal ideal. This is the great hope of people who are weary and disillusioned by wars between nations and social groups. Both the victors and the defeated need an end to hostilities. [...] Who destroys the seeds of past antagonisms in the tender mind of a child and prepares it for a bright, infinite peace of soul. It is of course the child’s mother. [...] The backbone of the feminist movement in France is formed by the women who get together to achieve peace through education and this movement also determines the direction taken by feminist movements in other countries, with their various branches and supporters.” (Yesayan 1911)



Photograph of Hayganush Mark by Ara Güler, Courtesy of Lerna Ekmekçioğlu. Taken from: <https://goo.gl/YZUkE9>.

Source 6. A quote from Hayganush Mark who was the editor of the magazine *Dzaghik* (meaning “Flower” in Armenian) magazine *Hay Gin* (meaning “The Armenian Woman” in Armenian, published in 1919-1932).

“I felt that I was weighed down by huge responsibilities while the rights sufficient to meet these responsibilities were not given in return. I believed deep within me that feminism was a cry for justice, but to merely ask for it would have been childish. I had to reach out and take my rights with my own hands. I believed in my power, and *Dzaghig* was born.” (Istanbul Kadın Müzesi n.d.)



Photograph of Srpuhi Dusap. Taken from: <https://goo.gl/1FheGs>.

Source 7. A quote from the 1883 novel “Mayda” by Srpuhi Dusap, an Ottoman-Armenian feminist writer.

“When there is equality between the two genders, that is to say that when there is equality in the pleasures of life as well as punishments, in work as well as awards, chains will be broken, hypocrisy will end, and society will reach a balance by redressing the losses that result from inequality of power.” (Ekmekçioğlu and Bilal, A Quote from the 1883 Novel "Mayda" by Srpuhi Dusap 2006)

Source 8. An excerpt from the work ““This time women as well got involved in politics!”: Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women’s Organizations and Political Agency” edited by historian and sociologist Nazan Maksudyan.

“[Non-Muslim women’s (Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews) organizations] were remarkably active in numerous 19th century social and political questions, from the expansion of female education to refugee crises, from prostitution to illegitimate births and child abandonment, from nationalist movements to relieving the pain of ethnic conflicts. Ottoman women were active agents in the public sphere. They provided medical services to the poor, the refugees, destitute women and children. They were involved in in different forms of social care, such as holding workshops, offering classes, and providing shelter. They also became prominent figures in the reformation of educational institutions and establishment of schools for girls. They were pioneers in initiating philanthropic organizations, particularly in establishing orphanages and poorhouses. Given the wide-ranging nature of these outlets for the actual participation of women in the most significant issues of their times – apart from those being within the ideology of motherhood, nationalism, and militarism – their presence and influence has not been presented in the historiography as a form of agency, especially not from the perspective of social change.” (Maksudyan 2014, 107-108)

Part 2. Identify the main arguments and demands raised in Sources 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. How did those arguments and demands contribute to the women’s movement? Discuss your thoughts in class or in writing.

Activity 4. Women and Labor Rights

Part 1. Study Source 9.

Source 9. The three excerpts below focus on the promotion of the employment of women.

“Osmanlı Birinci Kadın İşçi Taburu (1917-1919)

Derece derece dükkanlarda mağazalarda, hükümet dairelerinde kalem işlerinde, Hilal-i Ahmer hidematında kullanılmaya başlayan kadınlarımız, Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti'nin iki gün evvel neşrettiğimiz ilanından anlaşılacağı üzere, nihayet şimdi askerlik hayatına dahil olmak üzere bulunuyorlar. İlanda bahsedilen tabur, Birinci Ordu-yi Hümayunca teşkil edilmiş olup, "Birinci Ordu-yi Hümayuna merbut "Birinci Kadın İşçi Taburu" ünvanını haizdir. Bu taburun şimdilik kumanda ve inzibat heyeti zabitan ve askerden teşekkül edecek ve bilahere tecarib neticesine ve gösterecekleri malumat ve liyakate göre, tabur kâmilen kadınlardan mürekkebe olacaktır. Bu taburu teşkilden maksat kadınları bizzat temin-i maişete alıştırmaaktır. Kadın İşçi Taburu cephelere sevk edilmeyecek, gerilerde istihdam olunacaktır. [...]

Kadın taburuna kayıd ve kabul olunacak kadınlar, Dersaadet'te Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyyesi'nce ve taşralarda mahalli meclis-i idarelerce intihab ve izam olunurlar. [...]

Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i (1916-1923)

"Madde 1: Devletlü İsmethü Naciye Sultan Hazretlerinin zir-i himayelerinde merkezi Dersaadet'te olmak ve icabında memalik-i Osmaniye'nin sair şehirlerinde şube açmak üzere 'Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyyesi' namıyla bir cemiyet teşkil edilmiştir.

Madde 2: İşbu cemiyetin maksadı kadınlara iş bulup kendilerini namuskarane temin-i maişete alıştırmakla himaye etmektir.

Madde 3: Cemiyet işbu maksadını temin etmek için kadınların yapabileceği bilcümle işlere kendilerini sevk edecek ve bu suretle çalışacakları daimi surette himaye edecektir.

Çerkes Kadınları Teavün Cemiyeti (1918-1923)

"Madde 1: Merkezi İstanbul'da olmak ve sonradan gereken yerlerde şubeler açılmak üzere "Çerkes Kadınları Teavün Cemiyeti" adlı bir dernek kurulmuştur.

Madde 2: Derneğin gayesi Çerkeslerden yardıma muhtaç olanlara yardım etmek, kız ve erkek çocukları kuracağı yetimevleri, okullar ve işevlerinde korumak ve aynı zamanda ulusal kültürü geliştirmektir.

Madde 3: Kurulacak yetimevleriyle, okullarda eğitim Türkçe ve Çerkesçe olacağı gibi yabancı dillerde öğretilenilecektir.

Madde 4: İşevlerinde dokumacılık, terzilik, nakış, gümüş işleri öğretilerek hem ulusal sanayi canlandırmak ve hem de kadın ve erkeklerden çaresizlik ve yokluk içinde kalanların kişisel çalışmalarıyla yokluktan kurtarmak ve kişisel girişimi genelleştirmektir." (Çakır 2016, 432, 435)

Part 2. What are the purposes of these associations? In what ways could these associations contribute to the attainment of women's rights in the early 20th century? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 5. Co-Education

Part 1. Study Sources 10 and 11.

Source 10. An excerpt¹¹ from the 2015 book “*Türkiye’de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)*” (meaning “Women’s Freedom and Feminism in Turkey (1908-1935)” in Turkish) by historian and writer Zafer Toprak.

During the Second Constitutional Period, one of the controversial issues between the reformers and conservatives was the “question of the veil”, and the second one was the admission of female students to university. In 1914, the state opened a higher education institution for women, called *İnas Darülfünunu* [meaning “School of Sciences for Women” in Ottoman Turkish] but education was at the high school level. While the issue was considered by the Commission of Reform, students of *İnas Darülfunu* appealed to the commission to stop gender discrimination and demanded rights for co-education with male students. As several men were conscripted due to the World War and substituted by women in different spheres of the social and economic life, women were more active in the country compared to the past. The female students such as Şükufe Nihal Hanim argued that it was meaningless to put them in separate buildings any more. In 1919, the female students were first allowed to attend the lessons of the professors in the afternoon while morning sessions were allocated for male students. Later in the same year, co-education was accepted by the Ministry of Education. Yet the debate carried on for some time in the newspapers. (Toprak 2015, 214-220)

Source 11. An excerpt from the article “Yine Darülfünun Tedrisatı” published in the magazine *Sebilürreşad* Vol. 16, No. 15-414, on March 15, 1335, p.223.

“Malum olduğu üzere Rıza Tevfik Bey’in son zamanlarda yapmak istediği tecettütlerden biri genç kızlarla delikanlıları birlikte okutmaktır. Rıza Tevfik Bey böyle bir teşebbüsü tatbiki hiçbir mahzur görmüyor ve binaealeyh var kuvvetiyle bu uğurda ibzal-ı mesaiden geri kalmıyordu. Rıza Tevfik Bey unutup ki bu memleketin ekseriyet-i hakimesini teşkil eden ehl-i İslam itikadına muvafık olmayan bu teşebbüs bilhassa Müslimini (Müslüman kızlarını) tehsil-i ilk ü irfandan mahrum etmek gibi bir mahiyeti haizdi. Maksat tehsil-i ilim ise kadınların erkeklerden ayrı olarak okumasında hiçbir beis yoktu. Fakat maksat Garb hayat-ı içtimaiyesine temessül etmek esbabını ihzar ise bu ümmet-i İslamiyye buna asla muvafakat edemezdi ve etmedi.” (Toprak 2015, 226-227)

Part 2. Based on Sources 10 and 11, what is the context in which the demand for co-education at the University is voiced? How is the criticism against that demand justified in the journal *Sebilürreşad*? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

¹¹ The excerpt was translated and adapted by the co-authors of this Module.

Activity 6. Criticisms and Goals

Part 1. Study Sources 12 and 13.

Source 12. A quote from the article “Women in the 20th Century” by Halide Edip published in the journal *Mektep Müzesi* (meaning “The Museum of School” in Ottoman Turkish) in 1913.

“Bu kadınlık hareket-i mukaddesinin sathi ve iptidai bir tarihini yazarken gönül isterdi ki bu tarihçe, Osmanlı kadınlarının terakki ve tekâmülü yolundaki küçük bir tarihçe olsun. Osmanlı kadınlarının terakki yolundaki mesailerinin henüz bir tarihçesi olmaması, onların da bir şey yapmamış olmalarını intaç etmez. Bilakis bugün büyük ve umumi bir tiyatro salonundan kadınlığa bu kadar mahrem bir mevzudan bahsetmek ve bu mevzuu dinlemek için tiyatrodan Osmanlı kadınlarından mürekkep, muhterem ve büyük bir kitle bulmak. Bunlar iftihar edilecek şeylerdir. Bugün, bu saat, ben size böyle hitap ederken, siz beni dinlerken şüphesiz biz de tarih yapıyoruz demektir. Bu tarihçeyi torunlarımız bir konferans dolduracak kadar uzun ve iftiharla yaptıkları zaman, elbet bizim aciz fakat hüsn-i niyet ve samimiyetle dolu bin müşkilatla elde edilen mücadelemizden bahsedeceklerdir.” (Çakır 2016, 21)



Photograph of Halide Edip. Taken from: <https://goo.gl/5KsNX2>.

Source 13. An excerpt from the speech of Fatma Nesibe Hanım during the White Conferences. In 1911, 300 women convened for 10 times to listen to a series of speeches by Fatma Nesibe Hanım at an Ottoman woman’s (referred to as P.B.) mansion. Upon the request of P.B., the conference hall was decorated in white from bottom to top therefore the series of conferences were named as “White Conferences”. P.B. shared the speeches of Fatma Nesibe Hanım as well as her impressions in one of the women’s journals, but her identity remains a mystery as there is no biographical information in the publications about P.B.

“Bugün kadın nedir? Erkeklerin kadınlara karşı meşhur-ı alem olan nezaketlerine rağmen, sorarım bir alet-i zevk, bir çocuk makinesi, tatlı bir et’ten başka birşey mi?

Keşke! Hayır, bu de değil hanımlar! Hiçbir ifrata, hiçbir garaza tabi olmayarak söylüyorum. Keşke böyle olsaydı; bari bu namla bir mevki-i hürmet ve ehemmiyet kazansaydık!

Bilmem, içinizdeki bu cerihayı, bu cerihanın daha müellim şekillerini tamamiyle anlayan yokdur, zannederim. Sizler nisbeten kaba, çirkin olsa da oldukça tahammül edilir bir hayata maliksiniz; muhitinizden biraz daha aşağıya baksanız, gözleriniz kararır, öyle murdar, siyah paçavralardır ki, en adi, en müstekreh(iğrenç) işler için saklanır, kıskanılır.

Akşam bir okka ekmekle hayatı, mukaddesiyatı, satın alınan bu biçareler, herşeylerini mülevves bıyıklarını burarak emreden erkeklere medyundurlar. Onların dini, vicdanı, izzet-i nefsi, namusu, fikri, hissi yokdur, bir köpek gibi vahşi, ağır tekmeler altında inler, ayaklar öper; namusuna söğülür, sükut eder; izzet-i nefsi, bir kadın için herşeyi demek olan izzet-i nefsi ayaklar altına alınır, ağlamakla mukabele eyler. Hele ses çıkarsın, Allah’ın söylemek için yarattığı dilini biraz tahrir etsin, bütün hakaretlere, dayaklara

teskin edilemeyen vahşetin son şekli “Boşsun mel’un! isrifra’ı olur.

...Evet hanımlar, emin olun biz böyle kalmayacağız. Birgün, büyük bir gün gelecek ki yükseklerde gördüğümüz ve korktuğumuz herşey, basdığımız yerlerde sürünecek; bütün bu müesekat bir vehimdir, bir dumandır uçacak. Yerine, o zaman asıl bir güneş, bir ziya, bir hararet başlayacak. Sönenler hep hayaldir ve hakikat ebedi bir şuledir(alev).

Dünyanın her köşesine dikkat ediniz, bir inkılabın bidayetinde bulunuyoruz. Emin olunuz, bu inkılap, bir erkek ihtilali gibi kanlı ve vahşi olmayacak. Bilakis nezih ve nisbeten sessiz, lakin mutlaka semereli olacak ki buna itikat ediniz hanımlar. Avrupa’daki hemşirelerimiz tabii, bizden müterakkidirler. Fakat bizi onların peyrevi(takipçisi) olmaktan hiçbir kuvvet men edemez.” (Çakır 2016, 121-125)

Part 2. Based on Sources 12 and 13, identify the criticisms raised and goals set by two women, Halide Edip and Fatma Nesibe Hanım. Discuss these criticisms and goals in class or in writing.

Activity 7. Politics and Women’s Freedom

Part 1. Study Sources 14, 15, and 16.

Source 14. An excerpt from the work “Türkiye’de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)” (meaning “Women’s Freedom and Feminism in Turkey) by historian and writer Zafer Toprak.

“Feminist hareketin dünya ölçeğinde güç kazandığı 1910’lu yıllar, Türkiye’de kadın özgürlükleri doğrultusunda önemli adımların atıldığı bir dönemdi ve bu tarihlerde kadın üzerine birçok eser yayımlandı. 1908 Genç Türk Devrimi’nin benimsediği “hürriyet, müsavat, adalet, uhuvvet” ilkeleri Osmanlı’da kadın sorununu gündeme getirmiş, kadının “toplumsallaşması” ya da kadın-erkek eşitliği, o günkü dille “müsavat-ı tamme”, II. Meşrutiyet’in temel kaygılarından birini oluşturmuştur.

...1908’de gerçekleştirilen inkılabın temel şiarı, ‘hürriyet’ oldu. Ancak Genç Türkler için bu bir başlangıçtı. ‘Siyasi İnkılabı’ içtimai inkılab’ın izlemesi kaçınılmazdı. ‘İçtimai inkılab’ herşeyden önce “yeni hayat”ı gerektiriyordu. Ziya Gökalp’in gündeme getirdiği “yeni hayat”ın siyasi, ekonomik, toplumsal, kültürel değişik boyutları vardı. Ama bunlar arasında belki de en önemlisi kadın yaşamına ilişkindi. Yeni ayaa göre kadın, Osmanlı’da süregelen geleneksel yaşam biçimini bırakmalı, evinin dar çerçevesinden kurtulup dış dünyaya açılmalı, toplumsallaşmalı, özgürlüklerini genişletmeliydi.

Türkiye’de Batı’dakine benzer bir feminist hareket, II. Meşrutiyet yıllarında görüldü. Osmanlı kadını Batı’daki feminist akıma benzer bir süreci II. Meşrutiyet’in özgürlük ortamında başlatacaktı. Meşrutiyet yıllarında birçok kadın örgütü kurulmuştu. Osmanlı Kadınları Terakkiperver Cemiyeti, Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti, Osmanlı Cemiyet-i Hayriyye-i Nisaiye, Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti, Osmanlı feministlerinin kadın hukukunu savunmaya yönelik girişimleriydi. Hilal-i Ahmer Kadınlar Şubesi, gerek Balkan gerekse Cihan Harbinde cephe gerisinde büyük yararlılıklar göstermişti. Muhtaç Asker Ailelerine Muavenet Cemiyeti seferberlik nedeniyle geride yoksul kalan ailelere yardım elini uzatmıştı.” (Toprak 2015, 4)

Source 15. An excerpt¹² from the 2015 book “*Türkiye’de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)*” (meaning “Women’s Freedom and Feminism in Turkey) by historian and writer Zafer Toprak.

The women’s movement in the 1910s called “suffrage” in the West, proved how appropriate their demands were in the context of the war [the First World War]. The women were granted their voting rights in the aftermath of the war. In Turkey, women themselves experienced violent conflict during the World War and the Independence War. After the war, they chose the most efficient form of organization, the political party, to attain their rights that would also provide a space for freedom. Therefore, the organization for the suffrage can be dated to the post-Independence War period in Turkey. However, women were unable to get approval from Ankara in 1923. During that time, the Association for Defending the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia was transforming itself into a political party, the People’s Party [the founding party of the republic], in order to represent the whole nation. It was impossible to consider women in the active political life. Moreover, there was another view that a political party that divided the society according to sex did not fit with a contemporary society. Atatürk named the newly founding party “People’s Party”. It was impossible to approve another organization with the same name although they had “Women” in their title. The People’s Party advised women to continue their activities not through a political party but through an “Association”.

After a while the Turkish Women’s Federation would be founded with the leadership of Nezihe Muhittin on February 7, 1924. Their priority moved to education and the organization of family life, and suffrage was considered secondary. The Union preserved their political agenda. Therefore, they added another item in their code demanding suffrage in 1927. The Union published two journals, *Kadının Yolu* [meaning “The Way of Women” in Turkish] and *Türk Kadın Yolu* [meaning “The Way of the Turkish Woman” in Turkish]. They were actively involved in charity activities such as providing scholarships for young women, teaching them foreign languages, etc.

In the 1930s, the women’s movement in Turkey followed the footsteps of the feminists in the world. In 1934, women were granted the right to vote and be elected. Subsequently, in the 1935 elections, eighteen women were elected as members of the parliament in Turkey. With these developments, the International Alliance of Women decided to convene in Istanbul in 1935 and the Turkish Women’s Federation hosted the event. The Twelfth Congress of the International Alliance of Women can be considered as the zenith of the first wave of feminism in Turkey as well as its end. Two weeks after the conference, the People’s Party requested the Turkish Women’s Federation to dismiss itself. On the eve of the Second World War, the People’s Party was aiming to establish organic ties between the state and society; therefore, the organizations that did not fit this goal were closed down. Last but not least, the advocacy of peace and anti-militarism by the women’s movement in Turkey in alliance with organizations from the USA and Britain was considered as unacceptable in the political context of the year of 1935. (Toprak 2015, 461-504)

¹² The excerpt was translated and adapted by the co-authors of this Module.

Source 16. An excerpt from the 2013 article “State Feminism, Modernization, and the Turkish Republican Woman” by social anthropologist and writer Jenny B. White.

“State feminism, the state-led promotion of women’s equality in the public sphere, monopolized women’s activism and shaped it as a tool of the state’s modernizing project. In 1923, women requested authorization to found a Women’s Party, but were refused on the grounds that a woman’s party would distract from the (Republican) People’s Party that state leaders were establishing. In 1935, the Turkish Women’s Federation collaborated with feminists from other countries to host an International Congress of Feminism in Turkey and issued a declaration against the rising threat of Nazism. State elites were displeased, particularly since Turkey was attempting to stay neutral in international affairs, and closed the Federation, arguing that, since the Republic had given women all their rights, there was no longer any reason for women to organize. Nevertheless, the opportunities and power made available to women as a result of Ataturk’s reforms should not be minimized. They laid a firm and enduring foundation for later developments in women’s rights in Turkey.” (White 2003)

Part 2. Based on Source 14, how did the social and political context in the early 1900’s contribute to the development of the women’s movement in the Ottoman Empire? Based on Sources 15 and 16, to what extent did the events of the first three decades of the 20th century foster or hinder the development of the women’s movement in Turkey? Why did the state resist to grant political rights to women at first? What was the reason behind the obstacles created for the Turkish Women’s Federation? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Recommended Sources for Lesson 4.1

Books and Reports

Altınay, Ayşe Gül and Yeşim Arat. *Violence Against Women in Turkey*. Punto Publishing, Istanbul 2009. Available at: http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/11418/1/Violence_Against_Women_in_Turkey.pdf.

Berktaş Fatmagül (Ed.). *The Position of Women in Turkey and in the European Union Achievements, Problems, Prospects*. KA-DER Press, Istanbul 2004.

Çakır Devrim. *Kadın Hareketinde Mücadele Deneyimleri: Özgürlüğü Ararken [The Experiences of Struggle in the Women's Movement: Seeking Freedom]*. Amargi, Istanbul 2005

Dedeoğlu, Saniye, and Adem Y. Elveren (Ed.). *Gender and Society in Turkey: The Impact of Neoliberal Policies, Political Islam and EU Accession*. Tauris, 2012.

Demirbilek, Aynur. *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi [A Story of Ottoman Women Seeking Right to Life]*. Ayizi Kitap, Ankara 2011.

Ekmekçiöğlü, Lerna and Melissa Bilal (Ed.). *Bir Adalet Feryadı – Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar 1862-1933 [A Justice Outcry – Five Armenian Feminist Authors from Ottoman Empire to Turkey]*. Aras, Istanbul 2006.

Ekmekçiöğlü, Lerna and Melissa Bilal. *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-Genocide Turkey*. Stanford University Press, Redwood 2016.

Yeğenoğlu, Metin, et al. *Türkiyede Toplumsal Cinsiyet Tartışmaları [The Debate on Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey]*. Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2007.

Documentaries

Psychotherapist, human rights activist, and researcher Pınar İlkaracan speaking on the feminist movements in Turkey. Interview from July 2011 available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8AU2m1O2ZWg>.

Websites

The website of the Uçan Süpürge Vakfı (Flying Broom Foundation) at <http://ucansupurge.org.tr/en/>.

The website of the organization *Amargi* (meaning “Freedom” as well as “Return to Mother” in ancient Sumerian) at <https://amargigroupistanbul.wordpress.com/>.

The online archives of the feminist magazines *Pazartesi* (meaning “Monday” in Turkish), *Kaktüs* (meaning “Cactus” in Turkish) and *Feminist* at <http://www.pazartesidergisi.com/>.

Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı (Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation) <http://kadineserleri.org/>

Lesson 4.2. The Women’s Movements in Armenia the 19th and 20th Centuries

A Note to Teachers

Lesson 4.2 focuses on the specific context of Armenia in the 19th and 20th centuries. It is designed to explore how Armenian women’s movements emerged in the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire and continued developing during the short-lived first Republic of Armenia and in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic within the context of the larger United Soviet Socialist Republics.

It is important to clarify for students when the texts are referring to an existing Armenian state – the first Republic of Armenia or the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic- or whether the text is referring to Armenia as a geography under the rule of the Ottoman and Russian Empires.

In this Lesson, we will explore how Armenian women’s movements emerged in the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire and continued developing during the short-lived first Republic of Armenia and in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. We will look into issues of labor, education, and politics to reconstruct the ethos of the different periods about women’s rights.

Section 1. Introduction

A Note to Teachers

This Section is completely student-led. These activities contain excerpts from primary and secondary sources that would be best for in-class reading and discussion. Teachers can create groups and distribute the sources to students. After examining and analyzing the sources, each group can contribute in class to building a narrative of women’s movements in Armenia in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Some of the activities can also be assigned as homework.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Armenians lived primarily in the Ottoman and Russian Empires. In this Lesson, we will examine the Armenian women’s movements in the Ottoman Empire. Below you will find a variety of primary and secondary sources on the women’s movement in Armenia in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Study the sources and take notes. Please, discuss your answers to the questions in class or in writing.

Activity 1. Women’s Education in Eastern Armenia in the 19th and early 20th Centuries

Part 1. Study Source 1.

Source 1. An excerpt from an article titled “Women’s Education in Yerevan” by Susanna Harutyunyan, a scholar-researcher at the Yerevan History Museum.

“In the medieval South Caucasus, women were educated not in schools but through individual and home-based methods. For example, an educated woman and sometimes a nun would teach one or a few young ladies elementary literacy skills, prayers, and embroidery or other handwork skills. We can recall, for example, the teacher in Shushi, Elizabeth Sargsyan or Aker Elizabeth, as the 10-15 young ladies who were gathered

under an adobe roof, would call her, and who she was teaching the ABC, psalms, and embroidery through the “might” of the birch twig.

These were khalifian [the word is used in Armenian to denote “backward” and “violent”] schools, and in parallel to them, in the 19th century, during the rule of the Russian Empire, regular schools for women were established, some of which were state-owned, and others were privately-owned. However, the difference between them and the khalifian schools was so great in terms of the quality of education that it would be right to say that the education of young ladies in Armenia started in the first half of the 19th century.

[...]

By the beginning of the 20th century, the total number of Armenian young ladies’ schools in the South Caucasus and in the Armenian-populated areas of the Russian Empire reached 83 with a total of 4548 students. Thus, the number of literate young ladies was not great, but if we take into account the circumstance that in the 19th century South Caucasus was on a low level economically and culturally and strongly prejudices existed, then the achieved level of education for young ladies was a major breakthrough.” (S. Harutyunyan n.d.)

«Միջնադարյան Այսրկովկասում կանայք կրթվում էին ոչ թե դպրոցական, այլ անհատական, տնային ուսուցման եղանակով. գրագետ հայուհին կամ միանձնուհին մեկ կամ մի քանի աղջիկների սովորեցնում էր տարրական գրագիտություն, աղոթք, հանախ էլ՝ ձեռագործ: Հիշենք, օրինակ, Շուշի քաղաքի վարժուհի Եղիսաբեթ Սարգսյանին՝ Աքեր Եղիսաբեթին, ինչպես դիմում էին նրան մի հողե կտուրի տակ հավաքված այն 10-15 օրհորդները, որոնց դպար ճիպոտի «գորությամբ» նա սովորեցնում էր այբբենարան, սաղմոս, կտակարան ու ձեռագործ:

Դրանք խալիֆայական դպրոցներ էին, որոնց զուգընթաց, 19-րդ դարում՝ ռուսական կայսրության տիրապետության շրջանում, ստեղծվեցին նաև իզական կանոնավոր դպրոցներ՝ մի մասը պետական, մյուսը՝ մասնավոր հիմունքներով: Սակայն այնքան մեծ էր դրանց և խալիֆայական դպրոցների տարբերությունն ուսուցման որակի առումով, որ ճիշտ կլինի, եթե ասենք, որ կանանց կրթության գործը Հայաստանում սկզբնավորվում է 19-րդ դարի առաջին կեսին:

[...]

Մինչև 20-րդ դարի սկիզբը Այսրկովկասում և ռուսական կայսրության հայաշատ վայրերում հայ օրհորդաց դպրոցների ընդհանուր թիվը հասնում էր 83-ի՝ 4548 սանով: Այսպիսով՝ գրագետ օրհորդների թիվն այնքան էլ մեծ չէր, բայց եթե հաշվի առնենք այն հանգամանքը, որ Այսրկովկասը 19-րդ դարում տնտեսական և մշակութային առումով դեռևս ցածր մակարդակի էր և շատ ուժեղ էին նախապաշարումները, ապա աղջիկների կրթության գործում ձեռք բերվածը լուրջ առաջընթաց էր:» (S. Harutyunyan n.d.)

Part 2. Why do you think the author refers to the schools that used violence “*khalifian*”? Why does the author refuse to acknowledge these schools and claims that women’s education in Armenia started only in the 19th century? What does the author provide as reasons for low literacy among young women? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 2. From Antiquity to 19th Century Public Activism?

Part 1. Study Source 2.

Source 2. An excerpt from an article titled “Lessons of History: Public Activism of Armenian Women in 19th and early 20th Century” by Anahit Harutyunyan, and editor of a newspaper.

“Scholars, including historians, archeologists, specialists of folklore, ethnographers, legal experts, etc., have arrived at the conclusion that from ancient to medieval times, women enjoyed high status in the Armenian society and the principle of gender solidarity was accepted among Armenians. [citation removed]

The Armenian women took part in significant public events, celebrations, festivities and funeral ceremonies. They organized banquets and receptions in their castles and sat at the heads of the tables as hostesses. They were honored with the same titles as their husbands. The Armenian women were depicted with their husbands in high relieves at temples and in manuscript illustrations. They concluded transactions, made donations, issued tax exemptions, became members of monastic orders, purchased manuscripts and donated them to churches, ordered new manuscripts and engaged in upbringing and education of children. The Armenian women provided humanitarian aid and shelter to the needy and treated the sick. They especially beamed with their patronage to the foundation and construction of churches, hotels, hospitals, libraries, bridges, water channels, fortresses and towers, as well as in writing, arts and crafts. In the event the throne was vacant they ruled the country, handled foreign relations through participating and concluding treaties with other countries, diplomatic missions, surrendering hostages, etc.

However, in the early 19th century, the Armenian woman was isolated from the public life and was shut away in the houses. Several decades later she found herself at the center of social and political life and was actively engaged in public and educational activism. This fact allows for the conclusion that the isolation of Armenian woman during the preceding several centuries had not affected the Armenian mentality, and the harmony in gender relations, women’s freedom and high social status that were common to the Armenian society, reached 19th century through intergenerational transmission.” (A. Harutyunyan, Lessons of History: Public Activism of Armenian Women in 19th and early 20th Century 2016)

Part 2. How does the author link public activism of women in Armenia to antiquity and the middle ages? Do you think all or most women in ancient and medieval times enjoyed the rights and privileges described in the second paragraph of the excerpt? In what cases did women have access to rule? What could be the mechanisms of the “intergenerational transmission” for several centuries that the author refers to in the last part of the excerpt? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 3. Armenian Feminists and the National Project at the Turn of the 20th Century

Part 1. Study Source 3.

Source 3. An excerpt from the introduction of the book “Recovering Armenia. The Limits of Belonging in Post-Genocide Turkey” by Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, a historian specializing also in Women and Gender Studies.

“Hayganush Mark lived the first half of her life as a subject of the Ottoman Empire belonging to the Armenian *millet* (ethnoreligious community). She spent the second half as a citizen of the Republic of Turkey and a member of the Armenian minority community.

[...]

Today, Hayganush Mark Toshigian is buried with her husband in the Intellectuals Section of the Şişli Armenian Cemetery, about a mile from their long-time home in Pangaltı. Their tombstone is titled *Hay Gin*, that is, Armenian Woman. To the uninitiated passerby it might seem as if “the Armenian Woman” was dead and buried here. Yet, as is inscribed on the epitaph, the title refers to a feminist fortnightly Mark edited from 1919 to 1933.

[...]

Mark’s and Toshigian’s life trajectory is representative of a generation of *Bolsahay* (Constantinopolitan Armenian) public figures who lived through the transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. [...] How did Armenian elites’ understanding, representation, and performance of their identity adapt to the changing political conditions around them? [...]

This group did not constitute an ideological monolith. Some of them identified themselves as feminists and pursued a women’s movement. Feminist Armenians had two goals: the betterment of their sex and the betterment of their *azk* (nation). Depending on the political context, these goals sometimes worked in unity and sometimes conflicted with each other. An analysis of how feminists’ ideas about Armenianness converged with and diverged from those of their peers shows the limits within which Armenians committed to preserving their group identity had to operate in post-Ottoman Turkey.

[...]

Since the late nineteenth century Armenian feminists, who had been equally invested in the Armenian national project (of improving Armenians, of preserving Armenians, of liberating Armenians), objected to the limiting ways women could be subjects of/for the nation. They demanded that women *as Armenians* trespass the line dividing the homespace and public space and act in the realm of politics, decision making, and future-planning. Before turning to the parameters of the challenge that feminists faced, it is necessary to see how and why a gendered division of national/communal labor came into existence in the first place. We can then see how gender, the social organization of relations between the sexes and the social regulation of sexual relations, has been key to the survival of Armenianness after major catastrophes.” (Ekmekçioğlu, Introduction. *Afterlife of Armenians in Post-Genocide Turkey* 2016)

Part 2. How do you think Hayganush Mark’s life differed as a subject of the Ottoman Empire and a citizen of the Republic of Turkey? What were the two goals that feminist Armenians had at the turn of the 20th century? How was the struggle for “their sex” and the struggle for “their nation” linked in the Armenian feminists’ aspiration to act “in the realm of politics, decision making, and future-planning”?

Activity 4. All Issues are Women's Issues

Source 4. An excerpt from the article titled “All Issues are Women’s Issues” by Milena Abrahamyan, a scholar specializing in Women and Gender Studies as well Peace and Conflict Research.

“To ask the question whether there is or has ever been a women’s movement in Armenia often implies juxtaposing a Western understanding of ‘women’s movement’ to the Armenian context. Thereby, ‘women’s movement’ evokes images of suffragettes from the early 20th century first wave feminisms of the U.S., Great Britain and other European countries, second wave feminist movements of the 1960’s for freedom in areas of reproduction, family and work, and third wave feminism mainly focused on deconstructing gender, race, and class. Although these ‘waves’ can be applied in the Armenian context to some extent, often the trajectory of what may be called the women’s movement in Armenia has followed neither this dominant Western trend nor its linear progression, and thereby cannot easily fit within dominant Western feminist imagination [citation removed].

As early as the end of the 19th century Armenian women struggling for autonomy in the Ottoman Empire had identified the need for feminism to adapt to different women’s contexts [citation removed]. Marie Beylerian – one of the Armenian feminist thinkers of the time – had identified the importance of what many third world and women of color feminists in the West call *intersectionality*, a term coined by Black feminist thinker Kimberle Crenshaw, as a means to incorporate all parts of one’s identity and experience into the struggle for full liberation [citation removed]. Just as there are multiple sites of oppression for Armenian women who have lived as minority subjects under different empires for over six centuries and who currently live under an independent, but male dominated, illegitimate and corrupt government – there are also multiple sites of resistance [citation removed]. In the last one hundred years these sites of resistance include the *Declaration of Armenian Women’s Rights* in the late 19th century by Serpouhi Dussab and Zabel Assadour; the participation of revolutionary women in the Armenian liberation struggle, including resistance by women freedom fighters during the Armenian Genocide (ibid); feminists in Soviet Armenia partaking in a dissident self-published magazine: *Almanac: Woman and Russia*, which critiqued the illusion of equal rights of women in Soviet reality by exposing the still very male dominated patriarchal private and public institutions of family and the state; a large number of Armenian women taking part in the independence movement of the 1990’s; and following the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, an increase in the number of civil society organizations emphasizing women’s rights and empowerment, as well as informal feminist groups and initiatives critiquing hegemonic patriarchal institutions in Armenia [citation removed].” (Abrahamyan 2015)

Part 2. What does the author think about the application of the terms “women’s movement” and “waves of feminism” to the Armenian context? What would intersectionality mean for the Armenian context? Is there a difference between the “Western understanding of a ‘women’s movement’” and the “sites of resistance” the author is citing? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 5. Arguments and Demands

Part 1. Study Sources 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

Source 5. Excerpt from “*Namagani ar Intertaser Hayuhis*” (meaning “Letters to the Armenian Woman Fond of Education” in Armenian) written in 1879 by Elbis Gesaratsyan. She was the first female Armenian journalist and editor of the first Armenian women’s newspaper “*Gitar*” (meaning “Guitar” in Armenian).



Photograph of Elbis Gesaratsyan. Taken from: <https://twitter.com/muvaffakiviet/status/638845444211253248>.

“You may have often experienced women who are more thoughtful, more foresighted and more hard-working than their husbands; but they knowingly and blindly succumb to men who do not know the right way to do something; because the woman should be a bird without a tongue and the man, even if he is a crow, he must sing and rule with pride. Yes, my sister, these are my thoughts. Our opinions should blossom. Capable persons should take this as a duty, should activate the sluggish brains in lawful ways, should be awake in holding on to her the freedoms and should be eager to educate ourselves and encourage other women to educate themselves. We should create reading rooms and societies and possess such knowledge addressing hearts and brains so that we take steps on the way of development and be counted as human beings.” (Istanbul Kadın Müzesi n.d.)



Photograph of Zabel Yesayan. Taken from: <https://goo.gl/UwDBRK>.

Source 6: Excerpt from “*Kiny Khaghaghutyun Hamar*” (meaning “Woman for Peace” in Armenian) written in 1911 by Zabel Yesayan, an Ottoman-Armenian socialist, feminist, and pacifist writer.

“All over the world, and quite independently of each other, there is a growing wish for peace. This idea travels around the world,

growing stronger all the time and becomes one irresistible and universal ideal. This is the great hope of people who are weary and disillusioned by wars between nations and social groups. Both the victors and the defeated need an end to hostilities. [...] Who destroys the seeds of past antagonisms in the tender mind of a child and prepares it for a bright, infinite peace of soul. It is of course the child's mother. [...] The backbone of the feminist movement in France is formed by the women who get together to achieve peace through education and this movement also determines the direction taken by feminist movements in other countries, with their various branches and supporters.” (Yesayan 1911)



Photograph of Hayganuş Mark by Ara Güler, Courtesy of Lerna Ekmekçioğlu. Taken from: <https://goo.gl/YZUKE9>.

Source 7. A quote from Hayganush Mark who was the editor of the magazine *Dzaghik* (meaning “Flower” in Armenian) magazine *Hay Gin* (meaning “The Armenian Woman” in Armenian, published in 1919-1932).

“I felt that I was weighed down by huge responsibilities while the rights sufficient to meet these responsibilities were not given in return. I believed deep within me that feminism was a cry for justice, but to merely ask for it would have been childish. I had to reach out and take my rights with my own hands. I believed in my power, and *Dzaghig* was born.” (Istanbul Kadın Müzesi n.d.)



Photograph of Srpuhi Dusap. Taken from: <https://goo.gl/1FheGs>.

Source 8. A quote from the 1883 novel “Mayda” by Srpuhi Dusap, an Ottoman-Armenian feminist writer.

“When there is equality between the two genders, that is to say that when there is equality in the pleasures of life as well as punishments, in work as well as awards, chains will be broken, hypocrisy will end, and society will reach a balance by redressing the losses that result from inequality of power.” (Ekmekçioğlu and Bilal, A Quote from the 1883 Novel "Mayda" by Srpuhi Dusap 2006)

Source 9. An excerpt from the work ““This time women as well got involved in politics!”: Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women’s Organizations and Political Agency” by historian and sociologist Nazan Maksudyan.

“[Non-Muslim women’s (Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews) organizations] were remarkably active in numerous 19th century social and political questions, from the expansion of female education to refugee crises, from prostitution to illegitimate births

and child abandonment, from nationalist movements to relieving the pain of ethnic conflicts. Ottoman women were active agents in the public sphere. They provided medical services to the poor, the refugees, destitute women and children. They were involved in different forms of social care, such as holding workshops, offering classes, and providing shelter. They also became prominent figures in the reformation of educational institutions and establishment of schools for girls. They were pioneers in initiating philanthropic organizations, particularly in establishing orphanages and poorhouses. Given the wide-ranging nature of these outlets for the actual participation of women in the most significant issues of their times – apart from those being within the ideology of motherhood, nationalism, and militarism – their presence and influence has not been presented in the historiography as a form of agency, especially not from the perspective of social change.” (Maksudyan 2014, 107-108)

Source 10. A 1907 poem by feminist and socialist writer Shushanik Kurghinyan, translated by Shushan Avagyan, a scholar-translator.

I Want to Live

I want to live – but not a lavish life
trapped in obscurity – indifferent and foolish,
nor as an outright hostage of artificial beauty,
a frail creature – delicate and feeble,
but equal to you – oh men – prosperous
as you are – powerful and headstrong –
fit against calamities – ingenious in mind,
with bodies full of vigor.

I want to love – unreserved – without a mask –
self-willed like you – so that when in love
I can sing my feelings to the world
and unchain my heart – a woman’s heart,
before the crowds... ignoring their stern
judgment with my shield and destroy
the pointed arrows aimed at me
with all my vitality unrestrained!

I want to act – equal – next to you –
as a loyal member of the people,

let me suffer again and again – night or day –
wandering from one place to another –
always struggling for the ideal
of freedom... and let this burden
torment me in my exile,
if only I may gain a purpose in this life.

I want to eat comfortably – as you do,
from that same fair bread – for which
I gave my share of holy work;
in the struggle for existence – humble and meek,
without feeling shame – let me
shed sweat and tears for a blessed earning,
let scarlet blood flow from my worker’s hands
and let my back tire in pain!

I want to fight – first as your rival,
standing against you with an old vengeance,
since absurdly and without mercy you
turned me into a vassal through love and force.
Then after clearing these disputes of my gender,
I want to fight against the agonies of life,
courageously like you—hand in hand,
facing this struggle to be or not.

Part 2. Identify the main arguments and demands raised in Sources 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. Did these arguments and demands contribute to the women’s movement? Explain.

Section 2. Woman Politicians in the First Republic of Armenia

The short-lived first Republic of Armenia paid considerable attention to the role of women in institutional politics. Women obtained their voting rights in 1919. Following the first parliamentary elections in June 1919 three women became Parliamentarians: Katarine Zalyan-Manukyan, Perchuhi Partizpanyan-Barseghyan, and Varvare (Varya) Sahakyan. The parliament had 80 seats, and the majority of the MPs, including these three women, were members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party.

Activity 6. Women MPs of First Republic of Armenia

Source 11. A quote about Katarine Zalyan-Manukyan, one of the women MPs in the 1919 parliament of the first Republic of Armenia, by her daughter Seda Manukyan.

”It was a difficult year filled with hard work. My mother would spend entire days at the orphanage, and my father¹³ was overwhelmed with social and political activities, and they probably never had the chance to live the family life of a normal couple.

[...]

My mother was an educated and honest person devoted to her work and professions. She would go to work in the morning, come back home to feed me lunch, then close the door on me and leave for her other work. That was her entire life.” (A. Harutyunyan, Առաջին հանրապետության կին պատգամավորները [Women MPs of the First Republic 2012)



Photograph of Katarine Zalyan-Manukyan. Taken from <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q30610206>.

Source 12. An excerpt from Perchuhi Partizpanyan-Barseghyan’s book “Parched Days”, where she tells how she met her husband and set up a group of ladies aimed at self-education and spreading ideas about revolution.



“When my future husband came to our town before going to Turkey, he gave a series of lectures, like others. I was going to patriotic meetings secretly from my parents. My parents’ patriotism would manifest itself in giving some money to the liberation effort. It was strictly forbidden for me to be present at these gatherings. They thought it was not suitable for my position to sit next to the artisans, shopkeepers, or teachers and participate in those meetings. Especially because I was a girl and no one from our circles would agree to marry a woman who interacted with those circles.

I was angry, but my anger soon changed to amazement. This young man would not praise me for my appearance; he did not even notice

Photograph of Perchuhi

Partizpanyan-Barseghyan. Note by the co-authors of the Module: Aram Manukyan, a prominent politician in the first Republic of Armenia, was married to Katarine Zalyan-Manukyan.

Taken from <https://www.aniarc.am/2019/03/08/women-1919-1920-mp/>.

that I was beautiful, and I was so accustomed to hearing praise that its lack on behalf of a gentleman came across as not answering my greeting. Soon my amazement changed into admiration, and my admiration changed... No, my admiration never changed; the admiration always remained, a deep feeling of affection came to join the admiration I felt for this young man.

We met each other many times. Despite my anger, I convened a group of 6 ladies my age. We invited him to share his experience with us and help us develop projects for our future work.

I changed; I began to think and started working seriously, making my parents unhappy with my refusal to appear in receptions.” (Partizpanyan-Barseghyan 2015)

«Երբ իմ ապագայ ամուսինս այ մեր քաղաքը եկաւ նախքան Տանկաստան անցնիլը, ուրիշներու պէս կարգ մը դասախօսութիւններ տուաւ: Ես հայրենասիրական հաւաքոյթներուն կ’երթայի ծնողքէս գաղտնի: Ծնողացս հայրենասիրութիւնը կը կայանար ազատագրութեան գործին որոշ գումար մը տալուն մէջ: Ինձ խստիւ արգիւտած էր այդ հաւաքոյթներուն ներկայ ըլլալը: Իմ դիրքիս վայել չէր, կ’ըսէին, երթալ նստիլ արհեստաւորին, խանութպանին կամ ուսուցիչուսուցչուհիներունքով եւ մասնակցիլ այդ ժողովներուն: Մանաւանդ, որ ես աղջիկ էի եւ մեր շրջանէն ռեւէ պարոն չպիտի զիջանէր այդ շրջաններուն հետ շփում ունեցող մէկը կնութեան առնել:

Բարկացած էի, բայց բարկութիւնս շուտով փոխուեցաւ զարմանքի: Այս երիտասարդը ռեւէ գովեստ չէր ըներ ինձ իմ արտաքինիս համար, նոյնիսկ չէր նկատեր, որ ես գեղեցիկ էի, իսկ ես այն քան վարժուած էի գովեստներ լսելու, որ անոնց պակասը պարոնի մը կողմէ իմ բարեւիս չպատասխանելու պէս բան մըն էր ինձ համար: Ծուտով զարմանքս փոխուեցաւ հիացման եւ հիացումս փոխուեցաւ... Ոչ, հիացումս երբեք չփոխուեցաւ. հիացումը միշտ մնաց, հարազատութեան խորը զգացում մը, յառաջիկային, եկաւ միանալու այս երիտասարդին հանդէպ ունեցած հիացմանս:

Մենք իրարու հանդիպեցանք շատ անգամներ: Հակառակ բարկութեանս, ես կազմեր էի 6 հոգինոց խմբակ մը ինձ տարեկից աղջիկներով: Հրաւիրեցինք զինքը որ մեզի ցուցնունքներ տայ եւ օգնէ մեզ մեր ապագայ աշխատանքներուն համար ծրագիրներ մշակելու:

Ես փոխուեցայ, մտածել սորվեցայ եւ լուրջ կերպով աշխատիլ սկսայ՝ յուսահատութեան մատնելով ծնողքս երեկոյթներու մէջ երեւալու իմ մերժումներով:» (Partizpanyan-Barseghyan 2015)

Part 2. Research the historical context in which these women politicians acted to better understand the messages of the sources. What issues did they address in the parliament? How did their professional experiences help them in dealing with these issues? How were the professional and private lives of Katarine Zalyan-Manukyan and her husband Aram Manukyan similar or different? What was the motivation of Perchuhi Partizpanyan-Barseghyan for establishing the group of young women? Take notes based on your findings and discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Section 3. Women's Rights and Feminism in Soviet Armenia

The Soviet Union started off with ideas of emancipation and equality of rights for men and women borrowing from Marxist and socialist principles. However, many of the early legislative acts for women's rights originated in pre-Soviet Russia or in Soviet Russia prior to the formation of the Soviet Union in 1922.

For example, women's suffrage, as well as some economic and social rights¹⁴, were guaranteed in Russia by the Provisional Government in 1917, prior to the October Revolution that same year. Soviet Russia kept these reforms and removed restrictions of rights for children born out of registered marriages during the October Revolution in 1917. It also added the simplification of divorce procedures and recognition of unregistered unions as equal to registered marriages following the October Revolution in December 1917 and the legalization of abortion in 1920¹⁵.

These reforms became part of the legislation of all the other Soviet Republics when the Union was formed. On February 3, 1922, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic adopted the first Constitution which proclaimed the equality of men and women.

Through a type of a "state feminism", the Soviet Union promoted women's rights particularly through labor and education. However, women often did not participate in core political activities and institutions.

Activity 7. "No Socialist Revolution Without Women!"

Part 1. Read the following excerpt from Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's speech at the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women in 1918.

"There can be no socialist revolution unless very many working women take a big part in it.

In all civilized countries, even the most advanced, women are actually no more than domestic slaves. Women do not enjoy full equality in any capitalist state, not even in the freest of republics.

One of the primary tasks of the Soviet Republic is to abolish all restrictions on women's rights. The Soviet government has completely abolished divorce proceedings, that source of bourgeois degradation, repression and humiliation.

[...] We have passed a decree annulling all distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children and removing political restrictions. Nowhere else in the world have equality and freedom for working women been so fully established.

[...]

For the first time in history, our law has removed everything that denied women rights. But the important thing is not the law. In the cities and industrial areas this law on complete freedom of marriage is doing all right, but in the countryside it all too

¹⁴ Such as expanded rights to property and removal of restrictions to passports.

¹⁵ Abortions, except those for medical reasons, were prohibited again between 1936 and 1955.

frequently remains a dead letter. There the religious marriage still predominates. This is due to the influence of the priests, an evil that is harder to combat than the old legislation.

We must be extremely careful in fighting religious prejudices; some people cause a lot of harm in this struggle by offending religious feelings. We must use propaganda and education. By lending too sharp an edge to the struggle we may only arouse popular resentment; such methods of struggle tend to perpetuate the division of the people along religious lines, whereas our strength lies in unity. The deepest source of religious prejudice is poverty and ignorance; and that is the evil we have to combat.

The status of women up to now has been compared to that of a slave; women have been tied to the home, and only socialism can save them from this. They will only be completely emancipated when we change from small-scale individual farming to collective farming and collective working of the land.

[...]

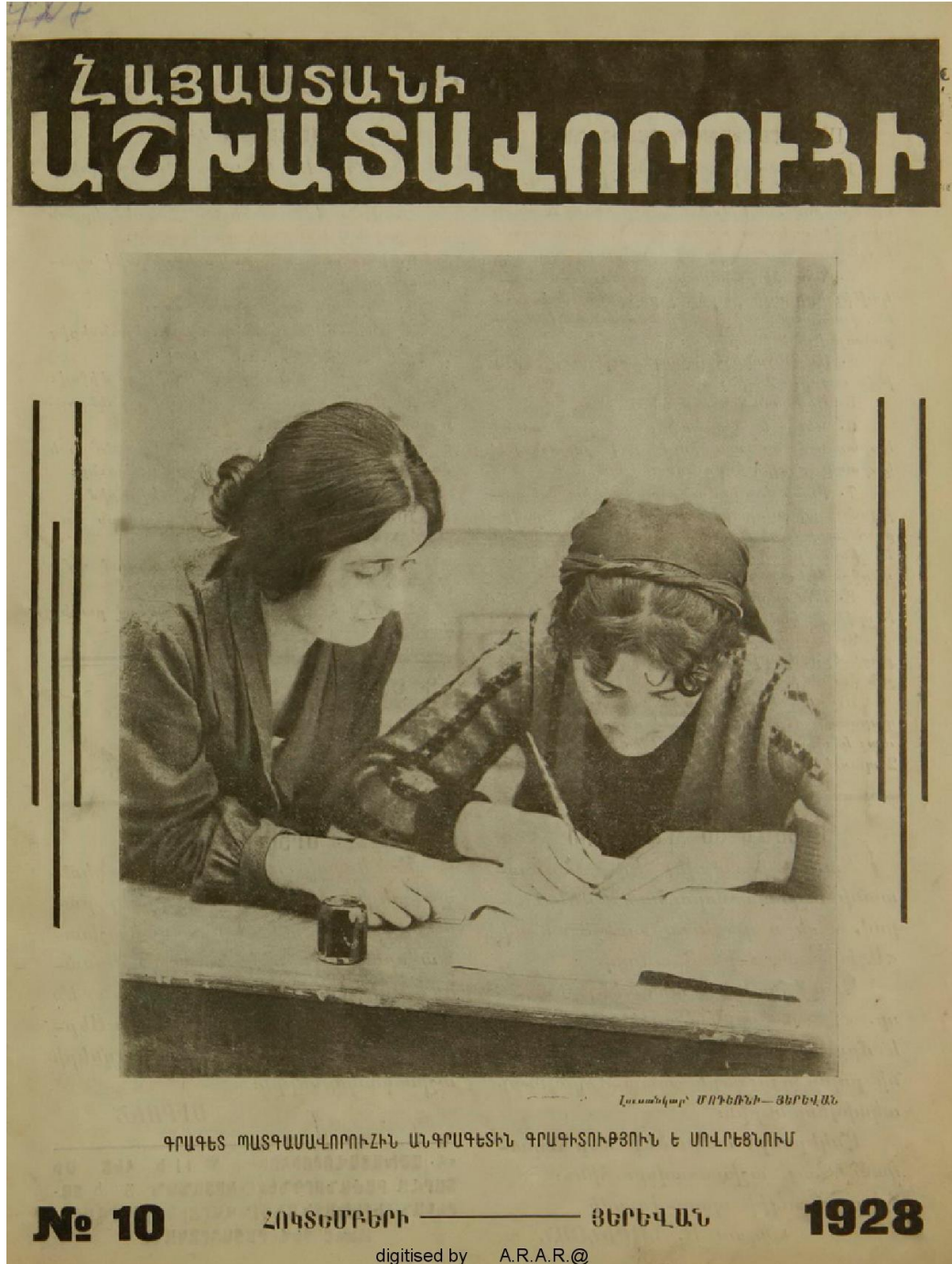
No other republic has so far been able to emancipate woman. The Soviet Government is helping her. Our cause is invincible because the invincible working class is rising in all countries. This movement signifies the spread of the invincible socialist revolution.” (Lenin 1918)

Part 2. What links does the author draw between women’s rights and participation in political and social life to socialism and capitalism? Why does the author think that the law is not “the important thing”? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 8. Emancipating the Soviet Woman

Part 1. Study the following posters and a cover of the Journal “Female Worker of Armenia”.

Source 13. The cover of the October 1928 issue of the Journal “Female Worker of Armenia”.



The cover of the October 1928 issue of the Journal “Female Worker of Armenia”. Taken from: <http://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Hayastaniashxatavoruhi/1928/10.pdf>.

The text reads: “The literate female deputy teaches the illiterate how to write”.

Source 14. A Soviet poster published in Moscow (date unknown).



A Soviet poster published in Moscow (date unknown). Taken from: <https://repository.duke.edu/dc/russianposters/rpcps01002>.

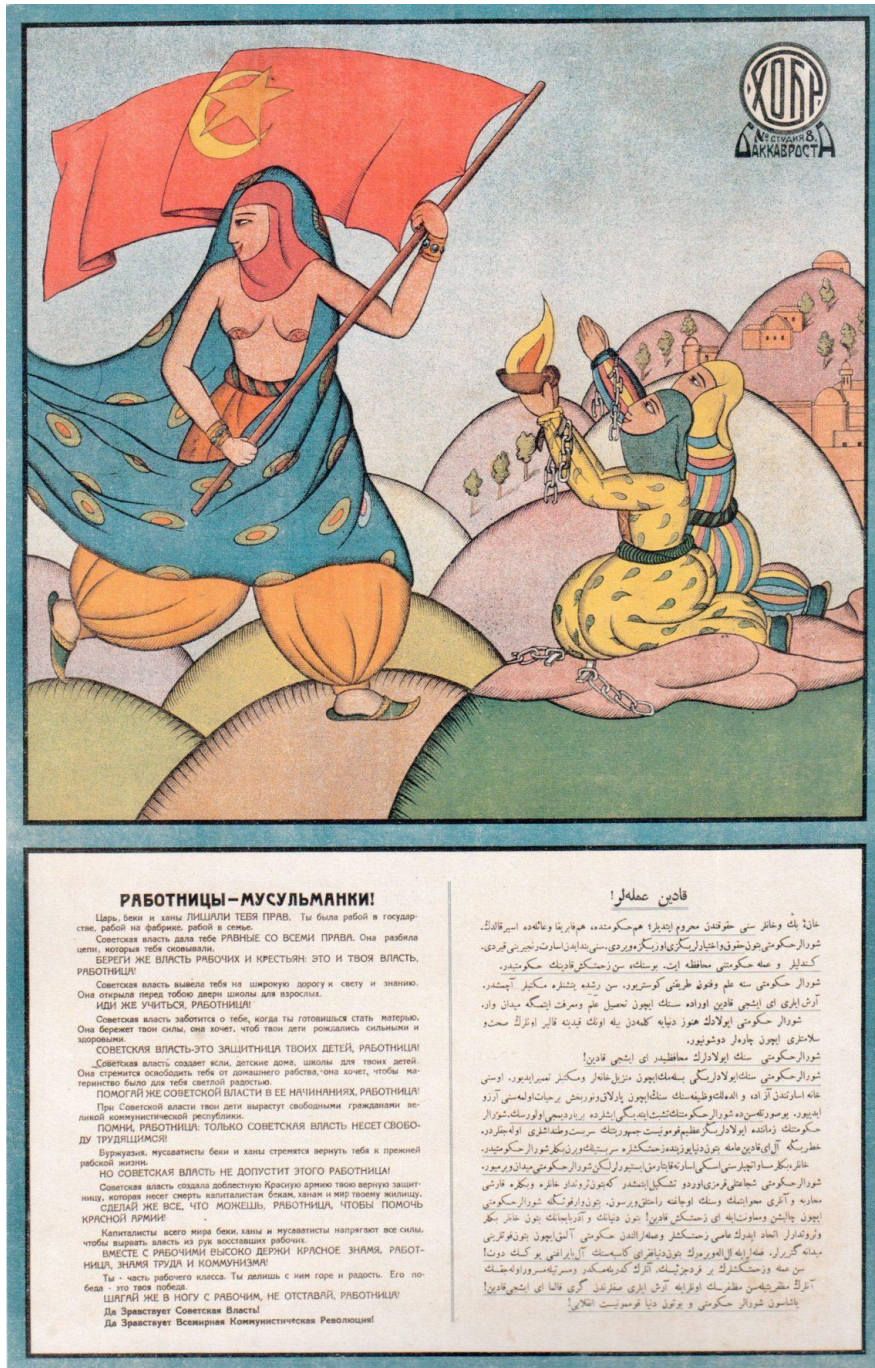
The text reads:

The header: “Female peasant! Get ready to move to quit your old life and start a new one to the new one.”

Some of the text outside the red triangle: “A woman’s path lies from the stove to the doorstep.” “I am baptizing the slave of God, Ivan, for filling in my pocket.” “Beat your wife at lunchtime and again at dinnertime. If you do not beat her, she will not be nice.”

Some of the text inside the red triangle: “Carry out the callings of Ilyich.” “And now be attentive – know, learn, write, read!” “Don’t lag behind others, sustain the cooperative!”

Source 15. A 1921 Soviet poster published in Baku.



РАБОТНИЦЫ – МУСУЛЬМАНКИ!

Царь, беки и ханы ЛИШЛИЛИ ТЕБЯ ПРАВ. Ты была рабой в государстве, рабой на фабрике, рабой в семье.
 Советская власть дала тебе РАВНЫЕ СО ВСЕМИ ПРАВА. Она разбила цепи, которая тебя сковывала.
БЕРИЖИ ЖЕ ВЛАСТЬ РАБОЧНИК И КРЕСТЬЯН! ЭТО И ТВОЯ ВЛАСТЬ, РАБОТНИЦА!
 Советская власть вывела тебя на широкую дорогу к свету и знанию. Она открыла перед тобой двери школы для взрослых.
ИДИ ЖЕ УЧИТЬСЯ, РАБОТНИЦА!
 Советская власть заботится о тебе, когда ты готовишься стать матерью. Она бережет твои силы, она хочет, чтоб твои дети рождались сильными и здоровыми.
СОВЕТСКАЯ ВЛАСТЬ ЭТО ЗАЩИТИЛА ТВОИХ ДЕТЕЙ, РАБОТНИЦА!
 Советская власть создает ясли, детские дома, школы для твоих детей. Она стремится освободить тебя от домашнего рабства, она хочет, чтобы материнство было для тебя светлой радостью.
ПОМОГАЙ ЖЕ СОВЕТСКОЙ ВЛАСТИ В ЕЕ НАЧИНАНИЯХ, РАБОТНИЦА!
 Три Советской власти твои дети вырастут свободными гражданами великой коммунистической республики.
ПОМНИ, РАБОТНИЦА! ТОЛЬКО СОВЕТСКАЯ ВЛАСТЬ НЕСЕТ СВОБОДУ ТРУДЯЩИМСЯ!
 Буржуазия, мусульманты беки и ханы стремятся вернуть тебя к прежней рабской жизни.
НО СОВЕТСКАЯ ВЛАСТЬ НЕ ДОПУСТИТ ЭТОГО РАБОТНИЦА!
 Советская власть создала доблестную Красную армию твоей верной защитницей, которая несет смерть капиталистам, бекам, ханам и жер твоему жилищу.
ДЕЛАЙ ЖЕ ВСЕ, ЧТО МОЖЕШЬ, РАБОТНИЦА, ЧТОБЫ ПОМОЧЬ КРАСНОЙ АРМИИ!
 Капиталисты всего мира беки, ханы и мусульманты напрягают все силы, чтобы вырвать власть из рук восставших рабочих.
ВМЕСТЕ С РАБОЧНИМИ ВЫСОКО ДЕРЖИ КРАСНОЕ ЗНАМЯ, РАБОТНИЦА, ЗНАЧИ ТРУД И КОММУНИЗМ!
 Ты – часть рабочего класса. Ты делишь с ним горе и радость. Его победа – это твоя победа.
ШАГНИ ЖЕ В НОГУ С РАБОЧНИМ. НЕ ОТСТАВАЙ, РАБОТНИЦА!
 Да Здравствует Советская Власть!
 Да Здравствует Всемирная Коммунистическая Революция!

قادرين عملهلر!

غازي بك و خانلر سني حوقدن محروم اينديرلر! هم حكومتده، هم خانلرنا و عالهد اسير قالدلر.
 شورالر حكومتي تون حوق و اختيارلر سكرتي او سكرتور و بيردي، سني نه ايدن اسارت و بيري سني قيردي.
 كندليلر و عله حكومتي محافظه اينت. بوسلكه سني زحمتكلر قادرينك حكومتيدور.
 شورالر حكومتي سته علم و قوتون طرفيني كوستورور. سني رشده ينشلهر سكتيلر آيتمشدر.
 آرش ايلري اي ايشيني قادرين اوورده سنك ايجون نهميل علم و معرفت ايسنگه ميدان وار.
 شورالر حكومتي اولادلك هوز دنيايه كهدهن يه اونك قديره قائلر اولرلك مستو
 ملائيرلر ايجون چارهلر دولتورورور.
شورالر حكومتي سنك اولادلك محافظيدور اي ايشيني قائلر!
 شورالر حكومتي سنك اولادلك سنيك ايجون منزل خانلر و سكتيلر نهمير ايدورور. اوسني
 خانه اسارتدن آزاده و الههك و طهينه سنك سنك ايجون پارلاق دوروش بريجات اوله سني آرزو
 ايدورور. بوسونك سني ده شورالر حكومتك سنك ايشيني ايشلرده برياديسي اولور سنك شورالر
 حكومتك زياتده اولادلك سكرتور قومونست جمهوريتك سرست و طهه شلري اوله چلر دور.
 خطرنگه آلي قادرين علمه يوز دنيا يوزنده: حمتكلر و سرست و سكرتورون سكرتور شورالر حكومتيدور.
 خانلر، سكرتور، ايجون سني اسكي اساره قائلر سني استور اولرلك شورالر حكومتي ميدان و بيرديور.
 شورالر حكومتي شياطيني قورمي اوورده تشكيلي ايشلدر كه تونلر زور خانلر و بكنره قارشي
 محاربه و آتري محاربتك سنك اوجانته راضلر و روسون. تونلر اولرنگه شورالر حكومتي
 ايجون چايش و سواستيايه اي زمينكلر قائلر! تون دنياك و آزاديچاكت تون خانلر بگر
 و زور خانلرلر انجاد ايدرلك عامي زمينكلر و صهار اللهن حكومتي آلتق ايجون تونلر قورشي
 ميدانه كتررر. همارايه آلله و بيرديور تون دنيايه اي كاسينك آلد ايراضي يو ككت دوت!
 سني همه و زمينكلرلك بر فرج و نيك، آرزوك كدره سنكدر و سكرتور و سواستيايه سنك
 آرزوك مقدرين سنك طرفايه اولر اي ايشيني قورشي قائلر اي ايشيني قائلر!
 باشسون شورالر حكومتي و برون دنيا قومونست ايتلر!

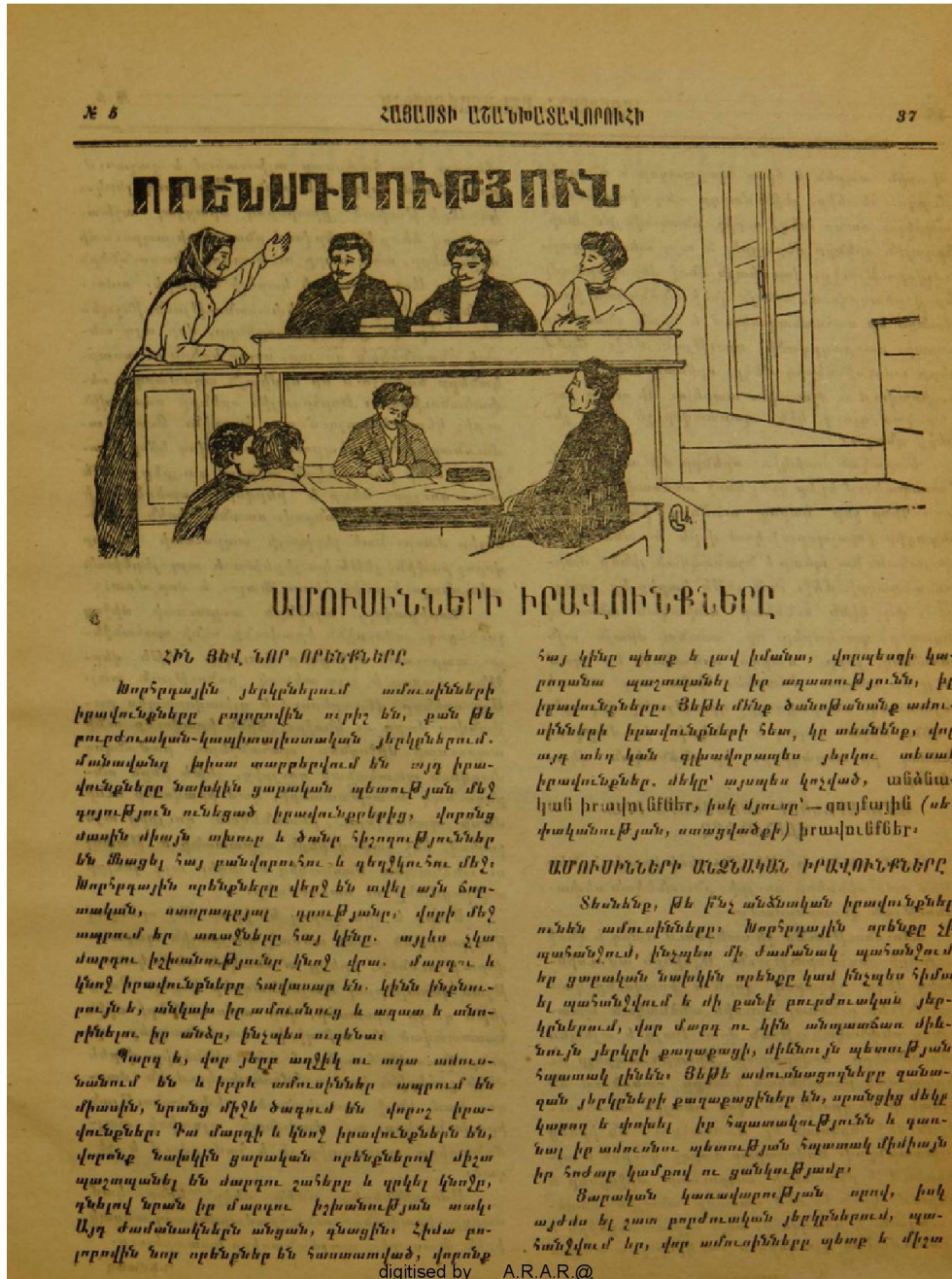
A 1921 Soviet poster published in Baku. Taken from: <https://papahastories.ru/plakaty-sovetskogo-kavkaza/>.

The text underneath reads in Russian and Azerbaijani in Arabic script:
 “Female Muslim Workers! The tsar, beks, and khans were depriving you of your rights. You were a slave in the state, a slave in the factory, and a slave in the family.
 The Soviet power gave you rights equal to everyone. It broke the chains confining you.
 So cherish the power of workers and peasants. It is also your power, female worker! [...]”

Activity 9. The Rights of Spouses

Part 1. Study the following page from the Journal “Female Worker of Armenia”.

Source 17. A page from the Journal “Female Worker of Armenia”.



A page from the November 1924 issue of the Journal “Female Worker of Armenia”. Taken from: <http://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Hayastamianshxatavoruhi/1924/5.pdf>

The text reads:

“The Rights of Spouses

In the Soviet countries, the rights of spouses are very different from the bourgeoisie-capitalist countries. These rights are especially different from those in the tsarist country that have left only sad and heavy memories in the minds of Armenian female worker and peasant. [...]

Those times have passed. Now completely new laws are in place, and the Armenian woman should know them to be able to protect her freedom and rights.

There are two types of rights for spouses – personal and property rights.

[...]

Unlike the previous tsarist law or the current bourgeoisie law of some countries, the Soviet law does not require for spouses to be citizens of the same country or subjects of the same state. If the spouses have different citizenship, one of them can change it and become a subject of their spouse's country only by free will and freedom.

[...]

The previous tsarist law had another limitation on the wife. The wife could not have a separate passport or any identification. She had to be marked in her husband's passport. And if there was a need for a separate passport, it could happen only through the agreement of the husband. This sort of shameful and humiliating law has been removed.

[...] the previous tsarist law recognized all property as that of the husband. [...] In case of a divorce, a divorcing wife has the rights to the property if it has been obtained through joint work, receive her own share, and if there is a child, a share also for the child, and the child has to stay with the mother.” (Ամուսինների իրավունքները [The Rights of Spouses] 1924)

Part 2. What does the illustration on top of the article depict? What are some of the messages of the article? Who has rights of custody for a child in case of a divorce around 1924? Do you think this law was fair or discriminatory? Discuss your ideas in class or in writing.

Activity 10. The Double Burden. Combining Labor and Family

Part 1. Read the following excerpt from an article titled “The Soviet Woman — a Full and Equal Citizen of Her Country” by Alexandra Kollantai written in 1946.

“From the very beginning, Soviet law recognized that motherhood is not a private matter, but the social duty of the active and equal woman citizen. This proposition is enshrined in the Constitution. The Soviet Union has solved one of the most important and complex of problems how to make active use of female labor in any area without this being to the detriment of motherhood.

A great deal of attention has been given to the organization of public canteens, kindergartens, Young Pioneer camps, playgrounds and creches – those institutions which, as Lenin wrote, facilitate in practice the emancipation of women and are able, in practice, to reduce the female inequality vis-a-vis men. [...]

The Soviet state provides increasing material assistance to mothers. Women receive allowances and paid leave before and after the birth of the child and their post is kept open for them until they return from leave.

[...]

Our women have mastered professions that have long been considered the exclusive domain of men. There are women engine-drivers, women mechanics, women lathe operators, women fitters, well-qualified women workers in charge of the most complex mechanisms.

The women of the Soviet Union work on an equal footing with men to advance science, culture and the arts; they occupy an outstanding place in the national education and health services.

[...]

The women of the Soviet Union are implementing their political rights in practice. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has 277 women deputies, while 256 thousand women have been elected to rural, urban, regional and republican organs of state power...

The women of the Soviet Union do not have to demand from their government the right to work, the right to education, the right to the protection of motherhood. The state itself, the government itself, draws women into work, giving them wide access to every sphere of social life, assisting and rewarding mothers.” (Kollontai 1946)

Part 2. How does the author present the possibility of combining motherhood as “the social duty” of a mother with labor? Research Alexandra Kollontai’s life and the historical context in which the article was written. How are the views expressed in this article on the role of women in society at odds with her previous ideas on women’s liberation?

Activity 11. The International Women's Day

Part 1. Study the following page from the Journal "Female Worker of Armenia".



A page from the November 1924 issue of the Journal "Female Worker of Armenia". Taken from: [http://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Hayastanishxatavoruhi/1973/1973\(3\).pdf](http://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Hayastanishxatavoruhi/1973/1973(3).pdf).

The text reads:

“The motors have just turned off, and Lyudmila, Zinaida, and Emma are coming down the stairs. They often accompany us from country to country through the sky roads. This time they have brought you, Armenian women, greetings from the renowned, diligent, honest and heroic women of our Union.

[...]

My Armenian women-friends in combat and in times of peace, it is easy for me, a heroine-pilot of the Soviet Union, to send you a greeting via the female flight attendants. I am not a major in reserve, but when I used to fly to bombard the positions of the enemy and would meet our airplanes, I used to move the wings of the airplane up and down with the hope that the other pilot might also be a woman. Who knows? Perhaps I was waving to Armenian female pilots.

[...]

Greetings for the day, my Armenian sisters! Greetings from the piece of blue sky conquered by women!

With love and pride for you,

Nadezha Fedutenko

Kiev, March 8, 1973” (Ձեզ նղշույն ենք բերել [We Have Brought you Greetings] 1973)

Part 2. On the occasion of which holiday is the author congratulating women in Armenia? Why do you think the Journal published letters written by women from the other Soviet Socialist Republics? At this time, what were some of the women’s professions? What are the messages that they convey to the women in Armenia? What does the symbol on the left side of the page depict?

Activity 12. Passports for Women!

Create a Soviet-style poster to advocate for passports for married women. What are advantages and disadvantages of owning a passport? Present your poster in class or describe its message in writing.

Recommended Further Sources for Lesson 4.2

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