

**MARKETING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY: DOMESTIC
PRODUCT ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE OTTOMAN MARKET**

by
ANIL KÜÇÜKTAKA

Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Sabanci University
July 2025

**MARKETING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY: DOMESTIC
PRODUCT ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE OTTOMAN MARKET**

Approved by:

Prof. T  LAY ARTAN
(Thesis Supervisor)

Assoc. Prof. SEL  UK AK  IN SOMEL

Assoc. Prof. YUSUF DO  AN   ETINKAYA

Date of Approval: July 22, 2025

ANIL KÜÇÜKTAKA 2025 ©

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

MARKETING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY: DOMESTIC PRODUCT ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE OTTOMAN MARKET

ANIL KÜÇÜKTAKA

History, M.A. Thesis, July 2025

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Dr. TÜLAY ARTAN

Keywords: national economy, advertising, consumer culture, nationalism, Ottoman
press life

This study examines the role of advertising in promoting the discourse of the National Economy in the Ottoman Empire during the Second Constitutional Era (1908–1914). Drawing on newspapers and magazines, it analyzes how advertisements served as a platform for advancing economic nationalism, encouraging the consumption of domestic goods, and supporting Muslim–Turkish entrepreneurship. Rather than depicting the National Economy solely as a state-driven project, the research highlights its bottom-up expressions and manifestations in everyday life, where individual consumer choices and commercial messaging reflected and reinforced the aspiration for economic self-sufficiency. The study also traces the shift in tone and priorities from the early years of the Second Constitutional Era—when a genuine desire for coexistence shaped public discourse—to the post-Balkan Wars period, when changing political and social dynamics redefined the role of advertising in the service of a more exclusive nationalist agenda. The findings show that advertising functioned not only as a commercial tool but also as a political and cultural instrument, shaping consumption patterns and contributing to the nation-building process.

ÖZET

MILLİ EKONOMİNİN PAZARLANMASI: OSMANLI PAZARINDA YERLİ ÜRÜN REKLAMLARI

ANIL KÜÇÜKTAKA

Tarih, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Temmuz 2025

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. TÜLAY ARTAN

Anahtar Kelimeler: milli iktisat, pazarlama, tüketim kültürü, milliyetçilik,
Osmanlı basın hayatı

Bu çalışma II. Meşrutiyet dönemi (1908–1914) Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Millî İktisat söyleminin yaygınlaştırılmasında reklamcılığın rolünü incelemektedir. O dönemin gazete ve dergilerini inceleyerek reklamların ekonomik milliyetçiliği teşvik etme, yerli malı tüketimini özendirme ve Müslüman–Türk girişimciliğini destekleme açısından nasıl bir mecra işlevi gördüğü analiz edilmektedir. Millî İktisat yalnızca devlet yönelimli bir proje olarak ele alınmak yerine gündelik hayatta aşağıdan yukarıya doğru ortaya çıkan yansımaları ve bireysel tüketim tercihleri ile ticari mesajların ekonomik bağımsızlık arzusunu nasıl güçlendirdiği vurgulanmaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca II. Meşrutiyet’in ilk yıllarında kamusal söylemi şekillendiren samimi bir birlikte yaşama arzusundan Balkan Savaşları sonrasında değişen siyasi ve toplumsal dinamiklerin reklamcılığı daha dışlayıcı bir milliyetçi gündemin hizmetine sokmasına kadar yaşanan dönüşümü de ortaya koymaktadır. Bulgular, reklamcılığın yalnızca ticari bir araç değil, aynı zamanda tüketim alışkanlıklarını biçimlendiren ve ulus inşa sürecine katkıda bulunan siyasi ve kültürel bir araç olduğunu göstermektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my thesis advisor, Tülay Artan, for her significant contribution to the preparation of this thesis. Throughout the entire process, her attentiveness and expertise provided me with invaluable feedback. I am also deeply grateful to my esteemed professors, Selçuk Akşin Somel and Yusuf Doğan Çetinkaya, for reading my thesis and offering their valuable input. Thanks to their critiques, my thesis has reached its final and best form.

The years of my master's studies and thesis writing have been a challenging journey. Like every young person who wishes to remain in academia, there was not a single day when I did not think about uncertainty, concerns about the future, and financial difficulties. Yet I was fortunate to have friends who stood by me during this difficult time, making it possible for me to spend the best three years of my life, despite academia itself. I would like to begin by acknowledging the friends I gained through music. I thank Umut Sümer for exploring every corner of Istanbul with me and joining me on countless culinary adventures. Without our eight-year-long friendship, I doubt I would have loved this city as much as I do. I am also grateful to Altay Bayraktar and Mert Gül for making my childhood dream of forming a progressive rock band a reality. The concerts we performed as “Progtet” will remain unforgettable moments in my life. Friendships that began with music blossomed into deep and lasting bonds. That was the greatest reward of these past four years.

Next, I would like to thank the people I met during this period—the only real gift academia has given me. To Furkan Elmas and Işıl Sevimli from my Boğaziçi University History cohort, I am grateful for the engaging discussions we shared because without them, I might never have developed such an appreciation for the discipline of history. I am equally thankful to my master's cohort—Bahadır Yolcu, Fatih Zeybek, Fırat Köklü, and Sarp Kalay. Going through this demanding process together has brought us much closer. I owe special thanks to Fırat, who patiently listened to the countless academic dreams I shared and went above and beyond to help me with my PhD applications.

Lastly, I would like to thank my childhood friends and neighbors, Algin Poyraz Arslan, Bora Yorguncu, Burak Tufan, and Nurettin Kerem Özsoy. Knowing that I always had doors to knock on, and sharing countless joyful nights at the Ortabayır

coffeehouse, brought me happiness throughout this process. I also wish to thank Kerem in particular for his support in planning my post-academic life.

I am grateful to TÜBİTAK for providing financial support during this period, which allowed me to focus on my thesis with peace of mind. I also extend special thanks to my dear friend Murathan Sinan, who acted as my guarantor when I received this scholarship. Without him, I might have even considered abandoning this thesis altogether.

And now, to the most important part—my family. To my father, Atilla Küçüktaka, who instilled in me a love for reading and research and has always stood by me throughout my education, to my mother, Gülcan Küçüktaka, who has sacrificed everything for us and whose emotional support I have always felt, to my greatest comrade and friend, my brother, Arda Küçüktaka, and finally, to my late grandmother, Güler Küçüktaka, whose memory has always been a source of strength and inspiration. Without them, this thesis could never have been written. They are its true owners.

To my beloved family and friends

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZET	v
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Scholarship on the National Economy in the Ottoman Empire.....	6
1.2. Scholarship on the Advertisements in the Ottoman Empire	10
1.3. Research Questions and the Aims of the Thesis	13
1.4. Theoretical Framework and Methodology	15
1.5. Sources.....	17
1.6. Overview of the Chapters.....	19
2. INVENTING THE NATIONAL MARKET: ADVERTISING AND ECONOMIC IDENTITY BEFORE THE BALKAN WARS	22
2.1. Liberty, Nation, and Homeland	24
2.2. The Absence of Domestic Goods	32
2.3. Austrian Boycott	34
2.4. Austrian Boycott on Advertisements	37
2.5. Aftermath of Austrian Boycott	43
2.6. Advertisements of Domestic Joint Stock Companies.....	45
2.7. Marketing, Localization, Differentiation	50
2.8. Ottoman Cigarette Paper Advertisements	51
3. THE POINT OF NO RETURN: THE RADICALIZATION OF NATIONAL ECONOMY DISCOURSE IN OTTOMAN ADVERTISING	58
3.1. The Balkan Wars and the Loss of Ottoman Europe	59

3.2. Migration, Demographic Transformation, and the End of Ottomanism	61
3.3. The New Discursive Framework of Advertisements	64
3.4. “Wake Up, Turks!”: Advertisements Inviting the Turkish/Muslim El- ement into Commerce.....	75
3.5. Women in National Economy Advertisements	83
3.6. Children in National Economy Advertisements	91
4. CONCLUSION	97
4.1. Returning to the Research Questions	99
BIBLIOGRAPHY	103

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Grant McCracken's figure about movement of meaning	16
Figure 2.1. Advertisement section of a newspaper.....	23
Figure 2.2. A Karagöz cartoon highlighting the inadequacy of domestic products	34
Figure 2.3. A cartoon of an Ottoman captain who refused the lifesaver offered by the Austrian captain at the cost of his life.....	36
Figure 2.4. Salih Erimez's cartoon	39
Figure 2.5. A cartoon showing the desire of personal enterprise in the Ottoman society's mind	48
Figure 2.6. Advertisement of Hamidiye Hejaz Railway Cigarette Paper ...	52
Figure 2.7. Advertisement of Bafra Cigarette Papers	53
Figure 2.8. Advertisement of Hürriyet ve Adalet Cigarette Papers.....	56
Figure 3.1. Cartoon of the split rowboat	64
Figure 3.2. Sedat Simavi's cartoon	71
Figure 3.3. Cartoon of Süleyman Beyzade Nihat Terzihanesi	81

1. INTRODUCTION

In April 1913, an article was published in *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women’s World), one of the most prominent women’s magazines of the time. Atiye Şükran, a member of the magazine’s founding team, fiercely criticized Nestlé:

These will be eaten by our own children, we will feed them with our own hands! This company sweet-talks our taste buds and pulls money from our pockets! Oh dear God, what strange creatures we are! As I said, what an idle nation we are. We are giving the money in our pockets—quite a lot of it—to a foreign company that has absolutely nothing to do with us. Don’t we have any doctors, any people who love their country and its children? Even if it’s not like Nestlé—it can’t happen all at once—a small company could do the same job... Let it do it, so we can buy from them instead.¹

Although Nestlé, an “Anglo-Swiss Milk Company (1905), was the main target of Atiye Şükran’s article, it was only one of many foreign companies operating in the Ottoman market. Numerous other foreign brands, just like Nestlé, were marketing the latest European goods to consumers in Ottoman cities. What Atiye Şükran and many other writers of the period repeatedly emphasized in various platforms was the inability of local products to compete with foreign goods, and the growing dominance of imported products in the market.² The concerns of Atiye Şükran and her contemporaries are confirmed years later by Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu in his memoirs about his childhood: “Among the groceries I carried home from the market were American flour and Russian sugar cones... I remember my father looking for French leather and calico to have shoes and clothes made, German fabric because it was cheaper than the others, and an Austrian fez to cover my head...”.³

1. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 26, 29 April 1913

2. Mustafa Orçan, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü* (Kadim Yayınları, 2004), 94.

3. Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu, *Devirden Devire I* (Bilgi Yayınevi, 1974), 281.

Indeed, the calls of writers like Atiye Şükran Hanım did not go unanswered. For example, in July 1914, an advertisement in the newspaper *Şehbal* announced the opening of *Ertuğrul Mağazaları* (Ertuğrul Stores) in Fatih, proudly declaring that Ottoman women interested in European fashion no longer needed to shop at foreign stores.⁴ Although owner of Ertuğrul Stores were Turkish, as the name suggests, some of the products they sold came from Europe. However, the change had begun. The advertisement sections of many newspapers and magazines started to be filled with announcements for businesses that had Turkish names, identified themselves as Turkish or Muslim-owned, or explicitly stated that they sold only locally produced goods.

This process of economic transformation was not limited to the 20th century. Starting from the first half of the 19th century, as a result of trade agreements signed between the Ottoman Empire and Western powers, the Empire's customs barriers were effectively dismantled. Consequently, mass-produced consumer goods from Europe flooded the Ottoman market.⁵ In response to these developments, many Ottoman intellectuals began to discuss and criticize the situation on various platforms. Novels, plays, and short stories portrayed Ottoman society as being overwhelmed by foreign goods. From the second half of the 19th century onward, as newspapers gained a more prominent place in public life, they too became key platforms for these debates.⁶ In many of their articles, Ottoman intellectuals posed the same urgent question like Atiye Şükran: how could the country be saved from this economic dependency?

For a long time, the answer to this question aligned with the ideas of classical economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo. The laissez-faire school—which advocated for a free market economy, minimal state intervention, and a global division of labor—greatly influenced both Ottoman intellectuals and foreign thinkers residing in the Empire. Alexandre Blacque, who first published *Le Spectateur* in Izmir and later founded *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the first official Ottoman newspaper, and David Urquhart, a contributor to *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, passionately defended free trade and an economy based on agricultural and raw material exports as the ideal model for the Ottoman Empire.⁷ Although neither of these figures were Ottoman citizens, liberal economic thought retained its dominance within the Empire for quite some time. This intellectual influence was further cemented by the fact that

4. *Şehbal* 100, 15 July 1914

5. Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrimüslimler: Kapitülasyonlar, Berath Tüccarlar, Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarları (1750-1839)* (Turhan Kitapevi, 1983), 9.

6. Orçan, *Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü*, 94.

7. Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisat ve Kapitalizm*, trans. Onur Gayretli (Heretik Yayıncılık, 2023), 64–67.

economics courses at the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*, the leading institution for educating the future Ottoman bureaucrats, diplomats, and intellectuals, were taught by staunch defenders of liberal economics such as Sakızlı Ohannes and Mikael Portakal.⁸

Although liberal economic theories maintained their influence and popularity in the Ottoman Empire throughout much of the 19th century, toward the end of the century, opposing views gradually began to emerge. The inability of local producers to compete with foreign manufacturers, the growing trade deficit year after year, and the writings of intellectuals like Yusuf Akçura and Musa Akyiğitzade—who were well-versed in the political economic debates taking place in Russia—led to increasing doubts about whether liberal economics was the right path for the Ottoman economy.⁹ The final blow to this paradigm came with Germany’s rapid industrialization, which eventually surpassed even Great Britain in industrial output. Germany’s success, which followed the nationalist economic policies of Friedrich List who strongly criticized Adam Smith and David Ricardo, boosted the popularity of List’s ideas in the Ottoman Empire. According to List, every country has its own path to development. Therefore, if Germany were to develop, it could not follow the British model but would instead have to rely on strong state intervention, high tariff protections, and support for infant industries.¹⁰

While debates on the foundations of the economy continued at full speed, a major political transformation occurred in 1908. Sultan Abdulhamid II’s 32-year-long autocratic regime came to an end. Mounting economic problems, foreign policy failures, and growing public resentment against decades of repression culminated in a revolt by a revolutionary organization—*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress (Hereafter referred to as CUP))—which took to the mountains in July and succeeded in restoring the constitutional regime and the 1876 constitution.¹¹ After the revolution, the CUP became a political party and seized power, ushering in a new era in Ottoman economic history through the economic policies it implemented. Although the CUP initially adhered to liberal economic principles in the early years of its rule, the turbulent and disastrous years that followed shifted the balance of power both within the party and in the broader public sphere toward supporters of Friedrich List’s protectionist and nationalist political economy. This period in Ottoman economic historiography is commonly referred to as the era of

8. Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, “Milli İktisat’ın 19. Yüzyıldaki Kökleri,” in *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisadi Düşünce ve İktisat Tarihi*, ed. Seven Ağır and Alp Yücel Başkaya (İmge Kitabevi, 2023), 71.

9. Ahmet Deniz Bozkurt, *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişimi: Liberal ve Milli İktisat Yaklaşımlarının Etkisi* (Gazi Kitabevi, 2020), 255.

10. Hüseyin Safa Ünal, “Friedrich List, Ziya Gökalp and the National Economy Thesis in the Ottoman Empire” (Master Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2013), 12–34.

11. Donald Quataert, “The Economic Climate of the ‘Young Turk Revolution’ in 1908,” *The Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979): 1147–1161.

the *Milli İktisat* (National Economy).¹²

At the same time, the traumatic years that followed did not only transform economic principles, but also redefined who was considered “national.” During the optimistic period between the 1908 Revolution and the Balkan Wars, non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire were still seen as part of the Ottoman nation.¹³ Thus, they were included within the framework of the National Economy. However, following the Balkan Wars, these non-Muslim communities came to be regarded as internal enemies and in this new context, the implementation of National Economy policies marked the beginning of efforts to construct an economy centered around a Turkish/Muslim identity, and all available resources were mobilized toward this goal.¹⁴ The state actively used its political power by passing laws to establish a national economy, while simultaneously taking concrete steps to elevate the position of the Turkish/Muslim population within the economic sphere. Moreover, intellectuals of the time also played a significant role in shaping the ideological spirit of the National Economy. Chief among these efforts was the aim to instill an entrepreneurial spirit in the Turkish/Muslim segment of society. No longer were children encouraged to grow up to be pashas or high-ranking bureaucrats. Instead, they were to become merchants. A Turkish/Muslim child who succeeded as a trader or established a business was now seen as a national hero, one who would rescue the homeland and the nation from economic dependence.¹⁵

Thanks to the implementation of National Economy policies after the 1908 Revolution and the elimination of non-Muslim elements from the economic sphere, one of the Ottoman economy’s most pressing issues, capital accumulation, had begun to be partially resolved. Yet this was far from the only problem. Another major challenge was that domestic entrepreneurs were significantly less experienced in the field of marketing compared to foreign companies. As early as the second half of the 19th century, foreign firms had recognized the role of newspapers in marketing and had begun investing substantial budgets to fill them with advertisements.¹⁶ Even though these advertisements were often simple, mundane, and unremarkable, they never-

12. Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918* (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2023), xvii.

13. Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities: Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908-1918* (University of Utah Press, 2014), 47 For the reflection of this transformation in newspapers, Duygu Koç, “II. Meşrutiyet’ten İggale: Osmanlı Kadın Dergilerinde Gayrimüslimlerin İzini Sürmek,” *OTAM*, no. 45 (2019): 187–208

14. Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 11.

15. Nicole A.N.M. van Os, “From Conspicuous to Conscious Consumers: Ottoman Muslim Women, the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi, and the National Economy,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6, no. 2 (2019): 116.

16. Hamza Çakır, “Osmanlı Dönemi İlk Türkçe Gazetelerde Reklam (1828-1864)” (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 1996), 22.

theless solidified the market dominance of foreign companies to such an extent that they were frequently mentioned in the literary works of the time.¹⁷ Moreover, over time, these rudimentary advertisements became increasingly striking, eye-catching, and localized. They even began employing incentive-based strategies such as promotions and coupons, gradually resembling modern-day marketing techniques.¹⁸

On the other hand, although some Ottoman intellectuals who recognized the impact of advertising on economic success attempted to encourage domestic entrepreneurs to advertise through their writings, it was rare to come across such advertisements prior to the 1908 Revolution.¹⁹ While this absence was often attributed to the supposedly traditional mindset of Ottoman entrepreneurs, the core issue was the weakness of local production itself.²⁰ Over time, the lack of advertising by Ottoman businesses became such a pressing concern that the economic dominance of foreign products was increasingly attributed solely to the power of their persuasive advertising.²¹ Although this reflects an overly reductionist perspective, it nevertheless underscores just how influential advertisements had become in the public imagination. Numerous newspaper articles from the period describe how foreign brands allegedly deceived the “naive” Ottoman people through sophisticated advertising and marketing campaigns, thereby managing to sell low-quality goods and secure their position in the market.²² In an article published in *Kadınlar Dünyası*, Emine Seher Ali, the writer who frequently contributed to the journals like *Kadınlar Dünyası* openly stated that Turkish/Muslim citizens did not even know where the national shops were located. As a result, since Ottoman consumers were unaware of the locations, offerings, and prices of these local stores, they were compelled to shop at heavily advertising foreign stores, causing Ottoman money to flow into Western hands.²³ The only viable solution for domestic entrepreneurs, shops, and firms was to advertise just as extensively and aggressively as their foreign counterparts.

All these developments indicate that advertising in Ottoman society evolved beyond being merely an economic tool and began to take on ideological and cultural functions as well. Especially after the Second Constitutional Era, advertisements did not merely promote products. They embedded values such as homeland, nation, and liberty within those products, thereby transforming consumption into a political and moral act. Therefore, this study approaches advertisements in the

17. Kılınçoğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisat ve Kapitalizm*, 334.

18. Yavuz Köse, “Nestlé in the Ottoman Empire: Global Marketing with Local Flavor 1870–1927,” *Enterprise & Society* 9, no. 4 (2008): 745.

19. Orhan Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı: 1840 - 1940* (Reklamcılar Derneği, 1999), 142.

20. Zafer Toprak, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Reklâmıcılık,” *Boğaziçi*, no. 2 (1988): 26.

21. H. Çakır, “İlk Türkçe Gazetelerde Reklam,” 21.

22. Yavuz Köse, *Dersaadet’te Tüketim (1855-1923)* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2016), 359.

23. Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (Metis, 2021), 270–271.

Ottoman press following the 1908 Revolution both as historical sources and as discursive instruments that shaped the social imaginaries of the time. Its primary aim is to demonstrate that the idea of the National Economy was not confined to economic policies alone, but was also constructed through everyday life, consumption practices, and the language of advertising.

1.1 Scholarship on the National Economy in the Ottoman Empire

Since the 1960s, Ottoman historiography has developed a strong field of economic history, influenced largely by the paradigms of development and modernization. In this context, numerous historians and economic historians have focused on the economic activities of the Ottoman Empire from the 19th century onwards and have analyzed the historical development of National Economy policies from multiple angles.

The first study to be addressed in this section is Zafer Toprak's work on the National Economy, which is based on his doctoral dissertation and has been frequently referenced in the field.²⁴ In this study, which focuses on the period between 1908 and 1918, Toprak meticulously examines how the National Economy was gradually constructed by the CUP. He demonstrates how this process was deeply intertwined with the state and how the economic structure was reshaped through protectionist models. In this context, he provides a comprehensive analysis of the exclusion of non-Muslim elements from economic life and the state-led creation of a new national bourgeoisie rooted in Turkish/Muslim identity. In another work of him, Toprak also sheds light not only on state policies, but also on the economic ideas of the period's intellectuals.²⁵ By tracing how economic discourse was shaped through articles published in contemporary newspapers, he offers a holistic perspective on Ottoman economic thought. In addition, although he has addressed issues such as consumption habits and advertising in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods, he has primarily approached these topics within the framework of Western economic hegemony.²⁶ Since our study adopts a different analytical framework, it will make limited use of these works.

Of course, this literature would be incomplete without the contributions of figures such as Donald Quataert, Korkut Boratav, Şevket Pamuk, and Charles Issawi.

24. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*.

25. Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Ekonomi ve Toplum (1908-1950) İttihat-Terakki ve Devletçilik* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995).

26. Zafer Toprak, "Tüketim Örüntüleri ve Osmanlı Mağazaları," *Cogito*, no. 5 (1995): 25-28.

Quataert's research on Ottoman production structures reveals that, despite Western economic dominance, Ottoman entrepreneurs demonstrated resilience in certain sectors.²⁷ These findings offer a more balanced view in contrast to the common narrative of a collapsed Ottoman industry and highlight the economic resistance that may be seen as a precursor to the National Economy period. In another study, Quataert examines public reactions against foreign companies through case studies, showing that this resistance began well before the 20th century.²⁸ Boratav, on the other hand, not only uncovers the historical roots of statist policies, but also analyzes their long-term impact, presenting a comprehensive panorama of state economics in Turkey that extends into the 21st century.²⁹ The works of Quataert and Boratav are particularly valuable for understanding Ottoman resistance to the West and the attempts to formulate an indigenous economic model.

While Quataert and Boratav emphasize Ottoman resistance to the West, economic historians like Pamuk and Issawi focus on the weakening of the Ottoman economy as a result of integration with the West and its long-term consequences. Pamuk's studies on the last 200 years of the Ottoman economy³⁰ and Issawi's analyses of deindustrialization and subsequent recovery³¹ provide significant contributions to the macro-level understanding of Ottoman and Middle Eastern economic history. When read together, their works allow the Ottoman economic structure to be understood not merely as a story of decline, but also of transformation and adaptation. Much of the quantitative data and statistical evidence used in this study is drawn from the comprehensive analyses offered by these scholars, thus strengthening the empirical foundation of this research.

Another important contribution to the literature on the National Economy has been the recognition that this idea did not emerge solely in the early 20th century, but instead has much deeper roots. While Toprak situates the beginning of the National Economy after the 1908 Revolution, research conducted over the past decade has shown that the idea existed within the intellectual world of the Ottoman bureaucratic elite, such as Penah Efendi, Ratib Efendi, and Behiç Efendi, as early as the late 18th century. One of the most notable studies on this topic is the edited volume by Seven Ağır and Alp Yücel Başkaya. In this work, economic historians trace the historical foundations of the National Economy through 19th century Ottoman

27. Donald Quataert, ed., *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950* (State University of New York Press, 1994).

28. Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Avrupa İktisadi Yayılımı ve Direnişi 1881 - 1908*, trans. Sabri Tekay (İletişim Yayınları, 2021).

29. Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908-2015* (İmge Kitabevi, 2023).

30. Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914* (İletişim Yayınları, 2005).

31. Charles Philip Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914* (University of Chicago Press, 1980).

bureaucracy, offering detailed analyses of the transformations in economic thought during this period.³² A key contribution to this intellectual continuity comes from Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, who focuses on the press and intellectual circles of the Abdülhamid II era. Kılınçoğlu demonstrates that the idea of a National Economy was not confined to the state level, but also found resonance in public discourse and was widely debated.³³ Meanwhile, Ahmet Deniz Bozkurt examines the economic perspectives of the ideologues of the CUP, particularly analyzing how Ziya Gökalp's interest in Friedrich List shaped the mental framework of Ottoman political economy.³⁴ Collectively, these studies make it clear that the idea of the National Economy did not suddenly appear in 1908, but rather emerged from a long-standing intellectual tradition. Moreover, by highlighting how economic ideas permeated both elite thought and public consciousness, these works also reveal the broader societal dimensions of the National Economy ideal. Since advertisements draw heavily on prevailing social values and collective aspirations, they serve as a critical site for observing how the ideals of the National Economy were internalized, negotiated, and reproduced within everyday life.

Another recent orientation that has advanced the literature on the National Economy involves a shift in focus from the state and intellectual elites toward the general population. Recent studies have revealed that not only production but also consumption was an integral part of this process, and they have taken a closer look at the consumption practices of different classes, genders, and age groups within Ottoman society. In this context, the works of Nicole A.N.M. van Os³⁵ and Elisabeth Frierson³⁶ demonstrate how Ottoman women supported the National Economy after 1908 by altering their consumption habits and boycotting foreign goods. Moreover, women's contributions were not limited to their roles as consumers. During the war years, they also participated as producers through women's associations and the women's press.³⁷ Cüneyd Okay, for his part, has drawn attention with his studies focusing on children's education and social mobilization. In one of his articles, Cüneyd Okay analyzes the relationship between two children's magazines. The journal *Çocuk Dünyası* (Child's World), which was close to the nationalist *Türk Yurdu*, A nationalist magazine that began publication in 1911, harshly criticized *Çocuk*

32. Seven Ağır and Alp Yücel Kaya, eds., *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisat İktisadi düşünce ve iktisat Tarihi: Eyüp Özveren'e Armağan* (İmge Yayınları, 2023).

33. Kılınçoğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisat ve Kapitalizm*.

34. Bozkurt, *İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişimi*.

35. Os, "From Conspicuous to Conscious Consumers," 590–591.

36. Elisabeth Frierson, "Mirrors Out, Mirrors In: Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's Magazines," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (State University of New York Press, 2000).

37. Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Müstehlik Değil Müstahsil: Osmanlı Müslüman Kadını ve Millî İktisat," in *Osmanlı*, vol. 3 (Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999).

Duygusu (Child's Emotion), owned by an Armenian liberal, for failing to comply with the Austrian boycott and for publishing advertisements for Austrian stores.³⁸ His work points to a period in which publications featuring advertisements for foreign brands were labeled as "toxic," and texts in languages other than Turkish were deemed unacceptable. This study is also significant in that it stands as one of the earliest examples of analyzing advertisements within the framework of the National Economy.

Another important area that contributed to the strengthening of the National Economy discourse and the mobilization of Ottoman society was the widespread use of boycotts. The literature on this subject has been gradually expanding and deepening. Yusuf Doğan Çetinkaya stands out as one of the pioneering scholars in this field. In his work, he examines in detail the boycotts organized against Austrian goods in the aftermath of the 1908 Revolution, as well as the social mobilization these campaigns triggered. Çetinkaya demonstrates how Austrian products, such as fezzes, clothes, sugar, and military equipment, now seen as "enemy goods", lost their appeal, while domestic goods gained in symbolic and economic value.³⁹ In another study, he argues that boycotts were not only directed at external enemies but were also employed against non-Muslim Ottoman citizens, marking the beginning of an "economic nationalization" process.⁴⁰ Similarly, the studies of Feyza Kurnaz Şahin⁴¹ and Hasan Taner Kerimoğlu⁴² on the boycotts of Greek goods offer valuable insights into the attitudes of Turkish/Muslim Ottomans toward their non-Muslim counterparts. These works show that, despite the state's explicit opposition, the public persisted in maintaining the boycott campaigns. This persistence illustrates that the National Economy was not merely a state-driven project but also a powerful grassroots movement led by civil society.

38. Cüneyd Okay, "İki Çocuk Dergisinin Rekabeti ve Müslüman Boykotağı," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 8 (1997): 42–45.

39. Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu: Bir Toplumsal Hareketin Analizi* (İletişim, 2004).

40. Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *Osmanlı'yı Müslümanlaştırmak: Kitle Siyaseti, Toplumsal Sınıflar, Boykotlar ve Milli İktisat (1909-1914)* (İletişim, 2015).

41. Feyza Kurnaz Şahin, "İzmir ve Havalisinde Amerikan Singer Manufacturing Company'ye Karşı Boykot Hareketi (1910-1911)," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 37, no. 1 (2022): 305–331.

42. Hasan Taner Kerimoğlu, "1913–1914 Rumlara Karşı Boykot ve Hüseyin Kazım Beyin Bir Risalesi," *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 5, no. 13 (2006): 91–107.

1.2 Scholarship on the Advertisements in the Ottoman Empire

Although a rich and increasingly expanding literature has developed on the National Economy, the same level of depth and diversity is not yet visible in studies on advertising in the Ottoman Empire. In Ottoman historiography, advertisements have generally been treated as secondary sources, often discussed only briefly within broader press history studies, rather than being approached as independent subjects of research. As a result, comprehensive works that analyze Ottoman advertising within its historical context and link it to the cultural, economic, and ideological dynamics of the period remain quite limited.

One of the key scholars contributing to the study of advertising in the Ottoman Empire is Yavuz Köse. His book, which focuses on the history of advertising and corporate marketing strategies, offers an important perspective to the field.⁴³ Köse examines the marketing activities of global corporations such as Nestlé and Singer within the Ottoman context, analyzing the interactions between these companies and Ottoman society. Rather than presenting Ottoman society solely as a passive victim of globalization, his book highlights local responses and counter-strategies developed by domestic entrepreneurs. In addition to his broader analyses of marketing and consumption patterns, Köse also undertakes case studies focusing on specific firms, which help illustrate the material dimensions of macroeconomic changes.⁴⁴ Overall, his work demonstrates that the evolution of consumer culture in the Ottoman Empire was shaped not only by external economic pressures but also by the agency of local actors and internal cultural dynamics.

Another important work on the history of advertising in the Ottoman Empire belongs to Hamza Çakır. In his doctoral dissertation, Çakır investigates the earliest newspapers of the Ottoman press and the advertisements they published, using a chronological approach.⁴⁵ This method is quite effective in revealing the formal development of Ottoman advertising. However, the study remains largely descriptive and does not offer a deep analysis of the ideological or discursive dimensions underlying the advertisements. Nevertheless, given the lack of other academic works that engage with early Ottoman press advertisements in such a comprehensive manner, Çakır's dissertation stands out as an important contribution that fills a gap in the literature. It is also notable for clearly demonstrating that the field of Ottoman

43. Köse, *Dersaadet'te Tüketim (1855-1923)*.

44. Yavuz Köse, "Nestlé: A Brief History of the Marketing Strategies of the First Multinational Company in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Macromarketing* 27, no. 1 (2007): 74–85, another work of him, Köse, "Nestlé in the Ottoman Empire"

45. H. Çakır, "İlk Türkçe Gazetelerde Reklam."

advertising was almost entirely dominated by foreign companies before the rise of the National Economy. In this respect, the study provides a valuable reference point for understanding how local production and entrepreneurship began to emerge from a significantly weak foundation.

In addition to Köse and Çakır, Orhan Koloğlu has also made important contributions to the literature with his numerous reference works on Ottoman advertising and press history.⁴⁶ What distinguishes Koloğlu from other researchers is his approach to advertising not merely as part of newspaper content, but also in terms of its institutional and structural development. His studies focus on topics such as the founding of the first domestic and foreign advertising agencies, pricing policies, techniques used, and technological developments in the field. Moreover, Koloğlu's deep knowledge of Ottoman press history enables him to provide rich background information not only about the content of advertisements, but also about the ideological orientations of the newspapers, the political positions of their owners, and the competitive dynamics of the period's press market.⁴⁷ For this reason, his work serves as an important guide for understanding advertisements not only textually but also within their structural and political contexts.

Given that this study focuses on the post-1908 period, it is essential to include a discussion of Ahmed Emin Yalman's doctoral dissertation in the literature review. In his 1914 dissertation at Columbia University, Yalman analyzes the Ottoman press not only as a tool for disseminating information, but also as a measure and vehicle of Ottoman modernization.⁴⁸ He especially examines the role of the press in the formation of public opinion, offering important insights into the relationship between the press and citizenship. One of the most remarkable aspects of his work is the original data and statistical findings he presents about newspapers of the time. Even today, many studies still cite Yalman's findings as reference points. Moreover, Yalman was the first researcher in Ottoman studies to use surveys as a method. Through a field study conducted in Istanbul, he analyzed newspaper reading habits and the level of interest readers had in newspaper content. The survey also included questions about advertisements. In the 1913 study, 70 of the 120 respondents stated that they always read the advertisements, 37 said they read them most of the time, and only 13 said they read them occasionally.⁴⁹ These findings clearly show that the advertisement sections of newspapers were no longer viewed as secondary content,

46. Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı*.

47. Orhan Koloğlu, *1908 Basın Patlaması* (Bas-Haş Yayınevi, 2005), another work of him, Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın* (İletişim Yayınları, 1992)

48. Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Modern Türkiye'nin Gelişim Sürecinde Basın 1831-1913*, trans. Birgen Keşoğlu (İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018).

49. Ibid., 136.

but rather as actively followed segments by the contemporary readership.

Beyond these, the works of Mehmet Emin Yardımcı, Sema Yılmaz Genç, and Duygu Süloğlu are also important in that they shed light on the economic dimensions of advertising.⁵⁰ These researchers offer successful examples of economic history by examining the early economic reflections in advertisements and demonstrate how advertising in the Ottoman Empire functioned not only as a cultural tool, but also as an economic discourse. By analyzing the historical development of advertisements, they reveal how Western economic hegemony and mass production were idealized in the Ottoman market and how this idealization was transformed into marketing strategies. Furthermore, by determining the economic value of the advertised products, they contribute to our understanding of the consumption structure and value hierarchy of the period.

Finally, there are also studies within the literature on Ottoman advertising that focus on specific themes or specific newspapers, and these works have filled important gaps. For example, Ayşe Hanife Kocakaya's study on *Tanin* newspaper is particularly noteworthy in showing how advertisements intersected with political discourse.⁵¹ Kocakaya analyzes the types of advertisements published in *Tanin*, which was considered the unofficial organ of the CUP, and provides a typology of the content featured. Similarly, the joint study by Nil Sarı, Gülten Dinç, and Ayten Altıntaş does not focus on a single newspaper, but rather on a thematic area—pharmaceutical and medical advertisements. This work closely examines advertisements in the health sector, which expanded rapidly after the Second Constitutional Era, and sheds light on the competition between local and foreign pharmaceutical companies.⁵² At the same time, it offers valuable insight into the modernizing Ottoman society's search for health, its modes of accessing medical knowledge, and the growing skepticism toward foreign medicines.

50. Sema Yılmaz Genç, Mehmet Emin Yardımcı, and Duygu Süloğlu, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Reklamın Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Ekonomiye İlk Yansımaları," *Sosyal Bilimler Metinleri*, no. 1 (2017): 86–104.

51. Ayşe Hanife Kocakaya, "Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde Reklamcılık Anlayışı ve 1908-1909 Tanin Gazetesi Örneği," *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences* 15, no. 1 (2016): 119–148.

52. Ayten Altıntaş, Gülten Dinç, and Nil Sarı, "1910-1928 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Eski Harfli Reklamlarda Türk Müstahzaratçılığı," *Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999)*, 85–106.

1.3 Research Questions and the Aims of the Thesis

As this literature demonstrates, advertising in the Ottoman Empire remains a field that has received limited scholarly attention, both in historiography and in economic history, despite its considerable potential. In particular, there is a notable lack of studies that link the content of advertisements with broader ideological, cultural, and socio-political contexts. This study aims to contribute to filling this gap. It seeks to show how advertising, often perceived as a mere commercial activity, was in fact deeply intertwined with multilayered ideological discourses in the post-constitutional period, including the National Economy, patriotism, ideals of citizenship, and identity construction. From this perspective, this study approaches advertisements not merely as reflections of production-consumption relations, but also as tools to decipher the mental world of the period.

Accordingly, the first central question of this study concerns how domestic products were presented to the Ottoman consumer. In other words, it asks whether the advertisements of these products emphasized only their commercial utility or also carried deeper ideological and cultural meanings. Within this framework, it examines how values such as "domestic goods," "national production," and "patriotic consumption," which marked the post-1908 period, were represented in advertising texts and what kinds of themes they were associated with. Thus, advertisements will be evaluated not only as promotional or informative content, but also as discursive instruments that circulated particular values tied to the political and cultural climate of the time. The study will explore what meanings were assigned to the products, what images and concepts they were associated with, and through which discourses they were presented to consumers. Therefore, this research aims to make visible not only an economic transformation through the lens of advertising, but also its cultural dimensions and the processes of value production associated with it.

The second central question posed in this study concerns how the concept of consumer citizenship developed and transformed after the 1908 Revolution. According to this concept, shared consumption practices are understood not merely as economic behaviors but also as formative elements of political and cultural belonging.⁵³ In this respect, the notion of consumer citizenship provides a powerful theoretical framework for understanding which values and behavioral patterns shaped the new national identity that was being constructed in Ottoman society after 1908. Through

53. Derya Ozkan and Robert John Foster, "Consumer Citizenship, Nationalism, and Neoliberal Globalization in Turkey: The Advertising Launch of Cola Turka," *Advertising & Society Review* 6, no. 3 (2005): 5.

the lens of advertising, the study will seek to answer the question of what and how the “ideal” Ottoman citizen was expected to consume, and how these consumption patterns aligned with the notion of consumer citizenship. In doing so, the focus will be placed on the consumption practices of different social classes within Ottoman society, and how these patterns evolved and changed over time will be explored.

An important extension of this question involves the inclusiveness of the consumer citizenship framework: to what extent did this framework remain expansive, or did it become increasingly exclusionary over time? In other words, who was considered “national” within the context of the National Economy? The optimistic ideal of unity that emerged in the aftermath of the 1908 Revolution was accompanied by a desire to bring together various ethnic and religious groups under a common economic roof.⁵⁴ However, following the Balkan Wars, this rhetoric of unity was swiftly abandoned. Products produced by non-Muslim Ottoman citizens were no longer regarded as “local” or “national,” and these communities were excluded from the framework of consumer citizenship. This shift marks one of the most important points of divergence between the Ottoman understanding of the National Economy and Friedrich List’s model, as the Ottoman version increasingly intertwined national identity with religious affiliation.⁵⁵ In this context, the study also aims to investigate which producers and products were labeled as national, and which were positioned outside of this imagined economic identity.

The third and final question of this study is whether the policies of the National Economy were embraced solely by supporters of the CUP, or whether they found broader societal acceptance. Of course, an advertisement published in a newspaper does not always directly reflect that newspaper’s political orientation. Nonetheless, during this period, advertising choices often carried significant political and ideological meaning, resonating strongly in public discourse. One striking example is the stoning of a shop window simply because it featured an advertisement in French clearly illustrates how a message perceived as contradicting dominant values could provoke intense societal backlash.⁵⁶ By examining the advertisement sections of newspapers with different ideological backgrounds, this study seeks to analyze how these newspapers approached the National Economy policies.

The first key argument of this study is that one of the defining political and social orientations of the post-1908 era was the aspiration for a National Economy. So

54. Ahmad, *the Ottoman Nationalities*, 47 and Toprak, *Türkiye’de Ekonomi ve Toplum*, vii

55. According to List, one major cause of Spain’s economic decline was its lack of religious and political tolerance, exemplified by the expulsion of Muslims and Jews. Seven Ağır, “Milli İktisattan Önce Milli İktisat: Osmanlı Merkantalizmi?,” in *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisadi Düşünce ve İktisat Tarihi* (İmge Kitabevi, 2023), 49

56. Köse, *Dersaadet’te Tüketim (1855-1923)*, 380.

much so that even publications openly opposed or hostile to the CUP did not shy away from publishing articles supporting National Economy policies or featuring advertisements for domestic products. The second central argument is that, up until the Balkan Wars, non-Muslim groups were genuinely regarded as part of the National Economy. This means that the early vision of the National Economy was initially based on a more inclusive economic imagination that encompassed all Ottoman citizens. The atmosphere of hopeful unity brought by the 1908 Revolution fostered an economic ideal in which every ethnic and religious group could contribute to the homeland through production and consumption. However, following the demographic, political, and ideological ruptures caused by the Balkan Wars, this inclusive vision narrowed significantly, and the discourse of the National Economy increasingly came to center exclusively on the Turkish/Muslim population. However, until then, non-Muslims were also involved in the national economy and emphasized that they were local and national in the advertisements they gave.

1.4 Theoretical Framework and Methodology

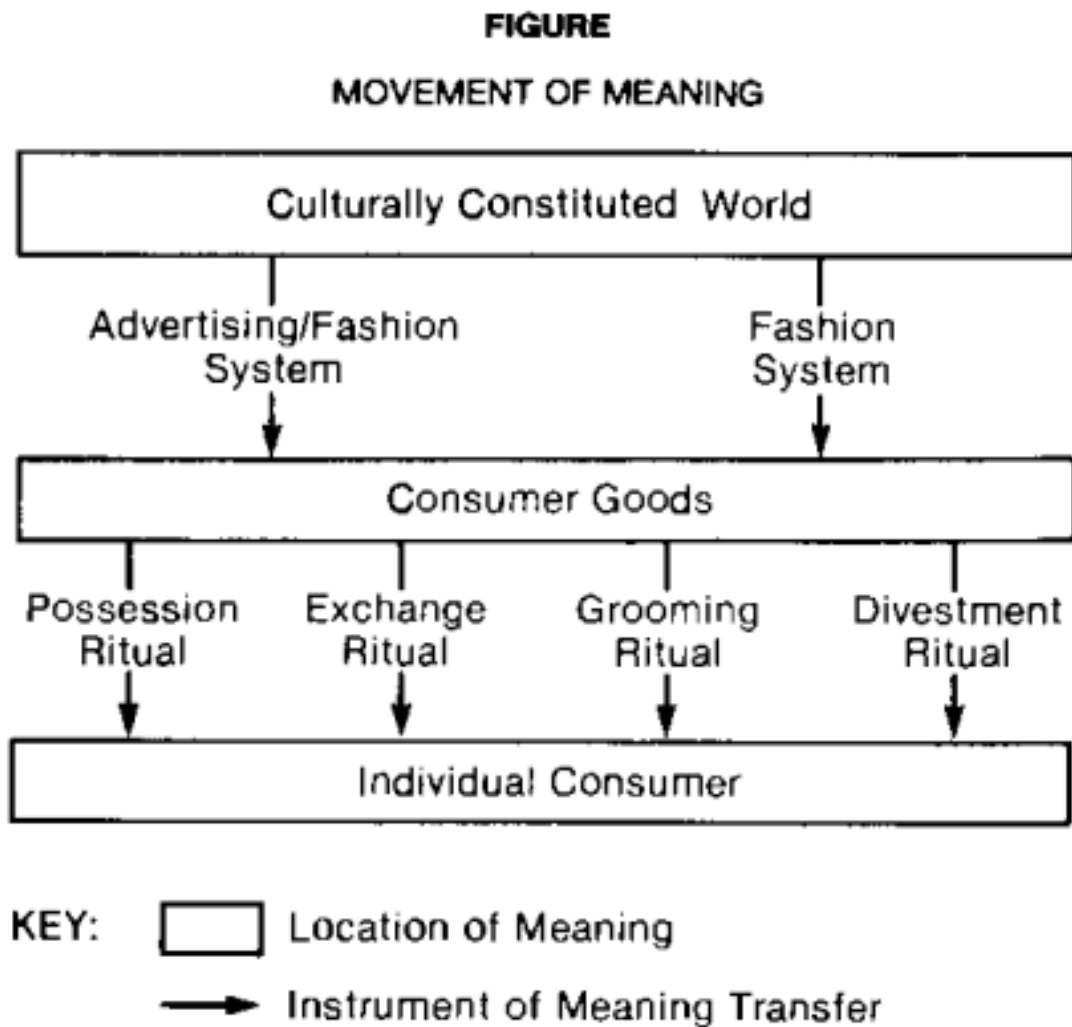
The reason why we examine advertisements lies in the belief that advertisements more directly reflect the economic and cultural tendencies of the public. While the discourses of politicians often present ideological ideals, advertisements are closely tied to the everyday life of the period. They make visible how concepts such as products, values, and identities were perceived by society and circulated in the public sphere. In this sense, advertisements are approached not merely as marketing texts but also as historical documents that provide deep insights into the mental world of the era.

The theoretical foundation of this study lies in the intersection between the approach of cultural history and that of New Historicism. Both perspectives emphasize analyzing texts not solely based on their content but also in relation to the context in which they were produced. New Historicism argues that literary or cultural texts (in our case, advertisements) should not be examined only for their aesthetic or formal qualities, but also for their historical and ideological dimensions.⁵⁷ In this light, advertisements are not merely commercial texts, but also ideological documents that reflect the values, social priorities, and processes of identity construction of their time.

57. H. Aram Veesser, "Introduction," in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veesser (Routledge, 1989), ix-xvi.

Within this framework, Grant McCracken's model on the relationship between culture and consumption forms the study's primary theoretical lens. According to McCracken, consumer goods are not only functional objects but also cultural carriers. Advertisements make the invisible cultural values embedded in these products visible and render them meaningful to consumers.⁵⁸ This perspective is especially useful for demonstrating that the National Economy was not only an economic policy but also a cultural ideology constructed through consumption habits. In this study, advertisements will be analyzed to explore how the discourse of the National Economy was conveyed through consumer goods.

Figure 1.1 Grant McCracken's figure about movement of meaning



Additionally, advertisements will be examined through the lens of Roland Barthes'

58. Grant McCracken, "Culture and Consumption: A Theoretical Account of the Structure and Movement of the Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods," *Journal of Consumer Research* 13, no. 1 (1986): 71–84, ISSN: 1537-5277, 0093-5301, accessed August 13, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1086/209048>, <https://academic.oup.com/jcr/article/13/1/71/1814669>.

mythology framework. According to Barthes, cultural objects from everyday life carry meanings that appear natural but are, in fact, deeply ideological. The images, colors, expressions, and value judgments used in advertisements reproduce the social imaginary of the time. Within this context, concepts such as “homeland,” “national product,” “local enterprise,” and “service” are re-coded with ideological meanings.⁵⁹ This enables us to explore the extent to which the language and visual world of advertisements reflected national versus universal values.

The methodology employed in this study is largely based on discourse analysis. Advertisements will be analyzed in terms of how they were articulated within the political and cultural discourses of the period. Particular attention will be paid to how constructs such as the “ideal consumer,” the “ideal citizen,” and the “national entrepreneur” were built and reinforced. Furthermore, these theoretical approaches will be applied not only to the content of the advertisements themselves, but also in relation to the ideological positions of the newspapers in which they were published. The ways in which the same product was advertised differently in different newspapers will shed light on both the diversity of advertising language and the inclusiveness (as discussed in the first chapter) or exclusiveness (as seen in the second) of the National Economy discourse.

1.5 Sources

This study aims to examine how different political groups, ideological perspectives, genders, and age groups shaped both their consumption practices and their interpretations of the National Economy. Therefore, the advertisement sections of newspapers and magazines that addressed these various social segments constitute the primary sources of this research. Fortunately, the period between the 1908 Revolution and the First World War is one of the most prolific and pluralistic phases in the history of the Ottoman press. Following the proclamation of the Constitution, numerous newspapers and magazines were launched, and the press became a vital platform through which diverse political and social groups voiced their opinions.⁶⁰ However, this era also brought considerable political turbulence. Due to frequent censorship, shutdowns, and political pressure, many newspapers had very short life spans, some ceasing publication before even reaching their tenth issue.⁶¹ Therefore, in selecting the newspapers included in this study, we considered not only the ide-

59. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (The Noonday Press, 1972), 109–116.

60. Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*, 54.

61. *Ibid.*, 55.

ological or social groups they represented but also their publication continuity and the accessibility of their archives. This approach aimed to enable both a qualitative and comparative analysis.

Within this context, three major newspapers of the post-constitutional press, *Tanin*, *İkdam*, and *Serbesti*, form the backbone of this study. These newspapers were selected not only for their relatively long publication periods but also for the political diversity they represent, offering a reflection of the pluralistic press landscape of the time. *Tanin* was known for its close ties to the CUP and was often considered the semi-official mouthpiece of the organization.⁶² Its owners were CUP members, and throughout its publication, the newspaper supported the political and economic views of the committee, particularly its vision of the National Economy. In contrast, *Serbesti* consistently took a critical stance against the CUP. The newspaper's owner, Hasan Fehmi Bey, was assassinated by individuals believed to be affiliated with the CUP, clearly illustrating the depth of political tension.⁶³ Emphasizing liberal values, *Serbesti* leaned toward a free-market approach in economic matters. Analyzing how *Serbesti* engaged with the state-centric and protectionist foundations of the National Economy, and comparing the advertisements published in *Tanin* and *Serbesti*, offers valuable ground for comparative analysis. The third newspaper, *İkdam*, adopted a more moderate and relatively neutral editorial stance compared to the other two. Nevertheless, its primary readership consisted of the Muslim middle class.⁶⁴ Reaching high circulation numbers and carrying a large volume of advertisements, *İkdam* stands out as a crucial source for this study.

As previously mentioned, this study also includes newspapers and magazines aimed at women and children in order to expand the scope of National Economy literature and analyze the consumption practices of these groups. In this context, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, launched during the Balkan Wars, is particularly notable for its emphasis on Turkish/Muslim identity and its rhetoric that actively integrated women into economic nationalism.⁶⁵ It serves as a valuable source for understanding the role assigned to women in the societal transformation of the period. On the other hand, *Çocuk Dünyası* stands out with its rich archive on children's consumer culture. During the Austrian boycott, this newspaper publicly criticized a children's magazine for publishing an advertisement for an Austrian company.⁶⁶ This indicates that chil-

62. Hıfzı Topuz, *Türk Basın Tarihi: II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere* (Remzi Kitabevi, 2003), 83.

63. Koloğlu, *1908 Basın Patlaması*, 130.

64. Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*, 54.

65. Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Ottoman Women's Reaction to the Economic and Cultural Intrusion of the West: The Quest for a National Dress," in *Dissociation and Appropriation Responses to Globalization in Asia and Africa*, ed. Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, Ellinor Schöne, and Petra Heidrich (Walter De Gruyter, 1999).

66. Okay, "İki Çocuk Dergisinin Rekabeti."

dren were no longer seen as passive consumers, but as politically aware actors in tune with the atmosphere of the time.

Finally, in addition to textual sources, this study also incorporates visual materials, particularly satirical magazines such as *Karagöz*, *Cem*, and *Kalem*, which were among the most popular periodicals of the time. The rationale behind this inclusion lies in the cartoons' ability to influence and mobilize society, much like advertisements. Especially during the Austrian Boycott discussed in Chapter One, these magazines, similar to advertisers, strongly promoted the use of domestic goods and the ideals of the National Economy, seeking to rally the public.⁶⁷ At the same time, these publications provide a wealth of visual material reflecting the political and social agenda of the time. In a society with low literacy rates, symbolic and visual expressions enabled communication with much wider audiences. For all these reasons, cartoons are considered not only sources that reflect public opinion trends but also vital cultural documents that supported and reinforced the visual language of advertisements.

1.6 Overview of the Chapters

This study is composed of two main chapters. The first chapter focuses on the period between the 1908 Revolution and the Balkan Wars. Two defining characteristics of this era are the insufficiency of domestic production and the lack of capital accumulation. Accordingly, it is not surprising that advertisements from this period prioritized cultural productions—such as theatrical performances, patriotic marches, and books—over the direct promotion of consumer goods. The first part of this chapter analyzes how these cultural works were marketed and which of the new value systems introduced by the Constitutional Era were emphasized in these advertisements. Special attention is given to how themes such as liberty, nation, and patriotism were reflected in the language of advertising. Secondly, the chapter examines the transformation in advertising discourse within the context of the Austrian Boycott, which emerged after Austria's annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here, the framing of consumption practices as a “national duty” and the construction of the ideal Ottoman consumer figure are discussed. Emphasis is placed on how advertisements evolved from being purely commercial texts to becoming instruments for fostering political consciousness. The chapter then explores how the lack of sub-

67. Tobias Heinzelmann, *Osmanlı Karikatüründe Balkan Sorunu: 1908 - 1914*, trans. Türkis Noyan (Kitap Yayınevi, 2004).

stantial capital led to the absence of institutional solutions such as banking, and how small investors instead turned to forming joint-stock companies. In this process, newspaper advertisement sections became platforms of mobilization, a kind of space where entrepreneurs not only called for investors but also sought broader public support. The language and values used by these local entrepreneurs to promote their companies through advertisements are analyzed in detail. Finally, the chapter addresses how the increasingly competitive Ottoman marketplace led both domestic and foreign firms to differentiate themselves in their advertising strategies. Cigarette paper advertisements are highlighted as one of the richest sources through which this competition can be directly observed. The chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of various cigarette paper brands, examining how they distinguished themselves in both form and content, and what strategies they employed to establish consumer trust.

The second part of the thesis analyses how the structural transformation experienced by Ottoman society after the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 was reflected in advertising discourse. It begins by acknowledging that these wars represented not only military and territorial losses, but also a turning point that led to the decline of Ottomanism and the consolidation of Turkish/Muslim identity. Post-war migrations, ethnic cleansing and population movements resulted in a profound change to the demographic structure of Ottoman society, giving rise to a more homogeneous social base. Against this backdrop, the concepts of 'nation' and 'citizen' took on new meanings, with non-Muslims systematically excluded and the construction of a national bourgeoisie becoming an ideological and economic priority. In this context, the section focuses on the significant changes that advertising discourse underwent after the Balkan Wars, despite its foundations being laid in the previous period. Advertisements no longer merely promoted domestic goods or showcased cultural values, but also explicitly urged participation in a national struggle. During this period, consumption went far beyond individual responsibility and was presented as proof of national identity, a measure of loyalty and a practical manifestation of 'patriotism'. Furthermore, during this period, the language, symbols and emotional imagery used in advertisements acquired a militaristic, collectivist and exclusionary character unlike anything seen before. The ideal consumer was not just someone who used domestic goods, but someone who consciously boycotted enemy goods, supported national brands, and declared this preference as a political stance. Next, we discuss who this new discourse is aimed at and which social groups it is trying to mobilise. In this context, the invitation of the Turkish/Muslim male population to participate in commercial life, the invitation of women to take on national responsibilities in terms of production and consumption, and the shaping of children as

the next generation of national citizens are evaluated. Advertisements are not only economic tools, but also ideological texts that convey and perpetuate the cultural codes of this new social order. In conclusion, this chapter reveals the functional role played by advertisements in the national reconstruction of post-war Ottoman society, and how they served as a medium through which identity, the economy and citizenship were redefined. The analysis demonstrates the unique archival value of advertisements in understanding how the discourse of the national economy permeated everyday life.

2. INVENTING THE NATIONAL MARKET: ADVERTISING AND ECONOMIC IDENTITY BEFORE THE BALKAN WARS

On 23 July 1908, with the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era, Ottoman society entered into one of the most rapid processes of change in its history. After 32 years of absolute monarchy under Abdülhamid, the constitution was reinstated, elections were held across the country and parliament was reconvened. One of the main issues discussed in the first session of parliament was the removal of restrictions on the press.¹ The press, which had been subject to severe censorship and bans by the Abdülhamid regime for many years, was now able to speak freely.

All these changes created a strong wave of optimism in Ottoman society and among its intellectuals. The oppressive regime of Abdülhamid was now over and there was no obstacle to the Ottoman people living together in friendship and brotherhood. Two cartoons that reflect this optimistic mood capture the atmosphere of the time. In the cartoon in the 3rd issue of *Kalem* magazine, an Ottoman officer is shown waking up from his bed because of the noise made by the European powers and the Balkan states, symbolising that the "sick man of Europe" has woken up.² In the same issue, we see the great powers of Europe gathered for a funeral. The corpse in the coffin is none other than the "Eastern Question".³ Thanks to the liberty brought by the Second Constitutional Era, the belief that the Ottoman peoples could live together has been strengthened, and therefore there is no more such thing as the "Eastern Question".

With the lifting of these press bans, 730 applications for broadcasting licences were submitted in the first seven months of the Second Constitutional Era. Thanks to the freedom of the press, the number and circulation of newspapers increased exponentially, bringing an unprecedented dynamism to the Ottoman press. The daily circulation of the flagship newspapers of the period, *İkdam*, *Sabah* and *Tanin*, exceeded 50,000 copies. So much so that a copy of the newspaper, which normally sold

1. Koloğlu, *1908 Basın Patlaması*, 91.

2. *Kalem* 3, 17 September 1908

3. *Kalem* 3, 17 September 1908

for one *guruş*, now found buyers for up to forty *guruş*.⁴ Moreover, with the increase in circulation, the number of advertisements placed in newspapers also increased rapidly, and the advertising sector ceased to be a simple source of extra income and became a sector in its own right. As a result, the first advertising agency in the Ottoman Empire was established in 1909 to meet the demand.⁵ Newspapers began to devote the last pages, sometimes even the last two pages, entirely to advertisements and grouped this section under the heading '*ilanlar/ilanat*' (advertisements). Thus, readers who wanted to browse through the advertisements could easily keep track of popular items, cultural activities and books by looking at the advertisement section on the back page of the newspaper.

Figure 2.1 Advertisement section of a newspaper



In this part of the study, we will examine the advertising sections of newspapers published during the period from the Second Constitutional Era to the beginning of the Balkan Wars. The aim is to analyse which themes advertisers highlighted, how their perspective on domestic goods changed, and what strategies different brands used to differentiate themselves from other brands. Issues of *Tanin*, *İkdam*, and *Serbesti* were selected for this analysis. We chose these newspapers not only because they were the flagships of their time, but also because these magazines were close to different political views. *Tanin* remained close to the CUP throughout its life and functioned as a semi-official media organ. *Serbesti*, on the other hand, as its name suggests, followed a more liberal line and was in opposition to the CUP.

4. Koloğlu, *1908 Basın Patlaması*, 19.

5. Genç, Yardımcı, and Süloğlu, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Reklamın Tarihsel Gelişimi," 88.

Finally, *İkdam* generally tried to present a more neutral, even apolitical, policy.⁶ By examining the advertising sections of newspapers with these different political views, we will try to determine whether there is a difference in their attitudes towards national economic policies and domestic goods.

2.1 Liberty, Nation, and Homeland

The values brought by the Second Constitutional Era can be seen in the advertisements of the period. During the repressive Abdülhamid regime, these values were censored and could not be discussed in public. However, with the promulgation of the constitution, these obstacles disappeared. In a cartoon that powerfully illustrates this situation, a villager in Bursa shouts, "Long live the constitutional monarchy!"⁷ This shout is so powerful that surrounding trees, animals and even houses jump. As in this cartoon, with the changes brought about by the Second Constitutional Era, some values that had been hidden for years became the most common themes in the advertisements of the new era.

The first of these values is liberty. Ottoman intellectuals and writers saw the Abdülhamid regime as a regime of captivity and defined the constitutional monarchy as an event that freed Ottoman society from its chains. For this reason, liberty and, of course, other values were widely promoted in the advertisements of the time in an attempt to win the hearts and minds of the people.

The first works of art to deal with the theme of liberty were anthems. Many composers wrote anthems of liberty to celebrate the end of the Abdülhamid regime. The notes of these marches were transcribed by music teachers and offered for sale for various instruments. For example, in the 94th issue of *Tanin* newspaper, an advertisement decorated with olive branches, a lute and a violin announced that the notes of the liberty marches and songs composed so far could be sent even to the provinces.⁸ The imagery used in the ad reflects the symbols of the new era: the olive branch represents peace, while the lute and violin represent a blend of traditional and modern elements.

Another work of art that deals with the theme of liberty is the theatre. From the very beginning, Ottoman intellectuals saw theatre as a tool for raising awareness

6. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu*, 49.

7. *Kalem* 52, 9 September 1908

8. *Tanin* 94, 4 November 1908

and transforming the people.⁹ In the period following the Second Constitutional Era, many plays were written and performed with the aim of spreading liberty and other values. Therefore, the theme of liberty was widely used in theatre advertisements. For example, the play *Sabah-ı Hürriyet* (Dawn of Liberty), which was first performed at the *Osmanlı Milli Tiyatrosu* (Ottoman National Theatre), received great attention and received strong demands to be performed all over Istanbul.¹⁰ *Hürriyet Fedaileri* (Bouncers of Liberty), which announced in its advertisement that it would donate part of the proceeds to *İane-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (National Relief Society), is another play in which we can see the theme of liberty.¹¹ Moreover, in this way, not only the theme of liberty was emphasised, but also the theme of co-operation. We will see in later advertisements that advertisements were often used to mobilise the public to helping each other. The proceeds from various cultural events or products were donated to groups in Ottoman society who were in difficult situations. These groups usually included orphans, soldiers and women.

Another strategy of advertisements on the theme of liberty is to emphasise the struggle for this value. For example, an advertisement of the writer of *Seda-yı Mazlum* (The Voice of the Oppressed) advertisement says that he sacrificed his youth and future for the sake of liberty and was thrown into dungeons and exiled.¹² Contrary to the optimistic atmosphere of most advertisements, this one emphasises the feeling of pity. Another similar example is the advertisement for the theatre book entitled *Şeref Kurbanları* (Victims of Honor). The book is about the difficulties of an officer who served in the army before the Greek War in his struggle for liberty and honour. The activities of the officer and his friends were considered harmful by the despotic regime of Abdülhamid and led to them being tried in the court of war.¹³ Through such advertisements, advertisers adopted a marketing strategy that emphasised the emotional aspect by reminding Ottoman consumers of the darker aspects of Abdülhamid's oppressive regime.

Although the theme of liberty is used in every newspaper, the way in which it is treated differs from one newspaper to another. For example, the emphasis on the struggle against and liberation from the tyrannical regime of Abdülhamid is more specific to *Tanin*. *Tanin*'s advertisements openly criticise Abdülhamid's oppressive regime, which is not surprising for *Tanin* as it is the semi-official publication of the CUP. *İkdam* and *Serbesti*, on the other hand, avoided this harsh stance by

9. Tamer Temel, "Modernleşme Süreci Türk Tiyatrosu'nda İdeal Bireyin Temsili" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2015), 92.

10. *Tanin* 65, 4 October 1908

11. *Tanin* 65, 4 October 1908

12. *Tanin* 109, 19 November 1908

13. *Tanin* 141, 21 December 1908

adopting a more moderate policy. In their advertising section, the Second Constitutional Era was welcomed with great joy, but there was no harsh attitude towards Abdülhamid's personality. For example, in the 5097th issue of *İkdam*, there is an advertisement announcing the sale of lamp glass and calicos with the inscription 'Long live the Sultan', brought from Europe for Abdülhamid's accession celebrations.¹⁴ It is quite ironic that even the products designed to celebrate the Sultan's accession were bought from Europe, which shows the inadequacy of Ottoman industry. Apart from that, while *Tanin* published advertisements criticising Abdülhamid's oppressive rule, *İkdam* continued to mention Abdülhamid's accession festivities even after the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era. This clearly shows how advertisements reflected the political stance of newspapers.

One of the other values brought by the Second Constitutional Era was that the concept of homeland began to appear more frequently in the newspapers. Until the 19th century, in the Ottoman Empire, homeland was not seen as a piece of land that was shared by society and had to be fought for. In the early modern period, it was more likely to mean the place where an individual was born, grew up and spent most of his or her life. During this period, people generally did not travel beyond the towns and cities in which they lived, so the concept of home was not defined by a specific geographical boundary or political allegiance. It did not have a strong meaning based on origin or ancestry, like '*patris*' in Greek or '*patria*' in Latin.¹⁵ However, with the Tanzimat, and especially from the Second Constitutional Monarchy onwards, the statesmen and intellectuals of the time began to make the Ottoman people aware of their love of their homeland in order to prevent the disintegration of the empire and to unite the different ethnic communities around a common sense of homeland. During this period, the concept of homeland gradually took on a more pedagogical quality, and education and the press contributed to building a sense of patriotism in society.¹⁶

As a result of this change, concepts such as homeland, citizenship and love of homeland began to be used frequently in advertising after the Second Constitutional Monarchy. It is noteworthy that, like liberty, patriotism was also glorified with various marches in order to take root in the hearts of the people. For example, in the advertisement for the *İttihad-ı Milli Marşı* (National Union March) organised by Fehime Sultan, the daughter of Murad V, it was emphasised that this march would strengthen the sense of unity and patriotic feelings (*vatanperver*) of all Ottomans

14. *İkdam* 5097, 3 August 1908

15. Özlem Elif İşler, "The Evolution of a Concept: "Vatan" From Hometown to Shared Place" (Master Thesis, Bilkent University, 2024), 1.

16. Temel, "Türk Tiyatrosu'nda İdeal Bireyin Temsili," 109.

for their homeland.¹⁷ One of the interesting details in this advertisement is that the shop selling the tickets for the march was the Pascal and Komandinger shop. The fact that a non-Muslim shop was selling the notes of a work that symbolised Ottoman patriotism is quite significant in that it shows that different ethnic and religious communities in the empire were now seen as equal citizens of the same homeland, and that this ideal was shared by non-Muslim subjects.

Recognising this shift in attitudes, companies did not hesitate to use Ottoman citizens' love of homeland as an effective marketing tool in their advertisements. With the spread of such advertisements, almost all kinds of goods and services began to be sold with the discourse of 'serving the country', thus turning patriotic feelings into a commercial tool. For example, an advertisement for a play prepared by high school students was given with the subtitle "Participating in helping the nation is a source of pride for every conscientious and patriotic person". It was stated that the proceeds of this play prepared by young patriots would be used for the needs of the Ottoman soldiers on the border. The advertisement concluded by saying that there was no doubt that those who participated in this event would prove their love for the country and the nation.¹⁸ As we can see, going to the theatre was no longer just a cultural activity, but also began to be presented as an indicator of patriotism.

During this period, it was crucial for the survival of the empire that the concept of homeland did not remain an abstract idea in Ottoman society but was given a concrete meaning. Various initiatives were taken to strengthen the Ottomans' sense of patriotism. One of the most notable efforts in this regard was the effective use of geography and history as academic disciplines.¹⁹ Sati Bey, one of the most prominent educators of the time, summarised the situation as follows:

Geography is a crucial science to teach the body and the physical characteristics of vatan. History as a science is important to teach the spirit of vatan. These two sciences are the most important tools for the education of patriotism ... Teaching of these two sciences should be restructured to engender the love of vatan in the hearts of people.²⁰

Through these two social sciences, the aim was for Ottoman citizens to learn about the characteristics and history of the lands in which they lived and to develop a stronger sense of belonging to this geography. As this interest grew, the number

17. *Tanin* 111, 21 November 1908

18. *Serbesti* 23, 8 December 1908

19. Behlül Özkan, "Making a National "Vatan" in Turkey: Geography Education in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Periods," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 3 (2014): 457.

20. Sati Bey, *Vatan İçin Beş Konferans* (Kader Matbaası, 1913), 3.

of geography and history advertisements in newspapers increased significantly. One of the most striking examples of this relationship is the advertisement published by the *Osmanlı Coğrafya Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Geography Society). The advertisement announced that a society had been established to carry out geographical research in Ottoman lands, to collect statistics on natural resources and to establish relations with geographical committees in other countries.²¹ As advertisement shows, Ottoman society now believed that, by acting under the guidance of science, it would know its homeland like other civilised states and that it would achieve prosperity by exploiting its natural resources. At the same time, this perspective shows that in the Ottoman intellectual world after the constitutional monarchy, the homeland began to be seen not only as a sense of belonging, but also as an element of economic development and modernisation.

The most obvious reflection of the effort to concretise the Ottoman homeland in advertisements was the intensive promotion of books dealing with the historical, political and geographical characteristics of different regions of the Ottoman lands. One of the most obvious examples of the interest in such publications was the advertisement for a book on the Macedonian region. The advertisement stated that the work provided information on a wide range of topics, starting with the first Balkan rebellions, the claims of the Greek and Bulgarian states over the region, and the reforms undertaken by the Ottoman administration to ensure stability in the region.²² The popularity of books dealing specifically with the Balkans is also evident from the intensity of newspaper advertisements of the period. Nihal Nalçaoğlu explains this situation by arguing that a region only began to be defined as a homeland after it had been lost. Nalçaoğlu links this shift to the nationalist discourse of the early republican period, arguing that the concept of homeland was constructed through loss. Indeed, in the Ottoman context, homeland consciousness was most likely to be shaped by lands that were threatened or in danger of being lost.²³

In short, all these developments show that the Ottomans tried to get to know this geography better in order to turn the lands they ruled and sacrificed their lives for into a real "homeland". In this process, the concept of homeland ceased to be an abstract idea in the Ottoman mind and gained a concrete meaning by acquiring a historical and geographical identity. Accordingly, expressions such as "homeland", "patriotism" and "service to the homeland" began to appear in advertisements, and the treatment of these themes did not show any significant differences among the newspapers of the period. This also shows how the discourse of the homeland ceased

21. *Tanin* 107, 17 November 1908

22. *Tanin* 207, 27 February 1909

23. Halil Nalçaoğlu, "Vatan: Toprağın Altı, Üstü ve Ötesi," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil, vol. 4 (İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 300.

to be a purely political concept and became embedded in the collective consciousness and commercial practices of society. On the other hand, with this transformation, expressions such as 'homeland', 'patriotism' and 'service to the homeland' began to be used not only as a political and ideological discourse, but also as a powerful marketing strategy. Newspaper advertisements increasingly portrayed the buying and selling of goods and services as a 'national duty', and consumer habits were associated with and commercialised by patriotism.

With the advent of the constitutional monarchy, one of the most important values reflected in daily life, and therefore in advertising, was nation. However, during this period, the concept of nation was not limited to Turkish and Muslim identities but was based on a broader understanding that encompassed all Ottoman nations as we have discussed in introduction part. Although the idea of Ottomanism weakened over time, it is possible to see traces of this inclusive understanding of nation in advertisements from the early period of the constitutional monarchy. The intellectuals and writers of the time seem to have believed that in the environment of freedom brought about by the constitutional monarchy, all Ottoman communities, regardless of ethnicity, could live in peace within the same homeland. Therefore, Greeks, Armenians and Jews who were Ottoman citizens were also considered to have the right to be 'national'. Advertising also supported this inclusive discourse, emphasising the coexistence of different ethnic groups under the Ottoman identity and using the sense of national unity as a commercial tool.

Fortunately, during the course of the Austrian boycott, the cartoon magazine *Karagöz* published a didactic article dealing with the questions of "what is national" and "which products belong to the national economy", which we will examine in detail in the following sections of our study. According to the article, one day a person came to the magazine's administration and told Karagöz that he was obeying the boycott and not using Austrian goods. However, his real problem is that he does not know which products to use instead. Karagöz begins to make a very long list. This list includes almost everything, starting with products made in Istanbul, then moving on to goods made in other regions of the country. What is particularly striking at this point is that goods produced in regions where the majority of the population is Greek, Armenian or Arab are also included in the category of 'local goods'.²⁴ This situation shows that the understanding of the national economy after the constitutional monarchy was approached within a broader framework. Economic nationalism was defined by extending it not only to Turkish and Muslim producers, but also to all communities operating within the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

24. *Karagöz* 34, 19 November 1908

The concept of nationality was not only addressed in an economic context in advertisements but was also used as a tool to revive the national sentiments of the Ottoman people and strengthen their national unity. Theatre advertisements in particular are one of the most striking examples of this unifying discourse. For example, in a theatre advertisement published in the newspaper *Serbesti*, the title of the play was presented as 'a historical and national play'. While no information was given about the content of the play, it was stated that Ali Kemal Bey, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper *İkdam*, would hold an important conference after the play. The advertisement also said that a concert by a military band would follow the conference.²⁵ Although the theme of the play was not revealed, the focus on the play to be performed was clearly visible. A similar example can be found in another advertisement, which introduced the play "Genç Zabit" as "a national and emotional play". In this advertisement, the content of the play was conveyed more clearly: The play tells the story of a young Ottoman officer who was exiled to Yemen as a result of the oppression of the tyranny period and the journalist mechanism.²⁶ The publication of this work, which contains strong themes about the struggle for liberty, in the *Tanin* newspaper is directly in line with the political atmosphere of the time.

Another play that emphasised national feelings attracted attention in a different way. The publicity for this play, called 'Sultan Osman Gazi', announced that half of the ticket sales would be donated to Ottoman soldiers serving in Rumelia. It was emphasised that the play was "historical and national" and that a daytime performance would be organised for patriotic women and an evening performance for men.²⁷ First of all, the choice of Osman Gazi as a national value is quite striking. Although the idea of Ottomanism and the unity of the elements is defended in official discourse, the question of who has the authority to determine what is "national" becomes clear here. The selection of Osman Gazi in this context provides clues as to how the emphasis on the Ottoman past was shaped and which historical figures were highlighted in the construction of national identity. In this regard, it is important to note that, according to Şükrü Hanioglu, although Ottomanism appeared to promote an inclusive and collective identity, the symbols used to represent the Ottoman state after the 1908 Revolution were predominantly drawn from Turkish culture. This one-sided representation increasingly alienated non-Muslim communities, who felt that their own historical and cultural symbols were excluded from the emerging national narrative.²⁸ On the other hand, the organisation of a special session for women is

25. *Serbesti* 23, 8 December 1908

26. *Tanin* 143, 23 December 1908

27. *Serbesti* 34, 19 December 1908

28. M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford University press, 1995), 216.

also significant for the period. It shows that the mobilisation approach of the period was not limited to men and that women were also beginning to be seen as part of the public sphere. Encouraging women to take up theatre shows that they were positioned as both carriers of national sentiments and active participants in social transformation.

If we examine the advertisements of the early constitutional period in terms of nationality, one of the most striking elements is that the references to Ottoman ethnic groups are quite limited. While expressions such as 'English shop', 'French fabrics' or 'German crystals' are common in advertisements, it is quite rare to come across Greek, Armenian or Turkish names or products. One of the rare examples where the term 'Turkish' is used is in an advertisement entitled 'Abdülvahap: Turkish Money-changer on the Bridge in Istanbul'.²⁹ However, this advertisement does not contain any nationalist discourse; it simply mentions the services it offers and informs that it accepts orders from the provinces.

The explanation for this situation can be found in another advertisement published in the *Serbesti* newspaper. The theatre group called "*Genç Türklerin Milli Kumpanyası*" (National Company of Young Turks), which was founded under the patronage of the newspaper's editor-in-chief Hüseyin Kazım Bey, soon became "*Osmanlı İttihad Kumpanyası*" (Ottoman Union Company) with the inclusion of Greek, Armenian and Jewish theatre artists.³⁰ As stated in the advertisement, the previous name of the company was not acceptable to "some people" and this name change was made as a result of their pressure. This change of name clearly reflects the Ottoman politics of the time and the tendency to see the promotion of any particular ethnic group - including Turks - as dangerous. Indeed, Faroz Ahmad also notes that the ruling class perceived nationalist demands, including those of the Turks, as a threat to the constitutional monarchy regime.³¹ For this reason, nationalist discourses were framed not only on the basis of an ethnic group, but also in a way that included all elements within the framework of the Ottoman ideal. For this reason, it was considered risky for any group to come to the fore with an emphasis on nationality in the economic and cultural spheres, and such identities were generally relegated to the background.

29. *İkdam* 5089, 26 July 1908

30. *Serbesti* 36, 21 December 1908

31. Ahmad, *the Ottoman Nationalities*, 2.

2.2 The Absence of Domestic Goods

It is certainly no coincidence that the vast majority of the advertisements we have examined so far are for cultural and artistic events. In her study of advertisements in the *Tanin* newspaper, Ayşe Hanife Kocakaya presents a classification of the newspaper's early advertisements. Looking at this classification, it is easy to see that there are very few advertisements for domestic industrial or agricultural products.³² Most of the advertisements in *Tanin* consist of cultural activities and book advertisements that emphasise the Second Constitutional Era's values. Apart from these, advertisements for the major foreign brands operating in the Ottoman Empire at the time also occupied an important place. The situation is no different in the other newspapers we studied. *Serbesti*, which has a much smaller circulation than other newspapers and therefore receives fewer advertisements, also contains very few advertisements for domestic goods. On the other hand, *İkdam*, one of the most widely read newspapers, has managed to receive many more advertisements than other newspapers thanks to its avoidance of political stances and its large readership, but the vast majority of these advertisements are for foreign shops and products.

One of the main reasons why advertisements for domestic products were limited in Ottoman newspapers was that consumption was directly linked to production. Unlike in the European states, the consumption revolution in the peripheral countries did not result from a production revolution, but from integration into the central economies.³³ As in other peripheral countries, the growth of consumption in the Ottoman Empire accelerated in the 19th century, especially with the Baltalimanı Trade Treaty of 1838 and the subsequent customs agreements with European states. While these agreements allowed European goods to enter the Ottoman market intensively, they left domestic producers in a difficult competitive position. In the late 1830s, large-scale imports of machine-made goods from Europe began. This weakened the Ottoman handicraft system and gradually weakened the guilds.³⁴ During this period, the volume of imports increased 15-fold throughout the 19th century, while imports of basic consumer goods increased up to 100-fold.³⁵

Another important reason for the limited advertising of domestic goods is the extremely high cost of infrastructure and transport. As Korkut Boratav has shown, the cost of transporting wheat produced in Anatolia to Istanbul was higher than

32. Kocakaya, "Tanin Gazetesi Örneği."

33. Orçan, *Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü*, 9–10.

34. Quataert, "The Economic Climate," 1148.

35. Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi*, 209.

the cost of wheat imported from New York.³⁶ The main reason for this was that the Ottoman domestic market was not integrated. Oktay Yenal sums up the situation of the domestic markets at the beginning of the 20th century as follows: "The economy of a country without roads will naturally be integrated with foreign markets rather than with domestic markets through port cities".³⁷ This situation delayed the arrival of goods produced in Anatolia in the domestic market and disadvantaged domestic producers. As a result, the hegemony of foreign goods in the Ottoman market continued for many years, despite National Economy policies, and was only broken in the First World War.³⁸

In short, the limited advertising of domestic goods reflects the general economic structure of the Ottoman Empire. The inadequacy of domestic production, the weakness of distribution networks and the high cost of transport made it difficult for local producers to develop a large-scale marketing strategy. Moreover, the Ottoman domestic industry was far from meeting the basic needs of society. Therefore, we can say that advertising, which served as a bridge between production and consumption, was initially quite limited in marketing Ottoman domestic goods.

A cartoon depicting all these shortcomings in a very colourful way was published in the 25th issue of the *Karagöz* cartoon magazine. In the cartoon, Karagöz is dressed with the pots and pans at home. Hacıvat is surprised when he asks Karagöz why he is dressed like this. Karagöz replies, "Everyone insisted on domestic goods. I couldn't find any other home-made clothes at home, so I wore these".³⁹ This humorous narrative reveals the inadequacy of Ottoman industry, but also the limited economic framework within which efforts to encourage domestic production took place. However, Ottoman intellectuals would not be long in realising that this situation was unsustainable. Following the declaration of constitutional monarchy, various initiatives to strengthen domestic production and encourage industrialisation would gain momentum.

36. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 19.

37. Oktay Yenal, *Cumhuriyet'in İktisat Tarihi* (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 25.

38. Bozkurt, *İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişimi*, 168.

39. *Karagöz* 25, 22 October 1908

Figure 2.2 A Karagöz cartoon highlighting the inadequacy of domestic products



2.3 Austrian Boycott

On 5 October 1908, shortly after the declaration of the constitutional monarchy, the Austrian Empire announced that it had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. When the official loss of this region, which had been under temporary occupation since 1878, combined with Bulgaria's declaration of independence, the atmosphere of optimism created by the constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire quickly dissipated. The Ottoman government initially sought the support of the European powers to solve the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, it soon became clear that the condemnations of these states would not lead to further action.⁴⁰

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina had widespread repercussions throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Council of Ministers convened an extraordinary meeting in Istanbul to decide how to respond. However, the inadequate condition of the Ottoman army made it impossible to take military action.⁴¹ International support was

40. Sinem Gönenc, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde Avusturya Boykotu (5 Ekim 1908 – 26 Şubat 1909)," *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi* 10, no. 32 (2022): 196.

41. Erdal Yavuz, "1908 Boykotu," *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi* 5, no. 1 (1978): 163.

extremely limited and had no power to impose sanctions. In these circumstances, the only option was to negotiate with Austria. However, in order for the negotiations to be effective, a major campaign was launched in the press to call for a boycott of the Austrian economy and to turn this into a broad social mobilisation.⁴²

The boycott of Austria had the potential to provide strategic benefits to the Ottoman government in more ways than one. First, it had a high probability of exerting economic pressure on Austria without causing major damage to the Ottoman economy. While the Ottomans imported a large number of goods from Austria, exports to Austria were extremely limited.⁴³ This imbalance reinforced the idea that the boycott could be effective. In addition, the fact that Austrian goods held a significant place in the Ottoman market gave the boycott groups an opportunity to reinforce their discourse of economic independence. The boycott became not only a means of reaction, but also a platform for discussing the Ottoman economy's dependence on foreign goods.

The boycott was also important as a means of social mobilisation. In order to manage this turbulent process, the CUP, in particular, aimed to use the boycott to unite the people against an external enemy, to arouse patriotic feelings and to increase its own popularity.⁴⁴ In the process, they made intensive use of the press and propaganda tools, and the idea that the boycott was not only an economic measure but also a national stance was processed. In this way, the boycott was perceived as a movement that transformed individual consumer habits into political action.

The importance of this national attitude to the Ottomans can also be seen in cartoons of the time. In a cartoon published in *Kalem* magazine, the captain of a sinking Ottoman ship rejects the Austrian-made life preserver offered to him, saying: "Excuse me, I have to obey the boycott because I am an Ottoman".⁴⁵ This scene fully reflects the ideals of the time and the understanding of Ottomanism. Instead of defining himself through a specific ethnic identity, the Ottoman captain in the cartoon emphasises his Ottoman identity. Moreover, even when faced with death, he remains true to his decision to boycott and refuses to accept an Austrian-made life preserver. Thus, the captain becomes a figure that represents not only the idea of Ottomanism but also Ottoman national pride. Even at the cost of his own life, he saves the honour of the Ottomans by making this sacrifice for his homeland and nation.

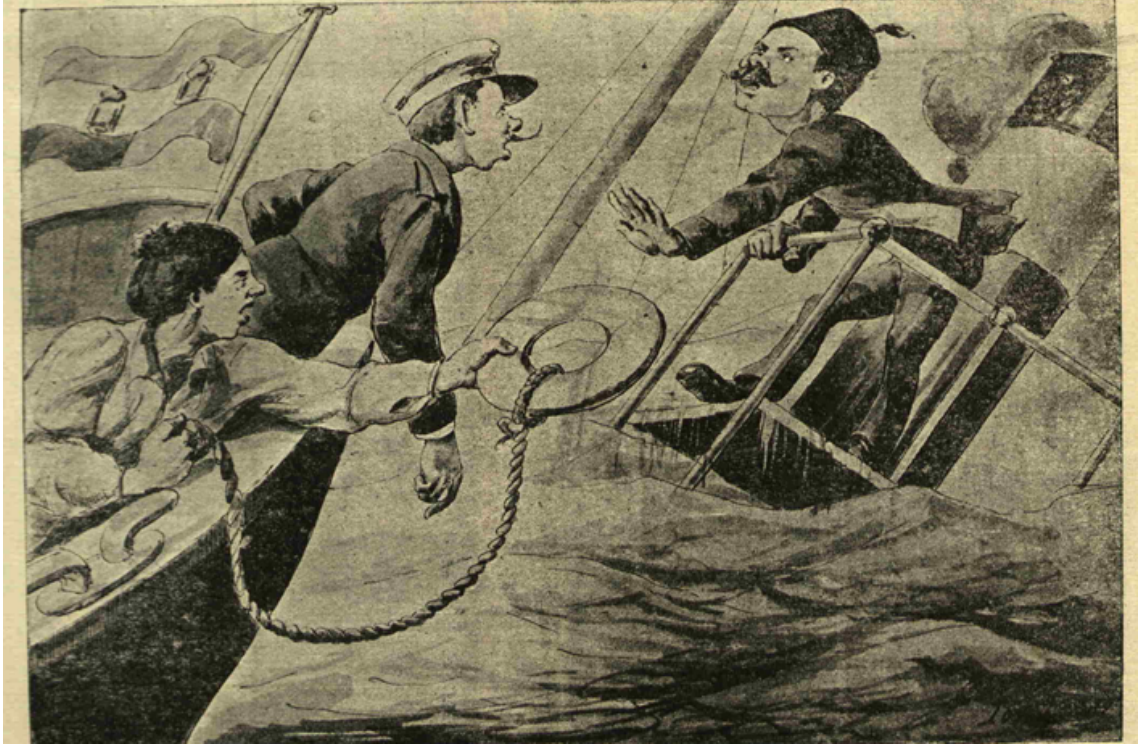
42. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu*, 103.

43. Quataert, *Avrupa İktisadi Yayılımı ve Direnişi*, 190.

44. Kurnaz Şahin, "İzmir Havalisinde Boykot Hareketi," 307.

45. *Kalem* 11, 12 November 1908

Figure 2.3 A cartoon of an Ottoman captain who refused the lifesaver offered by the Austrian captain at the cost of his life



Last but not least, the most important achievement of the boycott was to show Ottoman society the importance of using and producing domestic goods. With the start of the boycott, newspapers began to publish articles about how domestic goods were more durable and functional than foreign goods. These articles described Austrian goods as rotten and of poor quality, while domestic goods were described as durable, functional and in line with national tastes. Later, patriotic societies were formed in different parts of the country and calls were made for true Ottoman citizens to prefer domestic products over imported goods for these reasons. In fact, lists were published in newspapers showing which shops sold local goods and which sold Austrian goods.⁴⁶ It was expected that a real Ottoman would stay away from shops selling Austrian goods and go to shops selling local goods. As a result of all these developments, the demand for domestic goods in the market increased rapidly, and as a result, advertisements for domestic goods in the newspapers became much more visible.

46. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu*, 138.

2.4 Austrian Boycott on Advertisements

With the start of the boycott, a serious atmosphere of panic was created. Shops tried to explain with advertisements that they had no connection with Austria and that they definitely did not sell Austrian goods. For example, a shop called Viktor Burgeni in Beyoğlu made the following statement in its advertisement: "Attention, dear people": "Do not confuse this store with another Austrian shoe store in Beyoğlu."⁴⁷ He then went on to say that his shop was a Romanian shop, that the shoes it sold were only of English and French origin, and that these products were elegant and reasonably priced. These statements reflect the shop owner's fear of backlash and misunderstanding regarding the boycott, which was not unfounded. Although the state tried to keep events under control during the boycott, things could get ugly from time to time. For example, on 2 February 1909, people in Tikveş attacked a shop importing sugar from Austria and burned 30 sacks of sugar.⁴⁸

Another example of a shop trying to avoid a boycott was Orosdi-Back, a well-known shop at the time. The shop was boycotted by some Ottoman customers, probably because its name had German connotations. The company decided to advertise in a newspaper to get around the boycott. Interestingly, the advertisement was written in the words of the newspaper, which seems to have been a deliberate choice to gain the trust of the Ottoman citizens. The advertisement explains that this company, which has branches in different cities of the Ottoman Empire, is a French company and its headquarters are in Paris, France. To prove this, they say that this shop has an official document from the French Consulate and the seal of the Ottoman Boycott Union.⁴⁹ At that time, many companies, like Orosdi-Back, tried to prove that they did not sell Austrian goods by obtaining a document approved by the Ottoman Boycott Union in order to avoid being boycotted. Such initiatives clearly show the pressure that the boycott is putting on the shops and the efforts that the shops are making to avoid any potential damage.

The only effect of the boycott on advertising was not the efforts of the shops to prove that they had no connection with Austria. Its most important effect was the apparent increase in advertisements encouraging the use of domestic goods. As a result of the boycott, expressions such as "domestic goods" and "homeland goods" began to appear more frequently in advertisements, emphasising that patriotic Ottomans should prefer these goods. For example, an advertisement from the *Necipler*

47. *Tanin* 73, 12 October 1908

48. BOA, DH.MKT. 2727/59, (2 February 1909).

49. *Tanin* 137, 17 December 1908

Ticarethanesi (Necipler Trading Office) invites those who wish to buy Eid al-Adha and New Year gifts to visit this trading house, where the products of the Feshane and Hereke factories are sold.⁵⁰ These factories were state factories established during the Tanzimat period and became symbols of Ottoman industrialisation. Many factories opened during this period went bankrupt for various reasons and a strong local industry was not established.⁵¹ However, Feshane and Hereke in particular managed to survive and were considered the pride of Ottoman local industry during this period, as can be seen from the abundance of advertisements highlighting the products of their factories.

Another advertisement from the same shop begins with the title "Attention to Patriotic People" and continues with the subtitle "Homeland Goods". As can be clearly understood, the target audience of the advertisement is the patriotic Ottomans. The advertisement urges the Ottomans to choose all their clothes, from socks to fez, from domestic products.⁵² As in the cartoon of the captain of the Ottoman ship mentioned above, the use of domestic goods is identified with the protection of the nation and the homeland once more. In addition, the emphasis on socks and fez, in other words the expression from foot to head, becomes meaningful when we consider the 40% share of imported ready-made clothing of the period in total imports.⁵³ This ratio shows the extent to which the foreign trade deficit of the Ottoman economy could be reduced if it were replaced by domestic production.

Finally, the ad informs that the office also has a tailoring shop and that men's and women's clothes can be ordered in any style. This type of advertisement is important for the promotion of domestic goods because instead of the concept of rough and sloppy domestic goods, the advertisements tried to change these images to domestic goods that are increasingly beautiful and elegant according to the consumer's taste. Also, this emphasis shows that domestic production is not only limited to ready-made products but also has the flexibility to meet individual demands.

One of the most advertised items during this period was the fez. Ironically, the supply of fezzes, which Mahmud's clothing reforms made official for first soldiers and then all civil servants, was heavily imported. Most of the fezzes on the Ottoman market were imported from Austria. However, with the beginning of the boycott, the fez, one of the iconic pieces of the Ottoman image, was practically declared a national enemy in one day. The iconic cartoon drawn by Salih Erimez about this

50. *Tanin* 147, 27 December 1908

51. Görkem Akgöz, *In the Shadow of War and Empire: Industrialisation, Nation-building, and Working-class Politics in Turkey* (Brill, 2024), 41–60.

52. *Tanin* 111, 21 November 1908

53. Fikret Başkaya, *Paradigmanın İflası: Resmi İdeolojinin Eleştirisine Giriş* (Yordam Kitap, 2023), 238.

event shows this radical transformation of the fez very well. In the cartoon, the Ottomans throw their fez and jump on it with joy and enthusiasm. Some of them throw the fez on people's heads to the ground. It is certainly no coincidence that all this is happening in front of the kalpak shop. The shop window also has the words "Homeland Store" on it.

Figure 2.4 Salih Erimez's cartoon



As is well known, the fez was a headgear handed down to the Ottomans by Algerian sailors and was considered an element of the empire's common identity throughout the 19th century. However, the boycott movement and national sensitivities that developed after the Second Constitutional Era created the need to redefine Ottoman identity.⁵⁴ As part of this process, the kalpak gradually became the new Ottoman national headgear. Unlike the fez, this headgear, which belonged to Turkish culture, was positioned as a symbol of cultural and economic independence, replacing the fez imported from Austria. This situation can be interpreted in terms of Eric Hobsbawm's concept of the 'invention of tradition'. Hobsbawm argues that nations and communities actually create new traditions in order to connect with the past and

54. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu*, 149.

try to place themselves in a historical continuity.⁵⁵ The choice of the Osman Gazi play as the national game and the new national hat as the hat of all hats can also be seen in this context. The newspapers of the time clearly show that this process was a deliberate reinvention. *Tanin* announced this development under the title 'New fezzes for the Jön Turks', emphasising that Turkishness had acquired a central place in Ottoman identity. Although the idea of Ottomanism was to unite different nations, in practice the national was increasingly constructed from elements of Turkish culture.

As a result of all these changes, the fez, once an indispensable part of Ottoman society, is becoming less common in advertisements, while the number of kalpak advertisements is increasing. The advertisement entitled "Kalpaks of Liberty for Holiday" by the *Gülistan Ticarethanesi* (Gülistan Trading House) reflects this change quite well.⁵⁶ Ottomans are no longer wearing fez on holidays, but kalpak. This shows that kalpak is not seen as a mere substitute but will now occupy a socially and culturally important place in the new era. Another interesting point in the ad is the way kalpaks are named, which captures the spirit of the post-constitutional period. Liberty, one of the fundamental values of the Second Constitutional Era, has now been commercialised along with other values. After explaining where the trading house is in the rest of the ad, it gets straight to the point. Following the boycott of Austria initiated by the patriotic people, the trading house announces that it has purchased exceptional kalpaks for adults and children made of English and French fabrics.

Although the ad mentions the boycott, it does not emphasise domestic goods, as can be seen. It uses English and French fabrics for the kalpaks and does not neglect to add that it sells American machinery and records right after this ad full of patriotism and liberty. However, the advertisement of another shop better reflects the spirit of the new era. The fur shop founded by Kürkçübaşı Salih Efendizade states in its advertisement that they have made elegant lambskin kalpaks especially for our citizens as a result of the recent demand for fur coats by its customers.⁵⁷ We think there are two important points in this ad. Firstly, the fact that a fur shop adapted to the rapidly changing demand and immediately started producing fur coats shows that Ottoman producers were aware of the increasing demand for domestic goods. Moreover, instead of using foreign imported fabrics, as the previous shop had done, it produced directly with lambskin, i.e. with local material. Secondly, the phrase 'exclusively for our citizens' in the advertisement is noteworthy. Along with this

55. E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *Gelenegin İcadı*, trans. Mehmet Murat Şahin, OCLC: 317396175 (Agora Kitaplığı, 2020).

56. *Serbesti* 45, 30 December 1908

57. *Tanin* 97, 7 November 1908

emphasis, a more inclusive expression was preferred in the marketing of kalpaks.

As the boycott progressed, the optimism of the Ottomans increased. For example, the advertisement of *Cihan İdarehanesi* (Cihan Executive Office) is very useful to understand the Ottomans' thoughts at that moment. The advertisement begins as follows: "Thanks to the determination and perseverance of our patriotic people in the economic war they waged against Austria, they caused Austria to experience a terrible economic crisis...".⁵⁸ Of course, although the Ottoman boycott caused inconvenience to the Austrian economy and merchants, there is no source that would allow us to speak of an economic crisis. According to Erdal Yavuz's calculations, imports from Austria accounted for 18.72% of total imports of Ottoman Empire in 1907, whereas this share dropped to 12.96% in 1908.⁵⁹ However, the Ottomans seem to have exaggerated the events a little, impressed by the unity and effort of the people.

Another cartoon, reflecting the euphoria of the moment, shows two Austrians catching flies in an empty Stein store.⁶⁰ According to this cartoon, which refers to the Turkish expression "fly hunting", the Austrian shops were empty because Ottoman society would not go to Austrian shops no matter what. As a result, the employees had so much free time that they began to spend it catching flies. Such advertisements and cartoons show that the boycott process was not only an economic struggle, but also a source of morale and unity in the Ottoman public. There is no doubt that behind this exaggerated and enthusiastic expression there was a sense of unity that had not been seen for many years.

In an advertisement from the Hereke *Mağazası* (Hereke Shop), we can sense the optimism of the Ottomans and their growing confidence in domestic goods. This advertisement, which is quite long and detailed, begins by emphasising how the interest of the patriotic Ottomans in domestic goods stimulated domestic trade, just like the previous examples.⁶¹ The advertisement also states that the Hereke Factory was positively affected by these developments and decided to increase its production. It was also announced that a special tailor shop had been opened, using only goods produced at the Hereke Factory. It was claimed that the quality of the clothes produced in this tailor's shop was of a level that could not be compared with any foreign goods.

The first point to note is that local and national goods are no longer defined as cheap, durable and functional, but directly associated with elegance and superior quality.

58. *Serbesti* 16, 1 December 1908

59. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu*, 174.

60. *Dalkavuk* 14, 17 December 1908

61. *Tanin* 133, 13 December 1908

Whereas in previous years domestic goods were generally characterised by their durability and price advantage, this advertisement directly emphasises aesthetics and superiority. This strategy shows that the boycott changed consumer perceptions and that domestic goods were positioned not only as an alternative but also as a superior option to foreign goods. Another important result we can understand from this advertisement is that the Hereke factory expanded its business and increased its capital thanks to the boycott. This can be seen as one of the most concrete economic benefits of the Austrian boycott for the Ottomans. The local merchants, who were disadvantaged in terms of capital, especially in trade, had the opportunity to increase their market share thanks to the boycott and therefore became more passionate about the process.⁶²

As can be seen in the advertisement above, as the boycott progressed, we can say that negative perceptions began to develop not only towards Austrian goods, but also towards foreign goods as a whole. For example, another advertisement of the *Hereke Mağazası*, entitled "Good news for Ottoman citizens", stated that the *Hereke Mağazası* had become even more vibrant with the blessing of liberty. As a result of this development, Ottoman citizens no longer needed to go to foreign stores and be deceived.⁶³ As you can see, the enemies in this advertisement were not only domestic shops, but also foreign ones. *Hereke Mağazası*, presented as the saviour, would protect Ottoman consumers from fraudulent foreign shops and direct them to domestic goods produced by the Hereke factory. Another point that should not be overlooked is that the theme of 'liberty' was again included in a commercial advertisement. This concept, which in previous examples was emphasised in a more political sense, is now presented as a force that directly stimulates shopping and consumption.

The advertisement by *Çitli Maden Suları* (Çitli Sparkling Water) entitled "Which Water to Drink?" is another striking example of how negative perceptions of foreign products were reinforced among Ottoman consumers.⁶⁴ The advertisement begins by explaining the benefits of mineral water and its contribution to digestion. It directs the consumer to make a logical choice by explaining in detail which organs and diseases they are good for. However, the real power of the ad lies in the fact that it not only presents scientific data on health but also appeals to the emotional and moral aspects of the consumer. In the later part of the ad, it is emphasised that part of the proceeds from the sale will be spent on the Hamidiye Hejaz Railway and the other part on the construction of the hospital in Bursa. In this way, the message

62. Quataert, *Avrupa İktisadi Yayılımı ve Direnişi*, 224.

63. *Tanin* 71, 10 October 1908

64. *İkdam* 5090, 27 July 1908

is conveyed to the consumer that by purchasing this product, they are contributing not only to their own health, but also to the welfare of society. Finally, it is defined as a sacred duty for the Ottomans to stop consuming foreign mineral waters and to prefer *Çitli Maden Suları* in order to serve both their physical health and social welfare.

This ad stands out from the others we examined because it uses the three basic elements of persuasion - logos, ethos and pathos - in an orderly and skilful way.⁶⁵ The logos section appeals to the consumer's logic by detailing the chemical components of mineral water and how it differs from other mineral waters. In the ethos section, it emphasises the brand's reliability and social responsibility by stating that the proceeds are spent on projects under the Sultan's patronage, thus gaining the consumer's trust. In the pathos section, it appeals to the consumer's emotions by presenting it as a "sacred duty" not to consume foreign mineral water in order to ensure the public good and encourages them to make a moral choice. This completes the triangle of persuasion. This advertisement by *Çitli Maden Suları* goes beyond the mere promotion of the product and stands out as an effective example that succeeds in placing the consumer's decisions in a logical, national and moral context.

2.5 Aftermath of Austrian Boycott

On 27 February 1909, the Ottoman government signed an agreement with Austria in Istanbul, officially ending the boycott of Austrian goods. Although some groups tried to continue the boycott on an individual level, it was no longer possible to speak of a state-sponsored and mass boycott. After the official end of the boycott, the Ottoman government officially informed the provinces that continued the boycott that this action had lost its validity and could not be continued.⁶⁶ Thus, the boycott, which started as a strong economic resistance with the support of the people and the government, gradually lost its effectiveness in the face of the Ottoman government's need to maintain balance in international relations.

So, was the Austrian Boycott truly successful? Before attempting to answer this question, it is first necessary to consider what the actual goal of the boycott was. If the aim was to prevent the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then it can be said

65. *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman (2023), by Christof Rapp.

66. BOA, BEO. 3503/262654, (22 February 1909).

that the Ottomans failed. The agreement signed with Austria formally recognized the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Austrian territory. However, despite Austria's initial declaration that it would make no concessions, the Ottomans managed to secure a form of national compensation through the treaty and succeeded in negotiating the withdrawal of a small number of Ottoman troops from the Sanjak of Novi Pazar.⁶⁷

On the other hand, if the aim of the boycott was to mobilise the public and create awareness about the use of domestic goods, it can be said that it was quite successful in this respect. The articles, advertisements and cartoons published in the press at the time increased public interest in domestic goods and created a strong awareness of the issue. One of the clearest examples of this awareness can be seen in a cartoon published in *Dalkavuk*, a popular cartoon magazine of the time. In the cartoon, the Austrian owner of the stone shop is shown trying to invite Ottoman citizens passing by the door to come in. The reaction of one of the Ottoman customers, reveals how the boycott took its place in social memory: "Now we have tasted local goods for once".⁶⁸ This statement shows that the boycott did not just remain an economic resistance, but also became an important tool in creating a consumer habit and national consciousness. Although the boycott officially ended, the content published during the boycott period managed to keep the awareness of the use of domestic goods alive and even paved the way for permanent changes in Ottoman consumer culture in the long term.

However, it should not be overlooked that these contents represented a rather "naive" perspective in reflecting the real situation of the Ottoman economy. While the growing awareness and national sensitivity towards the use of domestic goods was enthusiastically emphasised during the boycott process, the reality of how far the Ottoman producer and merchant was from meeting the needs of the people was ignored, with a few exceptions. Although there was a strong presence of foreign capital in the country, the investments of this capital were largely directed towards infrastructure, not production.⁶⁹ Moreover, this infrastructure investment was designed to facilitate the integration of the Ottoman economy into global markets rather than to strengthen it. In terms of domestic capital, the situation was still quite weak. Until 1908, with the exception of *Şirket-i Hayriye* and *Ziraat Bankası*, there were almost no large companies that had been established entirely with domestic capital.⁷⁰ Under these conditions, no matter how strong the discourse of economic independence created by the boycott, the Ottoman economy was still seriously dependent on for-

67. Gönenç, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde Avusturya Boykotu," 215.

68. *Dalkavuk* 25, 6 March 1909

69. Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi*, 239.

70. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 100.

eign countries. If the Ottomans wanted to achieve their economic independence as well as their political freedom, they first had to accumulate domestic capital and establish strong companies.

2.6 Advertisements of Domestic Joint Stock Companies

One of the most important lessons the Austrian boycott taught the Ottomans was the vital importance of companies that produced and sold domestic goods. But the real question was: How would these companies be set up? After the boycott ended, the Ottoman press began to discuss ways of creating domestic capital on an almost daily basis. The common denominator of these discussions was the idea that a strong domestic economy would only be possible with national banks. Although *Osmanlı Bankası* (the Ottoman Bank), also known as *Bank-ı Osmanî-i Şahane*, served as the central bank of the Ottoman Empire, it was known that this institution was under the control of British and French capital from the moment of its establishment.⁷¹ This situation led to conflicts of interest between the Ottoman government and the bank, and the action of the bank was often criticised by intellectuals of the time.

The most important of these contradictions was that the power to print money was in the hands of the Ottoman Bank. Parvus Efendi, one of the leading economic thinkers of the time, sharply criticised the fact that the Ottoman government was constantly in need of short-term, high-interest loans from Europe because the bank avoided printing money. According to him, if Ottoman merchants and traders were to gain economic independence and become stronger in trade, local and national banks had to be established as soon as possible.⁷² On the other hand, this criticism of the Ottoman Bank was not limited to economists. In a cartoon published in the magazine *Cem*, the following words were written under the building of the Ottoman Bank "An institution that has the least to do with Ottoman: *Bank-ı Osmanî-i Şahane*".⁷³ The fact that even a cartoon magazine, whose cartoonists were mostly foreigners and non-Muslims, criticised the Ottoman Bank is a strong indication of the strong reaction the bank faced at the time.

While there may be some truth in these analyses, the economic conditions of the time did not allow for the establishment of a bank based on domestic and national capital and strong enough to support the national bourgeoisie. The establishment of

71. Edhem Eldem, *Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi* (Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi Araştırma Merkezi, 1999).

72. Hüseyin Safa Ünal, "Türk Yurdu ve İktisadiyat Mecmuası'nda "Milli İktisat," in *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisadi Düşünce ve İktisat Tarihi* (İmge Kitabevi, 2023), 107.

73. *Cem* 1, 10 November 1908

such banks would only be possible after the Balkan wars.⁷⁴ Therefore, if there was no capital accumulation strong enough to establish large local and national banks in the Ottoman Empire, the only option left was for small capitalists to join together and establish joint-stock companies, as in the West. This situation was also reflected in the advertising sections of the newspapers of the time, and the advertising sections became a platform that facilitated the establishment of joint stock companies by small capitalists.

One of the examples of joint stock companies in the Ottoman Empire was the *Uhuvvet-i Osmaniye Halk Anonim Şirketi*. This company, which first advertised in the *Tanin* newspaper on 16 December 1908, officially registered with the Ministry some eight months later, on 10 August 1909. The aim of the advertisement was to collect the company's capital with 2,000 shares of 10 lira each and to support domestic production by opening a carpet factory with this capital. It was also stated that the company would engage in commercial activities by supplying all kinds of goods in the country.⁷⁵ The most important detail was that the company allowed small investors who did not have capital to participate in the process by allowing them to buy shares in instalments. Thus, instead of paying 10 *lira* outright, those who wanted to own shares could do so within 40 months by paying a down payment of 180 *guruş* and then 1 *mecidiye* per month.

In the company's advertisements, the names of the founders are emphasised. The fact that many of the founders were merchants with the title '*zade*' indicates that the company was founded by the leading merchants of the city and was intended to give confidence to potential investors. At the same time, the company adopted a very successful and innovative marketing strategy by allowing shares to be sold in instalments. Instalment share sales are rarely seen in other public company advertisements of the period. However, despite these efforts, the expected capital was not raised and the company continued to publish its advertisements, updating and detailing them at regular intervals. As a result, it was not until 1911 that the company was able to start production, which means a two year delay from their first advertisement.⁷⁶

One of the companies that started to raise capital during this period was the *Erenköy ve Göztepe İttihat ve Terakki Ticaret Anonim Şirketi Osmaniye*. As the name of the company suggests, the founders were most likely close to the CUP. When the contracts submitted to the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture of the period are

74. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Ekonomi ve Toplum*, 56.

75. *Tanin* 136, 16 December 1908

76. Ramazan Balcı, İbrahim Sırma, and Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, eds., *Memalik-i Osmaniye'de Osmanlı Anonim Şirketleri* (İstanbul Ticaret Odası, 2012), 57.

examined, it is seen that the names of many companies established during this period include the terms “*İttihat* (Union)” or “*İttihat ve Terakki* (Union and Progress)”, which is not a coincidence. After the declaration of the constitutional monarchy, many people associated with the committee combined their political and economic influence and established joint-stock companies in various sectors. These companies, especially during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, took advantage of the economic opportunities created by the war. They used their political power to stockpile and rapidly increase their capital by selling basic consumer goods at high prices. This situation was not lost on the public, and these new capitalists, who had grown rich under wartime conditions, came to be known as the “*Savaş Zenginleri* (war profiteers)”. Both in the newspapers and in public debate, criticism of war opportunism increased, and the moral legitimacy of this new economic elite was questioned.⁷⁷

Returning to the company’s advertisement, this company’s advertisement adds a new dimension to the previous carpet company’s advertisement. While the carpet company’s advertisement stands out as a more pragmatic, direct commercial initiative, this company’s advertisement adopts a discourse that appeals to the readers’ patriotic feelings, because the company’s founding purpose is not only to make economic profit, but also to strengthen the Ottoman homeland and improve its situation.⁷⁸ As can be seen, making a profit has become a secondary priority for some companies; in fact, some company advertisements do not mention economic returns at all. Instead, the new joint stock companies are presented as national projects that serve a higher purpose. In this context, it is not only an investment but also a patriotic duty for an Ottoman citizen to participate in this company by buying shares worth 5 Ottoman *liras*. The company must have found this discourse sufficient, as it did not include any information about its commercial activities or its founders in its advertisements.

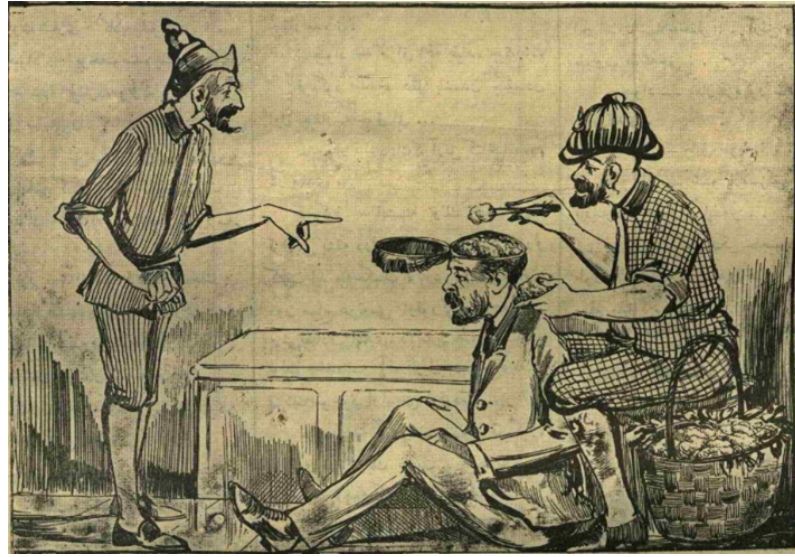
A more effective advertisement on this subject was placed by Hasan Remzi Efendi. Published under the title ‘Ottoman Furniture Manufacturing Plant’, the advertisement was subtitled ‘A Service to the Homeland’. The opening of a business, especially a factory, was no longer just a commercial venture, but began to be seen as a direct service to the homeland. In fact, one of the most important points of the idea of the national economy was the deep desire to increase local entrepreneurship. In a series of newspaper articles, the following advice was often given to Ottoman society “We should no longer educate our children as civil servants, pashas or soldiers, but as

77. Ecem İnceoğlu, “Osmanlı’da Milli İktisat Uygulamaları ve Harp Zenginleri” (Master Thesis, Istanbul University, 2015).

78. *Tanin* 142, 22 December 1908

individuals who engage in personal enterprise and start businesses".⁷⁹ In a humorous cartoon depicting this desire, an Ottoman doctor removes the idea of civil service and clerkship from the mind of an Ottoman citizen and replaces it with the idea of personal enterprise.⁸⁰ This scene clearly illustrates the economic transformation of Ottoman society and the gradual replacement of the state-directed career approach with the idea of private enterprise.

Figure 2.5 A cartoon showing the desire of personal enterprise in the Ottoman society's mind



Hasan Remzi Efendi's advert combines the strengths of the previous adverts, both motivating patriotic feelings and emphasising the quality of his business. He begins by saying that he was educated in Germany and then ran a furniture workshop in Egypt for seven years. During this time, he stressed that he had mastered the quality of furniture production in Egypt, and then announced that he had decided to return to his homeland in order to transfer the knowledge and experience he had gained during his long years abroad to the Ottoman lands. He announces that he needs about 2000 *lira* of capital to establish a large and modern furniture factory, of which he will provide 500 *lira*. He concluded his advertisement by inviting investors who wanted to invest their capital in a useful way and produce quality furniture that could compete with foreign goods in the Ottoman lands to join his joint-stock company.⁸¹

This advertisement perfectly reflects the economic and social values of the new era. First of all, it is common practice in advertisements of this period to emphasise

79. Ahmed Güner Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması: Klasik Dönem'den II. Abdülhamid'e* (Der Yayınları, 1986), 298.

80. *Karagöz* 577, 20 December 1913

81. *Serbesti* 3, 18 November 1908

having studied abroad. Such expressions are particularly common in advertisements for doctors and engineers. But Hasan Remzi Efendi not only states that he studied in Germany, he also emphasises his seven years of work experience in Egypt. This means that while many companies are just starting out, Hasan Remzi Efendi is at the top of his game. At the same time, it is important for him to gain experience in Egypt, because although goods from the West are rapidly filling the Ottoman market, Egypt is still one of the most important centres of Ottoman culture of taste.

Moreover, Hasan Remzi Efendi believed that, as a result of all this training and experience, the factory he was about to establish on Ottoman lands would be able to compete with foreign goods not only in terms of production capacity, but also in terms of quality and elegance. This emphasis is very important because, as mentioned above, breaking the "rough and ordinary" perception of domestic goods was one of the greatest challenges of the period. In addition, Hasan Remzi Efendi pledged to provide a quarter of the company's total capital to show his confidence in his business. All that remained was for patriotic Ottoman capitalists to become partners in this noble and beneficial initiative, which would strengthen domestic production in the Ottoman market and reduce dependence on foreign goods.

As we can see, in the absence of banks to support the local bourgeoisie, the advertising sections of the newspapers acted as an intermediary, enabling small Ottoman capitalists to band together and form joint stock companies. However, as noted above, it should not be forgotten that such initiatives were quite limited, at least before World War I. The real explosion of joint-stock companies founded with local capital would take place after 1915. Yunus Nadi expresses the magnitude of this change in the following words:

Before the war, we had difficulty in collecting 5000-10,000 *lira* in a large region to establish the most solid, most beneficial and most profitable company. Now, however, in order to establish a company worth 40,000, 50,000, 80,000 or even 100,000 *lira*, it is enough for only three or five people to come together and agree to a few words among themselves. What a tremendous difference! What a terrifying change!⁸²

These words show the rapid change in the Ottoman economic mentality and how capital accumulation gained momentum with the war, but they also show the inadequacy of the pre-war situation.

82. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 143.

2.7 Marketing, Localization, Differentiation

Although the demand for national goods increased as a result of the Austrian boycott and the call of the penmen of the time to use domestic goods, the Ottoman market was still quite competitive. While the hostile attitude towards foreign goods was defended by a limited group, British, French and American goods were still considered quite credible. Moreover, foreign companies recognised the value of the Ottoman market, which had become more vibrant after the constitutional monarchy, and began to invest heavily in marketing and advertising. For example, we learn from a Singer advertisement that the headquarters of its operations in Egypt, Greece and Bulgaria were located in Istanbul.⁸³ Similarly, Nestlé moved its headquarters from London to Istanbul in 1912 to better manage its operations in the Balkans and the Middle East.⁸⁴ These moves show that the Ottoman market was emerging not only as a consumer base but also as a regional centre for international companies.

The increasing marketing activities of foreign companies not only increased the number of advertisements, but also radically changed their content. In order to overcome the cultural barriers in Ottoman society and to avoid a possible boycott, foreign companies developed various localisation strategies. Their aim was to establish a direct link with Ottoman consumers and to appeal more to local tastes. One of the best examples of this strategy can be seen in the advertisements of Tiring, one of the companies that advertised the most in newspapers. The company proudly announced that its stores had won the trust of the general public, but that it was particularly proud of the appreciation of its Muslim customers.⁸⁵ This emphasis was not accidental. The main aim was to overcome the growing suspicion of foreign goods within the Muslim community and to strengthen customer loyalty by gaining the trust of this segment.

The increasing marketing activities of foreign companies not only increased the number of advertisements, but also radically changed their content. In order to overcome the cultural barriers in Ottoman society and to avoid a possible boycott, foreign companies developed various localisation strategies. Their aim was to establish a direct link with Ottoman consumers and to appeal more to local tastes. One of the best examples of this strategy can be seen in the advertisements of Tiring, one of the companies that advertised the most in newspapers. The company proudly

83. *İkdam* 5091, 28 July 1908

84. Köse, "Nestlé in the Ottoman Empire," 741.

85. *Tanin* 61, 1 October 1908

announced that its stores had won the trust of the general public, but that it was particularly proud of the appreciation of its Muslim customers. This emphasis was not accidental. The main aim was to overcome the growing suspicion of foreign goods within the Muslim community and to strengthen customer loyalty by gaining the trust of this segment.

Another advertisement by the Tiring Store was aimed directly at all Ottomans. After introducing itself as the oldest and most perfect clothing store established in the East, the store expressed its deep happiness that the Ottomans had gained their freedom.⁸⁶ This advertisement clearly shows that the values after the constitutional monarchy were not only shaped by local companies and goods, but that foreign companies could also use these values in their products and advertising strategies. At the same time, the advertising language of Tiring and other foreign companies showed that foreign companies took into account not only the economic but also the socio-cultural dynamics of the Ottoman market. Advertising was no longer just about promoting a product, but also about creating an image that was compatible with the Ottoman identity of foreign companies.

On the other hand, it would be misleading to view the Ottoman market as a competition between two monolithic groups—domestic and foreign goods—because foreign goods were not the only competitors for domestic products. Although consumers cared about whether a product was domestic or foreign, the primary determining factors were its quality and price. Therefore, domestic companies, just like foreign ones, engaged in intense competition with each other and had to develop different marketing strategies to succeed.

2.8 Ottoman Cigarette Paper Advertisements

One of the most striking examples of this fierce competition is the advertising for cigarette paper. Interestingly, cigarette paper was perhaps one of the most branded and advertised products on the Ottoman market. Four different cigarette paper companies not only promoted their own products in their advertisements but also tried to differentiate themselves by indirectly attacking rival products. Therefore, if we want to read how brands in the Ottoman market tried to differentiate themselves through advertising, cigarette paper advertisements become one of the best sources. In addition to the efforts to direct consumer perceptions, these advertisements also reveal the complexity of commercial competition in the Ottoman Empire.

86. *Tanin* 61, 1 October 1908

The first cigarette paper we will examine is the cigarette paper produced to support the Hamidiye Hejaz Railway project, one of the most important infrastructure projects of the Abdülhamid era. Its advertisements feature a moving train and a lively railway. With this visuality, it easily stands out from other cigarette paper advertisements of the time, which were mostly plain and without pictures. As for the text of the advertisement, it begins by explaining the purpose of producing this cigarette paper. Interestingly, although the emphasis on patriotism would be expected in an advertisement for a product supporting a major national project, the main emphasis in the text is on health and quality. For example, it states that the product has been tested by the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye* and is safe in terms of health, thus reassuring the consumer. In this respect, it is recommended to everyone. In addition, the company has set up an ambitious reward mechanism to further strengthen confidence in its product: A reward of exactly 10,000 *guruş* is promised to those who can prove the existence of this cigarette paper.⁸⁷ This significant reward not only guarantees the quality of the product but is also a strong marketing move to gain consumer trust.

Figure 2.6 Advertisement of Hamidiye Hejaz Railway Cigarette Paper



Another brand of cigarette paper is Bafra Cigarette Papers. This company also

87. *İkdam* 5086, 23 July 1908

used illustrated advertisements and placed advertisements in various newspapers. Its advertisements include a picture of an opened cigarette paper with the words 'Bafra' written in Latin and Ottoman. That design is an element which makes the product easily recognisable among other advertisements. In addition, the fact that the title is written in bold *Rika* script makes the text stand out immediately. The company begins its copy by claiming that Bafra Cigarette Papers are the most perfect product in the field and that this is already known by those interested in the business. The company has a very high level of self-confidence. While Hicaz Railway Cigarette Papers proves its quality with a document obtained from the Medical School, Bafra Cigarette Papers bases the superiority of its product on the gold medals it has won in London, Paris, Berlin and other important European cities.⁸⁸ However, as there is no document to back up these rather ambitious claims, we, like the Ottoman reader, have no choice but to believe the company.

Figure 2.7 Advertisement of Bafra Cigarette Papers



88. *İkdam* 5089, 26 July 1908

Another striking element of this advertisement is the warning against imitation products. The company advises consumers to beware of imitations and to look for the 'Seferoğlu' seal on the cigarette paper to distinguish the genuine product. However, this situation is not specific to Bafra cigarette papers; many advertisements of the period mention the existence of "imitation" products that consumers should stay away from. So much so that European companies used special stamps and seals to prevent their products from being imitated. Over time, however, these security measures were also imitated, and European companies often complained to their embassies to stop counterfeit production in Ottoman lands.⁸⁹ Of course, it should be remembered that such warnings are an indication of a real counterfeiting problem in the market, but they can also be seen as a deliberate marketing strategy to create an artificial perception of demand for the product.

Another brand of cigarette paper that draws attention to the same issue is Çavuşoğlu Cigarette Papers. However, unlike other companies, this brand does not have any visuals in its advertisement. The text of the advertisement begins as usual with the address of the company's head office. It then claims that there are many imitations of its products. However, unlike other companies, it announces that it has taken legal action. There are official records in the Ottoman archives that support this claim. According to the records, the cigarette paper covers of the Çavuşoğlu brand were imitated by a person of Russian origin named Sari and reproduced in a printing house.⁹⁰ Çavuşoğlu goes one step further and accuses some tobacconists and small sellers. The text of the advertisement clearly states that these sellers sell low-quality imitations to customers instead of their own high-quality cigarette papers in order to make more profit. Çavuşoğlu ends his advertisement by warning his esteemed customers to check whether the special tobacco customs mark and the number 14 are written on the cigarette papers in order to protect themselves from such fraudsters.⁹¹

This advertisement is very important in terms of protecting brand value. Because not only was the sealing method used to prevent imitation products, but also legal means were used, and public awareness was raised against small tradesmen distributing imitation products. This situation also reveals how fierce the efforts and competition to ensure brand reliability in the Ottoman market were even at a relatively early period.

The last cigarette paper brand is Hürriyet ve Adalet Cigarette Papers. Although the text of the advertisement is simpler than the others, it has a visually impressive design. Three different small images are used in the same advertisement, making it

89. Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı*, 52.

90. BOA, MF.MKT. 68/47 (5 September 1881).

91. *İkdam* 5097, 3 August 1908

stand out with an aesthetic understanding rarely seen in Ottoman newspapers. At the top of the advertisement is a composition decorated with two diagonally placed Ottoman flags and floral figures. In the middle, the name of the concessionaire, İsmailzade Abdülvahap, is written in Latin letters, with an Ottoman stamp next to it. At the bottom of the advertisement, the word 'Liberty' in capital letters stands out. Interestingly, the address of the company is also written in Latin letters.⁹² This design is not only ornate and eye-catching, but also aims to attract the attention of Ottoman consumers by creating a modern and European image.

Despite the visually striking and modern structure of the advertisement, the text is quite simple and "dry" compared to other cigarette paper advertisements. It contains only the name of the owner and a warning to consumers to pay attention to the address given in order to avoid imitations. In particular, elements such as seals or special marks, which are common in other cigarette paper advertisements, are not present in this advertisement. It seems that İsmailzade Abdülvahap preferred to focus on visual appeal rather than textual persuasion in his marketing strategy and tried to differentiate his brand with fancy graphics. This approach can be seen as a strong move to attract the attention of the Ottoman consumer, especially at a time when visuality was limited in newspaper advertisements.

92. *Tanin* 221, 13 March 1909

Figure 2.8 Advertisement of Hürriyet ve Adalet Cigarette Papers



As can be seen, although the vast majority of companies operating in the Ottoman market developed marketing strategies based on the dominant values of the period, there were also those that took different paths. While joint stock companies in particular emphasised patriotism and social benefits in order to attract Ottoman investors due to their limited capital, foreign companies produced advertisements that appealed to Ottoman values and especially to the Muslim consumer group in order to maintain their market share. On the other hand, companies operating in highly competitive sectors have not only appealed to patriotic sentiments but have also sought to gain competitive advantage by emphasising the quality of their products, their health benefits and the high demand for their brands. These different

approaches show that commercial competition in the Ottoman market was not only based on price or product, but also on advertising strategies.

As a result, these different approaches provided very successful examples in the early period when the development of advertising in the Ottoman Empire and the foundations of the modern marketing approach were being laid. Other elements that distinguished this period from others were the intensive marketing activities of international companies in the Ottoman market and the acceptance of non-Muslim Ottoman entrepreneurs under the 'local and national' identity. Thanks to this diversity and economic dynamism, it is possible to consider this period as the golden age of Ottoman advertising.

However, this golden age would not last long. The annexation of Crete to Greece and the subsequent Balkan wars quickly reversed the optimistic atmosphere created by the constitutional monarchy. During this process, the significant decrease in the non-Muslim population led to the Turkish/Muslim identity in the Ottoman Empire becoming more dominant, and the understanding of the multicultural economy began to gradually transform into a more homogeneous and exclusive structure. With the weakening of the idea of coexistence, economic nationalism also changed its direction to include only Turkish/Muslim subjects. From this point on, boycotts were used as a weapon not only against foreign companies but also against internal 'enemies'. In advertisements, inclusive themes such as homeland, liberty and brotherhood were replaced by feelings of Turkishness, Islam and revenge, marking a radical change in the Ottoman economic identity.

3. THE POINT OF NO RETURN: THE RADICALIZATION OF NATIONAL ECONOMY DISCOURSE IN OTTOMAN ADVERTISING

In his seminal work on the modernization of Turkey, Erik J. Zürcher gives a telling title to the section on the Balkan Wars: “The Point of No Return.”¹ This title is undoubtedly fitting. In this chapter, we will focus on how the political, economic, and cultural atmosphere that shaped the content of the advertisements discussed in the first chapter underwent an irreversible transformation with the Balkan Wars, and how this transformation was reflected in the language and structure of advertisements.

In the advertisements from the earlier period, the dominant theme was how the values introduced by the Second Constitutional Era were embraced in the public sphere. Concepts such as liberty, nation, and homeland were adopted by Ottoman society that looked to the future with hope. Furthermore, during this period, the idea of coexistence across ethnic and religious lines still retained its vitality. Following the declaration of the constitution, during the diplomatic crisis with Austria, Ottoman society, regardless of religious affiliation, united in support of a boycott against Austrian goods, displaying a shared stance.² Although ethnic nationalist aspirations occasionally surfaced in the background, the state implemented legal measures such as banning separatist and ethnic nationalist associations in an effort to preserve the ideal of Ottomanism.³

However, the tension that began with the annexation of Crete by the Kingdom of Greece turned into a full-blown crisis with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, and the brief era of optimism came to an abrupt and tragic end. Beginning in 1911, the Ottoman Empire entered a relentless cycle of warfare. The ideals of brotherhood, liberty, and equality promised by the constitutional regime gave way to discourses centred on revenge, war, and the struggle for survival. This profound transformation

1. Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (I.B. Tauris, 2004), 106.

2. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu*, 136.

3. Toprak, *Türkiye’de Ekonomi ve Toplum*, vii.

manifested itself not only in the broader cultural output of the period, but also in the advertisements published in the press. With the onset of the Balkan Wars, what emerged was a cultural and economic reality entirely different from the hopeful advertising environment observed during the early years of the Second Constitutional Era. However, before analysing the advertisements of this new period, it is important to briefly examine the destruction and trauma caused by the Balkan Wars in order to better understand the intellectual underpinnings of this transformation.

3.1 The Balkan Wars and the Loss of Ottoman Europe

In March 1912, an alliance was formed between Serbia and Bulgaria, led by Serbia. This was followed in May by an agreement between Greece and Bulgaria. Finally, in October, Montenegro and Serbia signed an alliance, giving the Balkan League its definitive shape. Although these treaties appeared to be defensive in nature, their actual aim was to partition the European territories of the Ottoman Empire.⁴ While this intense diplomatic traffic unfolded in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire was engaged in a strenuous war with Italy over the sovereignty of Tripolitania. Consequently, many capable Ottoman officers were deployed on the Tripolitania front. Furthermore, experienced soldiers with deep knowledge of the Balkan region had been forced into early retirement by the government, and the Balkan states had begun their military preparations well in advance. Under these circumstances, the Balkan League declared war on the Ottoman Empire on October 8, 1912.⁵

The war unfolded in an extremely unfavourable manner for the Ottoman Empire. The army quickly began to collapse due to internal political struggles that disrupted the chain of command, insufficient preparation, and a general lack of military competence.⁶ On October 22, Bulgarian forces, who bore the brunt of the fighting against the Ottomans, first defeated the Ottoman army at Kırklareli and then again between October 28 and November 3 at the Battle of Lüleburgaz. As a result, the Ottoman forces were compelled to retreat to the Çatalca line, their last line of defense before Istanbul. On the western front, Serbian forces defeated the Ottomans at the Battle of Kumanovo, held from October 24 to 26, and advanced toward the Adriatic Sea, capturing Monastir on November 18. Meanwhile, in the southern theater, where Ot-

4. Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 106.

5. Seyfi Yıldırım, “Balkan Savaşları ve Sonrasındaki Göçlerin Türkiye Nüfusuna Etkileri,” *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 16, no. 2 (2012): 79.

6. William Milligan Sloane, *Bir Tarih Laboratuvarı: Balkanlar*, trans. Sibel Özbudun (Nesnel Yayınları, 2008), 140.

toman resistance was minimal, the Greek army advanced through Macedonia and occupied Salonika which is one of the most important cities of Ottoman Europe on November 8. By December 1912, the city of Edirne, which had a predominantly Muslim population and had once served as the capital of the empire, was under siege.⁷

By December 3, the situation for the Ottoman Empire had become almost entirely hopeless. A ceasefire was declared on this date, and the diplomatic negotiations that began ten days later resulted in a stalemate. However, this diplomatic deadlock triggered a profound transformation in Ottoman domestic politics. On January 17, under pressure from Western powers, the Ottoman delegation agreed to cede Edirne to Bulgaria, despite months of fierce resistance. The CUP, which viewed the surrender of Edirne—a city of immense historical, strategic, and symbolic value—as unacceptable, seized the opportunity to stage a coup and took full control of the government, maintaining power until the end of World War I.⁸

Although the CUP quickly declared that it did not recognize the ceasefire and launched a counteroffensive toward Edirne, the weakened state of the Ottoman army prevented any meaningful military success. Ultimately, the Treaty of London was signed on June 10, 1913, officially recognizing the loss of nearly all Ottoman European territories—including Edirne, though excluding Istanbul. This outcome was also acknowledged by the CUP leadership. However, Bulgaria's emergence as the greatest beneficiary of the war provoked strong reactions from its former allies in the Balkan League and from Romania. These powers soon declared war on Bulgaria, leading to the outbreak of the Second Balkan War. Seizing this new opportunity, the Ottoman army managed to recapture Edirne. With the signing of the Treaty of Istanbul on September 29, 1913, the territories east of the Maritsa River were officially returned to the Ottoman Empire.⁹

The destruction caused by the Balkan Wars was immense, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The Ottoman Empire lost approximately 83% of its European territories and 69% of the population residing in those areas. According to the terms of the Treaty of Istanbul, the empire retained only 26,000 square kilometres out of an original 167,000 square kilometres of Ottoman Europe. In addition, the Dodecanese Islands, Crete, and other Aegean islands were also lost. These regions were not only significant for their military and administrative functions but also carried deep historical and economic importance. For nearly five centuries, these lands had been

7. Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: the Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821-1922* (27Books, 1996), 136.

8. Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 108.

9. Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri (1912-1913)* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997), 19–25.

among the empire's most central and developed areas.¹⁰ However, the most radical transformation brought about by the war was the profound shift in the demographic structure of the Balkans and the empire at large.

3.2 Migration, Demographic Transformation, and the End of Ottomanism

With the end of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, the national and political boundaries established by the newly emerging nation-states proved incapable of accommodating the region's existing ethnic and religious diversity. The multicultural population structure, which did not align with the unitary frameworks of these new states, was pushed beyond the newly drawn borders or forced into exclusion. As borders were redrawn, the first interstate agreements on population exchange began to be signed. These agreements served, on the one hand, as tools for the new nation-states to homogenize their demographic structures, and on the other, as an implicit acknowledgment that ethnic and religious tensions had reached a level that posed a constant threat to the presence of minorities in each country.¹¹ However, this process was far more than a matter of diplomatic negotiation. It turned into a profound human tragedy. Large numbers of people were forcibly expelled from lands where their ancestors had lived for centuries. They were subjected to deportations, resettlement policies, or massacres. According to A. A. Pallis, over 2.5 million Muslims, Greeks, and Bulgarians were displaced in the decade following the Balkan Wars.¹²

Among all parties involved, the Ottoman Empire was the most severely affected by this demographic transformation, as the vast majority of the displaced population consisted of Muslims. While nearly three million Muslims resided in Ottoman Europe before the Balkan Wars, nearly three-quarters of this population was forced to migrate to Ottoman territory, and later to the Republic of Turkey. During this period, Muslims were portrayed by nationalist movements as the common enemy and were subjected to systematic practices of ethnic cleansing, mass killings, looting, forced migration, and even forced religious conversion, regardless of their specific

10. Sacit Kutlu, *Milliyetçilik ve Emperyalizm Yüzylında Balkanlar ve Osmanlı Devleti* (İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), 403.

11. Erik J. Zürcher, "Giriş: Demografi Mühendisliği ve Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu," in *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Etnik Çatışma*, ed. Erik J. Zürcher (İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 11.

12. A. A. Pallis, "Racial Migrations in The Balkans During the Years 1912-1924," *The Geographical Journal Coverage* 66, no. 4 (1925): 315–317.

ethnic origins.¹³ Yet the suffering of the Muslim refugees did not end upon their arrival in Ottoman lands. The Ottoman administration was neither administratively nor economically prepared to handle this extraordinary wave of migration, which involved hundreds of thousands of people at once. There were significant shortcomings in the provision of shelter, food, and housing. Most migrants were left vulnerable and unprotected, abandoned to their fate. Aram Andonyan, an Armenian journalist and historian born in Istanbul, described the dire conditions faced by Muslim migrants from the Balkans as follows:

In Sirkeci, Üsküdar, Haydarpaşa, and generally across all major squares of Istanbul, an endless procession of ox-carts displayed scenes of appalling misery. Many—especially women and children—had crammed into the municipal garbage carts. Even the bread allocated to the refugees was transported in these same garbage carts. This Turkish lineage, which had been settled on European soil for over a century, crossed back into Istanbul and then to Asia in the same carts, wearing the same garments and carrying the same mindset as their conquering ancestors who had first crossed from Asia to Europe six hundred years ago. It is sad to note that the wealthy Muslims of Istanbul largely remained indifferent to the suffering of these refugees. They would later show a similar indifference to the heartbreaking misery and anguish of Ottoman soldiers who were wounded in battle, stricken with cholera, or reduced to skeletons from starvation.¹⁴

This massive population movement and demographic transformation resulted in two interrelated outcomes for the Ottoman Empire. First, the arrival of a predominantly Muslim refugee population made the Muslim majority within the empire's demographic composition more visibly pronounced. According to estimates by Kemal Karpat based on Ottoman census records, Muslims constituted about 74% of the population in 1906, a figure that rose to over 82% by 1914.¹⁵ This demographic shift accelerated a trend that had already begun following the 1877–1878 Russo-Ottoman War. The resulting population structure provided a strong sociological basis for the CUP, and later for the founding elite of the Republic of Turkey, to define the population under a new political framework with the inclusive identity of “the Turkish Nation.”¹⁶

The second key consequence of this transformation was the practical collapse of the

13. McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, 179.

14. Aram Andonyan, *Balkan Savaşı*, trans. Zaven Biberyan (Aras Yayıncılık, 2002), 93.

15. Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, and Ottoman studies (University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 162–189.

16. Yıldırım, “Balkan Savaşları ve Sonrasındaki Göçlerin,” 88.

political ideology of Ottomanism. The Muslim refugees from the Balkans not only increased the Turkish-Muslim demographic weight of the empire, but also carried with them their traumas, memories of massacres, and a deep-seated ethnic resentment. The Ottoman press kept the public focused on the events in the Balkans, thereby transmitting these collective pains to broader segments of society. As a result, the social and political ties between the Muslim population and the non-Muslim communities of the empire were irreversibly damaged. Among the groups that suffered the most from this shift were the Greeks, who made up the majority of the remaining non-Muslim population in the empire. During the Balkan Wars, many Ottoman Greek citizens supported the Kingdom of Greece rather than the empire to which they legally belonged. This led to deep mistrust within the ranks of the CUP, who began to perceive this group as a potential internal threat. Believing that the Greeks would serve as a fifth column in the event of a foreign invasion, the CUP implemented systematic policies of repression and intimidation, particularly against the Greek population in the Aegean region. As a result of these pressures, over 100,000 Ottoman Greeks were forced to seek refuge in the Kingdom of Greece, just as Muslim refugees from the Balkans had previously fled to Ottoman territory.¹⁷

As these transformations unfolded, the CUP, having consolidated its hold on power, came to view the multiethnic and multireligious imperial system as unsustainable. Although Ottomanist ideals and centralizing reforms were still publicly defended, the regime in practice moved increasingly toward the construction of a more homogenous nation-state. In political, linguistic, religious, and economic terms, the ideal of “Turkey for the Turks” began to take shape. One of the best visual representations of this transformation appeared in a cartoon published in the satirical magazine *Karagöz*. In the cartoon, the leaders of the CUP are depicted on a broken rowboat. One half is labeled “*İttihad* (Union),” and the other “*Terakki* (Progress).” The character Karagöz explains the situation to Hacivat with stark clarity: “Oh Hacivat, the boat is split. Union is on one side, and Progress is on the other.”¹⁸ Since union was no longer possible, the remaining course was progress. At the heart of this progress lay a comprehensive economic reconstruction.

17. Matthias Bjørnlund, “The 1914: Cleansing of Aegean Greeks as a Case of Violent Turkification,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 1 (2008): 42.

18. *Karagöz* 440, 26 August 1912

Figure 3.1 Cartoon of the split rowboat



3.3 The New Discursive Framework of Advertisements

Following the Balkan Wars and the de facto elimination of the idea of Ottomanism from the political arena, the National Economy began to be reinterpreted. The most fundamental distinction that separated this new discourse of National Economy from its predecessor was that its inclusiveness was now defined within a much narrower framework. Issues such as the ethnically based division of labour,¹⁹ which had already begun to be questioned in the second half of the nineteenth century, the fact that Ottoman trade was largely controlled by non-Muslims,²⁰ and the alignment of these groups' commercial interests with Western powers,²¹ had reached a point

19. Os, "Müstehlik Değil Müstahsil," 590.

20. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 268.

21. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 15.

after the Balkan Wars where they could no longer be ignored. As the demographic structure came to be dominated almost entirely by Turks and Muslims, and even non-Muslim Ottoman citizens began to be regarded as unreliable elements, these groups were systematically excluded from the economic sphere. Thus, the economy was to be left entirely under the control of the Muslim-Turkish element. Another goal of this process of economic change was to create a new class composed of Turks or Turkified Muslims who were perceived as loyal because they were thought to owe their social positions to conditions that eliminated competition. While non-Muslim elements in the Ottoman economy were being eliminated, the properties of Greeks who had been subjected to forced deportation were transferred to so-called trustworthy Turkish and Muslim individuals, thereby attempting to resolve the initial capital accumulation problem faced by the regime.²²

This discursive shift in the understanding of national economy also fundamentally reshaped the advertising practices of the period. The most striking outcome of this transformation was the gradual abandonment of the Ottoman supra-identity and the increasing dominance of Turkish and Muslim references in advertisements. In this new period, producers began marketing many products such as books, food items, musical instruments, and perfumes specifically with Turkish or Muslim identity. Previously used and more inclusive terms such as "Ottoman goods," "local products," or "homeland merchandise," which also encompassed non-Muslim Ottoman citizens, were gradually erased from advertisements and replaced by a new discourse that explicitly emphasized ethno-religious identity. A concrete example of this transformation can be observed in a cologne advertisement published under the name of Ahmet Faruki. In this advertisement, titled "*Türk Kolonyası* (Turkish Cologne)," it is explicitly emphasized that the product is purely Turkish and is especially recommended for all Muslims. The subsequent lines of the advertisement state that this cologne surpasses all of its counterparts around the world and highlight the fact that it is produced by a "*dindaş* (co-religionist)" in our homeland. The final sentence of the advertisement asserts that when such a high-quality product is available, one should not give money to others but instead use only Turkish Cologne.²³ In this way, national consumption is endowed with a moral obligation of thrift.

It is important to emphasize that this advertisement was published in the *Tanin* newspaper. In the previous section, we had seen that a theatre company composed entirely of Turks initially performed under the name "*Genç Türklerin Milli Kumpanyası* (National Company of Young Turks)," but with the inclusion of other Ottoman elements, the name had been forcibly changed to "*Osmanlı İttihad Kumpa-*

22. Bjørnlund, "The 1914," 42–48.

23. *Tanin* 1965, 11 June 1914

nyası (Ottoman Unity Company).” Only six years later, this cologne advertisement, filled with references to Turks and Muslims and published in the same newspaper, clearly reveals how radically and irreversibly the political and cultural climate of the time had changed.

The “Turkish Cologne” advertisement reflects this new and exclusionary understanding of the national economy not only through its emphasis on the product being purely Turkish but also through the specific recommendation directed toward Muslims. In the previous period, products were marketed to “Ottoman citizens” or to “Ottomans who loved their homeland,” whereas in this new period, the target audience began to be defined solely as Muslims. For example, a comprehensive and large-scale advertisement published in the magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* ends with the following statement: “I inform all my esteemed Muslim customers.”²⁴ Although the magazine’s readership largely consisted of Muslim women, the explicit narrowing of the customer base in this manner indicates that the motivation behind this decision was not economic but ideological. These examples clearly demonstrate the extent to which Turkish and Muslim identities had become dominant and defining in the public sphere.

In this period, it became increasingly important for both producers and consumers to support businesses that held Turkish or Islamic identities which was considered a societal responsibility. A strong discourse was constructed suggesting that every Turkish or Muslim individual should contribute to these emerging Turkish or Muslim entrepreneurial enterprises either as a customer or through their own business activities. A concrete example of this understanding can be found in an advertisement published by Fatih Bonmarché under the title “Supporting Islamic Businesses is a Duty in the Effort to Protect the Nation.”²⁵ The owner of this shop, which sold clothing items brought from various regions of the country, was Süleyman Fatih, a migrant from Dagestan. A similar example is the Bahçekapı Islamic Market, founded by another migrant, whose name explicitly emphasized his identity.²⁶ In this case, not only the name of the business but also the advertising text highlighted the owner’s migration to Istanbul following the disasters in Rumelia, thus bringing the migrant identity to the fore. The common discursive element in both advertisements is the deliberate emphasis on Islamic solidarity and migrant identity. As a result of the increasing Muslim migrations since 1878, a significant portion of the Ottoman population came to consist of migrants. Business owners who were aware of this social reality made their migrant backgrounds visible in their advertisements

24. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 126, 24 January

25. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 121, 20 December 1913

26. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 147, 26 June 1914

and foregrounded the Islamic identity that created a more inclusive sense of belonging. In this way, both the sense of victimhood and religious solidarity became powerful components of commercial discourse during this period.

An advertisement published by Yazıcızade İsmail Bey Hakkı and Hasan Beyzade Ferhad Bey demonstrates that Turks and Muslims could serve society not only as consumers but also as employers. These members of the local notable families, who played an important role in the national and economic awakening of Edirne, offered olive oil produced in their factory, equipped with previously unused technology, to the public. The advertisement praised the quality of the olive oil and pointed out the opportunity for economic savings with the phrase “if you wish to protect your budget, you should visit this genuine Turkish enterprise.” The final sentence of the announcement reinforced the spirit of mutual assistance prevalent at the time, stating “This genuine Turkish business pledges to provide all kinds of convenience to Muslim grocers and companies.”²⁷ The fact that the business explicitly declared that it would only facilitate dealings with Muslim businesses clearly illustrates that non-Muslim Ottoman enterprises were no longer considered part of the National Economy.

The exclusion of non-Muslim Ottoman citizens from national economic policies was essentially a continuation of the Muslim Boycott, which began during the Balkan Wars and gained permanence thereafter. With the onset of the Balkan Wars, it was observed and recorded by witnesses in the field that non-Muslim elements did not feel any spiritual connection to the Ottoman army and even took satisfaction in its defeat.²⁸ Indeed, during the war, many Greek soldiers serving in the Ottoman army were seen to defect to the enemy side, and it was discovered that some Ottoman Greek citizens had voluntarily enlisted in the Greek army.²⁹ One of the most critical events directly affecting the course of the war was the gifting of the *Averof* battleship to Greece by an Ottoman Greek citizen. This ship effectively trapped the Ottoman navy within the Dardanelles and played a decisive role in the Ottoman Empire’s defeat in the Balkan Wars.³⁰

All these events led, for the first time, to the use of the boycott weapon not against foreign powers but against groups perceived as internal enemies by the Turkish and Muslim segments of Ottoman society. In this new period, the reasons and proposed solutions for this movement, referred to as the Muslim Boycott, were articulated in detail in a pamphlet titled “*Müslümanlara Mahsus Kurtuluş Yolu* (The Path to

27. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 147, 26 June 1914

28. Leon Trotsky, *Balkan Savaşları*, trans. Tansel Güney (Arba Yayınları, 1995), 232.

29. Kerimoğlu, “Rumlara Karşı Boykot,” 93.

30. Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 126.

Salvation for Muslims),” which was distributed freely to the public. According to this pamphlet, trade within the Ottoman lands was dominated by Greeks, and as a result, “poor, confused, and unaware Muslims” were unknowingly financing enemy armies with their own money. The pamphlet offered a very clear path to salvation: Muslims needed to enter into trade immediately and buy exclusively from Muslim merchants. In this context, Greek stores such as Haçopulo, Yanko, Alsetopulo, and Petro were to be boycotted, while transactions should be conducted instead with Turkish and Muslim traders such as Kahyaoğulları, Karaosman, Uşakizadeler, Hacı Muhiddin, and Mehmed Şakir.³¹ This desire found a discursive expression in the following lines from an article published at the time: “Oh Lord, what a celebration and festival it will be when Turks and Muslims shop only with one another and use local goods as much as possible.”³² The boycott calls were so effective that Turkish and Muslim citizens who were seen shopping at stores owned by non-Muslims were shamed by society and in some cases were even physically assaulted.³³

In this period, when both producers and customers took pride in their Turkish or Muslim identity, it was naturally expected that the workers employed in these businesses would also share the same ethno-religious background. In fact, this expectation had already begun to manifest in the intellectual climate even before the Balkan Wars. The presence of the Turkish and Muslim element not only as entrepreneurs or capital owners but also as a labour force in the fields of industry and commerce was a highly significant issue for the intellectuals of the time. A striking example of this perspective can be observed in the developments that followed the annexation of Crete by the Kingdom of Greece. During this process, the Turkish and Muslim population in Izmir called for a boycott of all businesses employing Greek workers and demanded that these workers be dismissed and replaced with Turkish or Muslim labourers. Despite the diplomatic intervention of American Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, these demands were largely met and the intended labour transformation was successfully implemented.³⁴

Reflecting this approach, job advertisements of the time explicitly prioritized Turkish and Muslim identities. For example, in a job announcement issued by *Kadıköy İttihad-ı Ticaret Osmanlı Şirket-i Bakkaliyesi* (Kadıköy Union of Trade Ottoman Grocery Company), it was stated that in addition to professional competence and literacy, applicants were specifically required to be Muslim.³⁵ Similarly, in another advertisement titled “Barber Apprentice Wanted,” the only stated criterion for em-

31. Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 132–133.

32. Köse, *Dersaadet’te Tüketim (1855-1923)*, 384.

33. Ahmad, *the Ottoman Nationalities*, 50.

34. Kurnaz Şahin, “İzmir Havalisinde Boykot Hareketi,” 316.

35. *İkdam* 6245, 10 July 1914

ployment was that the apprentice must be Turkish.³⁶ Furthermore, some advertisements show that the Turkish or Muslim identity was not only a priority criterion for hiring but also used as a source of pride for the business itself. Indeed, in the “Come and See” advertisement of a clothing store founded by Arif Zeki, two main features were highlighted in presenting the business: its 25 years of successful activity in the trade sector and the employment of more than 200 Turkish and Muslim workers.³⁷

An advertisement issued by *Türk Sanayi ve İnşaat-ı Milliye Şirketi* (Turkish Industry and National Construction Company), owned by Muammer Osman and his partners, clearly demonstrates how important it was considered for workers in businesses to possess a Turkish or Muslim identity. The advertisement is not merely a company promotion but also serves as a call for the sale of shares. In this context, Muammer Osman invites potential investors to visit the factory with the following words: “Would you like to see forty or fifty skilled Turkish craftsmen and Muslim youth working in a factory at motorized benches, and how they are serving public wealth and the homeland? Then come immediately to our factory at the address above.”³⁸ The phrase “at motorized benches” in the advertisement is particularly striking. While most commercial advertisements of the period do not include any emphasis on technological infrastructure, this one highlights that the factory is equipped with modern machinery and presents this feature as a mark of superiority. In this regard, as Hanioglu also notes, a central theme in the intellectual framework of the time was the aspiration for Turks to regain technological competence as a way to strengthen their political and economic sovereignty.³⁹ Therefore, this factory, which operates with motorized equipment, serves not only as an economic model but also as an ideological one.

Another notable element in the advertisement is the emphasis on the ethno-religious identity of the workers. It is not only stated that the workforce consists of “skilled Turkish craftsmen” and “Muslim youth” but this emphasis is repeated at the end of the advertisement, where it is noted that Muslim masons, carpenters, plasterers, decorators, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and stove makers are employed at the factory. This repetition does more than reinforce the ethnic and religious nature of the labour force, it also seeks to present an employment model aligned with the ideals of national economy. In this way, the company projects an ideal image of a “national factory” that reflects both the ideological and economic objectives of the period through its production technology and labour profile.

36. *Tanin* 1906, 14 April 1914

37. *İkdam* 6245, 10 July 1914

38. *İkdam* 6216, 11 June 1914

39. Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 7.

On the other hand, the prioritization of Turkish and Muslim populations in employment was not limited to the initiative of individual businesses. It also became an institutional policy supported by the state. In 1916, a regulation issued by the CUP made it compulsory for foreign companies operating in the industrial sector to gradually adopt Turkish as the language of operation.⁴⁰ However, this trend did not begin solely with legal regulations. It appears to have already started in practice much earlier. An early indication of this transformation can be found in a cartoon published in the journal *Servet-i Fünun* in 1914. The cartoon depicted a conversation between an Ottoman citizen with a Turkish or Muslim identity and a non-Muslim individual. The Turkish or Muslim character asked, “Monsieur, what are your thoughts?” The non-Muslim individual replied, “I cannot find a job because I do not speak Turkish.” In response, the Turkish or Muslim character said, “It is not about sake, it is about sequence. Previously, I could not find a job because I did not speak French.”⁴¹ This dialogue effectively illustrated how the foundations of employment relationships in Ottoman society were shifting in terms of language and identity. It clearly signalled a transition from a multicultural economic order where French had been the dominant language to a new era in which Turkish and, by extension, the Turkish and Muslim identity held a central place.

40. Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 156.

41. Orhan Koloğlu, *Türkiye Karikatür Tarihi* (Bileşim Yayınevi, 2005), 137.

Figure 3.2 Sedat Simavi's cartoon



The final component of the new discursive framework that became prominent in advertisements during this period was the rise of militarism. In one of the most comprehensive works on this subject, military historian Alfred Vagts categorized militarism into two main types: military militarism and civilian militarism. He defined civilian militarism as follows:

The unquestioning embrace of military values, ethos, principles, attitudes; as ranking military institutions and considerations above all others in the state; as finding the heroic predominantly in military service and action, including war—to the preparation of which the nation's main interest and resources must be dedicated, with the inevitability

and goodness of war always presumed.⁴²

Following the Balkan Wars, as the Ottoman Empire was drawn into an existential struggle, militarism became an inseparable element of the worldview of the CUP.⁴³ A significant factor in the formation of this ideological orientation was the fact that more than two-thirds of the CUP cadre came from military backgrounds. These individuals had been educated under the influence of German militarism and the ideas of General Colmar von der Goltz, who had trained generations of Ottoman officers. Additionally, the 1905 military victory of Japan, a non-Western power, over Russia created a deep psychological shift in the minds of this generation. As a result of these developments, CUP leaders came to believe that a modern state could only be built on the ideal of an armed nation and that the true strength of the state could only be achieved through a militarized society. The idea that Turks should be a nation of soldiers gained significant traction in the CUP press, particularly after the outbreak of the Balkan Wars in 1912. This notion was so widespread that even in respected women's magazines of the period, readers were encouraged to raise their sons as soldiers for the homeland.⁴⁴ The discourse that Turks were inherently a "military nation" or even a "military race" did not remain confined to the CUP period. It also became one of the core elements of the nationalist ideology constructed in the Republican era. The fact that this discourse continues to be reproduced in certain nationalist circles today demonstrates how powerfully the foundation of civilian militarism was laid in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars.⁴⁵

The influence of rising civilian militarism after the Balkan Wars began to appear quite clearly in advertisements of the period. One of the most striking examples of this militarist discourse can be seen in the advertisement for a book titled "*Harp Oyunları* (Warfare Games)", published by a library. The text of the advertisement serves almost as a brief manifesto of civilian militarism: "In our homeland, where life can only be secured through the permanence of military service, if there is an issue of utmost importance, it is that everyone must learn military service and warfare games. The Japanese progressed only through this means. Read the warfare games!"⁴⁶ Though brief, the advertisement is loaded with ideological meaning and fully reflects the discursive spirit of militarism. It begins by associating the survival of the nation directly with military service. It then presents the acquisition of

42. Alfred Vagts, *A History Of Militarism : Civilian And Military* (Meridian Books, 1959), 453.

43. Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 212.

44. Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (I. B. Tauris, 2010), 118.

45. Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 32.

46. *İkdam* 5859, 13 June 1913

knowledge about military matters and warfare techniques as the most vital issue for national existence. In this context, Japan's emphasis on military knowledge during its modernization process is highlighted, and the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905 is recalled to emphasize the role that military capability plays in a nation's development and international prestige.

Another manifestation of militarism in the advertisements of the period was the emphasis placed on supporting the Ottoman army. Numerous businesses declared in their advertisements that purchases made from their shops would directly contribute to the army. For instance, an advertisement by Mustafa Şamlı and his son announced that woollen winter socks, undershirts, and similar locally produced items intended for soldiers who had rendered great service to the homeland in the recent war would be sold in their store at exceptionally affordable prices.⁴⁷ This advertisement stands out as a vivid example of how the nationalist economic discourse was deeply intertwined with a militarist context, as it highlighted both the local origin of the products and their intended use for the military. Another prominent theme in advertisements was the explicit reference to the Balkan Wars. Many businesses sought to keep the memory of the sacrifices and hardships endured by soldiers alive while incorporating that memory into their commercial communication. For example, an advertisement given by *Donanma Mecmuası* (Naval Magazine) reminded readers of the losses suffered due to the weakness of the Ottoman navy during the previous war and encouraged them to subscribe to the magazine in order to make a modest contribution to strengthening the navy.⁴⁸

On the other hand, an advertisement placed by the *Osmanlı Hediye-yi Askeriye İmalathanesi* (Ottoman Military Gift Workshop) showed that some businesses were established explicitly to support the military. As the name suggests, the enterprise was founded with the specific aim of producing supplies for Ottoman soldiers. The advertisement addressed itself to patriotic citizens who did not forget their duty to give gifts to the devoted soldiers who protected Ottoman honour. This wording clearly indicated that giving gifts to soldiers was no longer considered a personal choice but had become a national and moral obligation. The soldier was portrayed not only as a security figure but also as the fundamental protector of Ottoman honour. The advertisement also stated that the enterprise manufactured its goods according to the official standards set by the Red Crescent and the Ministry of War and that it was capable of delivering up to ten thousand items per week upon request. The assurance that product prices would not be exaggerated or inflated suggested that this service was intended not as a commercial venture but as a public

47. *Tanin* 1477, 21 October 1912

48. *Şehbal* 89, 28 January

duty.⁴⁹ Also, the collaboration with the Red Crescent and the Ministry of War demonstrated that such enterprises were not merely private initiatives but were also national projects organized with the knowledge and approval of the state.

On the other hand, one of the most striking features of this advertisement was its visual presentation, which included a compelling image of a crescent and star. Although nationalist and militarist rhetoric was at the forefront of advertisements during this period, these advertisements also paid particular attention to modern marketing techniques. Compared to the previous period, the layout, visual elements, and content organization of the advertisements had become more professional and eye-catching. This reflects how ideological discourse and the principles of modern advertising had begun to merge in a visible and effective way.

The final example illustrating the reflection of militarism in advertising discourse is particularly noteworthy as it represents the entrepreneurial spirit of Turks and Muslims, which was one of the key components of the nationalist economic mindset of the period. As the value of entrepreneurship significantly increased during this new era, it was inevitable that the public interest in the military would also be transformed into a commercial opportunity, leading to the emergence of joint-stock company ventures. In this context, *Eşya-yı Askeriye Anonim Ticaret Şirket-i Müesseseleri* (the Military Equipment Joint-Stock Trading Company Institutions), founded under the leadership of Brigadier General Ömer Nazım Bey and İpekçi İsmail Efendi, published an advertisement inviting the public to purchase shares. The company's capital consisted of two thousand shares, each valued at ten Ottoman liras. Shareholders who owned five shares were granted the right to attend general assembly meetings, while those who owned three shares were given the opportunity to work within the company.⁵⁰ This advertisement also reveals a distinctive feature of joint-stock company advertisements from this period. In the previously examined examples, details such as the company's charter or the rights of shareholders were not included.

The purpose of the company was clearly stated in the advertisement: to supply the Ottoman army and its officers with clothing, overcoats, boots, belts, swords, binoculars, saddles, trunks, and similar equipment, as well as household items and linens for officers about to get married, either on a cash or instalment basis. Additionally, the company declared that it would act as a broker in the trade of such items rather than engage in direct production. Although this might appear to be a modest commercial endeavour or even a step back at first glance, considering the conditions of the period, it becomes clear that brokerage itself could acquire the status of a public

49. *Tanin* 1479, 23 October 1912

50. *Tanin* 1906, 14 April 1914

service when the need for Turkish and Muslim entrepreneurship aligned with the logistical requirements of the military.

The final part of the advertisement contained both a militarist and trust-building message. The company proudly declared that the majority of its founders were officers from the army, navy, and gendarmerie, aiming to establish credibility through national and military representation. Taken together, all these elements demonstrate how nationalist economic discourse and militarist ideology became deeply interwoven, and how militarist rhetoric was powerfully reproduced not only in political texts but also in cultural and commercial productions that had become part of everyday life.

3.4 “Wake Up, Turks!”: Advertisements Inviting the Turkish/Muslim Element into Commerce

On June 16, 1913, merely one week after the end of the First Balkan War, a notably brief yet striking advertisement appeared in the newspaper *Tanin*. Published by Oiler Osmanzade Cemaleddin, a tradesman in the Balıkpazarı district, the advertisement included the following statement: “Wake up, Turks! Engage in the trade of edible goods. Let us never forget that this is humanity’s most vital need.”⁵¹ In both form and content, this advertisement diverged sharply from the conventional advertising norms of the period. Although previous advertisements often reflected the prevailing political and social atmosphere, their primary aim was still the promotion of a product or a business. In contrast, Yağcı Osmanzade Cemaleddin’s message was not commercially motivated. Rather than promoting a specific enterprise, it functioned as an ideological appeal, calling on readers to take action. The message was clear: Turks must awaken and immediately enter the sphere of commerce.

This appeal appears to have been grounded in a legitimate concern. According to industrial statistics from the years 1913 to 1915, of the 264 registered industrial enterprises operating across the Ottoman Empire, only 42 were under Turkish or Muslim ownership. This figure corresponds to a mere 19.6% of the total. In the food industry, the situation was even more dire. Out of 75 establishments, only eight were owned by Turkish or Muslim individuals.⁵² Although Ottoman industry was predominantly based on agriculture, even the most basic agricultural commodities, including the so-called “three whites” of flour, sugar, and rice, were heavily reliant

51. *Tanin* 1633, 16 June 1913

52. Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 269.

on imports.⁵³ Moreover, it should be noted that these statistics were recorded nearly seven years after the 1908 Austrian boycott, during a time when calls for domestic production were most strongly voiced in the press. Despite repeated appeals and public self-criticism, these figures clearly demonstrate that no substantial transformation in Favor of the Turkish or Muslim element had yet occurred.

Aware of the gravity of the situation, the CUP leadership and the nationalist or religious ideologues of the time turned to a far-reaching project of social engineering. The question of how to encourage Muslim participation in trade within the Ottoman Empire was by no means a new one. This issue had been on the agenda of Ottoman intellectuals for over a century. For example, during the reign of Selim III, a group known as the *Hayriye Merchants* was established through the granting of special charters in an effort to create a class of Muslim merchants. However, these attempts failed to yield the desired results in terms of either numbers or commercial capacity.⁵⁴ During the reign of Abdülhamid II, this goal was further pursued by introducing courses on trade and industry in Muslim schools. Nevertheless, due to infrastructural shortcomings in education and low literacy rates, these efforts were also largely unsuccessful.⁵⁵

By 1913, however, the conditions had changed considerably. While non-Muslim elements were being systematically excluded from economic life, the state began creating opportunities for Turkish and Muslim entrepreneurs to fill the resulting void. The only remaining task was to awaken a capitalist spirit within the Turkish and Muslim population.⁵⁶ In this context, many advertisements, such as the one issued by Oiler Osmanzade Cemaleddin, directly addressed the Turkish and Muslim public, emphasizing that the only viable path to national progress lay in their active participation in commerce and in the public's support for these new enterprises. Rather than functioning as conventional advertisements, these messages resembled propaganda texts or ideological manifestos.

A notable example of this approach can be found in an advertisement issued by *Arif Zeki Ticarethanesi* (Arif Zeki Trading House), titled "It is Trade That Will Save Turkishness." The advertisement argued that the survival of Turkish identity depended on revitalizing and encouraging domestic trade. It stressed the importance of instilling a sense of connection and emotional investment in commerce among the youth. But how was this sentiment to be cultivated? According to the advertisement, by dressing well. Anyone wishing to appear well-dressed was invited to Arif

53. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 15.

54. Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrimüslimler*, 99.

55. Kılınçoğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisat ve Kapitalizm*, 196.

56. Ibid., 202.

Zeki Trading House, where they could acquire ready-made or custom-made garments either in cash or on credit.⁵⁷ From beginning to end, the ad read more like an ideological treatise than a commercial promotion. Structured like a newspaper article written by a nationalist intellectual, it only revealed its commercial nature in the concluding lines. A similar advertisement was issued by Molla Hüseyinzade Hafız Osman. This lengthy text began by expressing satisfaction with the growing interest in commerce among the public following the Balkan Wars. It then urged all Muslims to support these nascent businesses in order to ensure their survival and expansion, emphasizing that only in this way could national capital be accumulated. As with the Arif Zeki advertisement, no information about the advertiser's business appears in the first half of the text. In the second half, however, the advertisement proudly announces that *Emniyet Bakkaliyesi* (Emniyet Grocery), managed by Molla Hüseyinzade Hafız Osman, had increased its production and opened a new store across the street under the name *İntibah Yağhanesi* (İntibah Oil Trading House). The message concluded by asserting that this new shop would meet all customer expectations and expressing confidence in the public's continued support.⁵⁸

It becomes evident that the efforts to encourage the Turkish and Muslim population to engage in commerce through advertisements did not go unanswered. According to Zafer Toprak, nearly 500 new Turkish and Muslim shops were opened in Istanbul alone following the Muslim Boycott.⁵⁹ In the advertisements of that period, it became a common rhetorical practice to emphasize that these newly opened businesses were established thanks to the increasing interest and support of Turkish and Muslim customers. For instance, in the opening announcement of *Mehmet Mahir Ticaret-i Bakkaliye Mağazası* (Mehmet Mahir Grocery Store), the reason for the store's establishment is clearly stated as being "the Favor shown by our co-religionist,"⁶⁰ thus expressing gratitude for the communal support. Similarly, in an advertisement concerning *Hanımlara Mahsus Saç Ticarethanesi* (Hair Trading Shop Exclusively for Ladies), Mahmud Nedim declares that a second branch has been opened thanks to the public's appreciation and extends his thanks to "our noble-hearted nation," thereby reinforcing a sense of social solidarity.⁶¹

In this vein, another advertisement by Oiler Osmanzade Cemaleddin, who had previously drawn attention with his "Wake Up, Turks!" notice, directly invites Turks to visit both his store in Balıkpazarı and a newly opened branch in Kadıköy. The advertisement stresses that by witnessing both the quality of the products and the

57. *İkdam* 5854, 8 June 1913

58. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 149, 10 July 1914

59. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 133.

60. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 133, 14 March 1914

61. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 129, 14 February 1914

density of customers, Turkish visitors would be encouraged to direct at least their children toward commercial pursuits.⁶² All of these advertisements share a common feature: they go beyond merely thanking Turkish and Muslim consumers and emphasize that the economic success achieved was directly due to public support. In this way, economic development is framed as a collective achievement and a national duty. These messages also carry an implicit encouragement: “If I could do it, so can you. Now is the time.”

However, the advertisements did not solely call on Turkish and Muslim individuals to enter commerce, they also played a significant role in redefining patterns of consumption. As noted in a previous section, the use of domestic products began to be strongly promoted in public discourse, particularly following the 1908 Austrian boycott. During that period, advertisements addressed all Ottoman citizens, urging them to prefer “national goods” or “products of the homeland.” Over time, however, the definition of what constituted “national” underwent a significant transformation. As van Os notes, the meaning of “national” gradually shifted from referring to products not imported from outside the Ottoman Empire to those produced specifically by Muslims.⁶³ As a result of this transformation, a Turkish or Muslim citizen who cared about the survival of the Ottoman state was now expected to consume only those goods produced by Turkish or Muslim manufacturers. In contrast to the more inclusive language of the earlier period, these new patterns of consumption were promoted through a discourse heavily shaped by ethnic and religious references. In this context, a new form of “consumer citizenship” was constructed—one that was not only economic but also ideological in nature and aligned with Islamic or Turkish identity, or a fusion of both.

There are several striking examples of advertisements that employed both religious and nationalist rhetoric to guide the Turkish and Muslim public toward this new model of consumption. The advertisement titled “Let Us Use Domestic Goods” by *Şamlı Musa Bey Ticarethanesi* (The Trading Company of Musa Bey from Damascus) serves as a powerful example of how this newly formulated consumer citizenship was grounded in Islamic discourse. The advertisement opens by stating that the greatest of all forms of jihad is the economic one. It continues by declaring that the Muslim community is currently suffering under foreign domination and that the only path to salvation lies in economic struggle. According to the text, national development is possible only when the people use products manufactured by their own nation.⁶⁴ The advertisement takes this idea further by claiming that in the modern world,

62. *İkdam* 5854, 8 July 1913

63. Os, “From Conspicuous to Conscious Consumers,” 113.

64. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 126, 24 January 1914

wealth is the dominant power and that no army or navy can withstand it. It asserts that any nation lacking wealth will inevitably be weak. Economic success is thus presented as a matter of survival. The advertisement reframes economic jihad as a new form of religious duty. It explicitly states that if Muslims succeed in this effort, they will rise; if not, they will perish. Within this framework, the use of domestic products is no longer a simple economic preference but a moral and religious obligation. The advertisement invites customers to persistently commit to local goods and identifies The Trading Company of Musa Bey from Damascus as the path to fulfilling this responsibility. This advertisement is written in a sombre tone that appeals directly to the reader's fears and anxieties. Its aim is to impose a new sense of responsibility on the Turkish and Muslim audience by evoking the concept of jihad and to remind them of the existential threats facing the Ottoman Empire. In doing so, the economic discourse embedded in the text becomes intertwined with religious obligations, serving as a powerful tool of mobilization.

Another example that illustrates how religious and nationalist discourses combined to construct a new model of consumer citizenship can be found in an advertisement published by *Kağıtçı Hilmi Mağazası* (Papermaker Hilmi Store), titled "A True Turk's Islamic Store." The very title of this advertisement serves as a powerful symbol of the discursive universe of the era. The advertisement begins by advising customers that the small amounts of money in their pockets should not be spent randomly, but rather at a business owned by fellow believers who are "true Turks." The phrase "random businesses" is implicitly understood to refer to non-Muslim enterprises.⁶⁵ As the advertisement continues, Kağıtçı Hilmi argues that these small expenditures will result in great services for the homeland and the religion. He assures readers that through purchases made at his store, more qualified publications will be produced for both them and their children, and there should be no doubt about this. The text then attributes the Balkan disasters to a lack of education, emphasizing that even children are aware of the poverty of the national language. It proposes a concrete solution: by purchasing stationery from this store, customers would be supporting national education while also contributing to the growth of a Turkish and Muslim business. The advertisement ends with the promise that once the store expands, it will offer a broader range of products in the future.

Both advertisements strongly urge their audiences to prefer Turkish and Muslim products and to shop at businesses owned by individuals who share this identity. However, papermaker Hilmi's advertisement presents this encouragement in a more subtle and persuasive manner. While Musa Bey from Damascus's message is framed around fear, anxiety, and existential threats, papermaker Hilmi offers the customer a

65. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 122, 27 December 1913

“win-win” scenario. By spending their money at a business owned by fellow believers and self-proclaimed true Turks, customers will not only help the store grow and diversify its offerings, but they will also be fulfilling a civic duty by contributing to national education.

A common theme shared by these advertisements, including those of Musa Bey from Damascus and papermaker Hilmi, is the rising hostility toward foreign goods. Especially after the Balkan Wars, the resentment and prejudice against foreign products reached a more radical level than in previous years. Between 1908 and 1913, although boycott movements were organized in response to diplomatic tensions with Austria, Bulgaria, the Kingdom of Greece, and later Italy, foreign goods had not yet become symbols of absolute negativity. However, in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars, foreign products began to be portrayed as the primary cause of the Ottoman economy’s subjugation to foreign control. Evidence of this ideological transformation can be found in the popular publications of the time. One example is the promotion of a book by Parvus Efendi titled “The Lifeblood of Turkey,” which was introduced with the following statement: “This work is not only a textbook, but a book of life. It is centred on how Turkey fell into European economic domination and how it can be saved.”⁶⁶ This promotional language reflects the ideological dimension of the growing reaction within Ottoman society against foreign economic hegemony.

In this context, an advertisement published by *Süleyman Beyzade Terzihanesi* (Süleyman Beyzade Tailoring House) offers a striking example of the emerging discourse shaped around foreign antagonism. The advertisement adopts a critical tone toward foreign-owned clothing shops in Beyoğlu, accusing them of charging excessively high prices for tailoring services and urging readers to avoid such businesses. It announces the presence of a renowned tailor who not only offers reasonable prices but also uses high-quality and fashionable fabrics, while providing rapid service.⁶⁷ The advertisement is further enriched with a rare cartoon typical of the period. In the cartoon, two Ottoman gentlemen are seen conversing. One says, “Strange thing... my wife insists on seeing me dressed well... I don’t know what to do.” The other replies, “What should you do? Have a suit tailored at Süleyman Beyzade Tailoring House, that’s all.” This combination of visual and verbal narrative reinforces the social distancing from foreign enterprises and simultaneously enhances the prestige of the local tailor.

66. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 145, 12 June 1914

67. *Şehbal* 92, 14 March 1914

Figure 3.3 Cartoon of Süleyman Beyzade Nihat Terzihanesi



A growing emphasis on trust in local production is also reflected in another advertisement, published by *Bekirzade Hacı Emir Hasan Ticarethanesi* (Bekirzade Hacı Emir Hasan Trading House) under the title “Guaranteed Local Products.” Unlike the advertisements of the Austrian Boycott era, which often adopted a defensive and apologetic tone, this advertisement reveals a new sense of self-confidence among Turkish and Muslim producers. The trading house proudly asserts that its products are not only equal in quality to European goods but also superior in durability and elegance. The reason for this superiority is attributed to the fact that the products are made by local craftsmen.⁶⁸ The increasing visibility of such advertisements not only demonstrates the intensifying negative perception of foreign goods but also signals a redefinition of the value of domestic production. Local production now begins to be framed not only as an economic preference but also as an ideological stance. Consumer behaviour is transformed into a civic responsibility and a form of national resistance. Within this discursive framework, the voice of the Turkish and Muslim producer grows louder, while foreign goods become associated with the image of an

68. *İkdam* 5859, 13 June 1913

external enemy threatening the economic independence of Ottoman society.

Before concluding this subchapter, it would be appropriate to make an important reminder. Although there was a noticeable decline in advertisements belonging to non-Muslim Ottoman citizens and Western companies in the Ottoman press following the Balkan Wars, this should not be interpreted as evidence that true Turkish or Muslim dominance had been established in the Ottoman economy. Dependency on foreign markets persisted. On one hand, consumers of foreign brands such as Nestlé were being publicly accused of treason,⁶⁹ while on the other hand, the Ottoman state itself was cooperating with companies like Nestlé to supply provisions for the army.⁷⁰ Furthermore, statistical data from the period show that nearly half of the Ottoman capital was still in the hands of the Greek community.⁷¹

Therefore, it is extremely important not to confuse the discourse found in advertisements published between 1913 and 1915 with the actual economic conditions. An observer who relies solely on these advertisements might easily conclude that the period had fundamentally changed and that the Turkish or Muslim element had come to hold a decisive role in economic life. The underlying reason for this misperception may lie in the fact that newspapers were unwilling to publish advertisements from non-Muslim businesses. In reality, the state of the economy was far more complex. While there was a certain degree of awakening, the real transformation would occur only after the First World War. In this regard, the complaints voiced by Nazife İclal, a regular contributor to the journal *Kadınlar Dünyası*, about the failure of Turkish or Muslim entrepreneurship to reach the desired level, show that this disappointment was also felt in intellectual women's circles of the time:

During the despotic era, anyone who wished to open a business would be afraid. And to some extent, this fear was justified. For establishing such an enterprise would almost be like showcasing one's own wealth or even mere existence, which meant sending an open invitation to the henchmen and agents of that dark period... because people like that would be given no chance, their cash and goods would be seized. Their families would be thrown into destitution or exiled to some remote corner of the world. Yes, indeed, under such circumstances, the idea of becoming an entrepreneur could hardly be imagined, it could not even be contemplated. But now? What is the reason for this continued fear of working? Why does hesitation persist when it comes to engaging in trade? If only we had even a modest degree of land-based trade, it would certainly have greatly benefited our maritime commerce and naval development. For in

69. Köse, *Dersaadet'te Tüketim (1855-1923)*, 362.

70. Köse, "Nestlé: A Brief History," 752.

71. Başkaya, *Paradigmanın İflası*, 238.

that case, the treasury of the government would be filled, and our state would once again attempt to defend this ungrateful nation that does not wish to protect its own homeland, by acquiring ships and building a navy.⁷²

3.5 Women in National Economy Advertisements

The proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era brought about a rapid expansion in the Ottoman press, which in turn led to a notable increase in the number of magazines directed at women and children. This development also resulted in a marked rise in articles that questioned and debated the social positions and roles of women and children. However, the most significant distinction of this period was that women were now able to respond to these questions themselves. Although the issue of womanhood had been raised prior to the constitutional period, these discussions were generally dominated by male voices. Male intellectuals, working within the framework of contemporary political and cultural imaginations, sought to construct a vision of the "modern woman" that would align with the ideals of the new society they envisaged. Some scholars have referred to this phenomenon as "male feminism."⁷³

However, the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era, rendered the role of women in Ottoman society more visible and influential than ever before in history. In particular, the periodical *Kadınlar Dünyası*, which was produced entirely by women, declared from its very first issue that it would not accept the boundaries of womanhood defined by men.⁷⁴ During this period, women were not only making demands for rights, but were also striving to become equal to men in terms of social responsibility and duty. The improvements in organizational opportunities following the constitutional declaration enabled women to form associations and civic structures, leading to the establishment of numerous women's organizations known as *Cemiyet-i Nisvan* (Women Organisation). These organizations played a critical role both in the social integration of women and in their assumption of public responsibilities during the crises of the period.⁷⁵

Among the areas where women became increasingly active, economics was especially

72. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 18, 29 November 1913

73. Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar: Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler* (İletişim Yayınları, 2021), 742.

74. Ibid., 746.

75. Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014), 18.

significant. As the Ottoman Empire entered a struggle for survival, it became essential for women, who constituted half of the population, to participate in economic life alongside men. However, women's struggle in this field was carried out on a much more complex and multilayered front compared to men. Upon entering the economic sphere, women found themselves facing a triple struggle. First, as Ottomans, they had to resist the international division of labour that had reduced the empire to the role of a raw material supplier and consumer of manufactured European goods. Second, as Muslims, they aimed to challenge the perceived ethno-religious division of labour within the empire and sought to increase the role of the Muslim population in economic life. Third, and perhaps most challengingly, as women, they sought to overcome the gendered division of labour that assigned productive roles to men and cast women merely as consumers.⁷⁶

Despite this multifaceted struggle, the CUP did not always view women's participation in economic life favourably. One of the leading figures of the party, Mehmet Cavit Bey, who played a pivotal role in shaping Ottoman economic policy, argued that women working in similar jobs as men would distract them from their essential duty of motherhood, which would in turn negatively affect the population.⁷⁷ Many shared Mehmet Cavit Bey's perspective, however, once the Pandora's box had been opened, it could no longer be closed. Women were determined to maintain their presence in the economic sphere and to make their visibility permanent.

With this transformation, women were not only included as producers but also emerged as a targeted consumer group within the expanding field of advertising. As the number of literate women increased and periodicals addressed to women proliferated, a distinct advertising discourse aimed at women began to take shape. Within this discourse, one can clearly trace the ideological markers of the National Economy movement of the period. One of the most prominent themes was the ideological call to reduce female consumption. The widespread belief that "men produce and women consume" rendered female consumption a moral issue. The fact that most consumer goods were imported or produced and sold by non-Muslims was identified as the root cause of the problem. In one article published in *Kadınlar Dünyası*, it was claimed that Ottoman women were responsible for the transfer of approximately fifteen million Ottoman *lira* to Europe through their purchases, thereby accusing them of being complicit in economic dependence.⁷⁸ As a result, the ideal woman of the period was constructed not only as a frugal figure but also as one who, when making purchases, exclusively supported Turkish or Muslim producers

76. Os, "From Conspicuous to Conscious Consumers," 119.

77. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü*, 36.

78. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 19, 6 December 1913

and merchants.

The series of advertisements published by *Mebde-i Servet Anonim Osmanlı Şirketi* (First Wealth Anonymous Ottoman Joint-Stock Company), all of which were addressed specifically to women, offers a striking reflection of the new forms of responsibility assigned to women within the discourse of national economy. In these advertisements, the call for economic citizenship directed at women is not merely framed as a matter of consumer preference, but rather constructed within a framework of sanctified duty and moral obligation. The opening sentence of the first advertisement clearly illustrates the historical role imposed upon women during this new period: “The fate of the homeland is in your hands, for you are jointly responsible for both the progress and the disasters of the nation and the homeland.”⁷⁹ With this statement, women’s patterns of consumption are directly linked to the fate of the nation, and it is implied that misguided choices may lead the country into disaster. So how can women become partners in progress instead of disaster? The advertisement offers a clear answer: women should invest their savings not in foreign companies that increase foreign capital, but in the shares of an Ottoman enterprise such as the First Wealth Anonymous Ottoman Joint-Stock Company.

Another advertisement issued by the company, titled “We Thank You,” proudly announces that Muslim women have responded positively to the call of national economy. According to the advertisement, dozens of women visit the company’s headquarters every day, purchasing shares and at the same time acquiring goods either in cash or on credit. Through this economic engagement, women are not only participating in commercial activity but are also proving themselves to be “the guarantors of the truth and prosperity of the homeland.”⁸⁰ In the final part of the advertisement series, under the title “Good News for Patriotic Ladies,” it is declared that the company has reached its goals. The credit resources of First Wealth Anonymous Ottoman Joint-Stock Company have expanded significantly, and the company has grown strong enough to eliminate the need for foreign institutions. This success is attributed directly to the support shown by Ottoman women in line with the ideal of national economy. The final line of the advertisement functions as a slogan encapsulating the essence of the national economic vision: “Ottoman life and Ottoman money can only be sustained if they remain in Ottoman hands.”⁸¹ This series of advertisements can be read as part of a mobilization strategy aimed at activating women on both emotional and rational levels. Women are not only praised and exalted, but also directly invited to undertake an economic responsibility.

79. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 129, 14 February 1914

80. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 130, 21 February 1914

81. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 133, 14 March 1914

One of the most striking examples in which women were encouraged not only to consume but also to actively participate in the process of capital accumulation appears in a 1914 advertisement published by *Uhuvvet-i Osmaniye Halk Anonim Şirketi* (Brotherhood of Ottoman Carpet Joint Stock Company). As discussed in an earlier section, the company's earlier advertisements focused on basic commercial promotion. However, this new advertisement, published approximately six years later, not only reflects the institutional transformation of the company but also reveals the ideological evolution of the discourse on national economy. Unlike its earlier modest tone, this advertisement is constructed through an explicitly Islamic, nationalist, and agitational language. Furthermore, the title of the advertisement, "Women of Istanbul, Now It Is Your Turn," bears rhetorical similarities to the speeches of contemporary stock market enthusiasts.⁸² The advertisement begins by stating that respectable men, moved by patriotic cries from the depths of their hearts, have started saving money by consuming one less cigarette and two fewer cups of coffee each day, and with these savings, have purchased shares in the company. Through this narrative of sacrifice, women are called upon to take on similar responsibilities. Referring to the proverb "the female bird builds the nest," the text emphasizes that it must be women who will build and restore the homeland. Just as men reduce their consumption of cigarettes and coffee to invest, women are expected to reduce spending on picnics, outings, and leisure activities in order to allocate their savings toward company shares. In this way, personal sacrifice is interwoven with public responsibility, and the ethics of investment is elevated above the ethics of consumption.

One of the most notable aspects of the advertisement is the way it frames shareholding not only as a financial investment but also as a tool of social solidarity, which was highly emphasized during this period. The text states that the revenue generated through share purchases would be used to establish a sock factory in Yedikule. This factory would provide employment to migrant families who had suffered great hardship and had children to support. The phrase "migrant families just like yours" aims to foster empathy between the reader and the displaced. This appeal does not merely call women to invest but also seeks to awaken maternal instincts and encourage readers to identify with other women who have been forced into vulnerability. Thus, purchasing a share is presented not just as an economic decision but also as a form of moral duty and solidarity with those in need.

The advertisement concludes with a powerful slogan: "What we offer you is a life capital and a salvation for the homeland." This final sentence illustrates how the capitalist discourse of the time was saturated with nationalist meaning. A woman's

82. *İkdam* 6245, 10 July 1914

savings are defined as a “life capital” in the individual sense, while at the same time this investment is linked directly to the salvation of the homeland. In this way, the call for women’s economic mobilization is presented within a comprehensive ideological framework that merges emotional, moral, and political elements.

The increasingly active role of women in the domain of the National Economy found concrete expression not only in discourse but also through organizational structures. One of the most notable examples in this regard was the establishment in 1913 of *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlak-ı Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi* (Philanthropic Society for the Domestic Consumption of Women), founded under the leadership of Melek Meliha and Zaim Hayriye Hanım. The stated purpose of the society, as outlined in its charter, was to promote domestic production, encourage the use of locally made goods, and put an end to the outflow of money to Europe. However, the society’s activities were not limited to these objectives. By opening a dressmaking workshop, it created direct access for women to local products and also provided vocational training for lower-income women by teaching them sewing, thereby helping them acquire a trade. At the same time, efforts were made to construct a sense of national fashion aligned with these goals.⁸³

To publicize its founding, the society placed announcements in various periodicals. In early issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, advertisements included excerpts from the society’s charter, emphasizing that it had no political affiliations. It was stated that anyone who wished to become a member could do so by contributing a monthly donation of one *mecidiye* or ten *kuruş*.⁸⁴ Considering the political atmosphere of the time and the risks associated with being linked to any political faction, this discourse appears to have been a strategic attempt to encourage broader female participation while framing the society as a patriotic rather than political endeavour. From these advertisements, we also learn that the society had a total of ninety-four members and was governed by an eight-member administrative board under the presidency of Melek Meliha Hanım.

Another advertisement published in the periodical *Çocuk Dünyası* offers additional information about the society’s operations. The headline indicates that the society had opened both an exhibition and a dressmaking workshop. The exhibit featured an extensive list of products from various parts of the empire, reminiscent of the product lists previously published in *Karagöz* magazine to raise awareness of domestic production. However, in this case, no non-Muslim regions were mentioned. Instead, cities such as Bursa, Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, and Baghdad were listed

83. Nuray Özdemir, “I. Dünya Savaşı’nda İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti’nin Faaliyetleri,” *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları* 36 (2019): 31–32.

84. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 7, 23 April 1913

as the origins of the exhibited goods. Items included bed linens, towels, bath sets, shoes, perfumes, embroidered bedspreads, and silver sets.⁸⁵ Although the producers were not explicitly named, it was implicitly suggested that the products were made by Muslim artisans. Much like during the post-Austria boycott period, this listing aimed to instil a sense of pride in the abundance of local products and to guide women toward informed consumption. The key difference was that this time the list was limited exclusively to Muslim production centres.

Another recurring theme in advertisements linking women to the national economy during this period was the encouragement of women to take part directly in production. Women had become increasingly aware of the political significance of their consumer power, yet in a society fighting for survival, merely being a conscious consumer was no longer seen as sufficient. Women were expected to join men in contributing to production. In this regard, Turkish and Muslim women were at a disadvantage, particularly in sectors such as textiles and tobacco, where non-Muslim women made up the majority of the workforce.⁸⁶ Consequently, it is not surprising that this period saw the emergence of advertisements aimed at transforming women from consumers into producers.

In this context, the advertisement placed by *Müslüman Hanımlar Terzihanesi* (Muslim Women's Dressmaking Workshop) in the *Sabah* newspaper is particularly noteworthy. The initial advertisement stated that the workshop had been established to provide various benefits to Muslim women and to teach them sewing skills. The advertisement also mentioned that ten percent of the workshop's revenue would be donated to the Ottoman navy, thus framing the economic activity as a contribution to national defence.⁸⁷ In another advertisement titled "Invitation," published by the same establishment in the same newspaper, the stated aim was as follows: "Let Muslim money remain in Muslim hands, and let the art of dressmaking spread among Muslim women." The advertisement concluded with a renewed call for readers to avoid allowing Muslim wealth to flow into foreign-owned businesses.⁸⁸ These advertisement reads more like the announcement of a social responsibility project than a conventional commercial promotion. Its primary aim is to enhance the economic agency of Muslim women and ensure that communal wealth circulates within the same ethno-religious group. The mention that a portion of the proceeds would be donated to the navy illustrates how militarist discourse became intertwined with social responsibility. The only detail provided about the products was that they were affordable, aligning with the societal goal of reducing consumption.

85. *Çocuk Dünyası* 16, 10 July 1913

86. Os, "Müstehlik Değil Müstahsil," 591.

87. *Sabah* 8726, 3 January 1914

88. *Sabah* 8755, 2 February 1914

Some of the advertisements published during this period, which encouraged women to adopt a productive identity, did not directly invite women to participate in the workforce but nonetheless reflected a perspective that praised working women and associated them with the ideals of the national economy. In this context, an advertisement titled “A Glad Tidings for Our Ladies” stands out as a noteworthy example. The advertisement invites female readers to visit *Müessesese-i Mebde-i İktisadi Nisvan Terzihanesi* (Women’s Economic Initiative Institute of Dressmaking). The primary aim here is not to promote a specific product but to offer an opportunity for women to observe firsthand the developments in Ottoman industry brought about through female labour. The advertisement claims that the garments available at this workshop, including costumes, veils, blouses, and various other articles of clothing, are far more elegant and better suited to women’s tastes than those imported from Europe. Thus, the familiar comparison between European and domestic production reappears. By presenting national production as both aesthetically superior and more functional, the advertisement seeks to rebuild trust in locally made goods. It concludes by calling on patriotic women to visit the establishment in order to encourage and morally support the women working there.⁸⁹

On the other hand, some advertisements portrayed women’s participation in the workforce as a civic duty. In another advertisement titled “To Our Esteemed Ladies”, the text begins with the assertion that working for the development and advancement of the nation’s industry is a sacred duty for everyone, including women. The advertisement goes on to proudly announce the opening of a new dressmaking factory in the Mahmud Pasha district. What is even more remarkable is the detail that the factory is managed by two women who received their education in Paris. Although the women are not presented as the factory’s owners, the fact that they are entrusted with managerial responsibilities is a strong indication of the changing societal conditions. The advertisement explains that the factory produces all kinds of garments for women and children, and that the products are more elegant, durable, and affordable than their European counterparts. It concludes with a wish that women who support and value the development of national industry will visit the factory at least once.⁹⁰ As can be seen, the rhetoric in such advertisements frames economic participation as a patriotic obligation.

A notable feature of these advertisements highlighting women’s participation in economic life is that women are generally depicted as workers rather than entrepreneurs or business owners. However, the advertisement for a patisserie opened by Seyyide Kemal Hanımefendi presents an exceptional case in this regard. The advertisement

89. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 139, 1 May 1914

90. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 134, 21 March 1914

begins with a reflection on how the needs of nations diversify as they advance in civilization. It states that while institutions such as associations and companies may not have been considered necessary in the past, Ottoman society was now beginning to feel their absence. Within this framework, one specific deficiency is highlighted: the lack of spaces where women could rest, eat, drink, and socialize when they were outside their homes. In the first half of the advertisement, the emphasis is on the creation of a public space where women can participate socially, rather than the novelty of female entrepreneurship. However, in the latter part of the text, it is clearly stated that this establishment was initiated by a female entrepreneur, and this act of enterprise is described with admiration. The advertisement goes on to praise the patisserie's products and atmosphere in great detail.⁹¹ The considerable length of the advertisement further reveals how significant and welcome the emergence of female entrepreneurship was at the time.

During this period, advertisements aimed at women were not solely economic in nature but also sought to instil national and cultural values. This intention was particularly evident in book and theatre advertisements. For example, a book advertisement addressed "To Our Esteemed Ladies" urged female readers not to forget the disasters that followed the Balkan Wars and recommended the book "*İntikam* (Vengeance)" in this context.⁹² Similarly, in an advertisement for a book titled "*Türk'ün Romanı* (The Novel of the Turk)", it was argued that the thoughts and imaginations of young girls and women should be shaped by the ideal of Turkishness. Furthermore, it was emphasized that the children raised by these women should be educated in accordance with this same ideal.⁹³ While the economic role of women was acknowledged, their primary responsibility was still defined as raising nationally conscious individuals through motherhood.

The same ideological framework can be found in theatre advertisements. A promotional text for a new magazine titled "*Tiyatro ve Temaşa* (Theatre and Spectacle)" stated that the publication would feature plays that supported national progress and were aligned with public morality.⁹⁴ An advertisement for a play titled "*Sönmez Ateş* (The Fire That Does Not Die)" described it as containing moral lessons, bloodshed, and noble scenes that glorified the virtues of Turkishness. Another noteworthy point is that leading figures from the women's movement of the time, such as Melek Hanım, president of the Philanthropic Society for the Domestic Consumption of Women, and Belkıs Şevket Hanım, a member of the Association for the Defense

91. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 130, 21 February 1914

92. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 144, 5 July 1914

93. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 20, 13 December 1913

94. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 124, 10 January 1914

of Women's Rights, were announced as attendees of this theatrical performance.⁹⁵ This indicates that women of the period had begun to assert themselves not only in economic life but also in cultural spheres and were becoming increasingly visible in public discourse.

3.6 Children in National Economy Advertisements

When we examine the children's magazines published during this period, it becomes clear that children were no longer regarded merely as members of a family, but rather as individuals who belonged to the nation and represented its future. For this reason, in order to keep children politically engaged, to shape their consumption habits, and to increase their interest in national issues, not only articles, poems, and stories but also advertisements were used as significant tools.⁹⁶ However, since children were not active participants in the economic sphere, advertisements directed at them generally focused on products aimed at cultural mobilization. Within this context, book and school advertisements emerged as prominent examples.

One particularly notable example among these advertisements was related to the book "*Türklük* (Turkishness)", written by Hüseyin Ragıp Bey. Repeatedly advertised in the early issues of *Çocuk Dünyası* magazine, the book was strongly recommended by the editorial board as a must-read for every Turk who loved their nation. As the title suggests, the work contains important reflections on the concept of Turkishness and is composed of articles written by various authors affiliated with the Turkish nationalist movement. At the end of the book, there is a speech addressed specifically to Turkish youth, which is said to solidify the idea of Turkishness in young minds and eliminate any confusion surrounding the concept.⁹⁷ The magazine's editorial team referred to this publication as a "general and useful step taken in the path of Turkishness," clearly illustrating how nationalist indoctrination was directed toward children.

Çocuk Dünyası, one of the children's magazines analyzed in this study, was published by the *Türk Yurdu* circle under the leadership of Yusuf Akçura. For this reason, it is possible to observe multiple dimensions of Turkish nationalism in the magazine, which went beyond Ottomanism or Islamism.⁹⁸ The advertisements pub-

95. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 131, 28 February 1914

96. Atacan Atakan, "Uncovering the Ignored: Corporeality, Sexuality, and Gender in Children's Magazines in the Ottoman Empire, 1869 - 1918" (PhD diss., Arizona University, 2023), 104.

97. *Çocuk Dünyası* 16, 10 July 1913

98. Eray Yılmaz, "Osmanlıcılıktan Türk Milliyetçiliğine Bir Çocuk Dergisi: Çocuk Dünyası (1913-

lished in this periodical reflected not only nationalist ideas within the borders of the Ottoman Empire but also the ideology of Turanism, which extended to Central Asia. For example, in an advertisement titled “Let Us Get to Know Our Brothers,” the periodical *Ak Yol*, published by Turks in Kazan, Russia, was introduced. According to the advertisement, this magazine was described as “the best among the children’s publications in the Turkish World.” Interestingly, the same advertisement openly posed the question of whether *Çocuk Dünyası* readers could even understand such magazines. In response to this concern, the editorial board included a translated poem from *Ak Yol*, rendered in Ottoman Turkish, to alleviate the possible linguistic and cultural distance.⁹⁹

The advertisements in *Çocuk Dünyası* were not limited to Central Asian references. They also reflected a growing interest in the pre-Islamic era of Turkish history. For instance, the book *Gökbayrak*, which was frequently advertised in the magazine, was recommended to all Turkish children who wished to learn about their ancestors. The magazine was published weekly with two or three large illustrations, and many of these visuals deliberately favoured pre-Islamic Central Asian Turkish imagery over traditional Turk-Islamic figures.¹⁰⁰ This visual strategy reflected an aspiration to ground Turkish identity in its ancient, non-Islamic roots. In support of this idea, another article in the magazine focused on the Epic of Ergenekon, further reinforcing this ideological direction. The advertisement stated that “Turks are just now learning their Turkishness,” signalling a call for historical awareness. It emphasized that the Turks were among the most ancient and historically active nations in the world and lamented the fact that such a glorious and vibrant people were only now beginning to recognize their sacred heritage. The article concluded by presenting Ergenekon Holyday as a significant occasion for children to celebrate and claimed that this legend would help them not only identify past enemies but also recognize present-day threats. The article referred to historical ambushes carried out by the Tungusic peoples, Persians, and Afghans, drawing a parallel with the struggles the Balkan states waged against the Ottomans.¹⁰¹ In doing so, it aimed to help young readers establish a link between historical consciousness and contemporary political awareness. In conclusion, these publications and advertisements targeting children were not merely pedagogical in nature. They aimed to include children in a broader cultural, political, and national mobilization. Within this framework, children were not represented as passive recipients of knowledge, but rather as active future citizens who were expected to be shaped ideologically from an early age. They

1914),” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 32, no. 1 (2017): 209.

99. *Çocuk Dünyası* 41, 1 January 1914

100. *Çocuk Dünyası* 41, 1 January 1914

101. *Çocuk Dünyası* 54, 2 April 1914

were imagined as “little nationalists” who would carry the burden of the nation’s future on their shoulders starting from childhood.

During this period, children began to be seen not only as members of a family but also as individuals who represented the future of the nation. With this transformation, the education of children gained a more prominent place among social priorities, and the increasing number of private primary and secondary schools made school advertisements more visible in the press. These advertisements did more than simply promote educational institutions; they also constructed an idealized notion of childhood that aligned with the prevailing political and ideological tendencies of the era.

One example that clearly reflects this dynamic is an advertisement published by *Mektep-i Vatan* (Fatherland School). The advertisement proudly declares that Muslim individuals will be educated in accordance with the requirements of the modern age and that all material and moral needs for such an education will be met by the school administration. The school presents itself as a serious institution and openly states its mission: to strengthen national sentiments and safeguard the future of the homeland. In this context, the school assumes a national duty, claiming to raise the mature citizens of tomorrow. The advertisement ends by recommending the school to fathers who wish to see their children become complete individuals.¹⁰² This closing statement is noteworthy in that it suggests the father figure still held the primary decision-making role regarding the child’s education.

A similar approach can be observed in the advertisement of *Ümit Mektebi* (School of Hope). Beginning with the phrase “Honourable Fathers,” the text directly addresses the paternal audience. It emphasizes that children are not only family members but also the “hope, happiness, and very existence” of the family. Furthermore, by stating that a son is “the honour of both his father and his country,” the advertisement links the child’s significance to both familial and national futures. It continues by describing the effort to leave behind a dark past and transform children into “torches that emit light” as a noble and pure aspiration. However, this goal is not to be achieved by the family alone, but in collaboration with schools and teachers. The failure of traditional schools to provide joy, motivation, or hope for the future is underscored, and the need to modernize education in order to keep pace with the rest of the world is firmly asserted.¹⁰³ In this way, the advertisement reflects the modernization impulse of the period, which was largely anchored in the education of children.

102. *Çocuk Dünyası* 49, 26 February 1914

103. *Çocuk Dünyası* 20, 7 August 1913

Then, what, should be the content of this education? In line with the economic nationalism policies of the time, the answer appears clear: commerce and economics. The ideal of creating a class of Turkish and Muslim merchants was directly linked to the education of children. Accordingly, advertisements aimed at children frequently emphasized commercial education and highlighted the importance of gaining economic knowledge.

In this context, the book *Ticaret ve Nasip* (Commerce and Fortune), written by Ömer Tarhan Bey and published by the Türk Yurdu Library, was strongly recommended to children. The advertisement notes that the book discusses matters that “children especially need to read.” While readers might expect the book to address subjects related to entertainment, health, or culture, the advertisement instead emphasizes the need for Turkish and Muslim children to learn about commerce. The book compares how Turks and non-Muslim subjects of the empire approach commerce.¹⁰⁴ As can be inferred from the advertisement, the book explicitly places non-Muslim citizens in a distinct socio-economic category and implicitly acknowledges their superior success in the field of commerce. It suggests that Turkish children must read such books in order to catch up with their non-Muslim counterparts as quickly as possible.

A similar ideological framework is evident in another book advertisement written by Nazım Bey from the Commercial School of Higher Education. The advertisement begins by asking why the spirit of commerce, now considered the soul of nations, had failed to develop among Turks. It then recalls the glorious past by asking why a nation that once inspired fear across the world should now lag behind. The text affirms that in the present age, wealth is achieved through commerce, and therefore, prosperity must be pursued through trade. Finally, Nazım Bey addresses Turkish youth directly and declares that if they wish to defeat their enemies, they must become merchants.¹⁰⁵ In this manner, economic success is framed as a form of national defence.

This effort to instil awareness about commerce was not limited to books. In the children’s magazine *Talebe Defteri*, a popular article series titled “Ortakçılık (Partnership)” aimed to teach children the basic principles of founding joint-stock companies. The series encouraged children who wanted to buy a bicycle but lacked sufficient funds to pool their savings and make the purchase together, while also donating a portion of the remaining money to the navy.¹⁰⁶ This narrative encapsulates the ideal child model of the period: a child who saves money, acts with entrepreneurial

104. *Çocuk Dünyası* 45, 29 January 1914

105. *Çocuk Dünyası* 41, 1 January 1914

106. Atakan, “Uncovering the Ignored,” 104.

awareness, and supports the military. In this redefined vision, childhood was no longer only associated with leisure or play, but also with economic and national responsibility.

The final advertisement examined before concluding this chapter can be considered the most striking among all the advertisements discussed in this study. Published by the Brotherhood Ottoman Carpet Joint Stock Company, the advertisement is particularly notable for directly addressing children, thereby highlighting the increasing symbolic importance attributed to them during this period. The nationalist and agitational rhetoric previously observed in advertisements targeting women is here transformed into a tool of mobilization directed at children. The advertisement does not merely aim to cultivate awareness against wastefulness or encourage saving. It explicitly calls on children to invest and to become carriers of national capital. For this reason, the advertisement is presented in its entirety to preserve its rhetorical and semantic structure:

To the attention of primary and secondary school students. O little Turkish lions, the future producers of our homeland, we have spent our lives in comfort and idleness. We have done no good for the motherland. Only you can wipe away the shame on our faces. Do you know how you will do this? Not by aspiring to become a pasha in the cradle or coveting positions in government offices like us, but by dreaming of becoming a factory engineer, a chief foreman, a store accountant, a shop clerk, a director, a business owner, a railway officer, a steamship captain, or a machinist. What must you do to achieve this goal? On the day you receive your school certificate, you must also own one or two shares in national factories and institutions. But not with your father's money. By placing just ten para of your daily earnings into your piggy bank and sending it to our company at the beginning of each month, you will own a one-lira share by the end of the year. When you graduate, you will find yourself a shareholder in a large factory established by our company. Later, you will have a job there. Come now, little lions. From this day forward, compete with your fathers and mothers. We do not seek charity. What we offer you is capital for life, and for the homeland, a breath of salvation. Brotherhood Ottoman Carpet Joint Stock Company Director, Suphi Kemal.¹⁰⁷

Beginning with the phrase “To the attention of primary and secondary school students,” this advertisement from the Brotherhood Ottoman Carpet Joint Stock Company serves as a remarkable example of how advertisements aimed at children were transformed into moral mobilization campaigns aligned with the discourse of na-

107. *İkdam* 6245, 10 July 1914

tional economy. The text directly addresses children as “the future producers of the nation,” elevating them affectionately through the phrase “little Turkish lions.” However, it does not stop there. It assigns children a weighty historical responsibility by stating that only they can cleanse the shame inherited from their parents. The company director openly admits that his own generation was unproductive, dependent on the state, and passive. In contrast, he urges children to aspire to become engineers, foremen, machinists, railway officials, ship captains, or business owners, thereby embracing active and productive roles. The ideal Ottoman child is no longer someone who seeks a job in government offices but one who aims to be involved in commerce, industry, and production.

The advertisement does not simply offer career goals. It also presents a practical path to achieve them. It tells children that when they complete school, they should possess not only a diploma but also shares in an Ottoman company. These shares should not be purchased with their father’s money but with savings from their own earnings. By saving only ten para a day and sending it to the company at the start of each month, a child could own a one-lira share within a year. This plan is designed to instil both economic consciousness and personal responsibility. It goes beyond traditional moral advice, inviting children to become direct participants in the formation of national capital.

The closing line, “We do not seek charity. What we offer you is capital for life and for the homeland, a breath of salvation,” is one of the most concise and powerful examples of the agitational yet instructive tone of the era. The company is not asking for donations. Rather, it is inviting children to equip themselves with a foundation for their lives while simultaneously contributing to the salvation of the nation. In this vision, both individual futures and collective liberation converge in the ownership of a company share. Signed by Suphi Kemal, the text reads more like a manifesto of national education than a commercial advertisement.

In conclusion, this advertisement stands as a unique example of how the discourse of national economy began to position not only adults but also children as active agents within the system. Children were no longer seen merely as the hope of the future, but as young entrepreneurs who needed to be integrated into economic mobilization from an early age. From this perspective, the advertisement can also be regarded as one of the first examples of an “investment awareness” message aimed at children.

4. CONCLUSION

At the end of October 1914, the Ottoman Empire effectively entered the First World War when two German warships purchased by the empire bombarded Russian ports and launched an attack on the Russian navy. Although the Ottoman authorities claimed that the aggression had been initiated by Russia, this assertion did not gain international recognition. Russia, followed by the Allied Powers, declared war on the Ottoman Empire, thus drawing the empire into a catastrophic conflict that would last for four years.¹ At the onset of the war, most parties expected a short confrontation. In fact, the German Emperor gave morale-boosting speeches to his soldiers by declaring that they would be back home "before the leaves fell." However, the war that began in the summer of 1914 quickly escalated into one of the bloodiest conflicts in world history and claimed the lives of more than fifteen million people by the end of its fourth year.²

Among the states involved in the war, the Ottoman Empire undoubtedly suffered one of the heaviest losses. Although it managed to engage in combat for four years against powers that were far more advanced in terms of technology and economic capacity, the consequences were devastating. Approximately 2.8 million men were conscripted, which represented around twelve percent of the total population.³ Of these, 750,000 perished due to combat or disease, another 750,000 were wounded, and 250,000 were taken as prisoners of war. This dramatic loss of human capital had profound social, economic, and demographic consequences not only for the successor states that emerged in the postwar territories but also for the civilian population that remained on the home front.⁴

While these developments were taking place on the battlefield, the Ottoman press

1. Kemal H. Karpat, "The Entry of the Ottoman Empire Into World War I," *Belleten* 68, no. 253 (2004): 715–725.

2. <https://www.britannica.com/event/World-War-I/Killed-wounded-and-missing>

3. Eugene Rogan, *Fall of the Ottomans: the Great War in the Middle East 1914-1920*, OCLC: 1281654042 (Basic Books, 2015), 56.

4. Yiğit Akın, *When the War Came Home: the Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire* (Stanford University Press, 2018), 3.

was nearly silenced with the outbreak of the war. The mechanisms of censorship, which had already intensified following the Balkan Wars, became even more severe after the empire's entry into the conflict, leaving no space for anti-CUP media outlets to survive.⁵ Moreover, it was not only the diversity of newspapers that declined. The number of printed pages also diminished significantly due to wartime shortages, such as paper scarcity. Most newspapers were reduced to just two pages. As a result of the mass conscription of the male population and the severe disruption of foreign trade, economic activity within the empire nearly ground to a halt. Modern marketing practices within the Ottoman Empire effectively came to an end. Advertisements, which had previously occupied the last pages of newspapers, disappeared entirely during this period and would not reappear until a decade later.⁶

Ironically, this period of destruction witnessed the de facto realization of an ambition long cherished by many: the establishment of a truly national economy. Like all countries engaged in the war, the Ottoman Empire implemented wartime economic policies based on direct state intervention. The CUP radically transformed the Ottoman economic structure in ways previously unseen in the empire's history. Capitulations were unilaterally abolished, and the privileges of foreign joint-stock and insurance companies were terminated. All companies were made subject to Ottoman legal codes, and enterprises operating within Ottoman territory were required to acquire Ottoman citizenship. The use of Turkish was made compulsory in commercial activities. Vocational and evening schools were established to open skill-based occupations, formerly monopolized by non-Muslims, to Muslim subjects. Customs duties were raised, foreign trade was placed under control, and currency exchange transactions were subjected to state supervision. Additionally, national banks were established in the provinces, Muslim merchants were supported, and trade unions and cooperatives were promoted. In some cases, collectivization policies were implemented. As a result of these measures, the Turkish and Muslim population, which had previously been a minority in the economic sphere, gained a dominant position by the end of the war.⁷ While Boratav considers this transformation to have been a painful and bloody process, he also acknowledges that the Anatolian economy had become more integrated and national in character by the end of the conflict. Furthermore, he notes that the experiences gained during this period would later inform the statist policies of the 1930s.⁸

In conclusion, this study has emphasized that during the period between 1913 and 1915, advertisements prominently highlighted Turkish and Muslim identity, yet the

5. Topuz, *Türk Basın Tarihi*, 84.

6. Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı*, 191.

7. Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, 29.

8. Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 13–25.

actual structure of the economy had not yet undergone such a radical transformation. By contrast, the period between 1915 and 1918 reversed this dynamic. As the economy increasingly passed into the hands of the Turkish and Muslim segments of the population, the press and advertising virtually disappeared. For this reason, the aforementioned years were excluded from the analytical scope of this study.

4.1 Returning to the Research Questions

At the outset of this study, three main research questions were identified. The first and primary question focused on how domestic products were marketed through advertisements. The second question concerned the construction of a consumer citizenship model during the post-Second Constitutional Era. This question encompassed not only the development of a consumer culture but also addressed whether the inclusiveness of the national economy had shifted in light of rising nationalism within the Ottoman Empire. The third and final question asked whether the discourse of national economy was adopted exclusively by the CUP or whether it was also supported by other ideological and cultural segments of Ottoman society.

The answer to the first question reveals that, by the nature of advertising, domestic products were marketed through different discursive frameworks in two distinct periods. The first period analysed in this study, from 1908 to 1912, reflects a climate of optimism created by the constitutional revolution, which permeated various aspects of social life, including advertisements. Although only five years after the proclamation of the constitution the Ottoman Empire entered a long period of war and eventually collapsed, this brief era of political liberalization instilled significant hope and a forward-looking optimism in society. Reflecting the cultural atmosphere of the time, advertisements frequently employed concepts such as homeland, liberty, and nation, and became part of the wider public discourse. Among these themes, the concept of the homeland was the most dominant in advertisements published during this period. Products were presented as goods belonging to the homeland, and their consumption was framed as a patriotic act. Notably, the ethnic identity of the producers was generally irrelevant in this context. Greek, Armenian, or Muslim entrepreneurs used the same inclusive language to promote their products, thereby turning domestic goods and advertising into instruments of social unity.

However, this inclusive discourse underwent a significant rupture following the Balkan Wars. At this point, the mere fact that a product was manufactured within Ottoman territory no longer sufficed to classify it as domestic. It was now expected

that the producer be a member of the Turkish or Muslim community. In this new period, advertisements increasingly emphasized Turkish and Muslim identity, and the themes of liberty, equality, and fraternity were gradually replaced by ethnic solidarity, the desire for revenge, and calls for national mobilization. As the number of war victims rose, themes of charity and solidarity became central in advertisements. Consumers were not only purchasing goods but were also encouraged to act with a sense of moral satisfaction, believing that their purchases contributed to the military or to the well-being of Muslim communities. Over time, advertisement texts adopted an increasingly religious and nationalist rhetoric, evolving from simple product promotion to moral appeals. These advertisements became tools for raising awareness, aiming to bring Turkish and Muslim individuals into the sphere of commerce. A striking contradiction also emerged during this period. While advertisements aimed to promote products, they simultaneously encouraged ideals of moderation and anti-consumerism. This paradox served a larger purpose: to increase savings and facilitate Muslim entry into commercial life. In doing so, advertisements, which initially functioned as instruments of public unity, transformed into vehicles of ethno-religious differentiation in the later period.

A comparison of these two periods also reveals a significant transformation in public perceptions of domestic products. In the earlier phase, praise for locally made goods was relatively muted. It was an open secret that domestic products were often considered inferior in quality, crude in design, and lacking in aesthetic appeal compared to imported goods. The sudden stigmatization of the *fez*, once regarded as a national symbol, and the subsequent promotion of the *kalpak*, which was not widely favoured by the public, reflects this underlying reality. Domestic products were mainly praised for being durable and affordable, presented almost as a bitter but necessary medicine. In the second period, however, this perception began to shift. Through the rhetorical strategies employed in advertisements, domestic products came to be associated with elegance, quality, and visual appeal. This discursive transformation signalled a growing confidence in and appreciation for local goods. Domestic products were now presented as capable of competing with European imports and, in some cases, even surpassing them. In this regard, advertisements played a central role in reshaping public attitudes toward local production.

The second key research question of this study aimed to understand how the concept of consumer citizenship was constructed in the post-Second Constitutional Era and to examine the position of various ethnic and religious communities in this process. This conceptual approach, which envisions the nation as a community shaped by shared consumption practices, provides a valuable analytical framework for understanding Ottoman society in the aftermath of 1908. In this context, the

Bosnian Crisis, which erupted shortly after the constitutional revolution, triggered a large-scale social mobilization that had not been seen before. At the core of this mobilization was a boycott of Austrian goods, a practice directly related to consumer behaviour. During this period, Ottoman citizens of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, collectively refused to consume Austrian products, thereby forming the first shared practice of consumer citizenship. As such, the dominant ideological framework in this initial wave of mobilization was Ottomanism, not nationalism or Islamism.⁹ Advertising texts from the time rarely included explicit ethnic references, and such references, when present, were often removed through censorship.

The Austrian boycott not only demonstrated the potential for political solidarity among Ottomans but also revealed the scarcity of domestic production. The population quickly realized that reducing dependence on foreign goods required increasing local production. In this regard, the terms “domestic” and “national” were not limited to the Turkish or Muslim elements of society but were also adopted by other ethnic and religious communities. Indeed, similar to the early constitutional years, some non-Muslim entrepreneurs who continued to live in the empire after the Balkan Wars published advertisements that included nationalistic expressions. For instance, in a 1914 advertisement for a clothing shop owned by Mardikyan Efendi, the store was described as having long been appreciated by foreigners, and its products were recommended to all Ottoman citizens.¹⁰

However, by the time Mardikyan Efendi published this advertisement, the political and social atmosphere had changed dramatically. The annexation of Crete by Greece and the subsequent Balkan Wars marked an irreversible rupture in Ottoman society. The ideal of a multiethnic Ottomanism gave way to a vision of the nation built upon Turkish and Muslim identity alone. Consequently, advertisements began to target only Turkish and Muslim producers, consumers, and merchants, leaving no symbolic or literal space for non-Muslim communities. Even charity-themed advertisements no longer included references to non-Muslims. In this new context, even Mardikyan Efendi could be perceived as a foreigner. Following the Balkan Wars, the Muslim boycott movement further narrowed the scope of consumer citizenship. Purchasing goods from non-Muslims was seen as a betrayal of national solidarity. In this period, even entering a shop owned by a non-Muslim or publishing their advertisement could provoke social backlash. These reactions sometimes escalated into acts of violence and looting.

The press was also deeply affected by this transformation. Almost every newspaper

9. Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu*, 145.

10. *Kadınlar Dünyası* 146, 19 June 1914

in the Ottoman Empire gradually adopted a similar ideological stance. In addressing the final research question of this study— who constituted the social base of the national economy—this study examined newspapers with various political orientations. It was found that the discourse of national economy had been embraced across the political spectrum. In 1908, newspapers like *İkdam* featured many advertisements from foreign companies, which tended to be apolitical. In contrast, *Serbesti*, a newspaper highly critical of the CUP, published more militant and nationalistic advertisements during the Austrian boycott. However, five years later, even newspapers such as *İkdam*, *Serbesti*, *Sabah*, *Alemdar*, and *Şehbal*, as well as satirical magazines like *Karagöz*, which had long supported the idea of Ottoman coexistence, began to reflect an economically charged ethnic discourse. One cartoon published in *Karagöz* depicted Karagöz complaining that a Bulgarian in his neighbourhood was adding water to the milk he sold, while Hacıvat responded by claiming that a Greek merchant in his own neighbourhood stole from every product he sold.¹¹ This cartoon, representing a publication that had for years advocated for peaceful coexistence among Ottoman communities, reveals the extent of the shift in public discourse. Even more striking is the fact that hostility toward non-Muslims was now presented in economic terms. Because Ottoman citizens of Bulgarian or Greek origin could not be blamed for the actions of Balkan states, public resentment was instead directed at the alleged dishonest practices of non-Muslim merchants in everyday life. As a result, the reader of such pieces was more likely to make their purchases from Turkish or Muslim shopkeepers.

In this regard, advertisements played a critical role in spreading such sentiments and mobilizing all segments of society. Women and children, in particular, were actively integrated into the vision of the national economy. Some of the most innovative advertisements were found in women's and children's magazines. In advertisements aimed at women, consumption habits were redefined not only as moral choices but also as political acts aligned with national economic goals. Women were called upon not only to become conscious consumers but also to join the ranks of producers. Similarly, children were imagined as the future of the empire and were therefore subject to deliberate nationalist and economic indoctrination. One of the clearest manifestations of this constructed vision of childhood was the effort to raise children as future merchants. This ambition was so strong that even the Maritime Trade Code was advertised in a magazine.¹² In this way, advertisements not only reflected the dominant discourse of the national economy but also served as one of its primary instruments of construction.

11. *Karagöz* 456, 16 October 1912

12. *Şehbal* 91, 28 February 1914

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Periodicals

Cem

Çocuk Dünyası

Dalkavuk

İkdam

Kadınlar Dünyası

Kalem

Karagöz

Sabah

Serbesti

Şehbal

Tanin

State Archives

BOA, MF.MKT. 68/47 (5 September 1881).

BOA, BEO. 3503/262654, (22 February 1909).

Secondary Sources

Ağır, Seven. “Milli İktisattan Önce Milli İktisat: Osmanlı Merkantalizmi?” In *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisadi Düşünce ve İktisat Tarihi*. İmge Kitabevi, 2023.

Ağır, Seven, and Alp Yücel Kaya, eds. *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisat İktisadi düşünce ve iktisat Tarihi: Eyüp Özveren’e Armağan*. İmge Yayınları, 2023.

- Ahmad, Feroz. *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities: Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908-1918*. University of Utah Press, 2014.
- Akgöz, Görkem. *In the Shadow of War and Empire: Industrialisation, Nation-building, and Working-class Politics in Turkey*. Brill, 2024.
- Akın, Yiğit. *When the War Came Home: the Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*. Stanford University Press, 2018.
- Altınay, Ayşe Gül. *The Myth of the Military Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Altıntaş, Ayten, Gülten Dinç, and Nil Sarı. "1910-1928 Yılları Arasında Yayımlanan Eski Harfli Reklamlarda Türk Müstahzaratçılığı," 85–106. *Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999.
- Andonyan, Aram. *Balkan Savaşı*. Translated by Zaven Biberyan. Aras Yayıncılık, 2002.
- Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman. 2023, by Christof Rapp.
- Atakan, Atacan. "Uncovering the Ignored: Corporeality, Sexuality, and Gender in Children's Magazines in the Ottoman Empire, 1869 - 1918." PhD diss., Arizona University, 2023.
- Bağış, Ali İhsan. *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrimüslimler: Kapitülasyonlar, Berath Tüccarlar, Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarları (1750-1839)*. Turhan Kitapevi, 1983.
- Balcı, Ramazan, İbrahim Sırma, and Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, eds. *Memalik-i Osmaniye'de Osmanlı Anonim Şirketleri*. İstanbul Ticaret Odası, 2012.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Translated by Annette Lavers. The Noonday Press, 1972.
- Başkaya, Fikret. *Paradigmanın İflası: Resmi İdeolojinin Eleştirisine Giriş*. Yordam Kitap, 2023.
- Bjørnlund, Matthias. "The 1914: Cleansing of Aegean Greeks as a Case of Violent Turkification." *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 1 (2008): 41–58.
- Bora, Tanıl. *Cereyanlar: Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler*. İletişim Yayınları, 2021.
- Boratav, Korkut. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908-2015*. İmge Kitabevi, 2023.
- Bozkurt, Ahmet Deniz. *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete İktisadi Düşüncenin Gelişimi: Liberal ve Milli İktisat Yaklaşımlarının Etkisi*. Gazi Kitabevi, 2020.
- Çakır, Hamza. "Osmanlı Dönemi İlk Türkçe Gazetelerde Reklam (1828-1864)." PhD diss., İstanbul University, 1996.
- Çakır, Serpil. *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. Metis, 2021.
- Çetinkaya, Y. Doğan. *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu: Bir Toplumsal Hareketin Analizi*. İletişim, 2004.

- Çetinkaya, Y. Doğan. *Osmanlı'ya Müslümanlaştırmak: Kitle Siyaseti, Toplumsal Sınıflar, Boykotlar ve Milli İktisat (1909-1914)*. İletişim, 2015.
- Eldem, Edhem. *Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi*. Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi Araştırma Merkezi, 1999.
- Frierson, Elizabeth. "Mirrors Out, Mirrors In: Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in Late-Ottoman Women's Magazines." In *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, edited by D. Fairchild Ruggles. State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Genç, Sema Yılmaz, Mehmet Emin Yardımcı, and Duygu Süloğlu. "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Reklamın Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Ekonomiye İlk Yansımaları." *Sosyal Bilimler Metinleri*, no. 1 (2017): 86–104.
- Gönenç, Sinem. "Osmanlı Belgelerinde Avusturya Boykotu (5 Ekim 1908 – 26 Şubat 1909)." *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi* 10, no. 32 (2022): 194–217.
- Halaçoğlu, Ahmet. *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri (1912-1913)*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997.
- Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *The Young Turks in Opposition*. Oxford University press, 1995.
- Heinzelmann, Tobias. *Osmanlı Karikatüründe Balkan Sorunu: 1908 - 1914*. Translated by Türkis Noyan. Kitap Yayınevi, 2004.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. *Geleniğin İcadı*. Translated by Mehmet Murat Şahin. OCLC: 317396175. Agora Kitaplığı, 2020.
- İnceoğlu, Ecem. "Osmanlı'da Milli İktisat Uygulamaları ve Harp Zenginleri." Master Thesis, Istanbul University, 2015.
- İşler, Özlem Elif. "The Evolution of a Concept: "Vatan" From Hometown to Shared Place." Master Thesis, Bilkent University, 2024.
- Issawi, Charles Philip. *The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914*. University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Karpat, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*. and Ottoman studies. University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
- Karpat, Kemal H. "The Entry of the Ottoman Empire Into World War I." *Belleten* 68, no. 253 (2004): 687–734.
- Kerimoğlu, Hasan Taner. "1913–1914 Rumlara Karşı Boykot ve Hüseyin Kazım Beyin Bir Risalesi." *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 5, no. 13 (2006): 91–107.
- Kılınçoğlu, Deniz T. "Milli İktisat'ın 19. Yüzyıldaki Kökleri." In *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisadi Düşünce ve İktisat Tarihi*, edited by Seven Ağır and Alp Yücel Başkaya. İmge Kitabevi, 2023.
- Kılınçoğlu, Deniz T. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisat ve Kapitalizm*. Translated by Onur Gayretli. Heretik Yayıncılık, 2023.

- Koç, Duygu. "II. Meşrutiyet'ten İlgale: Osmanlı Kadın Dergilerinde Gayrimüslimlerin İzini Sürmek." *OTAM*, no. 45 (2019): 187–208.
- Kocakaya, Ayşe Hanife. "Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde Reklamcılık Anlayışı ve 1908-1909 Tanin Gazetesi Örneği." *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences* 15, no. 1 (2016): 119–148.
- Koloğlu, Orhan. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*. İletişim Yayınları, 1992.
- Koloğlu, Orhan. *Reklamcılığımızın İlk Yüzyılı: 1840 - 1940*. Reklamcılar Derneği, 1999.
- Koloğlu, Orhan. *1908 Basın Patlaması*. Bas-Haş Yayınevi, 2005.
- Koloğlu, Orhan. *Türkiye Karikatür Tarihi*. Bileşim Yayınevi, 2005.
- Köse, Yavuz. "Nestlé: A Brief History of the Marketing Strategies of the First Multi-national Company in the Ottoman Empire." *Journal of Macromarketing* 27, no. 1 (2007): 74–85.
- Köse, Yavuz. "Nestlé in the Ottoman Empire: Global Marketing with Local Flavor 1870–1927." *Enterprise & Society* 9, no. 4 (2008): 724–761.
- Köse, Yavuz. *Dersaadet'te Tüketim (1855-1923)*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2016.
- Kurnaz Şahin, Feyza. "İzmir ve Havalisinde Amerikan Singer Manufacturing Company'ye Karşı Boykot Hareketi (1910-1911)." *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 37, no. 1 (2022): 305–331.
- Kutlu, Sacit. *Milliyetçilik ve Emperyalizm Yüzyılında Balkanlar ve Osmanlı Devleti*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007.
- McCarthy, Justin. *Death and Exile: the Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821-1922*. 27Books, 1996.
- McCracken, Grant. "Culture and Consumption: A Theoretical Account of the Structure and Movement of the Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods." *Journal of Consumer Research* 13, no. 1 (1986): 71–84. ISSN: 1537-5277, 0093-5301, accessed August 13, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209048>. <https://academic.oup.com/jcr/article/13/1/71/1814669>.
- Nalçaoğlu, Halil. "Vatan: Toprağın Altı, Üstü ve Ötesi." In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, edited by Tamlı Bora and Murat Gültekingil, vol. 4. İletişim Yayınları, 2002.
- Okay, Cüneyd. "İki Çocuk Dergisinin Rekabeti ve Müslüman Boykotajı." *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 8 (1997): 42–45.
- Orçan, Mustafa. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü*. Kadim Yayınları, 2004.
- Os, Nicole A.N.M. van. "Müstehlik Değil Müstahsil: Osmanlı Müslüman Kadını ve Millî İktisat." In *Osmanlı*, vol. 3. Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999.

- Os, Nicole A.N.M. van. "Ottoman Women's Reaction to the Economic and Cultural Intrusion of the West: The Quest for a National Dress." In *Dissociation and Appropriation Responses to Globalization in Asia and Africa*, edited by Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, Ellinor Schöne, and Petra Heidrich. Walter De Gruyter, 1999.
- Os, Nicole A.N.M. van. "From Conspicuous to Conscious Consumers: Ottoman Muslim Women, the Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi, and the National Economy." *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6, no. 2 (2019): 113–130.
- Özdemir, Nuray. "I. Dünya Savaşı'nda İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti'nin Faaliyetleri." *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları* 36 (2019): 29–47.
- Ozkan, Derya, and Robert John Foster. "Consumer Citizenship, Nationalism, and Neoliberal Globalization in Turkey: The Advertising Launch of Cola Turka." *Advertising & Society Review* 6, no. 3 (2005).
- Özkan, Behlül. "Making a National "Vatan" in Turkey: Geography Education in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Periods." *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 3 (2014): 457–481.
- Pallis, A. A. "Racial Migrations in The Balkans During the Years 1912-1924." *The Geographical Journal Coverage* 66, no. 4 (1925): 315–331.
- Pamuk, Şevket. *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*. İletişim Yayınları, 2005.
- Quataert, Donald. "The Economic Climate of the 'Young Turk Revolution' in 1908." *The Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979): 1147–1161.
- Quataert, Donald, ed. *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*. State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Quataert, Donald. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Avrupa İktisadi Yayılımı ve Direnişi 1881 - 1908*. Translated by Sabri Tekay. İletişim Yayınları, 2021.
- Rogan, Eugene. *Fall of the Ottomans: the Great War in the Middle East 1914-1920*. OCLC: 1281654042. Basic Books, 2015.
- Sati Bey. *Vatan İçin Beş Konferans*. Kader Matbaası, 1913.
- Sayar, Ahmed Güner. *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması: Klasik Dönem'den II. Abdülhamid'e*. Der Yayınları, 1986.
- Sloane, William Milligan. *Bir Tarih Laboratuvarı: Balkanlar*. Translated by Sibel Özbudun. Nesnel Yayınları, 2008.
- Temel, Tamer. "Modernleşme Süreci Türk Tiyatrosu'nda İdeal Bireyin Temsili." PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2015.
- Toprak, Zafer. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Reklâmcılık." *Boğaziçi*, no. 2 (1988): 22–29.
- Toprak, Zafer. "Tüketim Örüntüleri ve Osmanlı Mağazaları." *Cogito*, no. 5 (1995): 25–28.

- Toprak, Zafer. *Türkiye’de Ekonomi ve Toplum (1908-1950) İttihat-Terakki ve Devletçilik*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995.
- Toprak, Zafer. *Türkiye’de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014.
- Toprak, Zafer. *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*. Türkiye İş Bankası Külür Yayınları, 2023.
- Topuz, Hıfzı. *Türk Basın Tarihi: II. Mahmut’tan Holdinglere*. Remzi Kitabevi, 2003.
- Trotsky, Leon. *Balkan Savaşları*. Translated by Tansel Güney. Arba Yayınları, 1995.
- Ünal, Hüseyin Safa. “Friedrich List, Ziya Gökalp and the National Economy Thesis in the Ottoman Empire.” Master Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2013.
- Ünal, Hüseyin Safa. “Türk Yurdu ve İktisadiyat Mecmuası’nda “Milli İktisat.” In *Sonrası Kalır: Milli İktisadi Düşünce ve İktisat Tarihi*. İmge Kitabevi, 2023.
- Vagts, Alfred. *A History Of Militarism : Civilian And Military*. Meridian Books, 1959.
- Veaser, H. Aram. “Introduction.” In *The New Historicism*, edited by H.Aram Veaser. Routledge, 1989.
- Velidedeoğlu, Hıfzı Veldet. *Devirden Devire I*. Bilgi Yayınevi, 1974.
- Yalman, Ahmet Emin. *Modern Türkiye’nin Gelişim Sürecinde Basın 1831-1913*. Translated by Birgen Keşoğlu. İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018.
- Yavuz, Erdal. “1908 Boykotu.” *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi* 5, no. 1 (1978): 163–181.
- Yenal, Oktay. *Cumhuriyet’in İktisat Tarihi*. Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010.
- Yıldırım, Seyfi. “Balkan Savaşları ve Sonrasındaki Göçlerin Türkiye Nüfusuna Etkileri.” *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 16, no. 2 (2012): 75–92.
- Yılmaz, Eray. “Osmanlıcılıktan Türk Milliyetçiliğine Bir Çocuk Dergisi: Çocuk Dünyası (1913-1914).” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 32, no. 1 (2017): 209–232.
- Zürcher, Erik J. “Giriş: Demografi Mühendisliği ve Modern Türkiye’nin Doğuşu.” In *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Türkiye’de Etnik Çatışma*, edited by Erik J. Zürcher. İletişim Yayınları, 2005.
- Zürcher, Erik J. *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk’s Turkey*. I. B. Tauris, 2010.
- Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. I.B. Tauris, 2004.