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READING THE KOREAN WAR THROUGH THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF  
SEMİHA ES

Şehlem KAÇAR

112813019

Doç. Dr. Nazan Haydari Pakkan

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Reading the Korean War through the Photographs of Semiha Es

Semiha Es'in Fotoğrafları Üzerinden Kore Savaşını Okumak

Şehlem KAÇAR

112813019

Tez Danışmanı:

Doç. Dr. Nazan Haydari Pakkan  
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Juri Üyeleri:

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi N. Gamze Toksoy  
Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi

Prof. Dr. İtir Erhart  
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Prof. Dr. Feryal Delfin Gündüz  
Arel Üniversitesi

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ebru Çiğdem Thwaites Diken  
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

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## PREFACE

To my grandmother

Semiha Es was turning 99 years old when I started learning of her life and work. I only had my knowledge of the Korean War and her travel photographs, the efforts of a group of women to hold the Semiha Es Women Photographers Symposium, and the memories of persons who were lucky enough to meet her.

This thesis has taught me how significant it is to discover the connotative nature of photographs as the conveyer of meanings, how a new historical narrative can be established via images, and how each frame is worth examining due to its rich layering of meaning.

I want to sincerely thank Meral Akkent, who introduced me to Semiha Es and encouraged me to realize this study. I also wish to thank Özgün Gürten Akbayır, who kept Semiha Es' archive open while sharing every document she had with me. Additionally, I would like to thank my advisor Nazan Haydari Pakkan for her dedicated support and guidance. Without her, the thesis would not have been possible. I also want to thank my supervisory committee members, Gamze Toksoy, and İtir Erhart, for their support. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for the support they have shown me all my life. Finally, my biggest thanks go to my grandmother for her indirect contributions to this thesis.

Şehlem Kaçar – İstanbul, 2022

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**AA:** Anadolu Ajansı

**CO:** Conscientious Objector

**DP:** The Democrat Party

**ISA:** Ideological State Apparatuses

**NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization

**THA:** Türk Haber Ajansı

**UN:** United Nations

**UNESCO:** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

**WWII:** Second World War

## ABSTRACT

This thesis questions how the Korean War is represented through the photographs of Semiha Es and examines these photographs through the lens of different discourses. Some of the photographs will be viewed on the axis of militarism, anti-militarism and masculinity discourses, and selected private archive photographs on the axis of alternative historical narratives. The first part consists of the Korean War, which aims to remember the Korean War and question it through media representations; while doing this, it examines the *Hürriyet* newspaper and the media climate of the period. The second part explains the methodological approach using three different layers, including content analysis, connotation and denotation readings, and critical discourse analysis. With content analysis, the elements in each photo frame were classified, the number of photographs was determined, and the units emerged according to their similarities. The photographs were described with the methods taken from semiology, and finally, the discourses in the sample photographs selected for each group were examined. While selecting the photographs to be analyzed in the private archive, a distinction was made between photographs that were not grouped according to number or similarity but contained a different language of expression. The published photos are militaristic and support the war. Accordingly, wounded soldiers, soldiers in uniform and having fun, dead soldiers, enemies and prisoners are common themes. The photographs in the private archive also maintain these themes, but some selected private archive photographs create cracks in the common narrative. In particular, the civilian Mehmetçik theme, framing soldiers who took off their uniform, is important here to see the area where the camera was turned. Again, the analysis of a fictionalized photograph and the deaths of civilians in close shots, which we cannot see in the published photographs, provide clues about this area. By questioning the concept of hegemonic masculinity, and by photographing daily life practices, the narrative of masculinity is destroyed by photographs, and anti-militarist reading practice can be developed.

While feminist, critical theory and daily life literature constitute the conceptual framework of the thesis, Semiha Es's presence on the battlefield as a woman photographer, as well as memory and the possibility of reading history through photography, are also emphasized. The possibility of finding an alternative view through selected photographs in her archive and the non-hegemonic narrative of masculinity were among the research questions of the thesis. For the discourse analysis, the technical features, through the eye of the beholder, the choice of "moment" in the photograph and objectivity were used as background concepts.

**Keywords:** Semiha Es, Korean War, Militarism, Anti-Militarism, Masculinity

## ÖZET

Bu tez Semiha Es fotoğrafları üzerinden Kore Savaşının nasıl temsil edildiğini sorgular ve farklı söylemleri inceler. Fotoğrafların bir kısmını militarizm, anti – militarizm ve erkeklik söylemleri ekseninde, seçilmiş özel arşiv fotoğrafları ise alternatif tarih anlatımları ekseninde değerlendirir. Kore savaşının anlatıldığı ilk bölümde Kore savaşını hatırlamak ve medya temsilleri üzerinden sorgulamak, bunu yaparken Hürriyet gazetesi ve dönemin medya iklimini incelemek amaçlanmıştır. Üç ayrı katmanın kullanıldığı metodolojik yaklaşımın anlatıldığı ikinci bölüm ise içerik analizi, yan anlam ve düz anlam okumaları ve eleştirel söylem analizini içerir. İçerik analizi ile her bir fotoğraf karesinde bulunan öğeler sınıflandırılmış, fotoğrafların sayısı belirlenmiş, buradan çıkan birimler benzerliklerine göre gruplandırılmış, sonrasında semiyolojiden alınan yöntemlerle fotoğraflar betimlenmiş ve en son da her bir grup için seçilen örnek fotoğraflardaki söylemler incelenmiştir. Özel arşivdeki analiz yapılacak fotoğraflar seçilirken sayı ya da benzerliğe göre gruplandırılmamış, farklı bir anlatım dili içeren fotoğraflar üzerinden bir ayırım yapılmıştır. Yayınlanan fotoğraflar militarist ve savaşı destekler niteliktedir. Buna göre yaralı askerler, üniformalı ve eğlenen askerler, ölü askerler, düşmanlar ve esirler buradaki yaygın temalardır. Özel arşivdeki fotoğrafların da bu temaları sürdürdüğü fakat yine bazı seçilen özel arşiv fotoğraflarının ise yaygın anlatımda çatlaklar yarattığı söylenebilir. Özellikle üniformasını çıkararak sivil Mehmetçik teması burada kameranın çevrildiği alanı görmek açısından önemlidir. Yine kurgulanmış bir fotoğrafın analizi ve yayınlanmış fotoğraflarda göremeyeğimiz yakınlıktaki sivillerin ölümleri bu alana dair ipucu verir niteliktedir. Hegemonik erkeklik kavramı sorgulanarak gündelik hayat pratiklerinin fotoğraflanması ile erkeklik anlatısının fotoğraflar aracılığı ile yıkıldığını ve buradan anti-militarist bir okuma pratiği geliştirilebileceğini söyler.

Feminist, eleştirel teori, gündelik hayat okumaları tezin kavramsal çerçevesini oluştururken Semiha Es'in kadın bir fotoğrafçı olarak savaş alanındaki varlığı, hafıza ve tarihin fotoğraf üzerinden okunabilmesi olasılığı üzerinde de durulmuştur. Arşivindeki seçilmiş fotoğraflar aracılığı ile alternatif bir bakış bulma

olasılıđı, hegemonik olmayan erkeklik anlatısı da tezin araştırma sorularından olmuştur. Söylem analizi için teknik özellikler, bakanın gözünden fotoğraf, fotoğrafta “an” seçimi ve nesnellik arka plan kavramları kullanılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Semiha Es, Kore Savaşı, Militarizm, Anti-Militarizm, Erkeklik

## INTRODUCTION

The Korean War, which was one of the most crucial battlefields of the twentieth century, is often referred as the “forgotten war” of history, with the reasons behind not being extensively debated among the historians yet. While this could be due to the lack of public attention or the severe domestic economic problems of the war time, it could also be a result of the indifference in the approaches of the government and the public to the veterans. As widely pointed out in the historical sources, Korea was occupied by the Japanese Empire in 1910, remaining under the Japanese rule until the Second World War. Following WWII, the Soviet Union and the United States decided to temporarily divide Korea into two parts. The north part was taken under the control of the Soviets, and the south part was under the control of the United States. When the Soviets supported communist leader Kim Il Sung to get control of the north, Kim Il Sung decided to reunify Korea in 1950 (Patterson and Woodward, 1997:147). Consequently, the Korean War began with the North Korean army crossing the 38th parallel in 1950. Part of the impetus behind these events came from two great powers, the Soviet Union and China, having some strategic plans with their Sino-Soviet treaty. However, other reasons for the Korean War, like domestic and Cold War factors, contributed to the outbreak (Goncharov, Xue, Lewis, 1995: 131). North Koreans and Russia’s close relations can be counted as another factor in why Russia supported Korea because North Korea saw itself as a subordinate of Russia.

The historians named the period from 1947 to 1991 as the era of Cold War. The United States of America replaced the British as a dominant global power, and its new enemy became the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, the representative of the Communist regime, was the other main world power. These two polarized forces were involved in the Korean War against each other; thus, it affected the country’s polarization. The country was divided into two parts as North under the rule of the Soviets and the South under the rule of the United States. Then, there were two different countries founded in 1948. Some UN member countries, including the United States, organized and formed NATO in 1949 to cooperate and

form solidarity during armed conflicts. The Korean War was both a launching point for an intensification of US military dominance in Asia and a continuation of what had already been initiated by the Japanese colonizers. There have been different interpretations and different discussions around the war. The knowledge related to Turkey's entry into the Korean War was mostly established by the archives of the Turkish army, by the scholarship that is in the search for the clarification of the political reasons, and the historical research on the NATO entry, Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

In the 1950s, Turkey was trying to become a part of NATO to place itself amongst the international powers to become a part of the American – NATO Alliance. It can be counted as a reason for the Soviet Union threatening Turkey in the 1950s. The nature of the international dimensions of the War affected the countries that attended the War specifically and influenced the other NATO forces. Turkey, for example, was one of these countries, which attended to this War and was affected by this War. Korea had always attracted the attention of the countries such as Japan, Russia, China, the USA, the UK, and France, the vast powers with the intention of having a say in ruling and controlling Korea.

The Korean War found its place in many newspapers in Turkey at the time, including *Akşam*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Kudret*, *Milliyet*, *Tercüman*, *Ulus*, *Vatan*, *Yeni İstanbul*, *Yeni Sabah*, and *Zafer*. Anadolu Ajansı (AA) and Türk Haber Ajansı (THA) were two news agencies of the time. Turkish press often depicted the war as a sacred war against the communists. As İşler and Analı (2015) discussed, one of the main themes covered in the news was the “fulfillment of commitments,” which was also the government's main argument in persuading the public. Secondly, the concept of “democracy” presented by the Democratic Party, which came into power in the 1950s, was paramount on the agenda. The third theme was about the dangers of communism and the attempt to keep the public safe (İşler, Analı, 2015:91).

Turkish media contributed to the political role the Turkish authorities had at that time, and it had a stance supporting the USA against the Soviet Union. During the Korean War, news published in the newspapers had patriotic and

nationalist attitudes. *Hürriyet* assumed the role of supporter of the Turkish authorities, and it assumed the role of providing information to the Turkish nation from the battlefield in Korea. In this newspaper, Russians were often called communists, and the Chinese people were degraded as if there was a sacred war against the communists; the information was distorted to serve the press's propaganda mechanism and serve the authorities in defining the agenda. *Hürriyet*, meaning freedom, has been one of the prominent national newspapers with a higher circulation in the history of Turkey since its foundation in 1948, when the multi-party period was started by Sedat Simavi, an influential journalist in the history of Turkey. *Hürriyet* has risen amongst its counterparts over the years by having many national and international offices and has maintained its prominent position. When Sedat Simavi passed away in 1953, the newspaper started to be led by Erol Simavi, the son of Sedat Simavi (Özkır, 2012).

As Mühlen (2012) pointed out during the Korean War, *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, and *Zafer* newspapers sent correspondents to the war zone for first-hand information. The ranked soldiers working for the Turkish Armed Forces Information and Press unit also took photographs and wrote news on the War. Hikmet Feridun Es and his wife Semiha Es (photographer) worked for *Hürriyet*; Faruk Fenik for *Cumhuriyet*; Selami Akpınar for *Vatan*; and Natık Poyrazoğlu (used only "Poyrazoğlu" as a signature) for *Zafer*. Burhan Tan worked at *Yeni Sabah* as a photojournalist (Yeni Sabah, 1951). Mümtaz Faruk Fenik, Celalettin Çetin, Burhan Tan, and Selami Akpınar also took photographs during the Korean War. While Semiha Es took photographs for *Hürriyet*, her husband, Hikmet Feridun Es, wrote stories to promote the War. Among these journalists, as mentioned above, Burhan Tan was only cited as a photojournalist, and Semiha Es was revealed as a photographer in the news, among other colleagues. Mümtaz Faruk Fenik, Celalettin Çetin, and Selami Akpınar were war correspondents, and they wrote stories on the War and took photographs simultaneously. Semiha Es was the only woman, and her nametag only labeled her as a photographer.

*Hürriyet* was one of the newspapers which used headlines to emphasize two countries fighting against one common opponent: “Russians,” “Communists,” or “Reds.” On January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1951, *Hürriyet* published an article with the headline of “Red wolves attack, in the central battlefront of Korean War, was thwarted by Turkish soldiers” (Es, 1951). In addition to the headlines, the titles, subtitles, and captions also created narratives. The emotions in politics were represented in *Hürriyet*. “Although these ‘enemies’ may vary, ‘the people are generally set up discursively against current power holders, loosely conceptualized as ‘the establishment of ‘the elite,’ ‘within a specific narrative of threat and betrayal’” (Wodak, qt. in Breeze, 2019: 25). Thus, *Hürriyet* has been one of the spaces which functioned for creating social and persuading the public to support the Korean War.

Official historical narratives are of great importance in forming the memory of society. The forms of representation that support official history also support creating this memory through the media. Cultural studies has extensively examined media in reproducing the dominant ideologies, and as a cultural text bearing messages. Visual images in war photographs, one of these cultural texts, are also the carriers of politics and ideology, and significant components of social memory. In the Foucauldian approach, it is especially possible to see the functions of photographs in controlling, disciplining, and labeling. From this perspective, power regulates the production of legitimate information to society (Foucault, 1980: 132). Using the panopticon metaphor, Foucault argues that citizens of societies embrace the roles attributed to them and act naturally to conform to those roles. The meaning and information we access are constructed within the discourse formed by the authority (Foucault, 1977: 291). Thus, media becomes a tool of the states with a role in controlling and shaping public opinion. The photographs taken by Semiha Es and the news written by Feridun Es published in *Hürriyet* Newspaper during the Korean War have acted as powerful tools in the reproduction of nationalist discourse. Although Turkey had no political connection with Korea and a geographic distance between the two countries, the Korean War has played a significant role in the history of Turkey.

This study puts the Korean War at the center with an emphasis on photography as a narrative of history. The research draws from the Korean War photographs of Semiha Es as a women war photographer to reveal the complex relationship between anti-militarism, militarism, nationalism, and masculinity. The group of photographs analyzed for discussion consists of 260 photographs published in *Hürriyet* newspaper between the years of 1950 and 1953, and 247 unpublished photographs from the private archive of Semiha Es. While the published photographs in *Hürriyet* create a space to trace the official history of the Korean War, unpublished photographs bring the possibility of building a new memory and an antimilitarist discourse into discussion.

Methodologically, the photographs are analyzed in three interconnected layers. The first layer consists of the content analysis of the photographs to identify what is included in the frames of the published and unpublished photographs. Each photograph is regarded as a separate unit code, and what we see in the photographs defined the classifications. At the second layer, a two-stage semiological analysis is practiced including denotation, which is the depiction of the frame as described objectively, and the connotation, which is conveying the meaning behind the framing. The technical features of photographs are also evaluated in the denotation stage. For instance, the actual meaning of close or distant plan shots is described while the frame is depicted. The effect of these plans on connotation is commented on in the second stage. In the third layer, critical discourse analysis is performed to put these photographs in context with the idea that the image itself retains a conceptual complexity. Therefore, technical specification of the photographs—such as lights, shadows, or mechanical features—and self-disciplining practices—such as the way of seeing explained through the eye of the beholder, choice of moment, and objectivity—are examined. The power of center, proximity, and closure were also taken into consideration for the interpretation of the distances set to the subject. John Tagg, Roland Barthes, Susan Sontag, John Berger, Paul Virilio, Johan Galtung, and Victor Burgin will form the background theoretical framework, in the analysis of the photographs and the articulation of power relations transferred by institutions and agents. Moreover, the work of Stuart Hall is referred to in the

analysis of Semiha Es' subject position and the status of the photographs' objectivity. Additionally, Semiha Es' photography will be examined through a gender perspective with the help of theorists like Linda Nochlin, Dorothy Smith, Laura Mulvey, and Ahu Antmen.

In studying visual framing, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža underlines the press photography's emergence "as a particular style of visual reporting of news" that "was not spurred by criticality (e.g., watchdog function) but by governmentality" (Trivundža, 2015: 21) in order to support and legitimize certain narratives (Trivundža, 2015: 17). The iconic "Mehmetcik" (meaning "Little Mehmet," a term of endearment for Turkish soldiers, akin to saying 'G.I. Joe') is used as a conceptual tool to discuss the relationship between nationalism, masculinity, and militarism in the published photographs of Semiha Es. Mehmetcik also symbolized heroism. Mehmetcik were metaphorically protecting their country from one united enemy, and the enemy was defined as outsiders, communists, and "Reds." Military service in Turkey has an important place in the formation of masculinity. It appears as an institution where men learn social roles. Military service is considered sacred in Turkey, and it is perceived as turning point in men's lives with the idea that men will only become "men" by enlisting in the military. The discussions are developed on the wounded soldiers, soldiers in uniform having fun, and dead soldiers, enemies, and hostages to reveal the nationalist and patriotic discourse of *Hürriyet*. It is argued that published photographs reproduced the army-nation myth and the subtext of "Every Turk is born as a soldier." In the narrative dominated by militarist discourse, the practices of remembering the Korean War, which is a forgotten war in history, are examined through the themes, such as heroism, sacrifice, brotherhood, unity and solidarity, and the flag as the complementary elements of masculinity and militarism. The debates by the feminist art historian Linda Nochlin on institutionalization process of male-dominated art open a window to discuss the relationship between the male-dominated and militarist media sphere of *Hürriyet* and Semiha Es's published Korean war photographs. The experience of existence and being on the battlefield as a woman photographer are also addressed. The politics of gaze and the power relations as addressed by Laura Mulvey provide a

framework to discuss the masculinity in the photographs. As the images and the news are also historical tools to convey meanings, the general target audience and political position of *Hürriyet* Newspaper are incorporated into the discussions. For a contextualized understanding of the images, it is also necessary to understand the political atmosphere of the 1950s; Democrat Party (DP) rule; *Hürriyet*'s general publishing policy, media ownership, and viewpoints regarding the issues reported; changes in the Turkish political atmosphere; and the newspaper's relationship with the political parties.

The archive has a special value in revealing alternative narratives and possible other subject positions. Thus, private archives, mainly the archives of women, carry a political aspect especially in the absence of historical sources and knowledge productions. The politics of women's archiving is also determined in creation of the official archives whose works are to be found, selected, or worthy of being kept. The images of civil Mehmetcik, dead civilians, and staged photographs are analyzed to trace the possibility of an anti-militarist discourse, and an alternative Korean War narrative. 247 unpublished photographs of Semiha Es where she documented the Korean War were kept in the archives of Özgün Gürten Akbayır, who was a journalist working with Mithat Bereket, who produced the television documentary "Forgetting war: Korean War" in 2008. After her interview with Özgün, Semiha Es shared her concern about her archives when she died and that she wanted to leave it to Özgün (Akbayır, 2015:8.00). While the published photographs of Semiha Es in *Hürriyet* reveal the nationalist discourse, thus the official history, her unpublished photographs in private archives present a possible new mode of inquiry into the memory of the Korean War. While several unpublished photographs open the possibility for alternative readings that are likely to be separated from the ones published in *Hürriyet* newspapers, some other unpublished photographs are aligned with the militarist discourse. In the search of possible alternative knowledge construction about the Korean War, as a researcher I also selected those that could be read alternatively to trace the possibility of anti-militarist discourses. In this, my choice of non-uniformed soldiers was more about approaching civilian life. In addition to this, it would be correct to say that

photographs of uniformed soldiers—like soldiers showing posters of Hollywood stars they cut out of newspapers (See Appendix – I / 2. Other Unpublished Photographs), which also allow for an alternative reading—are also in the archive. One of the significant limitations here is the lack of knowledge and resources regarding how and with what intentions Semiha Es took these unpublished photographs. Semiha Es's presence on the battlefield should be taken into consideration in relation to her identity as a woman. There are no sources available regarding Semiha Es being a feminist and the defender of women's rights. Thus, my intention here is not to prove her identity as a feminist but to trace the cracks within her unpublished photographs that open the possibility of new interpretations for different war narratives. The conflicting discourses in the photographs of Semiha Es also reveal the complex process in relation to taking photographs in the battlefield and being a war photographer. In addition, when we look at it from a biographical perspective, it is necessary to underline that Semiha Es's story takes place in a period where there is a change in social and political conditions of women in the society. Locating the story of Semiha Es in relation to these changes helps us to contextualize her identity as a women photographer within the historical and political context of the period.

While the place of Semiha Es' photography in public memories runs parallel with the Korean War, there is very limited information which might give insight into her life story. The Korean War was the first war photography assignment of Semiha Es, and her identity as a war photographer was constructed during this assignment. Her photographs were often used in various news and media platforms, but, like the Korean War, she was forgotten in history. Although she is the first known Turkish woman war photographer, there are a limited number of sources which illuminate her presence in history. She is usually represented in connection to her husband for taking her husband's interview photographs (Ak, 2001: 183). In his book, *Early Republican Period Turkish Photography (1923-1960)*, Seyit Ali Ak states that Semiha Es went to Korea with her husband and took photos of his interviews. In other words, she is mentioned together with her husband in this book. Apart from that, her name was mentioned among the photographers

(Ak, 2001:184) whose photos appeared in *Hayat* magazine. In addition to her unpublished photographs, the short statements she provided in the documentaries and the quotes on the Istanbul Women's Museum web page about her perspectives helped me to understand her photographer identity. She was married while she was on the battlefield and stayed with a group of men; she was known as a 'married woman.' She was a middle-class woman who did not earn any money for the work she put in but was provided for by her husband. Semiha Es spoke of her experience during the War as follows: "All I have seen and lived through during the War has affected me a lot, especially from the humanitarian aspect. It was a difficult and bitter experience for me to witness the cruelty and troubles civilians endure all because of wars that cause conflicts that speak to the self-interest among politicians" (Akkent, 2012). In journalist Mithat Bereket's television documentary "Forgotten war: Korean War", Semiha Es gave an interview which I utilized in my research; I also made an in-depth interview with Özgün Gürten Akbayır. Akbayır had Semiha Es's private archive and did an in-depth interview and research on Es's past with a focus on her identity as a professional photographer. Other available interviews mostly focused on her husband. Özgün Gürten Akbayır protected the photographs in the boxes in her storage, so I spent my one month there digging into the archive. I found the handwriting of Feridun Es, his notes, some Ottoman pieces written by him, but I couldn't find any notes or handwriting from Semiha Es. She didn't leave any diaries, letters, or handwriting of her life or photographs. Some photographs were dated on the back while some others were not. The politics of interpretation in this dissertation took place within these limitations.

In studying photography as a social practice, gender constitutes a significant lens of analysis. The literature in this area often remained limited by further exacerbating the invisibility of women's photographs. When gender was integrated into the discussion, the issues remained limited to women's representations in the photographs or the acknowledgment of women photographers in the photography industry. The majority of discussions often revolved around the lack of representation and women's insufficient presence in decision-making positions in the photography industry. In the exhibition titled "Painting with Light:

Art and Photography from the Pre-Raphaelites to the Modern Age,” which took place at Tate Britain in 2016 (Tate, n.d.), the Curator Carol Jacobi stated that: “the process of these women becoming invisible is really interesting and I think there are many reasons for it. One is that people are not expecting them to be there, so they do not look for their work” (Crompton, 2016).

While the absence of women from the photography field and the decision-making process is often undermined, feminist research provides an extensive critique of the sexual objectification of women’s bodies (Loughnan et al., 2010). Laura Mulvey, for example, discussed sexual objectification, beauty standards, and the female body’s normalization processes for the pleasure of the male gaze (Mulvey, 1999). If the representation of women in visual products is one issue, women producing photography in the the field as photographers is another. It is documented that women as photographers have always been involved in wars as much as their male counterparts, from Gerda Taro, who documented the Spanish Civil War, to Olive Edis, the first women photographer commissioned as an official war artist by the Imperial War Museum in Britain. Other names to mention are Florence Farmborough, Christina Broom, Elsie Knocker, Mairi Chisholm, Margaret Hall, and Nino Jorjadze, who photographed World War I (Lind, 2017).

The historiography of photography in Turkey also consists of women photographers remaining forgotten, not remembered, or just remembered as the daughters or wives of well-known male figures. For instance, Naciye Hanım, who lived in the Ottoman era, was mentioned in World of Women Magazine in 1921 with the following words: “We got the news that a lady named Naciye Hanım was running a photography studio for women. We must support her” (Kadınlar Dünyası, 1921:11). Maryam Şahinyan, the first professional Armenian woman photographer of Turkey, or Yıldız Moran, the first woman with an academic degree in photography (Kulaksız, 2013:9), have been acknowledged and had their work highlighted with the help of recent research. Through recent exhibitions and inquiries like *Timeless Photographs of Yıldız Moran* (2013), today we can discover more about women photographers and how they were excluded in history. For

example, as we know, there was no community of photographers at Yıldız Moran's funeral. We also know that women photojournalists were often assigned fewer tasks than their male colleagues. Moreover, women often had the opportunity to take photographs when they belonged to the middle or higher classes or by courtesy of their fathers or husbands; nevertheless, they are still few in numbers. Yıldız Moran could not continue her career as a photographer after she gave birth to three children. "...then I gave birth to three children and receded from photography. I always hoped to start again for ten years. Nevertheless, after I drew away from it, it was not easy. It is a cruel subject" (Ak, 2001: 287).

The first photo known in history was taken in 1826. Nicéphore Niépce was the person who was able to take the first surviving photograph by using his camera obscura, made by the optician, Charles Chevalier; by casting the crude copy of the scene from the window of Niépce on a pewter plate (Gernsheim, 1965: 9). However, after the first photograph, gendered photography history was questioned by several scholars or curators. In the exhibition, *Who's Afraid of Women Photographers? 1839-1919*, which Musée de l'Orangerie organized in 2016, consisted of the eighty-year journey of women photographers in France, Britain, Germany, and the United States. Thomas Galifot, the curator of the second exhibition at Musée d'Orsay, covering the years 1839 to 1945, emphasized the museum's conscious choice about the specific anthology of the photographs regarding the forgotten women photographers in the history: "These masterpieces are amongst a showcase of photographs from 75 women we can say, some were well known in their lifetimes, others have since been forgotten, and still others were never known" (Michel, 2015, 0:58). Thomas Galifot also brings to our attention the relationship between the gender identities of the photographers and the photographic images they produced: "An idea that I like very much is the idea of 'strategy'; the notion that these women photographers, for whom today we have the names and images, strategically used their gender or indeed gender-based expectations of others, such as critics and spectators of the time, to ensure their critical or commercial success" (Michel, 2015, 1:39). This politics of representation makes us question the point of view of the history which male writers make in that kind of dominant historiography

that overshadowed women widely, the state and media institutions' role, and the role of the media in reproducing the discourses of nationalism and militarism by creating a history of memory.

Although artists included in the photographic historiography are not “great male artists,” it is seen that sexism is at stake in the process of photographic selection among the famous works of art. Linda Nochlin (2016) states in her article “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” that the reason for women not being included in the art history is not because of their lack of creativity, artistic statement, or ability, but because women have systematically been precluded from the field and been discriminated against in the social institutions. The great artist, genius, male myth referred to by Linda Nochlin finds his place in history within a cycle where they nourish each other through the prominence of the products referring to this male genius and superiority. Godeau and Parsons (2017) point out that the “history of photography is not the history of remarkable men, much less a succession of remarkable pictures, but the history of photographic uses” (Godeau and Parsons, 2017: xi). It is not surprising that the photographs which have become remarkable usually belong to these ‘great male’ photographers. Godeau and Parsons put forward this and stated that even writing about photography is gendered. According to them, there is an elision of feminism that can be observed clearly in academic writings about photography and: “...this elision is somewhat surprising given that popular discussion of photography often acknowledges the place of photographic representation in figuring sexual difference and reproducing hierarchies of gender” (xv).

Photography as a medium ontologically conveys the meaning as the material production of the same cultural codes. As Tagg (1988) pointed out, following Foucault, there is a differentiation of subject from object, as discursive space in which particular photography could be made to operate, and in which particularized photography was already prepared, by then, to find its place (Tagg, 1988: 89-90). In other words, there is a gap in our thinking in that we need to understand the signifier and name it; Tagg argues that photography fills that gap,

making the link between physical objects and pictorial signifiers. In reality, the link should be challenged. John Tagg states that “the power transmitted in the unremitting surveillance of these new, disciplinary institutions generated a new kind of knowledge of the very subjects they produced; a knowledge which, in turn, engendered new effects of power and which was preserved in a proliferating system of documentation - of which photographic records were only a part” (Tagg, 1988: 63). The view of gendered documents cannot be separated from these cultural codes, so it is essential to address fictional memory and its relationship with power. Tagg criticized the institutionalization of the photography process and its disciplinary practices. Tagg also comments that to understand photographs as material, to look at them in the broader perspective, it is necessary to consider of photography as a surveillance tool (63). The information on who took a photograph, when and how it was taken, and how and in which medium it was presented is significant.

Those questions also propose a new point of view of representation and the social construction of the meaning. Tagg states that systems of representation operate on identities; rather than expressing them, the systems construct them as a part of the ideology to produce its truth (27). The usage of photography in newspapers and its role in society is another discussion topic under social construction. While the fictionalized reality is mentioned, it is necessary to analyze how the photographs of this fiction can be constructed, keeping in mind that gender roles are also socially constructed fiction. War photographs can reconstruct the gender roles within the social structure while establishing this theme. In other words, masculinity in the social structure can become visible through photographs as a fictionalized reality. In particular, the combination of aggression and violence with masculinity leads us to contemplate the origins of acceptance and generation of the myth, according to which the person becomes more male when he is aggressive and violent. Anti-militarist feminist research often discusses these notions and argues that strong interactions between them are learned via culture. Cynthia Cockburn (2014) points out that there is a socialization process underlying the surface of armed conflict. She focuses on mainstream texts which fail to see the

cultural background behind the concept of War. The relationship between the practice of understanding, perception, and interpretation of war and gender are addressed by the anti-militarist feminists' criticisms of the war. The mainstream texts are criticized for being incapable of including the systemic causes behind the wars, notably, the patriarchal and male-dominant sex-gender order. The mainstream analysis does not include this perception, so it cannot act on it, making it less effective (33). If we broaden the cultural background element that Cockburn's analysis is based on, the circumstances wherein patriarchy and nationalism develop themselves and nurture each other are mostly overlooked in the criticisms of nationalism. Cynthia Enloe states, "Militarization is commonly explained without any attention to its reliance on particular ideas about gender. These are conventional but inadequate analyses of the militarizing processes. Instead, watch defense budgets, military personnel's roles, the discourses on weaponry, or the practices of inculcating patriotism and demonizing enemies. None of these concepts can be reliably explained or mapped in sufficient detail if each is imagined to be totally independent of how masculinities and femininities are wielded in the lives of elites and ordinary citizens" (Bajzer, 2009:84). The roles established through normative perceptions of femininity and masculinity in everyday life, socialization processes, and power relationships are included in Enloe's analysis. The notions of militarism, nationalism, and masculinity intersect with each other to preserve official history.

The difference between official history and the alternative narrative of history is important to mention here. As Ayşe Gül Altınay and Tanıl Bora (2002) mentioned, the army as an institution has represented modernism in Turkish society until today. According to them, it is a recurrent observation that the army was behind the modernization in the Ottoman period, and there is a historical continuity in the modernizing power of the army. "According to the historian Halil Berktaş, the 19th century is the most civilized in Ottoman history. This century is a century in which the revival and transformation in the civil area (developments in the field of literature and culture, Tanzimat reforms, legal reforms, dissemination and modernization of education, et cetera) are observed, rather than wars and the army" (Berktaş, 2001 cited in Altınay and Bora, 2002: 141). Altınay and Bora stated that

the transformation had been successful thanks to the civilians rather than the soldiers. The management of power by the military forces has prevented the possibility of the development of civil society. However, the balance shifted at the end of the century, especially with The Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti), officials having military backgrounds have increased civil society's effectiveness in many areas, like politics in particular. This period coincides with the period where Turkish nationalism in politics has risen (Altınay and Bora, 2002: 141). Nationalism, the concept of the nation-state, and the centralization of power are closely related to patriarchy.

Stuart Hall (1973) explains this relationship between power and the mass media with the notion of "ideology." While articulating his theory of the ideological functions of mass media and its power relations to the political landscape, Hall draws upon Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, and Ernesto Laclau. Following their ideas, Hall brings together the notion of media with repressive and ideological state apparatuses. He mainly draws upon Louis Althusser's definition of ideology. The embodiment of ideological concepts within photographs is also a question Hall engages in his work. "The ideological concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper, then, do not produce new knowledge about the world. They produce recognitions of the world as we have already learned to appropriate it" (Hall, 1973: 176-90). However, from this viewpoint, the determination of subject positions is apprehended by viewers. The interpretative relation between the audience and the medium is evoked in this perspective. According to Hall, when we focus on the photographs, the subject position is very much related. In other words, recognition is connected to our former encounters with the recognized objects. In Hall's analyses, Gramsci's concept of hegemony also explains how the mass media constitute false consciousness. Additionally, the representation of the image is also suggested.

John Tagg (1988) questioned the basic concepts of power with the Foucauldian perspective of state to documentary photography history and conceptualized the interaction between photography, hegemony, and power. In

doing so, he draws on Althusser's analysis of the state. Deploying the idea of "false consciousness" from Marx, Althusser questions how society's ideology functions. He states that Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), such as press, radio, and television, construct realities that are presented to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions (Althusser, 1972: 143). According to Althusser, different ideologies shape a different understanding of imaginary reality. That is to say, ideology works as a bridge between the power system and the individual. It helps the hegemonic authority reproduce itself by hiding forms of repression and integrating the individuals into the structure of power. While this process seems to help individuals gain their subject positions, how they are actually subjugated to the ideology becomes invisible. Stuart Hall broadens the Althusserian ideology by further exploring the concept of 'interpellation,' which describes the process in which we internalize the cultural ideas which are transmitted to us through society, and we accept them as our own ideas. Ideology interpellates the individuals to maintain their existence. With interpellation, all kinds of values that serve the hegemonic ideology can come into existence. The messages and roles stipulated by the ideology are conveyed through media. Photography as a material element is a tool for the disciplinary process of framing and resembles power and ideology.

Indeed, Semiha Es' remembrance, forgetting, and representation over her husband should be read with the gendered social construction process in Turkish photographic historiography. The conference titled "Semiha Es - The Women Photographers International Symposium," organized by Women's Museum Istanbul in 2013, carried the purpose of remembering and recalling her name again. The symposium commemorated the 100th anniversary of Semiha Es and was the first organized public event acknowledging her identity as a women photographer. The symposium also included panels on women photographers in the 21st century, their contributions and how the dominant view of photography was questioned from a gender perspective; additionally, roundtable sessions covered topics, such as war, the woman body, violence, memory, and documentary and art photography. Before this symposium, Semiha Es was only represented with her national identity in

documentaries like “Nisvan Documentary: Women frontiers in history,” is directed by Hüsametdin Ünlüoğlu, or Mithat Bereket’s “The Forgotten War: Korea.” In these documentaries, the love story between Hikmet Feridun Es and Semiha Es was underlined. In “Nisvan,” unpaid working conditions and her economic dependency on her husband was pointed out with the following sentences:

Semiha Es, who was always remembered along with her husband or even sometimes under her husband’s name in the dusty pages of the history; who could not be the subject of her labor; remained in the background and who could not make money using photography throughout her life (Ünlüoğlu, 2008: 15:13).

History is a male-dominated area, which is why “her” story / “her” / “hir”<sup>1</sup> stories emphasize the inclusion of the excluded ones as the subjects of their fields of expertise. Even though I had been into photography for almost 15 years, I only heard of Semiha Es’s work for the first time in 2012. Meral Akkent, the Istanbul Women’s Museum curator, approached me to organize a symposium on Semiha Es. During the initial phase of this research, I contacted and interviewed Özgün Gürten Akbayır, a former journalist who had Semiha Es’ archive. Then I realized that it was right in front of me, right under my nose; I searched for her voice in her some unseen photographs. If there is a possibility of hearing her voice, I wanted to analyze her photographs in *Hürriyet* to listen to her voice more. In order to get to know Semiha Es, we can make inferences on her life from limited available information at hand, by exploring the struggle of women in the Ottoman Empire and the acts of demanding equality in the public sphere during her time as well as by inquiring into the women’s movement during the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and the roles attributed to the women by the newly established Republic of Turkey.

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<sup>1</sup> hir is used as a gender-neutral pronoun for defining queer or non binary people.

In 1950's Turkey, apart from state-sponsored movements for women's rights, most of the media and state institutions produced messages which were related to women's domestic roles or idealization. Although there was an idealistic image created for women as the builder, helper, or the daughters of the republic, women's secondary status emerged in 1950's Turkey. Şirin Tekeli, Serpil Çakır, and many other feminist academics extensively questioned Turkey's modernization project's gendered aspects. Women's role in Turkey's modernization process and nation-state construction program carried parallelism with the worldwide nationalist projects Nira Yuval-Davis and Flora Anthias discussed. According to them, there are five significant modes of women's inclusion in nationalist processes. First, women are seen as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities; second, as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups; third, as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture; fourth, as signifiers of ethnic/national differences—as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction, and transformation of ethnic/national categories; and fifth, as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989: 7). Building modern nation-state women was defined as builders of a “new life,” bearers of a modern way of living both in private and the public spheres.

My path crossed with Semiha Es when I interviewed Meral Akkent, the curator of Istanbul Women's Museum, for *Amargi Feminist Magazine*. I am a photographer trying to discover gender identities through my photographic representations and experience, and Akkent introduced me to the work of Semiha Es. I suppose my story of using photography as a means of expressing myself coincides with my experience of exploring myself and the world around me. Starting from holding my first camera for the first time, photography gave me the strength and courage to step out of the box and dare to explore myself and the world. My identity pulled me in this thesis, and Semiha Es' unwritten alternative photographer identity as a woman and photographer. When I first began to study for this thesis, I didn't want Semiha Es to be forgotten, in the shadow of her husband

or on dusty shelves of history as many other successful women did. This idea was my first and foremost motivation to raise awareness to Semiha Es's story and her photographs. Up to now, I have spent quite some time working on this subject, and I have to admit that my point of view has been changed through this process.

I changed my stance since I began to work on her photographs. In the beginning, I was looking for a more structural way into her photographs. I focused more on technical specifications and the two-dimensional surface of the frame. Thus, I wanted to explore the photographs only by using content analysis (See Table 1 - Categories). The complex nature of photography forced me to look deeply at concepts more. I began to see the various messages and feelings conveyed in the frame. Also, in the beginning, it was vital for me to search for other women photographers and their experiences to understand what being a woman photographer in war means. As I studied intensely, I realized that some parts of their stories were familiar.

To reveal this commonality is essential for me, too, as the course of my political stance. I worked on gender and photography by creating images using my own body, space, and experiences. When I first started taking photographs, I contacted various photography clubs and associations and participated in different activities. I observed that women photographers are often involved in the activities. There were women photographers in these institutions and activities, such as festivals, panels, symposiums, conferences, and workshops; however, I could also see that only a few women photographers were the artists of solo exhibitions or the panel speakers. I have also realized that male photographers often had objectified women's bodies in their works. Therefore, I started searching for women photographers as subjects of their words and works. During this search, I came across Istanbul Women's Museum, which was digging women's history out from the "his"tory. The museum aimed to bring the histories of women who made a difference in history but remained in the shadow and darkness into the light.

During this process, I can say that trying to trace the possibility of different perspectives in Semiha Es's photography changed my vision and mind. I began to

dig deeper when I found out politics of interpretation carrying more value for me as a feminist scholar. I can also say that what I faced in this process was absolute change. Although Semiha Es is not a public figure as a feminist, we can still get findings of her different gaze via her experiences, vision, and choices. In Semiha Es' case, she was the only woman photographer traveling with Turkish army troops in harsh conditions in male-dominated spaces in war zones. Even her existence in such a place says something to us.

The art historian Ahu Antmen, who took Linda Nochlin's and Simone de Beauvoir's discussion one step further, conceptualized, and localized, the problem of women who are not being subject in the art world as the "second eye." Antmen, asks a crucial question here: "If the name were not Semiha but Semih, would this photographer still not be remembered?" (Antmen, 2016).

The first chapter is about remembering the Korean War, how it took its place in history, and why it is called the forgotten War. The discussion includes an evaluation of Turkish media landscapes during that time, and *Hürriyet*'s role in representations of the Korean War. The second chapter explains the methodological choices, how I analyzed the photographs (materials), and why I chose and implemented the three-layered analysis. The third chapter focuses on Semiha Es' life, the social and cultural developments of her time, connected with her life timeline and her career as a photographer, and points out underrepresented, misrepresented, and forgotten women photographers in history. Semiha Es' published photographs are analyzed in the fourth chapter, and the fifth chapter is about the selected unseen Korean War photographs of Semiha Es.

Photography archives, especially war photography, are a more ambivalent field where the representation of violence can be a psychological warfare element. It points to the politics of the practice of signification and interpretation. Sometimes violent images, pain, suffering, torture, and sorrow are used by both opposing sides. For this reason, the image sometimes turns into something powerful enough to ensure peace in wars. In that regard, we might find powerful images in the Semiha Es' archive. Archives of women war photographers in war zones, one of the

hegemonic masculinity areas, tell us that women can exist in the public sphere and that another reading is possible with a biographical approach. Unfortunately, Semiha Es' archive was not an organized, structured archive detailed with specific dates, names, and places. Yet Semiha Es photographs were also evidence. The use of photographs can be interpreted as presenting the evidence to the reader, especially in news stories heard about war news but with ones in which accuracy is questioned. Readers may feel that the photos convey facts, yet it is crucial to point out that photographs are framed, and what is included in (and excluded from) that frame is often a subjective decision. Photos, indeed, can document a real moment. However, when questioning the reality of the photographs used with the news, it should also question the context.

Reading the Korean war through Semiha Es photographs presents the possibility of different readings and discusses the context on the axis of antimilitarism. Many factors are considered while examining the photographs, and the research opportunities offered to us through experience also open up a space for feminist reading practice. The adventure of demilitarization, which takes place in the practice of daily life, offers an overview. This thesis gives us a perspective to question the existence in wartime as a woman photographer in the field. The ideas of feminist scholars helped, especially while I was reading the unseen photographs. Linda Nochlin, Ahu Antmen, and Dorothy Smith's ideas on male-dominated history helped me develop a different perspective. How women are neglected in history and trying to figure out a "herstory" is also valued in the Semiha Es' section. The Korean War, the forgotten memory of Semiha Es, some of the unseen photographs of her private archive, the haunting memory of gendered history, forgetting and remembering practices, and absence as a context were the unifying elements of this thesis. Ways of seeing were also another subject which was questioned. The ideas of John Tagg, Victor Burgin, Susan Sontag, Dorothy Smith, Johan Galtung, and John Berger also led to this thesis' conceptual framework.

While analyzing the photographs in the universe of this study, it becomes crucial to consider what is included in the frame and what is excluded. The

questions below: Is this a choice of the moment, or is there a regime, a connection to power in looking? When looking at a war photograph, what kind of meaning do the repeated elements or the things we do not see in the frame or a complete portfolio review bear? Which structures cause this? The main discussion points of the study are formed by the following questions: How does the selection process, editorial process, or media structure of the *Hürriyet* newspaper influence all these choices of the moment, and how are they influenced by these moments? The concept of media ecology is a systematic basis for the understanding and theorizing of this study. The historical development of war photography has not always been about the photographer's desire to show the reality of war. From the beginning, propaganda photographs have been widely used, especially in the mainstream media, the public about the necessity of war.

## 1. REMEMBERING THE FORGOTTEN WAR: KOREAN WAR

The Korean War, which began on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June in 1950, when the North Korean army crossed the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, is often referred as “the forgotten war” of world history in historical sources (Blair, 1988:940). This chapter aims to give a brief summary of remembering and forgetting the Korean War, how the war started, and Turkey’s participation in the war. An American journalist, Clay Blair, who worked for *Time* and *Life* magazines covering the Pentagon with the critique of the actions and strategy of President Truman, points to the lack of attention the Korean War received from the public. While the American public first supported the intervention into Korea when President Harry S. Truman emphasized the need to protect South Korea from the communists, later the attention was lost. Diminishing public interest in the War was often interpreted in the literature as its taking place between the Second World War and Vietnam War. Cumings, in his book *The Korean War: History*, wrote that “for Americans Korea is just one among several wars best forgotten since we are battling only one for four in big wars since 1945” (Cumings, 2010:63). We need to understand the geographical and historical background, previous conflicts, occupations and strategic partnerships that created the conditions of this forgotten war by going a little further back in history.

After Japan defeated China in 1895 and Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, it gained more power and invaded Korea in 1910, annexing it as one of its protectorates. Japan, thus, became an occupier of the Korean peninsula since the 1910s. Although the Koreans raised opposition in 1919, Japan was able to oppress them. Therefore, their ruling over Korea lasted until 1943.

After Japan’s conquest, and subsequent defeat in WWII, the Korean War erupted amidst the backdrop of the early Cold War period. The historians named the period from 1947 to 1991 as the era of cold war. The United States of America took over from the British as the new global superpower, and the Soviet Union, the representative of the Communist regime, became its ideological and political opposite. These two polarized forces were involved in the Korean War against each other, along with the People’s Republic of China; thus, the global battle between

capitalism and communism affected Korea's polarization. The country was divided into two parts as North under the rule of the Soviets and the South under the rule of the USA. Then, there were two different countries founded in 1948. Some UN member countries, including the USA, organized and formed NATO in 1949 to cooperate and solidarity during armed conflicts.

North and South Korea's conflict continued until it turned into an armed conflict when North Korea attacked South Korea on 25 June 1950. The Korean War was both a launching point for an intensification of US military dominance in Asia and a continuation of what had already been initiated by the Japanese colonizers (Cho, 51). The UN intervened and tried to stop the invasion by North Korea. However, North Korea continued its attacks, and on 29 June 1950, it entered the Seoul, the capital of South Korea. Then it invaded all the areas until it reached the city of Pusan in the southern part. UN called the countries to send their troops to the invaded area to ensure safety and peace by hindering North Korea's attacks. Around 20 countries sent their troops and healthcare teams to this area. As pointed out in *The Korean War: An International History*, though the geographical scope was limited to a small Asian country and began as the struggle between Korean armies, the conflict eventually included combatants representing twenty different governments from six continents. Of the estimated casualties to military personnel, more than half were non-Korean (Stueck, 1997: 3). This international perspective was the same on both hostile sides. Opposing the Russian, Chinese, and other communists' perspectives, the anti-communist international forces had much more to gain in Korean War to control East Asia. By considering this historical timeline, the relationship between the Chinese War and the influence of Stalin and Mao has also been examined by historians to understand the causes that paved the way for the Korean War, since the Soviets and China had wanted to conquer Korea in order to stop the previous invasion of Korea by Japan.

There have been different interpretations and different discussions around the war. Sometimes the transgression of the 38th parallel by North Korean armies with 75,000 North Korean soldiers had been shown as a cause of the Korean War

in the history books. Some made a comparison of the collateral damage of the Korean War to that of World War II: “Although World War II was much deadlier, the proportion of collateral damage was greater in the Korean War. By one estimate, 70 percent of the Korean War’s death toll was composed of civilian casualties, compared to 40 percent for World War II” (Cho, 2008: 52). Some alternative historians tried to present perspectives for understanding “the other side” of the Korean War. Nevertheless, the truth is not always the same, according to memoirs of Russian officials. Molotov relates that “it seemed that (Korean War) was not needed by us. The Koreans themselves had forced it on us. Stalin was saying that we cannot avoid the national question concerning a unified Korea” (Goncharov et al, 1995: 139). Stalin and Mao made their decision after negotiating with North Korean President Kim Il Sung. Then, Korean and Chinese communists had an alliance. Koreans got their support to overcome the growth of nationalists. The Soviets, beforehand, created a brigade to get prepared for the future wars in the year 1942. The Korean War’s international perspective consists of the multi-dimensional nature of the War. After the defeat of Japan by the Americans in World War II in 1945, an agreement was reached between then-allied America and Russia to stand on the 38th parallel. It is mentioned in many history books that Russia stopped here because it might cause it to negotiate more strategically for Europe, and this stop was showing Russian goodwill. After World War II, the new world order was built. When Japan surrendered in World War II, the agreement between the Soviets and the USA took place. Following this agreement, the northern part of Korea was invaded by the Soviets, whereas the USA invaded the southern part of Korea. According to Stone (1988), one of the alternative American history writers, the Korean War is an ongoing conflict in which the United States quickly decided to go to war and manipulated the war. Although the evidence presented by Stone is included in the book as second hand, it is known that the United Nations and NATO’s struggle against North Korea and the Soviets are places that remain in the dark. However, the invasion was not ended in 1953; the Americans and Soviet forces remained on Korean soil. Even after the armistice, the countries are still divided by a de-militarized zone (DMZ) and tensions still occasionally flare up.

The postwar antecedents of the 1950 Sino-Soviet alliance can be traced, as many traditional Russian objectives, to Stalin's policies in 1945 (Goncharov, 1995: 1). Nevertheless, Stalin had some meetings with other national leaders and made some negotiations on East Asia. The Soviets intended to create Soviet authority in Asian countries, as the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leader Mao Zedong intended. Chairman Mao long shared with the Soviet Union the preference for buffer zones beyond his nation's border (Goncharov, Xue, Lewis, 1995: 1). The Sino-Soviet Alliance was shaped under certain circumstances. Russia had an agreement with western leaders. The Chinese government shared the same interests with Russians. Russia wanted some alliance with China to stop the Japanese invasion of Asia. These historical events should also be considered when analyzing the Korean War. For instance, the Yalta agreement is critical, which brought Chinese and Soviet negotiators together. According to Goncharov et al (1995): "More fundamentally, accepting Stalin's terms would tilt the regional power equation to Moscow's advantage and formalize its control of buffer lands inside China. Stalin seized the opportunity and rushed the conclusion of the treaty "under the signboard of jointly fighting against Japanese invasion" (Goncharov et al, 1995: 4). Like Mongolia, which the Chinese saw as a part of China they lent; Outer Mongolia was an issue between China and Russia. Russia invaded Outer Mongolia in 1921. Mongolian People's Republic wanted to be recognized as an independent state. In diplomatic relations, Russia recognized Mongolia as a part of China. As stated in *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War*, "Stalin later began treating Outer Mongolia as a significant buffer zone protecting the Trans – Siberian Railroad, and in 1936 he concluded a treaty of cooperation with the Mongolian People's Republic without informing China" (Goncharov et al, 1995: 4). From this history, the Soviets adapted their politics into the new realities. "Later, in the 1950s, when Sino-Soviet relations began to deteriorate, Mao privately stated that Stalin had hurt the Chinese revolution, and if the Chinese Communist had followed Stalin's instructions, they would have been defeated" (Goncharov et al, 1995: 7). Although China and the Soviets had prolonged diplomacy between each other, but in the year 1950, their relations were corrupted.

Another factor which is critical to consider in the period leading up to the Korean War is Manchuria, a region which the Soviets wanted to control. However, Mao and Stalin were also known for their tactical and strategy war games to gain power. After Mongolia, the Soviets wanted China to fight with them against Japan. However, China did not want to lose its troops in the War with the Japanese. Then China changed its tactics in the Manchuria incident. However, the Soviets had wanted to gain strength in Manchuria, so they supported Nationalists in Manchuria, unlike in Korea, where they encouraged communists due to the capacity of communists in Korea.

The knowledge related to Turkey's entry into the Korean War mostly is established by the archives of the Turkish army, by the scholarship that is in the search for the clarification of the political reasons, and the historical research on the NATO entry, Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. Following North Korea's invasion of South Korea, the UN Security Council called the countries to send their troops to the invaded area to ensure safety and peace (UN Yearbook, 1950: 222). The Secretary-General of the United Nations sent a telegraph also to Turkey and asked for Turkey's cooperation. US Senator Harry Cain implied that the support provided by any country during the Korean War would ease the prospect of their membership in NATO (Brown, 2008: 103). Following that, a Cabinet session took place on 18 July 1950, where the Turkish government decided to send 4,500 soldiers to South Korea. Since this decision was given without the approval of the Turkish Parliament, and since this decision was against Article 26 of the 1924 Constitution—the act of declaring war or concluding peace by signing the treaties with the other countries is executed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Earle, 1925: 91)—it raised opposition. This was brought to the Turkish Parliament, and when the Adnan Menderes administration explained that this decision was made following the call made by United Nations. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of December of 1950 “The Decision about the Combat Union Sent to Korea” was published in the official gazette (Resmi Gazete, 1950). When it was framed as not being against the Constitution, and the government stated that the prospects were bolstered and attending the War would lead Turkey to be a member of NATO, the decision was

approved, and the ships carrying the soldiers were sent to Pusan, South Korea at the end of September 1950. In this way, Turkey officially joined the Korean War. Mim Kemal Öke, in his book *Chronology of the Forgotten War: Korea, 1950-53*, mentions that the news of Turkish soldiers being sent to the Pacific became a very hot issue in the Turkish public. Organizations such as the Turkish Peace Lovers Association, of which Behice Boran was the president, protested the decision and applied to the parliament for its cancellation (Öke, 1990:68). In addition, Öke defined those who opposed Turkey's decision to send troops to Korea as extreme left organizations. Cüneyt Arcayürek (1983) commented on the first years of the democracy in Turkey in connection with an economic and strategical perspective of the Democrat Party. The Turkish Brigade was under the command of the US Army. The Turkish Brigade was confronted with the Chinese on the battlefield to “facilitate the withdrawal” of the American troops (Arcayürek,1983:219). They together moved around the South and joined four different successful combats and lasted until the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed on 27 July 1953, which ended the region’s armed combats.

It is also important to note the effect of the post-WWII political climate while discussing Turkey’s decision to enter Korean War under Adnan Menderes’s governance. Turkey was one of the countries which participated in the Korean War and was affected by this war. Tracing back to this War, cooperation between Turkey and South Korea has always been active. In this climate, it was emphasized through a nationalist-conservative perspective that the success of Muslim Turkish soldiers in Korea would be essential in the War against communism. In this analysis of the Korean War, the political environment in 1950s’ Turkey is re-considered in terms of a new language formed during and after the war years, based on the country’s international position and the War’s relation with militarism. It is generally embodied in the fight against communism, the opposite side of Turkish political power: despite the secular modernization of Turkey, the war was often framed in a religious way, as one between Muslim Turkish soldiers, “Mehmetçik” in the Islamic tradition, and the ‘faithless’ communists. It also involves the economy and its struggle in Atatürk’s Turkey since the independence years. Mehmetçik, army, and

human power were other factors; they were essential to improve the economy. The connection between militarism, nation-state ideals, and capitalism must be considered together here. Thus, with this war, the international forces learned about Turkey's situation. According to İbrahim Artuç, "especially, the distant US got to know and discovered Turkey and Mehmetçik for the first time." (Artuç, 1990: 354). It is also seen that much fabricated nationalist and conservative rhetoric is etched on Mehmetçik's flesh.

The anti-communism propaganda (and its media coverage) had parallels in the development of the Turkish Armed Forces in this period. This development was perceived as a symbolic success of Turkey in applying the principal of modernization in the Turkish army through the adaptation of the German model of the "armed population – military nation" lifestyle in action. After the Korean war, the army shifted to the American model (Öztañ and Yılmaz, 2012: 234). The intricate relationship between army and masculinity was metaphorically reflected in the press. The iconic "Mehmetçik" figure (G.I. Joe) was widely used by the officials and media as a means of propaganda. Anti-communist and militarist statements were widely embraced, while anti-war advocacy was perceived as treason. Anti-war protests against the Korean war were undertaken by the Barışseverler Derneđi (Peace Lovers Association), yet the members of the Association, including Behice Boran and Adnan Cemgil, were immediately arrested (Öztañ and Yılmaz, 2012: 235). The Korean War recruitments or their families were not the only targeted groups of protesters: the target was public attention. However, at that time any opposition group was labeled and grouped under the pejorative, umbrella term "Reds."

While a common enemy was created in most of the newspaper headlines, Turkey also had several economic, social, diplomatic, and political reasons to get involved in the war (Öke, 1990). Westernization and modernization projects taking place in the Turkish Army (Güvenç, 2010), the state stance of Islam, secularism, the relationship between army and society, and the international and domestic pressures determined the involvement of Turkey in the war. In the 1950s, before

the Democrat party, the economy was inadequate, and Turkey imported industrial products from international markets. According to Tezel (1982), to understand the development of capitalism in Turkey, it is necessary to look at the history of the Ottoman and even earlier structural developments and changes in the Anatolian geography, such as the conflict between the agricultural society and the nomadic cultures. This tradition has been evaluated with Turkish economic development, its semi-colonial and underdeveloped structure inherited from the Ottoman empire. Foreign investments, international trade, and the Marshall Plan were carried out in 1947, and Turkey stepped into a liberal economy. After the Democrat Party came to power, Turkey encountered the expansion of liberal policies. However, the rule of the Democrat Party was another issue for understanding Turkish participation in the war. In their criticism, Öztan and Yılmaz (2012) mention that, due to that period's conditions, the war's representation was evaluated either in political, foreign affairs, and military history, or as a case study of the Democrat Party's governance. They further imply that broader implications are required to be presented in Korean War research. "Therefore, the Korean War's impact on domestic politics, and the complicated socio-political dimensions of the whole process, was dismissed" (Öztan and Yılmaz, 2012: 232). Additionally, as a periodical condition, discussions around taking part in the Korean War included participation in the war and the introduction of innovations into Turkish politics and the army.

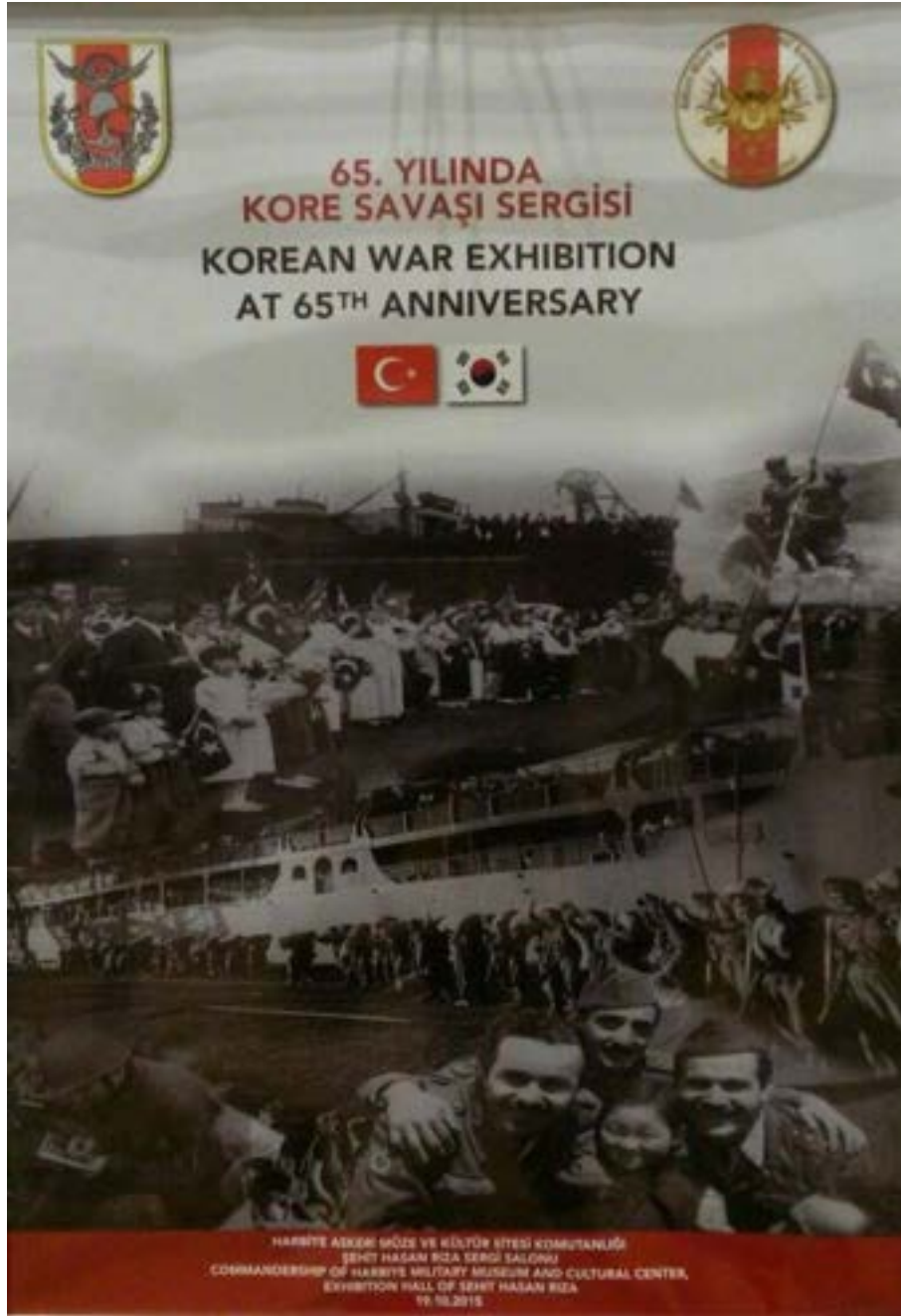
The 1950s had crucial importance in Turkish history because Turkey attempted a democratic multi-party system in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1946, two parties competed against one another, Democrat Party (DP) and The Republican People's Party (RPP); at that time, most newspapers supported the Democrat Party. Before the government announced its new election decision, it brought drafts of the Press Law to reduce the pressure. Democrat Party was supporting press freedom and the draft, including the cancellation of the Press Unity and the 50th article of the Press Law. The Parliament approved these bills on June 1, 1946 (Bulunmaz, 2012: 207). However, the press supported the Democrat Party's decisions about Turkish participation in the Korean War. *Hürriyet* used headlines to emphasize two

countries fighting against one common opponent, the “Russians,” “Communists,” or “Reds.” It can be counted as a reason for the Russian threat, threatening Turkey in the 1950s. Turkey wanted to become a part of NATO and hoped to place itself amongst the international powers that tended to be part of the American–NATO Alliance. On the 20th of January 1951 and 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1951, *Hürriyet* News published articles with these title: “New Attack of Reds are expected in Korea” (1951:1) , “McArthur is sure of the outcome of the war in Korea: ‘We're going to bleed the noses of the red Chinese in a part of the south,’ he said.” (1951:1) In addition to the headlines, the titles, subtitles, and captions also created narratives. This situation continued even after Turkey was accepted as a NATO member in 1952.

With the NATO membership and all progression towards that goal, the problem was to convince the public to this war. The propaganda needed to be done by the Turkish government. The usage of news as a tool of propaganda in wartime has a long history. John Taylor (1999) indicates that the press is more interested in storytelling for targeted readers than in showing the truth. Taylor continues, “[t]he press is notoriously fictive in its storytelling. Even the most factual reports of events that have happened have to be couched in language and imagery. Reports differ from the experiences of those who suffered and re-describe them in terms which editor’s hope will suit the preferences of their readers” (Taylor, 1999: 158). Scholars who work on media and war often call attention to how the circulation of images affects public opinion.

Although the usage of the image that creates public opinion is important, we may also emphasize here how collective memory is created in war. Forgetting and remembering practices, in connection with collective memory, have been important issues of discussion. The public attention and collective remembering practices through the Korean War have been significantly addressed by several scholars, especially unexpressed memories, individual subconscious and its articulation with collective memory (Keene, 2011: 1096-1097). The Korean War was also remembered among the Turkish and Korean public on its 60th anniversary

in the year of 2000. In the years leading up to 2012, Turkey and Korea began to make some bilateral trade agreements. Researchers focused on remembering practices of the war and economic agreements in the 2000s. According to Kilinc, Mavus, and Oduncu (2015), South Korean and Turkish diplomatic relations dates to 1949; however, the economic relationship has increased steadily since the early 2000s. (1) As a public relations strategy, Turkey and Korea organized cultural events and established sister-brother cities. Korean and Turkish governments primarily emphasize the idea of “brotherhood” because Turkey helped Korea during the Korean War. One of the most engrossing events related to Turkey’s Korean aid during the Korean War was a 2015 exhibition. (Image 1) The exhibition was opened in Istanbul’s “Military Museum.” In this exhibition, the Korean War’s original photographs and documents were exhibited (Kore Savaşı Sergisi, 15.03.2015). The organizers invited the visitors to observe the photos and be “witnesses” of the memory of the Korean War (65. Yılında Kore Savaşı Sergisi, 2015).



**Image 1-** Poster: “65. Yılında Kore Savaşı Sergisi Afişİ”.

[ In Its 65<sup>th</sup> year Korean War Exhibition Poster]

Turkish Military troops were portrayed as integral parts of the war at the exhibition by more than a hundred photographs. As shown in the poster of this exhibition above, Turkish troops were depicted as standing shoulder to shoulder while planting the Turkish flags on the battlefield or in which the Korean children

waved the Turkish flag proudly (Gezgin Dergi, 2015). The Turkish and Korean governments also organized other Museum Military events in 2015. These cultural events aimed to create a shared past, motivated by economic actions that affect the future of Korean and Turkish trades. In recent years, the AKP government has had a political agenda similar to The Democrat Party's neoliberal agenda in the 1950s. The exhibition aimed to create a common enemy and use the war to connect two countries in collective memory. Those are indicators that South Korea and Turkey have continued their positive bilateral and diplomatic relations established during the Korean War.

Michael Griffin (2010) pointed out that war images in which representations in media could influence public attitudes and perceptions on war policy. Because it is known that those images may affect the public's perceptions, governments and policymakers try to dominate those productions (8). Thus, the media was an important tool for war making narratives to change the public opinion. In the next part, I will describe the situation of the Turkish media landscape in 1950s. I will also examine the stance of *Hürriyet* newspaper in this media environment.

### **1.1. Hürriyet Newspaper and Turkish Media Landscapes of the 1950s**

In the 1950s, when the Korean war broke out, the Turkish parliament and public debated NATO memberships, Atlantic Pacts, Marshall Plan aid, and above all the image of a reliable partner for the western world. This section addresses the debates on how the Turkish media landscape shaped Korean war representations and the *Hürriyet* newspapers' role in creating public opinion and finally investigates how ideological conviction finds its place and how it is represented in the *Hürriyet* newspaper.

The Turkish press depicted the war as a sacred war against the communists; the information was distorted to serve the propaganda mechanism of the press and serve the authorities in defining the agenda. Along with *Hürriyet*, other newspapers showcased The Korean War, including *Akşam*, *Cumhuriyet*,

*Hürriyet, Kudret, Milliyet, Tercüman, Ulus, Vatan, Yeni İstanbul, Yeni Sabah, and Zafer.* Anadolu Ajansı (AA) and Türk Haber Ajansı (THA) were two news agencies producing content for the newspapers. As İşler and Analı (2015) discussed, most newspapers that published news on the Korean War had similar themes of persuading the public into the war. The first theme was “fulfillment of commitments,” which was also the government's main argument in making its decision to the public. Secondly, in the 1960s, DP’s governance was an issue. As I mentioned earlier, the DP won the election in the 1950s. Taken with the parties’ liberal policy and consideration of the periodical conditions, the party didn’t trust the bureaucracy and the military, which was passed from the old government of RPP. Most of the RPP’s leaders had a military background. The Democrat party cut the ties with their new intention of demilitarization. The Democrat Party shaped the concept of "democracy" and the presentation related to it in a conscious and planned manner before the 1950 General Elections and after the government. The third theme was the dangers of communism and keeping the public safe (İşler, Analı, 2015:91). According to Mühlen (2012), only *Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, and Zafer* sent combat correspondents to the war zone to get first-hand information.

The ranked soldiers working for the Turkish Armed Forces Information and Press unit also took photographs and wrote the news on the War. “Among them, there were Hikmet Feridun Es and his wife Semiha Es (photographer) for *Hürriyet*, Faruk Fenik for *Cumhuriyet*, Selami Akpınar for *Vatan*, and Natic Poyrazoğlu for *Zafer*. Also, Altemur Kılıç, Press and Information Officer of the Turkish Brigade in 1952, sent voice records from Korea to Turkey” (Mühlen, 2012: 532). After the Korean War started, *Cumhuriyet* agreed with a foreign war correspondent named Mike Gigantis to report from Korea. Gigantis was a reporter of the British Observer newspaper and worked for *Cumhuriyet*. His articles were published in the newspaper under the name of Philip Dean (Kabacalı, 1994:180). *Cumhuriyet* sent Mümtaz Faruk Fenik to Korea as a war correspondent together with the Turkish troops. According to İşler and Analı (2015), during the War, Fenik sent news and photographs from the battlefield to the *Cumhuriyet* readers via radiotelephone or letter (90). Selami Akpınar also traveled with the troops for *Vatan*

(Akpınar, 1951: 7). Burhan Tan worked in *Yeni Sabah* as a photojournalist (Yeni Sabah, 1951). Beside Semiha Es, Mümtaz Faruk Fenik, Celalettin Çetin, Burhan Tan, Selami Akpınar also took photographs in the Korean War. Although many newspapers and journalists report on the War along the same themes, each newspaper's perspective on the War needs to be addressed separately. Mümtaz Faruk Fenik was among those who supported Turkey's membership in NATO. Although he underlined that Turkey's decision to send troops to Korea did not have anything to do with receiving more aid from the West, in an editorial on 30 July 1950, he admitted that participating in the War would have a positive impact on Turkey's image in the eyes of the West (Mühlen, 2012:527). Like Faruk Fenik, who worked for the *Cumhuriyet*, Semiha Es took photographs for *Hürriyet*. At the same time, her husband, Hikmet Feridun Es, wrote stories to promote the War. Among these journalists, as mentioned above, Burhan Tan was only cited as a photojournalist, and Semiha Es was described as a photographer in the news, among other colleagues. Mümtaz Faruk Fenik, Celalettin Çetin, and Selami Akpınar were war correspondents, and they wrote stories on the War and took photographs simultaneously. Semiha Es was the only woman, and only her nametag was remarked on as a photographer. Accordingly, it should also be said that "Semiha Es" was mentioned as "Hikmet Feridun Semiha Es" under the photographs.

Turkey joined the Korean War in the 1950s by accompanying the US Troops and alliance with the USA. In the end, Turkey was able to join NATO. Turkish media contributed to the political role the Turkish authorities had at that time, and it had a stance supporting the USA against Russia. During the Korean War, news published in the newspapers had patriotic and nationalist attitudes. *Hürriyet* assumed the role of supporter of the Turkish authorities, and it assumed the role of providing information to the Turkish nation from the battlefield in Korea. In this newspaper, Russians were often called the communists, and the Chinese people were degraded as if there was a sacred war against the communists; the information was distorted to serve the press's propaganda mechanism and serve the authorities in defining the agenda.

*Hürriyet*<sup>2</sup> is one of the newspapers which continues to serve this function in Turkey to examine the situation of the media in the 1950s, it is necessary to first look at the general and political environment of the period. The first issued media law following the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was highly influenced by the politics of the new Republic and continued to define the media landscape even twenty years later.

In the Republican People's Party, the Recep Peker government issued the *Takrir-i Sukun* law, also known as the “Silence Law,” after the Sheikh Sait rebellion in 1925. In this period, some newspapers were closed down because they were broadcasting against general morality, and many journalists were sentenced to prison. Arif Oruç, who started a violent argument between the *Yarın* Newspaper and *Cumhuriyet*, was accused of being a “traitor” by Yunus Nadi and Ali Naci and was accused of being “vicious” by Falih Rıfkı (Mazıcı, 1996:150). After this incident, *Yarın* was closed. Arif Oruç formed a new newspaper; however, after the first issue of this newspaper was printed, the copies were confiscated, and the newspaper was forbidden. Recep Peker said that the statements that will disrupt national unity are in the media (Mazıcı,1996:150). The censorship of the press history in Turkey continues as a tradition from the Ottomans until the 1950s. After the election of the Democrat Party, the 1950s were not different from the '30s, as reporters were still getting arrested: for instance, 79-year-old Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, who got arrested because of an article where he was criticizing the Democrat Party

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<sup>2</sup> Between 1994 and 2018, Doğan Holding became the owner with 70% of the shares. Under Doğan Holding’s leadership, the news on the newspapers has balanced and gained a more serious nature. Doğan Holding even had to pay billions of fine due to their critical and liberal stance as a punishment of being against the government. Now, it was sold out to Demirören group, which is group well-known for supporting the AKP government and its activities. Since then, and since 15 July coup attempt, *Hürriyet* adopted a “more favorable stance towards the government” (Euro Topics, n.d.). The emblem of the newspaper is the Turkish Flag with the accompanying words “Turkey belongs to Turks.” This indicates that “the other” ethnicities are not welcomed in that Turkish definition. According to the Federation of American Scientists’ media aid booklet named *Turkey: Guide to Major Turkish Daily Newspapers* (2008), *Hürriyet* is defined as a newspaper which has always been strongly nationalistic, pro-army, pro-state, and pro-secular (5). This newspaper still maintains its power stemming from the fact that it is one of the best selling newspapers in Turkey. Its online journalism also attracts attention, and the website of *Hürriyet* Newspaper ranked four between the news websites getting the highest number of hits in Europe. It is the most visited website in Turkey after Google. In the light of this information, it can be said that *Hürriyet* Newspaper has always been the most influential newspaper for readers over the past 70 years. The newspaper is prepared and printed on a daily basis with the help of hundreds of staff including journalists, photographers, columnists, designers, digital content editors, agenda editor, news coordinators under the management of *Hürriyet* CEO and Chief Editor (Euro Topics, n.d.).

and the elections on “blind voting” (TBMM Tutanaklar, 445). In his article “Have a break in thin democracy,” Metin Toker states that despite all of the love for the freedom of the press, the opposition press was influenced by all the foci of wartime. The government, which represented “the national will,” would not have tolerated that. As Aslı Tunç (2015) states, every government in Turkish political history attempted to reshape the media landscape for its benefit. The right-wing Democrat Party government in the 1950s was notorious for shutting down daily newspapers and arresting journalists. (Tunç, 2015: 208) However, in the 1960s, the constitution's change also affected the press's freedom. The liberal waves in the constitution made news freedom more accurate and slightly improved fundamental human rights and freedom of speech. These were the consequences which came from the 50's political agenda; however, after Hüseyin Cavit Yalçın, cases opened against 866 more journalists before the government was deposed by the 1960 coup. Much of the criticism Menderes drew in this period from journalists regarded how his stance toward Syria and, by extension, the USSR was too aggressive even for Washington, thus endangering the unique relationship formed between Turkey and the U.S. by signing onto NATO. Attacks on journalists were a critical tool for managing the nation's image at home and abroad. In short, it can be said that Turkey has a long history of attacks on the press and uses it as a tool of propaganda. Especially during the time of being a member of NATO, Turkey's press had a particular stance.

Since the Second World War, Turkey has tried to have an equal distance from the other nations and tried not to engage in any war; however, those nations' ties did not allow Turkey to keep this distance. According to Sander, contrary to popular belief, Turkey did not remain neutral throughout the war. Turkish authorities signed an alliance with the United Kingdom and France. Those who carried out Turkish foreign policy, especially İsmet İnönü, succeeded in keeping Turkey out of the war (Sander, 1989:144). According to Sander, during World War II, Turkey had diplomatic and militarist relations with those nations while maintaining its independence, but negotiations continued at important events such as the Tehran and second Cairo conferences. Turkey ratified some treaties during

the war, and after the war, Turkey became a part of the UN since it had ties with the ally nations. As a result, Turkey formed an alliance with the United States against Russia at that time. Then, Turkey joined the Korean War and provided its support in the war by accompanying the US Troops. Furthermore, as a result of the alliance with the United States, Turkey became a member of NATO in 1952. In that kind of atmosphere, the Turkish media had a predictable stance of supporting the USA against Russia. During the Korean War, news published in the newspapers had patriotic and nationalist attitudes. During Turkey's participation in the Korean War, a new common enemy was created. Russians were often called communists, and the Chinese people were degraded. All the defensive attempts of Turkish and US Troops were provided as victories.

As in newspapers in the 1950s, the Korean War and Korean heroism took place in the cinema of Turkey. Only six months later, when the Turkish brigade was sent to fight under the leadership of the United Nations in Korea in October 1950, the films on Korean War began to be released in April 1951. While the war in Korea continued, citizens watched in the movie theaters the films on Korean War such as "Kore'de Türk Kahramanları" [Turkish Heroes in Korea] (Seyfi Havaeri), "Kore Gazileri" [Korean War Veterans] (Seyfi Havaeri), "Kore'de Türk Süngüsü" [Turkish Bayonet in Korea] (Vedat Örfi Bengü), and "Kore'den Geliyorum" [I come from Korea] (Nurullah Tilgen). With such a film like "Turkish Bayonet in Korea," wherein a veteran of the WWI Battle of Gallipoli contemplated on the past while listening to the heroism of the Turks in Korea and a documentary displaying the entry of Atatürk into İzmir are provided, the myth of heroism became more effective unsurprisingly (Maktav, 2006). From the films to the newspapers in the 1950s, the media created that kind of heroism during the Korean war. If we come back to our case, *Hürriyet* covered news in patriotic and nationalist attitudes. When this newspaper is analyzed through its headlines about Turkey's participation in Korean War, *Hürriyet* tried to create a new shared "identity of an enemy" to build a heroic "Turkish identity." For example, when the Korean War started, *Hürriyet* used the headline stating that the communists attacked Seoul city. Furthermore, when the Turkish troops joined the first armed combat in South Korea, the headlines

were provided by newspapers as “Enormous victory in South Korea by the Turkish Army”; and “the Chinese got frustrated since they could not capture the battlefield we were in, although they attacked us with all power” (Tarihi Gazeteler, 1950-1955). Gavin B. Brockett (2011) states that “in Turkey today the Korean War remains important to collective memory...to the point that Turks recall their nations’ participation in the conflict as legendary” (Brockett, 2011: 162-163). Brockett underlines the critical function of magazines and newspapers in this process by citing a UNESCO study, in which, for one week in March 1951, UNESCO kept track of which of several influential newspapers throughout the world devoted their space to the war (Kayser, 1953). It is observed that in Turkey, *Hürriyet* published news on war intensely: it devoted as much as 17 percent of its space to the war. *Hürriyet* was the biggest newspaper in Turkey in the 1950s and had an essential role in public discussion as well as being state aligned (Topuz, 2003: 21). *Hürriyet* was also aimed at reflecting the emotional effects of the Korean War to the readers. Brockett (2011) claims that newspapers mostly framed the Korean War story with religious and emotional acts. “Throughout coverage of the Korean War, the notions of sacrifice and martyrdom were prominent: indeed, it is no exaggeration to argue that Turks saw the Korean War as a sacred struggle, although the word “jihad” was not commonly used as a descriptor” (Brockett, 2011: 168). In line with this, it could be said that *Hürriyet* aimed to attract its readers by hallowing the Turkish troops and their presence in Korea while representing the political point of view of the authorities at that time. While reflecting the Korean War’s emotional effects on its readers, *Hürriyet* maintained the authorities' political stance against other nations, and it mainstreamed the news, which was, or could be, approved by the government. In other words, it provided a reality for its readers, which was distorted by the political expectations of the authorities at the time of war. On how the authorities can manipulate the news, there are some studies conducted. For example, in *Who Owns the Media?* Simeon Djankov, Caralee McIlesh, Tatiana Nenova, and Andrei Shleifer (2001) articulate the public choice theory on ownership that says that the government mainly manipulates the news content. In their words, the “government-owned media outlet would distort and

manipulate information to entrench the incumbent politicians, preclude voters and consumers from making informed decisions, and ultimately undermine both democracy and markets” (342). Nevertheless, it is considered that private ownership, which relates to the government and its agencies, also regulates the media industry.

It is important to ask how Sedat Simavi’s ownership of Hürriyet affected which Korean War photographs to choose. Sedat Simavi was very liberal when he established Hürriyet; He punctuated that Hurriyet is not an objective/ neutral newspaper, but it is autonomous. (Külsoy, 2021) To understand what is mentioned here, the political view of the owner and how the view affects editorial choices could be questioned. The use of photographs in the news and their intention should be considered. Brothers (1997) highlights the photograph’s cultural meaning with the context of the ideology of ownerships and how they are used as the tools of war: “Photographs representing aspects of news work may offer especially appropriate insights into the understanding of the professional self under specific social and institutional circumstances within media organizations” (Brothers, 1997: 12). Media historians have focused mainly on property, newspaper ownership, although social scientists' studies of journalists and their perspectives here.

The reactions to war photographs are different from one viewer to another. Susan Sontag’s *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003) discusses her ideas on the effects of vulgar images on people, stating that “On photography - our capacity to respond to our experiences with emotional freshness and ethical pertinence is being shaped by the relentless diffusion of vulgar and appalling images - might be called the conservative critique of the diffusion of such images” (79). Furthermore, the demonstration of violence, its conspicuous consumption, and the messages it conveys have been discussed in terms of institutional and individual angles. As discussed in the “objectivity” criteria, institutional perspectives convey a message about the politics of framing. In addition to this, the photographer’s effect in communicating this gaze is also open for further discussion. Although photographs as materials contain discursive meanings in their context of social phenomena, the

human factor that links the photographer's identity and ideology towards those materials seems to be a powerful instrument in various aspects.

Berger developed such analyses in reading photographer Paul Strand's photographs. Like Barthes' stadium, Berger connects Strand's way of using his camera to tell a story. Berger explains the importance of the way of expressing the facts in a frame. "His photographs convey a unique sense of duration. The *I am* is given its time in which to reflect on the past and to anticipate its future: the exposure time does no violence to the time of the *I am*: on the contrary, one has the strange impression that the exposure time *is* the lifetime" (Berger, 1980: 51). The duration of time makes the connection with history, and this technique makes Strand's photographs unique from a narrator's perspective. The traditional media ecology theory is composed of many people connected while forming news. And, as Marshall McLuhan suggests, "the medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1994: 7). Medium, which conveys a message, sometimes becomes the message itself. Looking at media ecology, communication affects human perception, understanding, feeling, and value, and how our interaction with media facilitates or impedes our chances of survival. McLuhan criticizes how language, technology, and speech affect human understanding. So "the medium is the message" is the beginning of this understanding. From this standpoint, the structure of the media institution also has a role in shaping the message. For example, while the journalist is the one who writes the news in a certain way of thinking, it could be the editor-in-chief who determines the frame of the news. It could be the editors who decide on the frames or explanations of the photographs. This flow may change the message in the first place with texts, frames, and photographs. This flow, which is the part of traditional press companies, becomes much more complicated in digital media. This is how an institution's perspective affects the news.

The photographic narratives of the Korean War could also be questioned in light of the idea of photography as propaganda in service of warfare and representation. Stuart Hall indicates two systems of representation. First, one is the mental representation, which is related to our memory. This system of

representation helps to represent the world by creating concepts of things or materials. He elaborates that the concepts are created by categorizing the images according to perceived similarities or differences. Culture makes people interpret the same events or thoughts similarly since the same people in the same culture have shared conceptual maps (Hall, 1997: 17-18). Hence, culture is something learned through experience and visualizes the same conceptual contents in the minds of individuals. Politics, then, uses visual language to win on the battlefield. Furthermore, Brothers (1997) also points to the connection between photography in war and photography as a weapon in combat. Sometimes photographs can be turned into weapons in war. Sometimes photographs can be used as propaganda material or can become a weapon to win the battle. The question here is of the power of the image, and the anthropology of seeing must be considered as the image surpasses the weapons with strategic importance (Brothers, 1997: 1). From this point of view, we can talk about the significance of *Hürriyet* in facilitating a shared remembrance of the Korean War through specific images and a particular way of representation. *Hürriyet* has always maintained nationalistic, pro-army, pro-state, and pro-secular discourse in the Korean War to shape public opinion to foster nationalism and heroism. As aforementioned, the editors' choice and the politics of representation of war cause us to consider visibilities and invisibilities. The fact that the photographs were hand-selected by *Hürriyet's* editors forces us to consider creating a solid culture to get public support and, for example, providing some examples of the news as images published in this newspaper during the Korean War should be examined. Here we see (Image 2) and (Image 3) samples of this usage. Image 2, for example, was published with the headline: "The situation in Korea is dire." Next to this headline, it says: "The great war interview" and, below, an image of a bombed mountain and soldiers ascending a mountain. There is a trace of smoke from the area that was bombed. After Image 2, a newspaper has a total page of photographs from the war (Image 3). The first photograph shows two soldiers crawling on the ground with guns in their hands. Two soldiers are standing and heading towards a smoke-filled horizon. The second photograph on the right shows three soldiers treating a soldier with bandages, the third on the left shows high-

ranked officials, General Tahsin Yazıcı and General Ridgway walking together on the road near the battlefield. This photograph gives the message of togetherness with American forces. In the fourth photograph, an enemy soldier surrenders to the Turkish army. In the caption, it says, “a 'Red' surrendered to our guns.” The red defines the enemy here. In the fifth photograph on the right, two soldiers are praying in front of a graveside. In the sixth photograph on the left, there are surgeons doing surgery. In the seventh photograph on the left, a group of soldiers is shown. The high-ranked official is seen talking on the phone. In the caption underneath the photographs, it's written: “Colonel Celal Dora is leading the operation of mountain 431.” In the eighth photograph, one soldier is shown from the front. There are other soldiers and two soldiers on the left and right seen as silhouettes on his back, and there is a village in the background; it is burning. All the photographs show the battlefield, civilians, injured soldiers, treated soldiers, high-rank generals, and praying soldiers for their dead friends. Those stereotyped images support heroism, the necessity of being there as the Turkish army, and distract the readers from feeling humanity to support antiwar ideas.

# Kore'de vaziyet çok ciddi

Seoul'un cenubunda Amerikalılar gene gerilediler  
**Amerikalıların işe yolları tehdit altında  
komünist tankları durdurulamadı**  
İngiltere ve Amerika hükümetleri fevkalade tedbirlere başvurular



**Dün yapılan üçüncü karışmada  
Güreş İhtisas Kulübü takımı  
Fin'lileri 5-3 mağlup etti**

**Gecekondu Celâl Atik ve Yaşar Doğu  
rakiplerini tuşla yendiler**

**Marshall Planı Avrupamoda Neleir Görün?**  
**AVRUPA NE ALEMDE?**  
Bir fikra ve bugünkü ihtiyar Avrupa..

**Çin komünistleri de Nazım Hikmet'i  
müdafaa ediyorlar**



Vali gecekonducuların sakinleri ile görüştü

**Amerika'da 18-25 yaş arasındaki  
gençler silâh altına alınacak**  
Büli silah tasviri memleketin  
muhtelil parçasına dağılılacak

**Yeni basın  
tasarısı**  
Başbakan: Tadi  
demokrat rejime  
yararlı şekill  
yapılacaktır, dedi

**Marmaris'i büyük  
bir İngiliz filosu  
ziyaret edecek**

**Din Kestüpe'ne giden  
Vali gecekonducuların  
sakinleri ile görüştü**

## Büyük Harp Raporu KORE HARBINI Takip Edecek Harp Muhabirinin Japonyaya Gitti

### Hürriyet Kore Harp Sahasında



**Milletvekillerinin tahsisatı  
indirilebileceğe benzemiyor**

**Yapılan tebliğ  
milletvekillerini  
ifletendirdi**



**Uçak seferleri dünden  
itibaren başladı**



Yusuf

Image 2- News on Korean War, *Hürriyet*, dated 9 July 1950. Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013



**Image 3-** News on Korean War, *Hürriyet*, dated 13 February 1951. Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

*Hürriyet* also published news about the Korean war that followed these themes. From these points of view, the Korean War photographs by Semiha Es can be counted as the materials of that historical moment of bolstering public opinions regarding the war. The readings of the specific photographs published in *Hürriyet* and those that remained unpublished and unseen in her private archive can point to the possibilities of different memories and understandings of the war. Before reading the Korean War in the pages of *Hürriyet* and through the unpublished photographs of Semiha Es, the next chapter will detail my methodological framework for reading the photographs in the following chapter.

## 2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR READING THE PHOTOGRAPHS

There is always a difference between what we see in the frame and what we do not see. The fact of not seeing elements in the photographs has ties with the photographer's choice of the moment and the ways of news production, where the editors and owners of the media institution firmly decide what is publishable. The photograph's figurative potential offers us a step beyond the text's possibilities of depiction and providing information. In *A Seventh Man*, John Berger and Jean Mohr (1975) discuss whether social science can use photographs as evidence. They state that "the book consists of images and words and that 'both should be read on their own terms'; 'only occasionally is an image used to illustrate the text'" (Berger and Mohr 1975:7). Āllja Tomanic Trivundža also points to the photographs not being simply images or representations but outcomes of various "power-knowledge practices and material objects that not only circulate within society but also significantly contribute to the circulation of other goods, knowledge, and political power" (2015:11). The politics of looking is a significant framework that needs to be integrated in the process of reading the photographs.

Three interconnected layers of analysis have been applied to the analysis of the photographs. The first layer is classified and categorized to make the first and primary step made with content analysis. Second, it is defined and described in a frame so that semiological analysis techniques understand what denotation and connotation are in a frame. Social theory and discursive practices are located at the intersection of the photograph's power to transfer the symbols at the third step. While reading a photograph, visual analysis allows separating the photograph into layers, enabling cultural, discursive, and contextual studies.

The photographs in this dissertation are analyzed in three interconnected layers. The first layer consists of the content analysis of the photographs to identify what is included in the frames of the published and unpublished photographs. This

first layer is about understanding the ideas represented in the photos; as Burgin states, a photograph represents a complex intertextuality site with overlapping series of texts, becoming object texts with social intention and meaning. (Burgin, 1982, as cited in Langmann and Pick, 2018:3). Each photograph is regarded as a separate unit code. The classification of what we see in the photographs creates classifications to read the photographs.

At the second layer, a two-staged semiological analysis is practiced as a tool. The first stage is implementing methods that are used by semiotics to depict the photograph frame, in other words, what is seen in the frame described objectively (denotation). The second stage is to investigate the lateral meanings (connotation) of this described objective field. With the help of the codes received in the first level, categories on the lateral meaning are questioned. Animating the textual narrative within the photograph's frame offers a possibility for a visual depiction narrating the content. Connotation leads the techniques in the photography, and those techniques convey the meaning behind the framing. Here I use framing because it is also significantly related to the first layer—description of what we see in a photographic frame. For example, in having several men and women in the photographs from content analysis, the code constitutes the number of women or men in the photos. Or the number of uniformed or non-uniformed people is designated as a code. While uniformed individuals are categorized as soldiers, non-uniformed ones are accepted as civilians. In some photos, soldiers are framed without uniforms. The connotation is read as non-militarization (civilization) of soldiers in those photos. The potential of cross-examination arises from these categories. Uniformed women are categorized as nurses and women soldiers. Whether women are in the position of receiving service or delivering service is reached with these crossed readings. The technical features of photographs are also evaluated in the first stage. For instance, the actual meaning of close or distant plan shoots is described while the frame is depicted. The effect of these plans on connotation is commented on in the second stage.

In the third layer, critical discourse analysis, is performed to put these photographs in context. The context should be constituted by knowing the image itself retains a conceptual complexity. Therefore, background concepts grounded issues as technical specification of the photographs, such as lights, shadows, or mechanical features and self-disciplining practices, such as the way of seeing explained through the eye of the beholder, choice of moment, and objectivity.

The power of center, proximity, and closure also took part in this thesis by comparing photographs from their distances to the subject. I was cognizant of these elements while analyzing photographs. The layered meanings of the photographs and their compositional features are connected with the choice of moment, which Henri Cartier-Bresson called the ‘decisive moment.’ The structural elements of photography, technical specifications on the frame also are created in those decisive moments and the syntax of photography’s historicity.

I examined the structural elements of photographs such as distance, framing, and focus, collecting the data from content analysis. For instance, I tried to understand why that photograph was taken at that distance or proximity. If there are similar photographs that have created a category, I investigated technical specifications. Tagg states that ideological apparatuses like government departments like police, courts, and scientific establishment hold a “power to bestow authority and privilege on photographic representations” (Tagg, 1988: 160). Foucault’s ideas of power are also related to his discourse explanation because discourses as plural forms create some institutional pressures. Social effects of the imaginary are discussed in photography when used as a part of the research project. The criteria that images must be considered when they are used is a facet of the research. From the Ottoman empire through the Turkish Republic, transformations of masculinity have passed with a shared cultural image of an unknown soldier named “Mehmetçik” (Little Mehmet). This identification of the soldier with the name of Mehmetçik is questioned with intersectional concepts of masculinity. This Turkish soldier has no subjectivity. For instance, he has no face, no background, no family, and no particular identity. It was a coding category of a soldier in Turkish

history. Critical discourse analysis of the Korean War photographs by Semiha Es published in *Hürriyet* are discussed with the wounded soldier, amusing soldier, and dead soldier. In contrast, the analysis of the unpublished ones points to the soldiers undressed from their uniforms, casting (pretending) soldiers, and the images of the killed civilians. The discussions are constructed with the theoretical framework of military discourse and masculinity.

While exploring all different levels, three kinds of background information are applied to perform deep analysis. At first, the effect of the photograph's technical properties, namely the structure constituting ordinary and lateral meanings, is discussed. It is implied with "the structure" to put forward the effect of content (meaning) creation process on characteristics, such as specialties of cameras used in that time and near, mid- and far-plan shots which appear during content analysis. However, the second information used during the process is identifying "the eye" who reads the photograph. Whether the gender of the photographer as a woman affects the relationship between her and the photographed subject or not has already been asked. Can we also question "closed" areas for women in the 50's looking back to Korean War photographs of Semiha Es? I also examine selected unseen photographs from this stance by questioning relations between anti-militarist rhetoric and being a woman in a war zone. Here, the basic question is to research the possibility of opening a space to produce anti-war and anti-militarist rhetoric by being in a war zone as a woman photographer.

Furthermore, whether the meaning of her photos is affected by the photographer's staying in a military camp (base), wearing a uniform, or her newspaper's relation with the military has also been asked regarding the photographer's identification. The other important point is related to the place where the photograph was taken. How many things fit inside the frame and things left behind the frame are related to that specific "moment." This information affects the critical discourse analysis, which is made using *Hürriyet* and unpublished/unseen photographs. Semiha Es' published photographs can be evaluated through their contact with objective reality by considering all processes and factors like

institutional level or personal level. The dead soldiers are always the casualties of the war, and by this strategy, the enemy corpses are shown in the news openly, whereas the state never shows the dead bodies of its soldiers. This shows the representation's convention and the code of the state used. The subject positions of the dead in Semiha Es' photographs can be read in this matter. In her photographs, the bodies of the dead are integral. The mortal enemies' bodies can be seen bare, decomposing. However, Turkish soldiers' dead bodies cannot be seen in the photographs; we can only see coffins with Turkish flags on them. These kinds of documentary photographs are always served in the news in order to manipulate the population to get their support for the war; those are the only kind chosen by editors in order to conform to the political stance of their media institution and to satisfy the states' agenda, which is to differ from the original intent of the photographs. This brought us to the question of objectivity, which is addressed in the last part in that regard.

Here, objectivity and subjectivity with the concept of vision and visibility must be questioned. The notion of the gaze, phenomenological-existential analysis of the gaze, and power relations regarding the act of looking are also considered. The issue of gaze will be addressed, and then the notion of the choice of moment will be consulted. Firstly, I will first focus on the essential technical elements, and here I will try to connect the technique with the structure. Secondly, I will question how gaze is interpreted through power relations, how the identity of the eye of the beholder's belonging class affects the gaze. Thirdly, the photographer's choice of the moment and editorial selection will be contemplated while explicating the photographs. All the layers will be considered; the notion of objectivity will be taken into account in reading. In particular, Gillian Rose (2001) defines two groups of methods that qualities attributed to photographs as supportive and excessive. Photos are subordinated in some way to the researcher's interpretations; they are worked over for what they offer in the way of evidence to answer a research question. Secondly, in contrast, they are used because they are seen as excessive to the researcher's interpretative work. The first of these is called support, and the second is supplemental (Rose, 2001:239). While analyzing a photograph, it should

be taken into consideration whether the photographer has any relationship with any authority or not. If the photographer has any connection with the army or other governmental institutions, and if the photos are being taken in a military base as a courtesy of such relations, this would affect the photograph's meaning. However, it is not always about the external authority: even if the photographer has a connection with government institutions, the photographer's inner intention also takes part when looking. It is also about awareness. There are different perspectives about this issue, so I used intersubjective relations, which are not always related to "other." Therefore, I choose "Through the Eye of Beholder" as a concept that helps to read photographs. Most of the journalists who work in the newspaper are decision-makers of using the photographs in the news.

## **2.1. Content Analysis**

Content analysis is one of the most common research methods used by researchers working in the media field. In our study, the photographs we have in the private archive and *Hürriyet* are categorized to reveal what is included within the frames. We measure only seen elements, not hidden material beyond the images. I used content analysis to sincerely understand photographs because the content analysis gave us an opportunity for the systematic classification and description of the photographs for the defined categories. Charles R. Wright (1986) defines content analysis as a research technique for systematically classifying and describing the content according to predefined categories. Although it is descriptive, the categorization creates a space to trace the patterns and consistencies. Qualitative content analysis is predominantly used in the analyses of the photographs with the classification into different groups (Langmann and Pick, 2018:106). The narratives and the meaning captured in the photographs can be discussed over the contents and the categories.

In this analysis, I am delving into the meanings of the symbols according to the context. This methodology gave me a chance to class the photographs together. The categories came into existence with those classifications. Because there needed a second layer to interpret or explain the meaning of the photographs,

it can be said that these categories can be evaluated through the power elements created through different images in which these elements are symbolized. The point of view that helps here is that photographs are the outputs carrying the knowledge/information practices of the authority as in discursive level. When I choose the sample, I summon some criteria for the reading of the photographs. The authority must question the criteria. Thus, I first try to understand what elements symbolize authority and which concepts I can read them. I used this descriptive technique to classify the elements in the images. To analyze the hidden material, I got help from the items of semiological analysis. Denotation and connotation are used to interpret the images.

In total, 507 photographs are analyzed in this section, divided into two categories: 260 of them are published, and 247 photographs are unpublished. The frames described and counted how many women, children, animals, non-uniformed soldiers, civilians, weapons, flags, technological devices, musical instruments, deaths, injured people, alive people, technical specifications of the frame, and the other categories of the photographs. Codes are separated (Table 1) as: woman, man, child, non-uniformed, uniformed, soldier, civil, heavy weapon, weapon, flag, Turkish flag, truck/jeep, map, binoculars, telephone, musical instrument, medal, animal, dead, injured, alive, close shot, middle shot, extreme long shot, portrait, group photo, meal, front line, battlefield, inside of the camp, protocol/superior/officer, hostage/prisoner, outside of the camp, hospital, the place is not clear, and wreckage.<sup>3</sup> Categories are systematically comprised of humans,

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<sup>3</sup> In the published photographs; there are 23 women, 305 men, 20 children, 98 non-uniformed, 262 uniformed, 296 soldiers, 83 civilians, 34 heavy weapons, 115 weapons, 3 flags, 13 Turkish flags, 29 tracks/jeeps, 1 map, 11 binoculars, 8 telephones, 4 musical instruments, 1 medal, 1 animal, 13 dead people, 43 injured people, 297 alive people, 125 close shots, 137 middle shots, 38 extreme long shots, 13 portraits, 130 group photographs, 4 meals, 68 front lines, 39 battle fields, 30 inside of the camp, 39 protocols/superiors/officers, 20 hostages/prisoners, 72 outside of the camp, 41 hospitals, 114 the place is not clear and 9 wreckages. In the unpublished photographs; there are there are 63 women, 224 men, 30 children, 127 non-uniformed, 262 uniformed, 196 soldiers, 107 civilians, 5 heavy weapons, 58 weapons, 2 flags, 9 Turkish flags, 20 tracks/jeeps, 0 map, 6 binoculars, 3 telephones, 7 musical instruments, 6 medal, 3 animal, 12 dead people, 24 injured people,

human identities, objects, and symbols included in the photographs. Afterward, these codes are grouped and classified (categorized) in themselves. What do the photographs tell us about their environments (is it a war zone, ruins, military base, a civilian space or camp zone); who are the people included in the photos (women, men, animal or children); what do the people in the photos wear (military uniforms, civil clothing, underwear); what are the symbols in the photographs (flag, medallion, rifle, etc.); what kind of technological devices included in the photographs (guns, heavy weapons, binoculars, maps, cars, jeeps or trucks); what kind of elements related to entertainment are included (musical instruments); and which basic needs are covered in the photographs (food, shaving, cleaning, etc.) With the help of cross-reading, the analysis brings about the discursive order which comes out of the content analysis.

Codes	Published	Unpublished
Woman	23	63
Man	305	224
Child	20	30
Non-uniformed	98	127
Uniformed	262	185
Soldier	296	196
Civilian	83	107
Heavy weapon	34	5
Weapon	115	58

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218 alive people, 117 close shots, 89 middle shots, 40 extreme long shots, 22 portraits, 52 group photographs, 7 meals, 24 front lines, 15 battle fields, 36 inside of the camp, 39 protocols/superiors/officers, 1 hostages/prisoners, 132 outside of the camp, 30 hospitals, 103 the place is not clear and 4 wreckages.

Flag	3	2
Turkish Flag	13	9
Truck/Jeep	29	20
Map	1	0
Binoculars	11	6
Telephone	8	3
Musical instrument	4	7
Medal	1	6
Animal	1	3
Dead	13	12
Injured	43	24
Alive	297	218
Close Shot	125	117
Middle Shot	137	89
Long Shot	38	40
Portrait	13	22
Group Photo	130	52
Meal	4	7
Front line	68	24
Battlefield	39	15
Inside of the camp	30	36

Protocol/Superior/Officer	39	39
Hostage/Prisoner	20	1
Outside of the camp	72	132
Hospital	41	30
Unknown place	114	103
Wreckage	9	4

**Table 1-** Categories and Numbers of photographs Semiha Es' Published and Unpublished Photographs

The categorization of these codes will also help us to make the technical analysis of the photographs. Especially that the camera distances, such as medium shot, close-up, long shot, extreme close-up, over-the-shoulder, and the typical angles of the camera, such as the Dutch angle, low angle or high angle, and others are shown will help us to read the photographs. With the description of technical elements concerning the photograph's content and form affecting the connotation and denotation, all the images displayed as the focal point in the center and perimeter will affect the reading of the photography structurally. Moreover, the context of the photograph's presentation, in other words, the time it was taken in the war, the explanations used under the photographs, the historical background of the photos, and the contexts in which the photo are analyzed.

## 2.2. Identifying Denotation and Connotation

We first see forms and materials, two-dimensional surfaces, and objects in a frame in a photograph. Color, shades, and other elements are a part of the photographic frame. If there are people in a frame, we see their faces, expressions and gestures, attitudes, bodies, or parts of their bodies. There are various messages, feelings, and contextualized effects in those frames that also convey cultural meanings. How we get the meaning is a question of semiotic analysis. How the language creates the meaning in the semiotic analysis tried was explored by several philosophers including, but not limited to, Locke, de Saussure, Peirce, Chomsky, Habermas, Morris, Russell, and Korzybski. The ones who worked on semantics have dealt with the subject in two ways: philosophical and logical approach and linguistics. Especially in the philosophical approach, semiology is interested in how signs create meaning. According to Saussure (1966), linguistics creates units, concepts, and a sound image. It is purely material, a physical existence that impresses the senses (66). Saussure addresses that language has been shaped by oral cultural tradition and has been randomly associated with verbal images. These associations make us connect concepts to visual icons and cause every concept in our perceptual world to be associated with a connotation and denotation (Kaçar, 2007: 579). This view, which finds its roots in structuralism, states that denotation and connotation can be understood by looking at myths (Chandler, 2017).

Silverman (1983) emphasizes the illusion that connotation and denotation are the same and that denotation is universal. He emphasizes that the ideological background in the interpretation process is ignored (Silverman 1983, 30). The discussion that there are signs that are a product of culture besides this individuality has been made by different scientists, and the interpretation of signs as a product of a shared common culture had been especially important for the interpretation process. For instance, Levi Strauss opened a discussion that every sign acquires a history and connotations of its own, which are familiar to members of the sign-users' culture. (Chandler, 2006: 31) That cultural aspect is related to history; in the culture, we create concepts. Representation of concepts is also related to the theory of concepts. I tend to support the idea of prototype theory, which mentions the

concepts we create about prototypes with cognitive reference points. From this point of view, Eleanor Rosch (1975) researched theories of concepts. She tried to show why classical theory is not comprehended as human aspects and differentiation under the theory of concepts. Rosch focused on categories and how human capacity plays a role in categorization. As it evolves, prototype theory changes our idea of the most fundamental human capacities' the capacity to categorize our idea of the human mind and reason. For instance, the dog's image belongs to a category that comes from the theory of concepts. Symbols that convey meaning in the language have a great role in putting the knowledge into signs. According to Leeuwen and Jewitt, the connotation can also consist of the "style of artwork or the techniques of photography, such as 'framing, distance, lighting, focus, speed'" (Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001:44). It is very close to Barthes's theories on photography, whose main focus is semiotics, his concept of 'studium,' which refers to denotation, and 'punctum,' which links to connotation.

The first layer is what or who is represented. Exactly what we see in that frame. That is, it is related to the literal meaning of the photograph. The second layer is about the connotation; what ideas and values are represented, and how are they represented (Leeuwen, 2001: 94). Barthes (1981) adopted his semiotics perspective into photographs that enable us to read photographs subjectively. He also mentions how the photographic technique differentiates photography from other art forms. These technical qualities affect the meaning, making, practice, and provide enough evidence to formulate the hypothesis through categories (Barthes, 1981: 31) Understanding the meaning of the image is a complex issue. It is necessary to consider certain levels and layers of the frame. We can read it through what the image describes by looking at its literal meaning, which describes 'studium.' Secondly, there may be a process of recognition in which the visual image is associated with experiences. In other words, the process defined by Barthes as the 'punctum' appears here. It is an internal process, a subjective effect of a photograph that pricks the viewer. Punctum personalizes the image (Barthes, 1981: 26-27). There is a personal experience that is not related historically or socially. I

also used these theories while analyzing photography's special technical specifications and their effects on viewers.

### **2.3. The Background Concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis provides the conceptualization of language as discourse by considering the socio-political context. While semiological analysis allows us to elaborate on the deep meaning of the codes through the images in the photographs, visual discourse analysis provides us the space to question socio-political perspectives and disciplinary practices. Therefore, this section will elaborate on the background concepts and grounded issues as technical specification of the photographs, such as lights, shadows, or mechanical features and self-disciplining practices, such as the way of seeing explained through the eye of the beholder, choice of moment, and objectivity.

#### **2.3.1. Technical Specifications of Photographs**

Since the invention of photography, it has been discussed that photography has changed the perception of the ways of seeing. Throughout history, people have tried to create images on a particular surface with light. A sensitive surface, the knowledge of chemistry, and timing have become the subjects the inventors researched. Creating an image was not easy, especially taking advantage of the techniques provided by the technique, namely the chemical processes and physical processes like timing were also influential in creating an image. These processes were named “camera obscura” in history, starting from Aristotle’s book of problems until the first surviving photo produced by Niépce. The structure and the techniques, like camera distances, angles, camera's specialties, are also crucial because of the creation process that affects interpretation.

William Henry Fox Talbot, who invited the basic principle of photography, the negative and positive image, stated that photography “enable[s] us to introduce into our pictures a multitude of minute details which add to the truth and reality of the representation, but which no artist would take the trouble to copy

faithfully from nature” (Talbot, 2010:33). Objects, lights, and shadows with the help of mechanical recording were captured inside the camera permanently. This technical development changed the perception of nature. The ability of long exposures or split-second exposures creates different perspectives of the living world. Technological developments are also needed to be taken into consideration, changing the structure of photography. The development of sensitized papers, negatives, chemicals, plates, and cameras made that change possible about perception.

Anything that is seen in the photographs can simultaneously be explained in and through the photograph’s structure. Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (2001) also explain that this creation of meaning is related to the photographs’ structure that visual semiotics in the Barthesian concept overlay meaning. Barthes explains the layering meaning with two contexts: “denotation” and “connotation” as I mentioned before. Barthes (1977) suggests that connotation is more associated with the photographer's techniques used in a photographic frame. Denotation is what we see within the photograph’s structure: the internal distance within the frame, the use of light, and everything included. In this way, some questions have been addressed to the photographs, and the content has been categorized according to these questions. Due to the photographic medium’s properties, the elements appearing in the content are revealed by the content analysis method. It will be investigated to identify the focal points in the center, i.e., in the frame of a photograph in line with the center-periphery duality, and to interpret the meaning of the periphery of the non-focal point. It is also necessary to consider the symbolic order of communication here. The center-periphery duality reveal the power relations behind. In the light of the concepts, it can be inferred that the political discourse uses the communication tools by resorting to a determined discourse having both connotative meaning and denotative meaning.

Richard Zakia (2013) uses Gestalt psychology to connect with those structural factors and their ties with visual perception. For visual field dependency, Zakia states that “our sense of balance is determined by both our visual field and our gravitational field, which affects our kinesthetic sense” (79). The elements, such

as similarity, proximity, continuation, closure, and symmetry, need to be considered while clarifying photography's visual perception. Horizontal or vertical shapes or lines also need to be addressed.

### **2.3.2. Through the Eye of the Beholder**

"Through the Eye of Beholder," refers to the ways of looking and seeing, and how those address the power relations by explaining the concept of internalized power. The question of how internalized dominant perspective is reflected in a photograph through the eyes of the beholder is significant to reveal multilayered meanings. In this section, where internalized power is questioned, the gaze's more subjective and shapeable nature will be revealed.

According to Hardt and Brennen (1999), the ways of seeing are cultural and much related to power. "This is a picture-driven society, and photographs have paved the way for a broad acceptance of a visual discourse that dominates media...Photographs are also visual forms of knowledge, and knowledge is related to centers of social or political power... through photographs produced as documents by the dominant ideological apparatuses of media and government agencies" (Hardt and Brennen, 1999: 7-8). Apart from that, the ideology behind the views, like the difference between what we see in the frame and what we do not see, can also be discussed.

While reading a historical document or analyzing a photograph via discourses, how the acts of ideology and memory affect each other should be evaluated concerning this discourse practice. In addition to that, the universe of this study itself contacts with historical reality. Therefore, it should be investigated how this reality is reflected or to what extent it is objective. For this reason, power relations, the identity and discourse of the state, and how photography is used as a medium are the other subjects that should be focused on, and these will be discussed as follows. John Tagg (1988) makes connections between power relations and photography in his book *The Burden of Representation*, which questions the objectivity of the image:

Like the state, the camera is never neutral... As a means of record, it arrives on the scene vested with a particular authority to arrest, picture and transform daily life; a power to see and record; a power of surveillance that effects a complete reversal of the political axis of representation which has confused so many laborist historians. This is not the power of the camera but the power of the apparatuses of the local state which deploy it and guarantee the authority of the images it constructs to stand as evidence or register a truth (64).

Concomitantly, Laura Mulvey points out the male glance and gendered gaze in line with how the authority interprets the gaze with power hierarchies and with cross-photographic narratives. I will do this by grouping the systems in which each symbol is a unit following the distinctions I observed in the context of hegemonic masculinity in the photographs. The Spaces of representation are another facet John Tagg (1988) strongly argues with while recognizing gender issues. While gender is culturally coded, with photography following the similar stance as gender, the medium conveys similar cultural codes. These codes may be transmitted to documentation. Thus, power relations can use photography to create a distorted reality. From this point of view, the internal part of the gaze and power relations should be questioned as well.

In order to deepen the issue of objectivity in the next part, the issue of collective memory should be evaluated here, as a part of the ways of seeing. Assman (2008) approaches the subject from a perspective similar to that of Tagg. She states that “[i]nstitutions ... do not ‘have’ a memory – they ‘make’ one for themselves with the aid of memorial signs such as symbols, texts, images, rites, ceremonies, places, and monuments” (55). When it comes to war photography, scholars like Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites (2003) connect the representation of war, haunting, public identity, and collective memory. They question the affinities between photographic representation, public culture, and mass media (Hariman and Lucaites, 2003: 35). Photographs related to collective memory are seen as materials of the dominant culture in these processes. Hariman and Lucaites maintain that the

question here is about visibility and invisibility, what we see in a frame and what we do not see, what the state (power) or dominant culture wants to show us, or what they do not want to show us. The main dimensions of power relations are articulated with photography as a material item asserted as a disciplinary tool--a surveillance mechanism (Tagg, 1988). All of these are related to seeing, watching, looking and directing the gaze.

Tagg states that the perception of photography is not a natural but a coded process. The meaning of an image in the photographs is put together by an interaction of the codes or schemes that vary in their schematization degree. Therefore, the image is to be observed as the composition of certain signs as complex structures since its meaning is multiple, concrete, and constructed (Tagg, 1988: 187). From this point of view, it is not possible to say that the photographs or, more specifically, the news created by using the photographs are mere fiction. Instead, it is possible to say that the information provides a story about reality, but this reality is different from the truth itself. In these constructed stories of such reality, its themes are drawn by the created facts or myths, and in that way, the population is provided with a particular scheme or code. In such a construction, the codes tell the people how to view the world and live.

Tagg (1994) explains this construction further in his article "The Discontinuous City: Picturing and the Discursive Field" by conceptualizing the views from cultural history and theory perspective with the totality of the image production. As Foucault (1980, 1982) states, the meaning constructs within a discourse. In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault goes one step further and uses Bentham's Panopticon prison analogy to show how the citizens access the knowledge within the state's discourse. A panopticon is a building structured by circles intertwined with each other, and there is a watchtower in the middle of it. The cells of the prisoners of the panopticon are located so that each of them can be observed through this watchtower; there is no blind spot where the prisoners can hide from the eyes of the watchtower. By knowing that they are constantly under surveillance, the prisoners start to act and behave to conform to the expectance of

the guards of the watchtower. As time goes by, they forget about how they are under surveillance and internalize the authorities' point of view, and they embrace the role appointed to them.

Broadening the scope of Foucault's panopticon, Tagg takes the view of cultural authority's representation and structures. "Panoptic techniques of discipline and surveillance do not entirely displace the power of spectacle and effect a total reversal of the political axis of representation" (Tagg, 1994: 95). He also claims that regimes of visual meaning, discursive formations, and power practices (83) are related to the dominant system's institution. For instance, giving the example of feminist history, for instance, is related to the economic, cultural, and political positions with the reality (84). However, the argument he makes concerning modernity construction is also related to capitalist structures. This panopticon structure has a resemblance to the mechanism of the authorities in modern societies. The citizens of these societies embrace the roles attributed to them and act naturally conform to those roles. In years, the authorities have gained power by changing their shapes and hiding since they are diffused into the citizens' behaviors and choices intrinsically. The social, political, cultural, and economic structure we live in shapes us and sees our events. Then the meaning, knowledge, and information we access are constructed within the discourse formed by the authority, and power displays itself in such a way by hiding itself; "it is a question of order to be maintained" (Foucault, 1977: 291). Regarding power and information, image and its relationship with the news is another mechanism to evaluate when we look at news reporting.

In a similar vein, for researchers focusing on photographs and reality, the impacts of Magnum photographers on the tradition of photojournalism is another subject of study.<sup>4</sup> The overwhelming visual vocabulary of photojournalism today is defined by the white Anglo-Saxon middle-class male gaze.

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<sup>4</sup> In addition, in a comparative study on profiles of Magnum Agency employees and their ethnicities, it is seen that there are forms of unequal representation. A research conducted in May 2017 reveals the rates according to gender and country of origin, respectively: out of 92 Magnum photographers, 12 photographers are women (13% of the entire list); 31 photographers are from North America; 46 photographers are from

Sarah Leen's interview with Laura Havlin (2017) is presented with a curation of some of Leen's favorite Magnum photojournalism images. "Magnum is deservedly famous for its amazing photojournalism since the inception of the agency," she says. Magnum's recruitment of new and contemporary photographers strengthens the bond with the viewer, while she says photojournalism gained a new dimension:

Ambiguity, mystery, irony, the gesture, the glance, the question not the answer has added a new dimension to the work the agency is producing. And I feel that has also strengthened its conversation with the viewer. For me, I love that intersection between art and journalism. The work from Magnum has certainly come to own that space (Havlin,2017).

We can interpret these new developments by considering tradition as well. For example, the use of women in photographs can reproduce the dominant masculine culture that exists. The traditional structure of photojournalism narratives could repeat itself. It may include the exoticization or excessive sexualization of women's images living in different world geographies. Laura Mulvey discusses in her renowned article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" that a scopophilic situation which "arises from pleasure in using another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight" (1999: 41) corresponds to the image of the silent woman. Woman, then, stands in as the signifier bound to her place as "bearer of meaning, not maker of meaning" (Mulvey, 1999: 834) that man can live out his phantasies and obsessions. Then, it goes back to the psychoanalytic background where the figure of woman signifies castration; and voyeuristic or fetishistic mechanisms are put in place to narrate her threat (Mulvey, 1999: 840). Accordingly, photographers and editors convey their fetishistic and scopophilic fantasies to the audience through women images. In that sense, images of women in photography are those which are both looked at and exposed. The hegemonic ideology creates a collective memory

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Europe; 14 photographers are from Asia, Africa, South America and Australia; 1 photographer is black; 3 photographers are from the Middle East; and 2 photographers are from East Asia (Estes, 2017).

as the dominant culture's materials, i.e., photographs, then this memory presents a distorted reality. It only shows us what it wants to show us. Framing is one of the methods of doing this. Framing of the news is a way to express opinions about the visual representation of the narrative. Framing can also be seen as construction that provides the news with meaning. The news production process restructures and creates the dominant discourse while it produces and transforms the ideologies. In such a framing, the choice of the moment by photographers is vital.

### **2.3.3. Choice of moment**

Images are seen as essential elements in news reporting as widely discussed within the framework of critical media theory. Ilija Tomanić Trivundža (2015), for instance, describes that news photographs have a role as the photographic images in the social construction of meaning through the news. According to Tomanić, a combination of visual techniques into framing research comes from a combination of mental, explicative, and basic ideal models. Framing the news is a way to express opinions about the key concepts, metaphors, and visual representation of the narrative. According to Hardt and Brennen, the evidence and the choice of moment create the history of memory, and photography constitutes the cultural and material processes of communication at a historically specific moment (Hardt and Brennen, 1999: 11).

Another issue is the aspect(s) of photography in the narrative of the news—rather, perceiving an image rather than interpreting it within the discourse. According to Trivundža Tomanic, “they technically cannot publish a news item without a photograph. On the other hand, however, the news workers in question have received no special training in how to select or edit photographs” (Trivundža, 2015:13). Tomanic emphasizes the frustration called “the tyranny of the empty frame.” Visual framing of the news and its relation of representation of the news are questioned. Tomanic also explains “how framing represents a highly informative theoretical concept that can help us understand both the role of journalism in construction and maintenance of nationally-bound political communities, as well as the central but often overlooked role that images play in

this process” (Trivundža, 2015:16). It is essential to publish news with photographs, especially in serious documented historical events such as wars.

Warfare images can be understood as a propaganda tool by institutions, while the photographer’s framing can be criticized. The photographers’ choice of the moment is focused here by reading the frames the photographer wants to show and those the photographer does not want to show. Stuart Hall indicates that the choice of the moment has an ideological meaning:

Of course, the choice of this moment or even against that, of this person rather than that, of this angle rather than that any other, selection of this photographed incident to represent a whole complex chain of events and meaning is the highly ideological procedure (Hall, 1982: 241).

John Tagg develops Hall’s ideas regarding the photographer’s choice of the moment by using John Berger’s and Umberto Eco’s perspectives. Tagg has expressed many of his thoughts on decisive moments and choices. He says many have accompanied Berger, who defines the single elective decision as freezing a moment to record and isolate. For example, for Umberto Eco, it has been said that if photography is to be likened to perception, this is not because the former is a ‘natural’ process but because the latter is also coded (Tagg, 1988: 187). This is used as a strategy by the states to propagate nationalism, heroism, and militarism where only martyrdom is blessed, whereas there is no room for individuality.

Noam Chomsky, who connects democracy and the role of the media in society, states that media has a long history and ties with propaganda. He criticized liberal democratic theorists’ arguments, like those of Walter Lippman, who state public opinions should have been directed by power. And he claims that it was a necessity because, as he put it, “the common interests elude public opinion entirely” and can only be understood and managed by a “specialized class” of “responsible men” who are smart enough to figure things out (Chomsky, 1991: 11). Chomsky criticizes the media’s misdirection in the name of democratization by power. He

states that media, as a tool of the states and private power, like schools or other institutions, plays a crucial role in building the consent of the masses, which is explained with the conception of the manufacture of consent. The fundamental argument in Chomsky's writing is the relationship between media, state, and private power. Louis Althusser's "Ideological State Apparatuses" and Gramsci's "hegemony" are often used by followers of the tradition. Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" has brought critical awareness to the emergence of "hegemonic" or ruling social and cultural forces especially those which operate through media to strengthen their authority. In these studies, a project of social transformation protected the vitality of ideas. However, those social memories cannot be counted as accurate or without manipulation. The notion that creating the meaning of photography is not enough alone effective in defending the idea that photography is a carrier of the ideology and telling the photographs with subtitles and framing. That is why the choice of what the frame includes is an issue. Either photographer or media institution can decide what the reality is. As Chomsky states above, manufacturing consent is related to the screened fact seen in the photographs.

#### **2.3.4. Objectivity**

The history of photography examines the question of objectivity from multiple perspectives. The first purports to question how we perceive the world as our eyes see it. First-order perceptual beliefs are very strong in the photographic image. And another issue is whether the photographer's state of mind cannot change what they see in the shooting process. For instance, If the photographer is shooting a green leaf, they cannot change the color unless they make the digital correction. Walton (1984) states that photographic realism is natural; he compares drawing and photography, stating that painting has less credibility when accepting evidence. He emphasizes seeing, learning, and the photographs' chemical process, differentiating them from drawings. He also argues that photographs have a subjective point of view. Looking at the objectors' side of the issue that photographs are "photographers' conception or interpretation, what we get from a photograph is not our view of the world but his." (Walton, 1984: 261) It is also necessary to mention

the institutional perspectives related to the subjectivity of photography by those who oppose it.

The other argument in this matter is institutional perspective and how it reflects on photography and its politics. The political position of the institution is primary in these discussions. This political position is shaped by internal factors such as editorial choices and external factors such as governments' approaches to countries, regions, administrations, and ethnicities. That layered structure has been the focus of various academic studies. For example, *Reading National Geographic*, one of the most notable books that question the magazine *National Geographic* and its tradition, analyzes the photographs' content inspired by this tradition with a constructed reality. Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (2008) examine the images of women published in the *National Geographic* Magazine in 40 years between 1950-1990. They look at the photographs on the "exotic" places of the world and the magazine's dossiers on war and post-war situations to draw a parallelism between the American foreign policy in terms of countries with which the US conflicts, post-war cultural environment, and their photos published in the magazine. National Geographic Society, the magazine's publisher, constantly enhances its close ties with the government authorities and large companies. As a national establishment, the magazine owes its reputation to publishing important scientific articles on "the world and everything in it," protecting important American values and traditions (Lutz and Collins, 2012:5). As seen in this example, war, the effects of war, militarism, and state relations influence various media organs' editorial policies both nationally and internationally. Moreover, in her book *Europe's Myths of Orient*, Rana Kabbani (1986) points out the Western civilizing mission as the cause of political domination and exploitation:

In the European narration of the Orient, there was deliberate stress on those qualities that made the East different from the West, exiled into an irretrievable state of 'otherness.... Political domination and economic exploitation needed the cosmetic cant of *mission civilisatrice* to seem fully commendatory (Kabbani, 1986: 6).

In Oriental women representations for Western men, the veil is favored, from Harem postcards to the Renaissance paintings. Kabani (1986) points out that the usage of the veil, first and foremost, is for arousing curiosity among the Western audience by conveying a message of forbidden. Through a patriarchal discourse, she further argues, the Arabs are rendered depersonalized and homogenized, and a monolithic “Arab identity,” “Arab reason,” and “image of Arab woman” is created. This created identity is one of the issues of question of reality in visual representations. Media critics are mainly also interested in the reality which is not shown in the frame. The elements which we do not see in the photographs tell us the story behind the power relations. The power relations do create a memory, and as a part of this, it depicts whatever it wants; therefore, what we see is always different from what we do not see. It, in the end, causes a constructed history, a history in which what we see or hear is different from what we do not see or hear.

Thinking of photographer’s objectivity, Baudrillard argues that photography does not capture “what is” but what is defined by the photographer from a philanthropic standpoint. He also suggests that the photographer is ultimately absent as we do not see anything but only the hidden lens “sees” things. It is not the Other which catches the photographer’s eye, but rather what is left of the Other when the photographer is absent” (Baudrillard, 2000). The rest of his argument punctuates the “pure” reality. Taking Baudrillard in conjunction with discourse analysis, absent can be read as pointing out a particular signifier rather than an absent alternative. Baudrillard states further that “the photographic image is not a representation; it is a fiction...The image does not complain. They are absent from their lives and their miseries. These are all construction projects. They either aim to give shape to people’s lives, or they seek to replace the existing set of politico-economic conditions with a state of affairs that is judged to be superior on the rational or moral ground” (Baudrillard, 2000). For Baudrillard, photography is changed by the photographer and the best photograph should represent nothing. Devey states on this issue as “social, political and economic determinants, which shape the subjectivity of the photographer, determine the production and distribution of photographs, and thus, their content and communicative potential as

well” (Devey, 1992:9). From this perspective, it is possible to mention a social, political or economic superstructure that can influence the photographer’s objectivity.

Lastly, the reality issue makes photographs dependable tools, and their certainties are blurred, and the objectivity of photographs becomes questionable since those photographs and actors behind those photographs try to play a specific role to satisfy the state's values. On how objectivity is related to the question of reality, Virilio (1994) states, “In two hundred years the philosophical and scientific debate itself has thus similarly shifted from the question of the objectivity of mental images to the question of their reality” (Virilio, 1994:60).

### 3. SEMİHA ES: THE FORGOTTEN WAR PHOTOGRAPHER OF HISTORY

Semiha Es was born in 1912 in Istanbul (During the Ottoman Empire) and lived for 100 years until she passed away in 2012. As stated in an interview, she has “never been without a camera in my hand for nearly half a century” (Bergin, 2005). There is hardly any information about Semiha Es as a significant figure in women’s history and the history of photography in Turkey. What we know about her is limited to a few interviews conducted with her in her 90s while her health worsened (Bergin, 2005; Fırat, 2011; Cumalı, 2011), and short personal accounts in the documentaries *Unutulmuş Bir Savaş: Kore* (An Unforgotten War: Korea) and *Nisvan Documentary: Women Frontiers in History*, produced by Mithat Bereket. Mithat Bereket is a journalist; he worked as a war reporter, he had been covered the major news stories, interviewed with leaders, and known for his foreign affairs documentary named *Pusula* for almost 15 years, which was broadcast on National Turkish Television (TRT1). In the *Pusula* interviews, information was provided by Semiha Es in response to the journalists' questions in line with their interests. One of the journalists, Azize Bergin, visited 92-year-old Semiha Es and did an exclusive interview. The fact that these journalists lack feminist backgrounds also remains the biggest obstacle to accessing more detailed information on the personality of Semiha Es. Her romantic love story with her husband takes prominence in the interview with Bergin, but her expertise as a professional photographer does not carry out in the story's center. Likewise, these documentaries where the narrative about the Korean War created by the context of the nationalist-conservative discourse of the producers cause Semiha Es to be represented within this discourse. We can also evaluate how she imagined her own life by considering these contexts. In other words, we can only understand where she positioned herself in life by investigating her statements and re-reading her published and unpublished photographs. The photographic archive of Semiha Es, which Özgün Gürten Akbayır maintains, is not analyzed yet.

Sifting through the lost and forgotten archives of women photographers in history is not new. However, before holding women photographers as a case study or researching them, the contribution of women to technological developments in the early years of photography was examined by researchers. The invisible labor of women is an important question in this context. Especially considering that the production of information is mostly of European origin, "Who's Afraid of Women Photographers?" more than 100 years from the invention of photography to the end of World War II, studies on the extraordinary contributions of women to the development of this art branch have come to the fore (Darendeliler, 2015). Afterward, women's acts of looking through the camera's viewfinder as subjects and making their voices heard through photography became the central theme of many works. As the leading women photographers in history could not find a place for themselves in the dominant narrative of history, their work became a research topic for each women photographer. In Turkey, the names of photographers we mentioned before, such as Yıldız Moran, Naciye Hanım, and Maryam Şahinyan, began to be seen. The realization of women's presence in photography outside the home has emerged as an area to socialize and become stronger. The field of photography offers us an opportunity and a different framework to understand the existence of women in the history of photography, their actions, and stances. Here, Semiha Es may occupy a different place in the history of photography in Turkey and open a new field of reading for women and feminist history studies. When Semiha Es is evaluated within her period's political and cultural conditions, it is essential to examine the conditions of the period and the history.

Another aspect that we need to question is how movements can open spaces, opportunities for women. In doing so, it will be helpful to commemorate Semiha Es's personal history together with the conditions of the period. Her personal history can open a new inquiry into women's history in photography. The period held the values of republican thoughts, women were seen as helpers, mothers, and the ideal women image was beginning to be drawn from the early republican era (1923-1950). However, women's rights weren't given by chance in the Turkish republic; the first women's movement had traced back to the 19th

century in the Ottoman era. The women's movement influenced the modernization process and Ottoman women-led publications in this era.

The most critical date accelerating the Ottoman feminist women's movement was 4 April 1913, the date on which the first issue of the *Women's World* (Kadınlar Dünyası) magazine was published. Such calls for action, which observe and explain the women's movement in society and at the same time encourage women, have taken place in almost every issue of the Kadınlar Dünyası magazine. Kadınlar Dünyası magazine was published by the leading women who could not be indifferent to the demands of women in the Ottoman Empire. Nuriye Ulviye Mevlan, the owner and editor of this magazine, explained her reasons with encouraging words and why she published such a magazine in the first issue:

In the light of this awakening period we live in and of the social sciences that form the basis of the established society, I started my efforts to publish a courageous publication [that will take the necessary steps] [for the progress of women] (Mevlan, 1913:2-3).

Before Women's World magazine there was another magazine named *e Terakk-i Muhadderat* (Progress of Civilizations). However, in *Kadınlar Dünyası* Magazine, all the journalists of the magazine were women. The magazine was published with the principle of giving place to the articles written only by women. The team, which published the magazine, founded Osmanlı Müdâfaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti (Society for the Defense of the Rights of Ottoman Women\_ on 28 May 1913 to serve their feminist demands. *Kadınlar Dünyası* voiced the directions on the access to work in public institutions and the access to higher education by women, and it conducted lobbying activities. As a result of these studies, Muslim women were entitled to work in a public institution for the first time on 5 December 1913. Seven Muslim women started to work in the Administration of Telephone Services. In the same year, *Kadınlar Dünyası* organized aerial leaflet propaganda in the Istanbul neighborhood of Yeşilköy to announce the demands of women on the right of suffrage by scattering leaflets. Special permission was obtained for

Belkıs Şevket Hanım, the author of the magazine, to board a plane, and she dropped the brochures from the plane.

On 12 September 1914, Women University (Inas Darülfünun) was opened, and shortly thereafter, on 1 November 1914, the School of Fine Arts for Women (Inas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi) was opened. In 1919, the Sultanahmet Meeting in Istanbul was held to protest the country's occupation due to its defeat in World War I; women such as Halide Edip and Münevver Saime took the floor. The news was published in all newspapers about them. In 1923, the initiative to establish the first political party of the Republic of Turkey for women: Kadınlar Halk Fırkası (Women People's Party) was started by Nezihe Muhiddin and her friends. Their request was not accepted because the right of citizenship was not recognized. However, in 1926, the Sharia law was abolished, and the Civil Code, which recognized the equality of women and men, was adopted, and the rights (monogamous marriages, equality of rights in divorce, and property distribution) that women have struggled to obtain for years were recognized.

Semiha Es was born into such an environment where these developments took place. She was a child during World War I. She was born in 1912 in Fatih, Sarıgözel İstanbul, raised in Vefa İstanbul. Her father was a ticket agent in Şirket-i Hayriye (Maritime Lines). When the war was over and the Ottoman Empire was occupied, her father was the ticket officer in the City Lines under the administration of France, which was among the occupation forces. Her father taught the French words he learned at work to his three children at home. Although her father had a limited income, Semiha had a chance to get French lessons from a teacher named Mehmet Ali Bey (Bereket, 2012). In an interview conducted with Semiha Es, she explained how those she learned from her father helped her to find her first job:

We were three sisters, living in a small house in Vefa (İstanbul). My father used to speak French a little bit, and he tried to teach us what he knew. When I was 15 (1927), I started working to help the family. I would be an operator officer in the Administration of telephone

services of France. Because I was young, I started the courses using my sister's name (Bergin, 2005).

Administration of Telephone Services, where Semiha Es started working at the age of 15, was the same public institution where Muslim women gained the right to work on 5 December 1913 due to the struggle of the *Kadınlar Dünyası* magazine. Although Semiha Es explained why she was working “to help the family,” her lively and curious character was also the essential factor causing her to start her working life. In addition to that, as we can observe from the few interviews conducted with her, Semiha Es wanted to join the first beauty contest organized by *Cumhuriyet* newspaper after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. “Abidin Daver<sup>5</sup> was a friend of my father. He convinced my father to send me to the beauty contest, organized by *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. However, I could not join the contest because I was [too] young” (Bergin, 2005). During her time, the developments that closely affected women's lives continued. With the amendment made in the municipal elections law in 1930, women became entitled to vote and be elected in the local elections. Women's rights became one of the topics frequently discussed in *Resimli Ay Magazine*, published by Sabiha Sertel and her husband in 1931. With the amendment made to the constitution on 5 December 1934, women became entitled to vote and be elected. In the elections held in 1935, 18 women were elected as MPs.

The story behind her marriage, which Semiha Es shared in one of the interviews (Cumalı, 2011; Pular 2011), provides an example of her ability to regulate her own life by her own decisions and harmonize her freedom with social developments. Her mother chose a factory owner man as a prospective spouse for Semiha Es. She told her that “you should get married to him.” The same day, Semiha Es met with the journalist Hikmet Feridun Es, whom she met and fell in love with a while ago and told him about her arranged marriage. They immediately found two witnesses and got married. Semiha Es went back to her house in the evening and told her family: “I got married” (Cumalı, 2011). The other resources

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<sup>5</sup> Abidin Daver, Editor in Chief in Cumhuriyet Newspaper between 1929-1932.

are mostly newspaper articles and documentaries. She first went to Hollywood with her husband. He was sent to the United States as a journalist who began in *Akşam* newspaper and then worked as a correspondent of Sedat Simavi's *Yedigün* (Avcı, 2013). She began her career in the United States while she traveled with her husband, her husband was writing articles, and she was taking photographs. The first official assignment of Semiha Es was in the Korean War. There she worked on the battlefield between 1950 and 1953 for *Hürriyet* (Akkent, 2012). The assignment was arranged by her husband, Hikmet Feridun Es, who was seen as a "golden journalist" in the pages of *Hürriyet* at that time. As mentioned above, she started taking photographs at a noticeably young age. She tells her own story in the following way:

Even when I was young, I had a camera, and I loved taking photographs. I had this passion for taking pictures, but I never thought it would be my profession until I met Hikmet and married him. I began working with Hikmet as a photographer in *Yedigün Magazine* (Akkent, 2012).

Journalist Hasan Puler (2011) stated on Hikmet Feridun Es (1909-1992) that: "he became a shining star and famous person due to the news he produced during the Korean War. Korean war news produced by him was being plastered with large photographs" (Puler, 2011). The latter sentence in this short information is essential for the biography of Semiha Es. The fact that news was "plastered with large photographs" taken by Semiha Es provides added value to the interviews conducted by Hikmet Feridun Es. However, Semiha Es never earned money since she was never given credit for her work/photography. It is hard to find resources on Semiha Es because the history of photography in Turkey ignored her. Even in the book: "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Fotoğrafı" (Photography in the Early Republican Period of Turkey), written by Seyit Ali Ak (2001), she was not included in the list of photojournalists. In "Foto Muhabirleri" (Photojournalists) (Ak, 2001:182), two photographs were listed in the section "Basın Fotoğrafçılığında Gelişmeler" (Developments in Press Photography). After a paragraph about Hikmet

Feridun Es was provided, Semiha Es found a place in the book with the following sentences: “Semiha Es took the photographs during the interviews of her husband” (Ak, 2001:183). For this reason, it is necessary to look at the characteristics of “Woman of the Republic” built by this period—in other words, the representation of a woman who could not earn money although her profession was a photographer and who “helped” her husband’s professional work. Undoubtedly, Semiha Es is not the first woman in history whose labor was exploited; we can call out many others in the various contexts. In an interview conducted by Seral Cumali (2011) with Semiha Es before she died, it is stated that Semiha Es “had an ordinary camera when she was a child, and she was fond of taking photos by using it” (Cumali, 2011). In another interview conducted with Semiha Es, there was a contradictory answer provided in this regard:

*Interviewer:* “How did the photography arouse your curiosity?”

*Es:* “I did not have such a curiosity. I did not even know how to use the camera. When my husband started doing travel interviews, he wanted to take me with him. They taught me how to take a photograph” (Bergin, 2005).

Unfortunately, it is impossible now to identify why Semiha Es preferred this contradictory statement about her profession. However, Semiha Es’ remaining archive documents show how the genderless photograph gained a gender through Semiha Es and how it subjectifies her photographs; how Semiha Es perceived herself with various factors belonging to herself; how she lived; and how she lived she reflected herself. In this study, I will address a certain period, only one category from her thousands of photographs, namely the “Korean War period.” Whether she “was fond of” taking photographs or she was “taught” how to take a photo, Semiha Es could exist in a field that was considered a male profession in the 1950s. She proved herself as a photographer to herself. However, this existence did not prevent her from being mentioned only as “the wife of Hikmet Feridun Es” and being eventually forgotten.

The news about Semiha Es and her husband Hikmet Feridun Es' travel to South Korea took place in Hürriyet Newspaper "İlk Savaş Fotoğrafçımız Semiha Es" (Our First War Photographer Semiha Es) (2018) (See Image 4 below). During her duty, she had to see many corpses while she was on duty with the soldiers. Even in the special events, unlike the other women, she preferred to wear camouflage pants. She carried the wounded people to the hospital on the battlefield, even a wounded soldier who tried to kill her. Although her tremendous work during the war, she could not be visible, and her existence was always disregarded since she was overshadowed by her husband, and she never gained profit from her profession. However, she persisted in such a professional area regarded only suitable for men. To survive in this patriarchal world, she tried to cover her hands, not to be exposed as a woman photographer. At war times, sexual violence is a weapon of war. Thus, with this kind of profile, she was approached by the Korean woman since they had a sense of safety by being accompanied by her camouflage clothes.



## Hikmet Feridun Es Kore'ye Bugün Hareket Ediyor

Arasında Semiha Feridun Es te bulunan, Foto ve sinema makineleri ile  
techiz edilen ekibimiz cuma günü Mac Arthur'ün karargâhında olacak

Arkadaşımız Hikmet Feridun Es ve Semiha Feridun Es'in aksamı Pan American tayyaresiyle Kore cephesine hareket edecektir.

Hürriyet, daha ilk gününden itibaren Kore'ye yol-  
ladığımız 4500 vatan çocuğuna karşı en candan ve en  
yakından alakayı göstermiştir. Bu alakanın en canlı mi-  
sali ateş hattının içine en kıymetli muharririni gönder-  
mesidir.

Hikmet Feridun Es ve çektiği harikulâde fotoğrafları  
yalnız Türkiye'de değil, dünya matbuatında bile yer  
bulan Semiha Feridun Es beraberlerinde zamanımızın  
en modern üç fotoğraf makinesi, iki sinema makinesi  
olarak Kore'ye gitmektedirler.

Uzak Şark Amerikan ve Birleşik Milletler Basko-  
mutanı General Mac Arthur'ün gönderdiği hususi müsä-

ade ile Hürriyet ekibi bütün harp sahalarını karşı karşı  
gezecek, ve bilfiil harbe iştirak edecektir. Hikmet Feri-  
dun ile birlikte Mehmetçigi muharebe içinde adım adım  
takip edeceksiniz.

Buna Hürriyet objektifleri de refakat ettiğine göre  
hazırlayacağımız büyük röportajın ne harikulâde bir şey  
olacağını şimdiden tasavvur etmek mümkündür. Hik-  
met Feridun ve Semiha Feridun İstanbul'dan Şam, Bas-  
ra, Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta, Rangoon, Bangkok, Hong-  
kong, Okinawa yoluyla Japonya'ya, Tokyo'ya gidecek,  
cuma günü Mac Arthur'ün hususi karargâhında buluna-  
caktır. Hürriyet ekibi Tokyo'dan derhal Kore'ye gece-  
cek ve ateş hattına girecektir.

Arkadaşlarımıza iyi yolculuklar temenni eder, sağ  
gidip, sağ dönmelerini dileriz.

Image 4 - The news about Semiha Es and her husband Hikmet Feridun Es' traveled to South Korea in *Hürriyet*, *Hurriyet* Archive.

In the interview with Özgün Gürten Akbayır (Kaçar, 2013) Akbayır stated that:

I was working within the team of a newscast named *Pusulula* together with Mithat Bereket. It was a newscast broadcast every two weeks. And its content was overwhelmingly political. We had a blank in the program schedule, and we started some domestic productions. In the meantime, I thought of a project narrating the recent history through the eyes of photojournalists. For the project, we selected 12 photographers and decided to make a documentary series of 13 episodes. I encountered Semiha Es during that process. She was the only woman among all-male photojournalists. There were Ara Güler or Faruk Fenik and other men, but she was the only woman. I found out about her through the news captioned ‘O mavi gözler neler gördü’ (‘What those blue eyes have seen’) in *Hürriyet* newspaper. When I found her, she was 95 years old. She passed away soon at the age of 100. There was more than one reason behind my intention to make a documentary on Semiha Es. I started with her photojournalist identity, not with her woman identity. She was a photojournalist who could tell us about a certain period. We wanted to make the documentary narrating 100 years. Since we could not retrospect 100 years, we started from the 1950s. And Semiha Es was the oldest generation. The fact that she was the only woman photojournalist at that time made her unique in the field (Kaçar, 2013:1:20).

When Özgün Gürten Akbayır and Semiha Es’ paths crossed, Es was the only women photojournalist among all her male counterparts. Akbayır was interested in her professional identity as a photojournalist. Akbayır mentioned that she was one of the most known photojournalists who could witness a certain period apart from her gender identity. Also, Semiha Es and Hikmet Feridun Es’ journey was newsworthy. Hikmet Feridun and Semiha Es’ Korean war journey and their

remarkably specific details about planned visits were announced at *Hürriyet* (Image 4). While Semiha Es' perspective on life was another thing, Akbayır's research had begun for the documentary.

Therefore, I also investigated a trace of mindset in specific points, like how she perceived the war, army, civilians at war. In doing so, I tried to listen to her voice from the documentaries or her interviews, carefully tried to eliminate all the external agents in the narrative and tried to reach out her own words. Semiha Es tells the background of the Korean War in the documentary named "Forgotten war: Korean War" (2008) with her sentences:

Suddenly started, the news came that there is war. After then something happened. Nobody knew what they were getting into, but of course, politics knew that. At this time, there was Menderes. Surely, there were reactions. We lost so many people in this place; it was not few; there is a huge grave, a Turkish grave. But I cannot say that a good thing was made. It seems like Korea is our country. South Korea and North Korea do not agree with each other and will do anything. American people ruled ours. They were doing whatever Americans said. Americans never did go; ours is a ready force to die (Bereket, 2008)

From these sentences, "But I cannot say that good thing was made. It seems like Korea is our country" (Bereket, 2008), we can understand that Semiha Es was not a supporter of the Korean War and knew politics were behind all this. Her ideas on anti-militarism showed in some interviews. In particular war-related questions, she shared her experience in the war as follows:

All I have seen and lived during the war has affected me a lot, especially the human aspect. It was a difficult and bitter experience for me to witness the cruelty and troubles civilians endure all because of wars that result from conflicts of self-interest among politicians (Mithat Bereket cited in Akkent, 2012).

The cruelty she witnessed with her own eyes was something that struck her as deeply problematic. After having read that interview, my question was: why we didn't we see that cruelty in the published photographs? Therefore, I wanted to question how the war is visualized and open space to discuss the visibility of the war and its relations with authority.

The concept of visibility determines what we will see by the authority. When it comes to war, the photographic scene becomes more important. The visualizing of war from the state's perspective has a history in war photography that dates back to the 19th century. On the other hand, how to show pain, cruelty is another topic which scholars dispute. Sontag (2003) explains the power of the image of war in *Regarding the Pain of Others*. She argues that war photographs create "otherness" while reflecting "the real." The spectacle of war generally pertains to the suffering of others, as she states: "The practice of representing atrocious suffering as something to be deplored, and, if possible, stopped, enters the history of images with a specific subject: the sufferings endured by a civilian population at the hands of a victorious army on the rampage" (Sontag, 2003: 35). Sontag remarks that excessive spectacles which show pain eventually make people bystanders, incapable of taking action. And people give the reaction of consternation. Also, those images cause anonymous scenes of suffering, which may make the photograph invisible from its particular historical context. From this perspective, the representation of a specific war affects its visibility. As Haraway argues:

In a world replete with images and representations, whom can we not see or grasp, and what are the consequences of such selective blindness...How is visibility possible? For whom, by whom, and of whom? What remains invisible, to whom, and why? (In Edenborg, 2015: 3).

While visibility is an issue of a particular war, how can we analyze Korean war photographs printed in the newspaper? Because Semiha Es worked for *Hürriyet*, it

is not surprising that published photographs went through ideological interventions via power and dominant discourse in the 1950s.

Neither the traces of civilians nor the destructive side of the war was found in those photographs; instead, only soldiers were depicted as heroic ones standing proudly in front of mountains of corpses. *Hürriyet* only accepted these kinds of photos. The civilians, destroyed streets, damaged houses were not seen. On the contrary, the discourse of heroism, which the nation-state rebuilt itself, could be seen in these photos, fostering masculinity and nationalism. However, her some unseen Korean War photographs are different and show us the other side of the coin. In light of this, the important argument is that the state's ideology shapes Semiha Es' photographs in *Hürriyet*. Her private archive, some of the unseen photographs break this hegemony, showing the war's reality by articulating civilian deaths. In her unseen private archive photographs, the locals try to find firewood in the remains of their ruined houses; the dead and frozen children are lying on the ground; women trying to regulate daily life despite the war seizing everything. Also, Es depicts what the war looks like and who were the dead bodies with her voice in the "Forgotten War: Korean War" (2008) documentary:

It was given every night on the radio that there were so many soldiers killed. In the morning, I was taking my camera, and I was running to the streets instantly. The streets are full of corpses of women and children. All of them had fallen. Could you imagine that there was not any place to set the foot? The people who were described by the radio as an enemy were all civilians. There were not any soldier's corpses and not men. All of them were women and children. Anyway, whatever happens at war happens to civilians. It is the same everywhere and still is (Bereket, 2008).

Meanwhile, the war and the news about the war were on the agenda of 1950's Turkish media. *Hürriyet* sent its reporters, including Semiha Es and the Turkish Brigade, to gather direct information on the Korean War. She provided hundreds of

photographs from the battlefield for the newspaper. Semiha Es shot the majority of the photographs in the 2015 Turkey-Korea exhibition at that time.

She questioned deaths from war since she was a humanitarian, saying that the war has no nationality. The most affected ones in the war were children, young people, and women. “There are many people who could not return, so many...For instance, Hüseyin İnan was 20 years old; I asked myself what the thing he had believed so much which had brought him here.<sup>6</sup> Nobody who joined the war has a healthy psychology.” (Bereket, 2008)

### **3.1. Korean War Photographs of Semiha Es in *Hürriyet*: Mehmetçik, Militarist Discourse, and Masculinity**

This section explores published photographs of Semiha Es in *Hürriyet* through the intersectional knots of hegemonic masculinity, militarism, and nationalism. The chapter also aims to emphasize the represented masculine identity and their hegemonic subparts. The forms of representation here can be considered an indicator of the stratified power relations in society. The power relations can be observed through the institutions where the state's ideological apparatus is internalized. As Althusser (1972) states, what transforms the subject is the structure of social practices established in society. Militarism often works in line with masculinity and heteronormativity in fostering the state's force and authority over the population. In line with this, masculinity defines the logic of military organizations by maintaining the male supremacy. Militarism reconstructs masculinity as a norm in shaping the opinion of the general population. Thus, militarism canonizes masculinity in defining the enemies, and constructing a national identity.

Masculinity is mostly reconstructed through the concept of martyrdom. The historical and collective patriarchal power is maintained by the cases of

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<sup>6</sup> The meaning of Hüseyin's surname is 'believe.' Thus, there is a, perhaps unintentional but perhaps not, play on words in Es' story.

causality, such as wars. The 'sacrifice' of single men can be used as symbolic tools to strengthen the collective structural power (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2011: 17). It also supports various forms of cultural violence, militarization, and the justification of wars. While sacrificing and dying for the nation-state is often perceived as a noble and holy cause, such heroic actions can also be seen as a form of cultural violence. The ideological state apparatuses, in the Althusserian sense, facilitate the reconstruction of such perspectives.

Although militarism is an element embedded in the culture of the society, it can be said that the military field has also spread to other areas of life, as an institution, directly shaped by the army and even making it a personal character with the definition of "Mehmetçik." Mehmetçik is used as a diminution of the name "Mehmed" for the unranked Turkish soldier. Mehmet is a widely used male name in Turkey, and with the suffix "çik" added at the end, "Mehmetçik" means "Little Mehmet." It refers to soldiers for Ottoman Army and the Turkish Army, like American soldier's nickname for infantry, G.I. Joe. It is believed that the term is based on Ottoman Army Sergeant Bigalı Mehmet Çavuş (1878–1964), who fought during the Gallipoli Campaign of World War I. (Güner, 2017) Mehmetçik can be handled as a conceptual tool to discuss the relationship between masculinity and militarism. Mehmetçik also symbolized masculinity and heroism at the same time. However, within this identity, the state ideology, the militaristic approach, and its connection with masculinity will be questioned with the intersectional level of social construction. One such construction, affected by power relations and cause to be reproduced, is the standardized, nameless soldier who does not have any identity (nameless, faceless) or personal story. Reading the gendered dimension of nationalism in terms of military service and standardized Turkish soldiers also causes the question of a system that affects the masses, provides national belonging, and protects the nation-state's borders from outsiders. After the first and second world wars, there were two periods in history that America called the "Red Scare." Part of the climate of the Cold War, in which the United States and the Soviet Union were opposed, the Red Scare symbolizes the fear of communism, anarchism, and leftist ideologies spreading in America, and communists were described as "Reds,"

coming from the color of the flag used by Marxist and Communist groups and countries (Cowley). This pejorative term spread to America's allies. In Turkey during the Korean War, *Hürriyet* also used the term "Reds". Though Mehmetçik were metaphorically protecting their country from one united enemy, not limited to communists, the enemy in the Korean context is defined as outsiders, communists, and "Reds." Turkish soldiers were fighting against one enemy together with their "brothers."

Military service in Turkey has an important place in the formation of the phenomenon of masculinity. It appears as an institution where men learn social roles in the military, and it also contains the complementary elements required by these roles. Military service is considered sacred in Turkey, and it is said that men will only become "men" by enlisting in the military. It is widely believed that military service is a turning point in men's lives. As Pınar Selek states, to reach the level of masculinity traditionally accepted in Turkey, it is necessary to pass four primary stages: 1. circumcision, 2. military service, 3. finding a job, 4. marriage (Selek, 2010:19). Men who reach the level of masculinity taught in society step into masculinity with the circumcision ritual. The circumcision ritual is celebrated with a ceremony, which is a symbolic stage of social acceptance. Military service, defined as the second stage, is also directly related to "fatherhood," a position that men will reach the stage of marriage. According to Selek (2010), the father is the army power of the family that protects and watches over the holy family, keeps the family alive (23). The father is expected to take on the economic burden of the house and be the hero of the family. This relationship between military service and the construction of male identity in society remains complex in the social background and pervades all social areas. In this context, it would not be wrong to say that militarism is a phenomenon seen in the army and disappears and an ideology that spreads throughout society. First coined by anarchist philosopher Pierre Joseph Proudhon in the 1860s, "militarism" broadly denotes defining a society, an individual, or an institution through not "civil" but "military" values, weaving the social, cultural, political, and economic practices into militaristic values and norms (Altınay, 2004). The most important effect of militarism is that

people accept a culture that will approve the state to kill. Militarism can normalize killing and killing for the protection of nation-states. While describing the theory and policy of civil-military relations, Huntington (1957) refers to the large military organization established by the United States in peacetime. This organization can also influence the tax structure, the funding of military research, and the decisions made on the lives of male citizens. In addition, manifestations of the army can be intertwined with society in civilian life. For example, statues in public spaces, military ceremonies, buildings, high-ranking soldiers in state protocol, and military symbols in public spaces can be counted as a few. In the education system and the books taught by the Ministry of National Education, militarism is glorified, and wars are normalized. “As long as people exist, the struggle between them will continue. The only essential and dominant tool of this social struggle called warfare is the man we call the soldier, who is developed in every aspect” (Komisyon, 2007:69). The intersection of masculinity and militarism is often discussed through the nature of violence. War, then, is a result of this process. What is overlooked here is mainly the states’ investment to sustain this structure. This ideological structure that includes preparation and education via primary school books and toys is diffused throughout society; ideological manifestation is constantly repeated and reproduced. Masculinity, just like militarism, is a product of the state-led social structure. While men internalize this sacred duty with the theme of homeland defense, they also practice the complementary elements of masculinity here. For example, fraternity or brotherhood is a unifying factor, the foundation of male solidarity. Hegemonic masculinity defined through the soldier is also related to the definition of army nation.

Raewyn Connell’s (1987) concept of “hegemonic masculinity” encompasses a set of analytical inferences that the men developed at the behavioral level and resulted from gender inequalities; male domination over women; and male pressure and domination over other groups of men. In the women's liberation movement, it was seen that women were working on masculinity with a feminist perspective. At the same time, a male liberation movement that questioned and criticized masculinity, albeit a small one, started in the late 70s. In Turkey,

peacemakers, anarchists, and gay activists also created an initiative in 2008 named “we are not men.” They come together with a different group of men, leftists, anarchists, anti-authoritarian men, with the support of anarchists and feminist women after the reactions against the rape and murder of Italian artist Pippa Bacca.<sup>7</sup> They identified themselves as an anti-authoritarian male initiative against dominant masculinities, sexism, imposed gender identities, and homophobia. From this initiative to Connell’s studies, hegemonic masculinity has some rules to order in society containing self-centered stereotypes.

Hegemonic masculinity has been widely discussed in research in regard to social institutions, its link to social power, which nurtures the patriarchy in the sustainable construction of these institutions, and its relation to militarism. Similar to an approximation of sex categories to biology and militarism, explaining aggression associated with manhood with uncontrollable hormones and physical traits indicates internalized power and constructed masculinity. The resources from which militarism is fueled are related to this construction. Social construction processes of masculinity generate behavioral patterns shaped by state, family, military, or capital. Benefiting from the Gramscian concept of “hegemony,” hegemonic masculinity as a structure requires analyzing ideological tools used for propagating social construction to the masses constitutes a powerful framework of analysis. Connell (1995) criticizes this imaginary identity of men in several types of research which focus on sex differences. This research was not on socially structured identities, but they were discriminating against women, and they were accepting the differences are psychological, physical, and emotional. Even though gender roles are created by society, distinguishing between the two sexes deepens power asymmetry. Connell emphasized especially body politics over men’s bodies and the social organization of masculinity. She states that true masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men’s bodies. For example, men naturally are more aggressive than women, or rape is caused by uncontrollable lust, and men can’t take

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<sup>7</sup> Italian artist and activist Pippa Bacca set off from Italy with the "bride of peace" project to perform on March 8, 2008, and is raped and killed while traveling in Turkey (Wikipedia)

care of infants, homosexuality is unnatural, and other preconceived notions (Connell, 1995: 45). She claims that multiple, clichéd patterns of masculinity take their roots from the idea of ‘nature’; however, it is another discussion of the social organization of masculinity when it comes to ‘culture.’ At the same time, this social order contains different masculinities. Instead of the universal identity of masculinity, she defines different masculinities which took their positions from male dominance. Connell differentiates them into four types: hegemonic masculinity, complicit masculinity, subordinated masculinity, and marginalized masculinity. She maintains it has become possible to define masculinities because of distinctions such as gender, ethnicity, and class.

We must also recognize the relations between the different kinds of masculinity: relations of alliance, dominance, and subordination. These relationships are constructed through practices that exclude and include, intimidate, exploit, and so on. There is a gender politics within masculinity (Connell, 1995: 37).

The intersectionality of gender politics and other dominant world orders is another issue. Based on this idea, the eastern and western binary opposition or orientalist perspective in the world has a place in hegemonic masculinity readings. It will be possible to come across these orientalist installations in Turkish society as well.

Serpil Sancar (2009) discusses capitalism, global industrialization, and orientalism that harbors East/West distinction, power relations, and hierarchies. For her, different states of masculinity derive from hierarchies among men. In class-, ethnicity-, and religion-oriented and colonized geographies, these hierarchies are construed through the asymmetric relationship between Western and non-Western men. For instance, if the hegemonic masculinity carries their features with white and male solid figures, they need an enemy with the opposite characteristic. Consequently, the barbaric eastern male figure was created. “Those emancipatory Western male leaders save the ‘oppressed and disenfranchised Eastern women’ from the oppression of barbaric men is an ideology that covers unequal positions in this process” (Sancar, 2009: 48). The hegemonic masculinity is also about

performances and relations between men and women and the other men. According to Sancar, the people of Eastern Anatolia are regarded as having feminine characteristics from a specific ideological viewpoint. Thus, the men of this region are referred to with feminine qualities to insult them, and the women are referred to with the same qualities to value them. Men of the West are referred to with masculine and heroic qualities. The salvation of the poor and suffering women of East Anatolia by the heroic western men against the cruelty of the primitive men is the ideology, which hides the inequalities (Sancar, 2009: 48). In nationalist and orientalist ideology, the image of a soldier is always used to reproduce and legitimize the almighty power of men under the pretense of courage, heroism, and sacrifice, whereas women are depicted as passive and vulnerable. The use of the photographs of soldiers in the news at war times is a part of this nationalism and orientalism at the same time.

Therefore, the hegemony creates the opposite cliché icons. From this point of view, the ‘Reds’ in Korean War are the enemy figure in Turkish society, represented in *Hürriyet* as barbaric men. However, it didn’t have an Orientalist approach, rather than a common enemy, including communism, so the roots of masculinity should be reconsidered with nationalism, militarism, and capitalism here.

During the Korean War, the state's war support was made using various mass mediums, and the radios were one of these tools. The arguments used to support the war were on the axis of nationalism, defense of the nation, fighting against the unified enemy, support to brothers, glorifying masculinity, and heroism.

In these publications, we see that the nationalist ideology of the state reproduces itself with the successes of its armed forces and that the armed forces are based on masculinity. Ömer Turan’s (2000) article “Radio week and the Korean broadcast of Ankara Radio in 1950” supports the idea of West and East distinction giving an example of western and eastern music battles on the radio. The article is about the Korean broadcast in *Radio Week* magazine, evaluates the broadcast for the soldiers in the Korean war, and gives an outline of the radio policies of the

period. *Radio week* was a weekly magazine published by Ankara radio, and there is news for the weekly “Korean publication” broadcast. The weekly magazine included transcriptions of talks that what was discussed in the program and how the soldiers gave messages. The messages sent to the soldiers by their families via broadcast contained the masculine identity of Turkish soldiers as heroes. The article also makes the connection between masculinity and nationalism. It draws attention to the concept of militarism, especially ‘ancestors’ (Turan, 2000: 30) that appear in the articles written by Radio Week reporters, in the readers’ letters, and the soldiers’ speeches.

Considering the election conditions in the 1950s, the Democratic Party (DP) government passed laws that improved the conditions of journalists and paved the way for journalists to report freely. As I mentioned earlier, the government passed laws restricting press censorship, including the abolition of the authority to shut down newspapers, in 1946. The period that started with freedoms continued in 1954 with restrictions (Bulunmaz, 2012: 209). On the other hand, the Korean war led to the DP government’s decision to censor the press with bans. Since the Turkish press saw the war as a threat to communism, they supported Turkey's sending troops to Korea. The issue of how the war was represented in the press should be examined with the distinction of opposition and mainstream newspapers. Although *Hürriyet* is among the mainstream newspapers with its high circulation, it did not hesitate to carry the government's word to the headlines in general.

In addition, opposition newspapers came to the fore with a fine given to a newspaper in 1950. However, by the end of 1950, on the prosecution of dissident journalists, the news was often published in the newspapers (Kaya, 2010:97). It is essential to remember that Semiha Es produces her photographs in this political environment where the hegemonic power highly affects the press. The relation between photography and hegemonic power and the question of objectivity and what is included and excluded in the framing of the photograph and representation issue are significant in the interpretation of the images. There is a direct relationship between power and media, and the power and authority regulate and legitimate

knowledge production to the society. From a Foucauldian perspective, knowledge production or information production here is a human activity. Specifically, under the control of norms: power becomes visible in cases of the natural and unreal. That means that cases of what is or is not worth knowing are separated (Foucault, 1980: 132). Photographs are taken for journalism but could influence the public via media tools in contact with visibility or invisibility. All of these are included as background information in this thesis, especially when examining published photographs.

In the content analysis (See Table 1 - Categories), a separation was made over the elements seen in the photographs and categorized as concrete. Categories were created to describe the use of technology, the representation of the military, the participation of civilians, and the psychological effects of photographic techniques. I examined and categorized in the content analysis as soldiers wearing uniforms and soldiers stripped off the uniforms. The use of the uniform was chosen because it can be seen as a complete representation of military service, and its absence provides the possibility of another reading area. From the content analysis (Table 1) in the published photographs in *Hürriyet*, uniformed and non-uniformed soldiers are seen. Uniformed soldiers are depicted with a single color while distinguishing from each other by the difference of fabric pieces or the number of buttons. Soldiers are divided into private, ranked soldiers, superiors, and officers. Injured soldiers are usually represented at the hospital, lying down and having treatment by nurses. The myth of sacrificed soldiers has seen in the injured soldiers' sections in the photographs. Suffering from the pain generally cannot be seen on those photographs, which is not convenient for the nature of a hero. Soldiers are mostly relaxing and recovering from wounds. Most of them are "sacrificing" themselves for the country and the allies. The representation of soldiers on the battlefield read as a heroic feature of the war as an element. The political realities of the Korean War are constructed through the reproduction of a hero for the justification of the Korean War. As a tool of propaganda, photographs as categorized "soldiers at the battlefield" serve the mission of *Hürriyet* to create a "Turkish heroic soldier Mehmetçik (Little Mehmet)." Mehmet has superior powers;

he never sleeps, is always ready to fight, and gets over great hardships. Likewise, in Gallipoli (the Battle of Çanakkale), the representation of Mehmetçik has similar features to the ones in Korean War.

War photography can be addressed as a field in which masculinities shaped by militarism and performed as such are rendered visible. One of the intersection points of military service and masculinity is that military service is done abroad. Since the Ottoman era, men in Turkey have left their homes to travel to win a war, a love, and earn money. The journeys of ordinary people leaving their villages also required them to overcome various difficulties. The military is also referred to as an institution that tames Turkish men. The more he adapts, tolerates violence, or acts violence on other men, the more he can be counted as “man enough.”

### **3.1.1. Wounded Soldiers**

As the content analysis (Table 1) reveals, wounded soldiers make a significant portion of published photos with 43 injured soldiers shown in the published photographs. The photograph in image 5 depicts a wounded soldier trying to bandage another soldier's wound at the top right corner. In the center of the photograph, it can be observed that there is a soldier taken care of by two other soldiers. This photograph is published with such explanation: "The wounds of a hero soldier of ours, in the front line taken care of by his friends." It shows that Turkish troops are heroes and can take care of each other. The sign of heroism here is to be wounded. The "honorary veteran" concept can explain it. The body of Mehmetçik is "sacred," and this body is ready to be sacrificed for the well-being of the country. The body myth that is encountered also shows the heroism that was built at the same time.

Masculinity may also require being fearless, brave, and wounded with no fear and a strong sense of “brotherhood.” We see that the theme of brotherhood is a complementary element in the narrative of the wounded soldier and that male solidarity is established on the axis of cooperation and solidarity. This brotherhood

brings commonality in the sense of heroism that comes from the concept of sacrificing something.



**Image 5-** News on Korean War on *Hürriyet* dated on 17 January 1951 – Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

"We are together" is written in Galatasaray high school students' Turkish flag motif, drawn with their blood (Image 6). The relationship between blood and masculinity rituals is another issue that can be emphasized here. Selek (2010) defines the stages of masculinity in Turkey, especially exemplifies the rituals of blood-shedding, through circumcision, sacrificing an animal in the ceremony celebrating circumcision, and showing the virginity blood to family notables when getting married. The soldiers are depicted as wounded with bandaged arms, legs, heads, or as standing with the help of a crutch. In the frame of Image 6, a medium

length shot, two soldiers with crutches hold the flag on the right and left. It is no coincidence that soldiers are seen in this frame, especially with crutches.

The relation between disability due to war and masculinity is represented as 'hegemonic masculinity,' one of the most effective concepts produced by masculinity studies (Sünbuloğlu, 2012: 93). Galatasaray High School students, graduating from a school with high qualifications, represent Turkey's upper and middle classes. As described by Salih Can Açiksöz, the institution of compulsory military service used the gender regime to secure its monopoly on violence and establish a nation-state. Accordingly, the gender regime sought to create an imaginary community based on the horizontal fraternity of its heterosexual male citizens (Açiksöz, 2013: 464). This photograph eliminates class discrimination between men and makes unity a means of masculinity and nationalism. Turkish soldiers in Korea could not even get a high school education equal to their more educated peers in the masculinity axis. Although this distinct masculinity is also divided by nationality, race, age, disability, and integrity, they are also investigated through hegemony in masculinity. The fact that such a close relationship between masculinity and body performance reveals that when this performance is interrupted for a reason such as disability, this highlights how the masculine gender has a fragile ground (Sünbuloğlu, 2012: 94). In particular, cultural codes were engraved on disabled veterans (*gazi*) as a soldier who sacrificed a part of his body for the integrity of the nation-state and as a self-sacrificing hero who completed his duty as a "man." As Açiksöz (2020) states: "In contemporary Turkish Islamic nationalist discourse, gazis are lionized as consecrated warriors, witnesses, and worldly representatives of martyrs. They are often eulogized as having attained the highest spiritual rank after prophets" (Açiksöz, 2020: 56). A man whose integration is challenged contradicts the myth of the nation's protector.

To further explain the patriarchal order at the foundation of the social structure and the common denominator of brotherhood, it is important to bring up the work of Carole Pateman (1998). Pateman opens up discussion of the theory of the social contract, presented as a story of freedom. "The modern civil order can

then be presented as universal (fraternal), not patriarchal. Almost no one—except some feminists—is willing to admit that fraternity means what it says: the brotherhood of men” (Pateman, 1998:78). In its historical background, the concept of civil citizenship can also be defined as the unity and brotherhood of men who are not related by blood but have equal rights. Here, a space is opened where men can show their masculinity through war. And again, they come together around this contract.

As captured through long shots, widened perspectives constitute a technical tool representing multiple masculinities (Image 6). The second long-shot photograph (Image 7) also repeats the same theme of the protector of the nation seen in Image 6. In Image 7, this photo was taken at eye level. Photographs taken at eye level create a neutral mood for the viewer. And also, it gives the feeling that the viewers also can be a part of the scene. This body politics points out multiple patterns of masculinity. However, the crowded group poses for the camera with the same flag. The photograph text says: “Our wounded lions gathered around the ‘we are together’ flag, which was formed by the blood of Galatasaray youth.” It can be read that in life and death situations trust, and mutual loyalty is key terms for masculinity. Among the crowd, it seems that people with crutches are in the front line of the photograph.



**Image 6** - News on Korean War on *Hürriyet* dated on 28 January 1951 – Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

With the symbolic presence of high school students attending Galatasaray High School and highlighting the caption under the photograph, this frame can be interpreted as different masculinities, like performed complicit masculinity that can coexist within the same culture. Galatasaray students can demonstrate the complicit masculinity underlined by Connell by showing their blood, supporting the war, and exposing their nationalist feelings. On the other hand, complicit masculinity is about men in the majority who do not fulfill all the requirements of “hegemonic masculinity”. They make certain references to it and cooperate with it in their daily

lives and share male dominance. In this frame, we see idealized men conceptualized by the icon of Mehmetçik. With the emphasis that we are together with our differences, especially the selection of Galatasaray students can also be described as a convergence to the west. The role of Galatasaray as a western school that provides education in French is decisive in this message of *rapprochement*. The Turkish flag is drawn with blood repeats the legend of the Turkish flag. The crescent and star were reflected in the blood of the martyrs shed on the ground in the War of Independence, and the Turkish flag icon defines the homeland built with this spilled blood.



**Image 7-** *Hürriyet* – 28 January 1951 – Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

Amputee body parts are often not included in the published photographs. Normative masculinity is very related to men's bodies. The politics of the male

body, the integrity of the male body, and the idealized male body have a great place in the construction of masculinity. When the bodily performance is not sustained the masculinity is vulnerable (Connell, 1995:54). Sometimes references can be made metaphorically between the idealized bodies of men and the idealized nation, nationalist discourse. “This conceptual relationship was benefited through the “myth of warrior masculinity” to establish the legitimacy and rationale of compulsory military service and to get a public support” (Sünbuloğlu, 2013: 14). We see the example of links between idealized nations and men’s body rhetoric in the photographs of soldiers in the hospital (Image 8, Image 9).

In Image 8, the news title was “*Hürriyet’s* camera was among the Wounded Soldiers.” We see that *Hürriyet’s* position during the war has been consolidated with the entry among the wounded soldiers. This headline shows that the *Hürriyet* newspaper acts as a branch of an army. The description in Image 9, “Hikmet Feridun Es Follows the Mehmetçik Step by Step in Korea,” is supported by the front headline with the previous photograph. In Image 8, photographs are taken with a middle shot, and this middle format gives a feeling that does not have a rapprochement effect on the audience. Several injured soldiers are shown. In the first frame, two wounded soldiers are visible with bandages on their heads. Both are looking at the camera. In the captions of the photographs, the solidarity and brotherhood of the soldiers are reinforced. In the first photo caption, it says, “Hasan Kısa (from Fatsa) has his head bandaged and is wounded in the mouth. In the foreground is Şevket Gönenli (from Ordu).” It is mentioned in the caption which city in Turkey these two soldiers came from.

Citizenship, like brotherhood, is a uniting value, and it is used in this photo caption. In the second frame, two ranked soldiers are in the frame with flowers; it is seen that one will be discharged from the hospital. Likewise, in the third frame, two soldiers are seen, and one is lying in bed, and the other is looking at his peer. In the fourth frame, a group of soldiers holds a Turkish flag; everyone looks at the camera. In the fifth frame, a wounded soldier is holding some presents. In the sixth frame, two soldiers are shown, and they are looking directly at the camera. “Two

wounded heroes pose for the *Hürriyet* Newspaper in Turkish Hospital” was written down in photograph text. In all the frames, male friendship, brotherhood, and support are represented. The photographs show soldiers wounded to protect the homeland, and another country's not blood-related brothers and families with heroism. We see the bodies of these soldiers as a whole. But among these injured people, we cannot see people who lost a part of their bodies and were seriously injured. Physical ability is another thing that is related to masculinity. According to Connell (1995), the constitution of masculinity through bodily performance means that gender is vulnerable when the performance cannot be sustained—for instance, due to physical disability (54). The emptiness of disabled bodies can be read as constructed masculinity; disabled bodies are a reminder of that vulnerability for manhood. It is shown that at the end of the war, the male heroes will return to home as a whole without losing anything from their manhood.

Hikmet Feridun Es's article (Image 9) supports the rhetoric of wounded soldiers. The article's title is “Our wounded children,” and the photographs help frame the heroic image of “Mehmetçik.” At the left column, three uniformed soldiers are seen with a signboard of medical division. Under the photograph, it is written that the photographs were taken during the Kunu-ri Battle (The Battle of Wawon). On the left, two soldiers are at Tokyo hospital. The third photograph is of an injured soldier in bed with a Turkish flag in his hands. Although the Turkish army suffered heavy losses during the Kunu-ri battle, many heavily injured soldiers are missing in these photographs. The photographs of injured soldiers take up the dominant forms of masculinity, and these images legitimize the war with the help of socially acceptable healthy body images.



**Image 8 - "Hürriyet's camera was Among the Wounded Soldiers"- Hürriyet- 25 January 1951 -**  
Page 4 - Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

### Kore'de Bulunan Her Mahabirini Hikmet Feridun Es'in Gelen Mesajlar

**Şeyh İsmail Karaman**  
Kore'de bulunan her mahabirini Hikmet Feridun Es'in gelen mesajlar...  
Bu mesajlar...  
Hikmet Feridun Es'in...  
Kore'de bulunan her mahabirini Hikmet Feridun Es'in gelen mesajlar...  
Bu mesajlar...  
Hikmet Feridun Es'in...



Bu fotoğrafta yaralı çocukların bakıldığı hastahane kullandığı yeri gösteriyor. (Hikmet Feridun Es'in fotoğrafı)

## Hikmet Feridun Es Korede Mehmetçiyi Adım Adım Takip Ediyor Bizim Yaralı Çocuklar..

**Hikmet Feridun Es**  
Fotoğraf: SEMİHA FERİDUN ES

Bu fotoğraf ise yaralı çocukların bakıldığı hastahane kullandığı yeri gösteriyor. (Hikmet Feridun Es'in fotoğrafı)

Bu fotoğraf ise yaralı çocukların bakıldığı hastahane kullandığı yeri gösteriyor. (Hikmet Feridun Es'in fotoğrafı)



Hastahane kullandığı yeri gösteriyor. (Hikmet Feridun Es'in fotoğrafı)

Bu fotoğraf ise yaralı çocukların bakıldığı hastahane kullandığı yeri gösteriyor. (Hikmet Feridun Es'in fotoğrafı)

Bu fotoğraf ise yaralı çocukların bakıldığı hastahane kullandığı yeri gösteriyor. (Hikmet Feridun Es'in fotoğrafı)

Image 9 – “Our Wounded Children” - Hürriyet– 01 January 1952- Page 4 - Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from Hürriyet Archive, 2013

### 3.1.2. Soldiers in Uniform Having ‘Fun’

In this section, where the photographs of the soldiers in their uniforms will be investigated, there will be a closer look at the celebrations and entertainments that the soldiers conducted as the subjects of the military. What kind of possibilities of reading the photographs do mediocrity in these photographs, which do not show the brutality of war, provide us with? Put another way, what do these photographs tell us when we focus on what is not there? In the following two photographs,

published in *Hürriyet* in 1951, written with two captions—in Image 10, the news reads, “*Hürriyet* newsreel on the front; The movie we watched among the sounds of the cannons”; and in Image 11, the caption states, “Hikmet Feridun Es Follows the Mehmetçik Step by Step in Korea: Another Sad Memory” (Image 10, Image 11). We do not see the frightening face or horror of war; we see the soldiers having fun. News photographs are coded ideological visual indicators containing several messages during wartime. Persuading the public to the war needs propaganda. Battlefield entertainment photographs are one of the propaganda tools.

Meanwhile, famous stars visiting the front can be another propaganda activity. For example, it is known that Marlyn Monroe visited Turkish soldiers in the Korean War (Anatolia News Agency, 2011). In particular, it was picturing the Turkish army on the winning side to persuade the people that the war spread into Turkey's daily life with radio programs (Turan, 2000), frequent news, comics, and heroic stories. Soldiers who were having fun on the battlefield were a part of propaganda.



**Image 10 - Hürriyet**– 18 March 1951 – Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Achieve, 2013

There are three photograph frames in the news photograph captioned as “Hürriyet newsreel on the front; The movie we watched among the sounds of the cannons” (image 10). In the first photo, a soldier spreads his arms wide, looks towards the camera, and smiles. Another soldier is playing drums behind. The soldier on the right has a beady eye on the soldier dancing. There is no signal of his participation in the dance. The most explicit facial expression is the Mehmetçik, who spreads his arms wide while smiling at the camera. In the photograph on the left side, where these gestures and the moment are captured, framing neither reflects the war in reality nor displays any agonized moment. Yet more, as the explanation

of that photo, it is written that “The soldiers are enjoying Çiftetelli dance merrily” (Image 10). If there were no title or explanation for this photo and these soldiers were not in their uniforms, this photo would have described a frame where some people dance with joy at some ceremonies.

Barthes (1977) perceives the photographs as related to comprehending reality, making denotation a smooth issue since photographs make a visible reality or provide a constructed reality. The denotation and connotation are the two different levels of meaning or the levels of representation. Denotation is the first level by giving the original definition causally related to what you see literally. Connotation is the other level that provides a meaning which is invoked by the original meaning. That is to say, and an emotional association is made with the signifier rather than an interpretation of what the signifier represents. In the first layer, it is a description; Barthes calls it denotation of the visual image. It describes the scene, people in that scene, what we see elements in the frame. He explains the correlation between mental categorization and labeling images that we have seen. Van Leeuwen states that “clearly images can be perceived at different levels of generality, depending on the context, depending on who the image is for, and what its purpose is” (95). Barthes explains visual denotation with captures, groups, individuals, distancing, and surrounding text. However, the connotation is the second meaning for the visual image depending on the broader concepts, ideas, and values. As I mentioned above, the connotation is much more on what is represented in the frame. Context, purpose, and image are essential factors to interpretation.

By considering the description and connotation here, it can be said that it is necessary to concentrate on the semantic meanings that we see in the intersectional area of the soldiers in uniform and their amusement; in other words, to focus on what the photograph provides us. Especially in the left frame, as it is in line with the explanation of the photo, “soldiers enjoying Sarı Zeybek dance” are observed (Image 10). Two soldiers spread their arms wide open, and their dance moves symbolize courage and power. In explaining these photographs, the names of folk dances “çiftetelli” and “sarı zeybek” are provided to foster militarism by

ensuring the spectators associate these dances with heroism, courage, and power. Besides, these dances, which belonged to different regions, allowed the soldiers to socialize and relax by listening to music. It can be said that the fact that the dances belong to different regions helps them to transfer local cultural contents to each other. These dances, which were a sign of unity and solidarity, strengthened the communication between the soldiers as they had fun, facilitated the transfer of shared common values such as masculinity, being abroad, being Turkish, being a Mehmetçik, and helped to establish a cultural ground. Both folk dances are also well known for their dance moves performing gender roles. The role of women in traditional performances has always been timid. Even though dance figures are the same as men's, men always have an active role. Leading, directing the dance by giving commands; they are the ones who show up and make difficult movements and determine the flow of the collective dance. Therefore the "followed" are men (Ökten, 2011: 270). This situation, which we can see in the social construction of masculinity, recalls the private volunteer soldiers willing to go to the Korean War in a region where military service is compulsory. What is the reason for these people to be a volunteer for a war that was miles away? In the article where Ayşe Gül Altınay and Tanıl Bora (2002) discussed compulsory military service, nationalism and militarism in the context of nation-state, it is stated that

The concept of nation-state has brought a new type of army and a way of making war: the citizen army...Through these two institutions, where a new concept of 'discipline' is developed and enforced, it is aimed to create obedient and productive bodies, nationalist and loyal citizens who wear the same uniform, speak the same language and sing the same anthem (Altınay and Bora, 2002: 140).

Based on this, we can say that the common amusement culture between the soldiers manifests itself with the folk dances, which are influenced by the understanding of the nation-state and represent the shared values shared by the members of the nationalist citizen army. Reading these photos displaying amusement is another

issue that should be discussed further since those photos provide contradictory narratives and different connotations. Even though the soldiers in these photos are with their uniforms, they repeat a ritual of their everyday life by performing the leading role of men.

In the second frame (Image 10), we see two men wearing military uniforms inside a Jeep SUV striking a pose: the person driving the vehicle and the camera angle face opposite directions. The person in the rear seat (Feridun Es) can look directly at the camera. Feridun Es is the one who is the focal point. Devices such as truck/jeep, binoculars, map, the telephone can be connected with the army, modernization, and use of technology, which can emerge in content analysis (See Table 1 - Categories) and are seen as a symbols of modernization. Theories of modernization contain the relationship between capital, international politics, world order, and military success.

Throughout the Turkish modernization, the army was the most critical institution in Turkish society, which modernized before the other public establishments. The usage of technology in the army also represents the nation's modernity and is significantly related to social change. Usage of radio, binoculars, jeeps, telephones, or showing of modern medical facilities of the Turkish army can be associated with modernity. However, 'one-nation, one-army' rhetoric also made things complicated. Primarily, if the army represents the whole nation and its modernity, the army gets power over the democracy. Huntington (1965) connects modernity, the military, and their attempt at civilian regimes. However, although westernization was questioned during the Democrat Party rules, the army was used to getting power over the opposition. The Democratic Party mobilized the peasants into politics, strengthened traditionalism, and broke the previous consensus. Leading party leaders attempted to keep themselves in power through semilegal means and induced the army to join them to suppress the Republican opposition (Huntington, 1965: 421). Apart from the idea of power conflicts and army usage for the ruling party, modernization may also be problematic to disseminate the traditional values to the public using technology. Tipps (1973) indicates modernity

is not only one 'package.' Indeed, the introduction of modern medicine may only compound poverty by increasing population pressures, the transistor radio may be employed merely to reinforce traditional values, and a technologically sophisticated military may be placed in the service of the most reactionary of regimes (215). While questioning modernity, it is necessary to consider the areas of usage. *Hürriyet* newspaper's articles of the Korean War with technological developments of the Turkish army giving the narrative of traditional values and military discourse could also be considered within this context.

When considered from this point of view, again in the category of heavy weapons and weapons, the difference between the possibility of being seen in the published and the unpublished photos have a meaning beyond. In other words, in the published photographs, the number of objects that cannot be directly identified with warlike guns can explain equipment-wise that an army is a modern army. The jeep, map, telephone, and binoculars categories are the technologies that can be considered a modern army. The total number of photos showing these technologies is 78. The distribution according to published and unpublished photographs is 49 for published and 29 for unpublished photographs. It makes up 15% of all photographs. When we analyze the middle-shot photo displaying Feridun Es in a Jeep SUV with cross reading under the category of truck/jeep, it is seen that all 29 published jeep photographs are middle-shot photos, while only 7 of the unpublished photographs are taken with middle-shot zooming (See Table 1 - Categories). Thus, the zooming in is on the Jeep SUV here; there is the emphasis in the military-state relations that the Turkish army uses the latest military technology, like other foreign armies.

The photos of the soldiers (Image 11 and Image 12) at entertainment have an important place among the published photographs of Semiha Es. Entertainment can be seen as the normalization process of the lives of the soldiers. The photographs are of soldiers being in the community and socializing. These photographs can be categorized as an effort to indicate soldiers' social and cultural life to the readers of *Hürriyet*. In Image 12, there are groups of soldiers with

different countries' uniforms on the left side. Two soldiers are sitting; one plays guitar, the other sings a song. It is written under the photograph: "Mehmetçikler, who give music feast for British friends." The social and cultural lives of soldiers in wartime and camp life activities demonstrate Turkish troops are a part of the allies. It may be understood that this photograph (Image 11) was published to reinforce the alliance. Three soldiers are looking directly through the camera at the right of the frame (Image 11). From the text under the photograph, we understood that they are members of the medical unit. Turkish army's modernization and mentioning that the Turkish army has its medical unit repeats the rhetoric of modernity.



Image 11 – Hürriyet – 10 March 1951 – Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from Hürriyet Archive, 2013

In Image 12, we see more than twenty soldiers; most of them are Turkish others are British. In the text under the photographs, it's written that: “British guests coming to the headquarter are entertained with Mehmet's instrument and songs.” The people in the frame are looking at the camera, some of them smiling, some of them smoking cigarettes, they have smiled in their faces. This frame is taken with



### 3.1.3. Dead Soldiers, Enemies, and Hostages

Especially in the published photographs, the frame and context of the news focused on the army-nation. Both in the caption and related written news articles of the photos, a culture of military and Turkish-soldier myths is reproduced. For example, in the news like “Mehmet’s relentless cold steel” (Mehmet’in amansız sürgüsü) (Image 18) or “I volunteered by force” (Zorla Gönüllü oldum) (Image 19), it is stated that “Karnik Saltık” is like the other private soldiers—Mehmetçik. In other words, Karnik, who has an ethnic origin or religious belief that is different from the majority, has found a place in this news (Image 19) as a Turkish person with the fiction of Turkish nationalism. But it is not included in the description of Mehmetçik. Feridun Es says in this article:

I ask Karnik: Tell me the most important reason behind for you to join the troops voluntarily. We are together with the first lieutenant for 22 months. Would I just leave him alone? I wanted to enroll voluntarily. He said OK, but he did not include me on the list...I become a volunteer hardly. If we die, we will die together. I believe in martyrdom- being a martyr. Hero Karnik stands next to his brother Mehmet (Es, 1951:5).

Altınay and Bora state on this the culturally coded racist nationalism fiction by referring to the *Turkish History Thesis* developed in the thirties, the army will no longer be a “necessity” and military service a “duty,” and that these acquire a privileged position in the racial and national phenomena through culture. The shift here reflects the transition from nationalist fiction to ethnic (even racist) nationalist fiction and the Turkish Nationalist fiction of the army-nation myth (Altınay and Bora, 2002: 143). According to them, fiction has emerged from the concept of defense and has become an extension of culture. Militancy is an indispensable feature of Turkish culture and a qualification of Turkish culture that is being proud of: “Every Turk is born a soldier!” (Her Türk Asker Doğar!). As Bora and Altınay stated, the Turkish military myth supports warfare as an element peculiar to

Turkishness. Another ethnic minority lives in Turkey's territory or is a member of the Turkish military, given the need to adopt these specifications as a warrior for acceptance. In Karnik's interview, we see that discourse was developed based on this admittance.



**Image 13** – *Hürriyet* –16 January 1951– Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013



**Image 14** -*Hürriyet* – 21 January 1951–Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

Using images supporting some of the dominant ideologies in the media with some photographs can be read to represent the dead soldiers. However, this representation can be linked to the idea of heroism. The heroic image is created for a purpose that depends on which side of the conflict the soldier belongs. If he is in a Turkish troop, dead soldiers can be represented with only coffins or covered with blankets with a Turkish flag on. Several writers criticized the connection between the sacred and the dead in wartime. Kimble (2016) gives an example of total pages of advertisements about a war image. John Falter’s *By His Deeds Measure Yours* depicts a dead American GI on a nondescript battlefield (549). The image represents

Christ and the sacrifice of a soldier in the name of their countries and God. Falter's text intones that "it is not pleasant to die," but of course, the Christ-soldier has done so anyway, apparently in the most selfless manner possible (Kimble, 2016: 551) with a staged image. Looking at the analyzing opportunities provided by the published photographs, this "stage narrative" could be observed in Semiha Es' photographs. In the photograph below (Image 13), the two "enemy" soldiers were killed, and behind these "corpses," four Turkish soldiers are standing with their guns, ready to attack the other enemy soldiers. In this photograph, a dilemma and logical conflict are seen between the dead and the living. If this photograph depicted a "moment," the corpses of the enemy soldiers lying on the ground should not have been decomposing. In other words, the mismatch of time in the photograph leads us to the possibility that the photograph was staged.



**Image 15** - Dead Enemy Soldiers and Turkish Soldiers, Photographed by Semiha Es -  
Korean War - 1951

Here again, the question of whether photography is “real” or not and whether we can accept the photograph as a piece of reassuring evidence evokes discussions regarding objectivity. Cultural theorists Paul Virilio and media theorists Hardt and Brennen introduced the objectivity of photography in scholarly debates. The history of photography has many art pieces that do not depict reality; instead, they depict the armed conflicts from a particular perspective, i.e., the states, governments, or media institutions. John Berger (1972) states how the photographs construct reality as tools:

Photography is the process of rendering observation self-conscious...As evidence of a particular truth, we think of photographs as works of art as likenesses as news items. Every photograph is, in fact, a means of testing, confirming, and constructing a total view of reality. Hence the crucial role of photography in ideological struggle. Hence the necessity of our understanding a weapon which we can use, and which can be used against us (2-3).

In their book “The Promise of Photography” (Sabau et al., 1998) in the section on Paul Virilio, the authors state how the reality is blurred as that reality and how we perceive the reality is blurred fast because of virtual reality tools and the graphic programs of the computer. Hence, most photographers use such methods to construct preplanned or staged images in their photographs (19).

Also, Turkish troops are depicted in a row, where three of them are standing ahead, whereas the one is behind them. The number of photographs depicting the soldiers smiling should be quite a few during an active armed conflict in the battle zone. It can be inferred from the smiling faces of the three soldiers in front that this photograph is a staged one. In Image 14, it is seen that there is a stretcher lying on the ground and a Turkish flag on it. There is probably a dead soldier lying on the left edge of a stretcher, and the Turkish flag is covered on the stretcher. This display is in the center of the photograph; around this stretcher, the

soldiers bent their knees praying are seen around. We are assuming that under the flag is the body of a dead soldier. His friends gathered around and prayed by raising their palms over the invisible body of the deceased. When we read on this photo regarding the ones displayed and not displayed, especially the meaning represented by the flag can be evaluated by identifying the referent-signified, which is shown as symbolic semiotics and discourse practice. We see an under-covered dead body, and eleven soldiers are praying. The meanings seen in the photographs and produced with cultural codes describe the context used in interpreting photographs. Based on this and similar images in this category, the dead bodies of the Turkish soldiers are considered sacred, and therefore no dead body is shown; instead, there are only flag-draped coffins.



**Image 16-** *Hürriyet* – 05 February 1951- Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

In this context, the concept of sacred can be discussed conceptually in the context of connotation. The difference between the two photos above is that the holy is defined metaphorically with the case of death. “Sacred is a religious attribution that is separated from the everyday and ordinary attributions with its superiority. The human experience of the sacred is like the aesthetic experience of the superior” (Cevizci, 2010: 988).



**Image 17-** *Hürriyet* – 08 March 1951- Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

But in other photographs, it is different. The decomposing enemy soldier (Image 15) is worth opening up for discussion as a binary opposition. The two soldiers have their backs to the camera in this frame, pointing their rifles and shooting. There is a dead soldier's body on the ground, closer to the camera. The decomposing corpses of the enemy soldiers show that the enemy's body can be displayed openly, and there is no “sanctity” attributed to the enemy body. According to Laclau and Mouffe (2001), the polysemous meaning created by the signifier results in the ambiguity of the origins of ideological discourses and hegemonic practices and the identification of the signifier and the referent.

Hegemonic practices are suturing insofar as their field of operation is determined by the social openness, by the ultimately unfixed character of every signifier (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001: 88). The signified flag comes into contact with the sacred shaped by referent via the nationalist ideology. The implicit meaning of the sacred can be read by the dead body not shown in nationalist discourse as a referent because the ideology of identity, body, and nationalism is intertwined with body politics. Practices of nationalism construct a sense of belonging of nation-state understanding through the body of a person by becoming more and more individualized; and by shifting the defense of the land and homeland to the personal responsibility, they create the nationalist subject in the micro field (Sustam, 2007: 64). The reconstruction of the nationalist subject, which reproduces the army-nation myth, is integrated with the 'national army' referent. In his book on semiotics, Pierre Guiraud (1990) states that the signifier is a stimulus. The image that is evoked in the memory is associated with the stimulating image. Therefore, the function of the signifier is to revive this second image as a result of communication (Guiraud, 1990: 31).

The camera shots and angles also give a message to the spectator. When the shot is a high angle or low angle, these form an emotion in the spectator. Low angle shot is used in the photo displaying the Turkish flag-covered stretcher. Low angle shot is shot taken with the camera placed in a position below the subject. These angle shots give the subject(s) a more powerful image from the bottom looking upward. Psychologically, the effect of the low-angle shot is that it emphasizes power (Monaco, 2000: 169). Many elements can be included in the frame by using an average distance and a wide-angle lens. These elements here are the other soldiers.

The wide-angle lens, as its name indicates, photographs a wide-angle of view. A photographer finding himself in a cramped location would naturally use this lens to photograph as much of the subject as possible. However, the wide-angle lens has the added effect of

greatly emphasizing our perception of depth and often distorting linear perception (Monaco, 2000: 80).

In other words, both the framing and the point of view support the connotation, i.e., the power attributed to the sacred. The body, which is not seen under the flag, is not alone here. It has been recognized by a community and welcomes the praying, so we can do this connotation reading only through cultural codes.

As Monaco states, “the image is experienced as both an optical and mental phenomenon. This optical pattern is read saccadically. The mental experience is the result of the sum of cultural determinants and is formed by it. This mental and optical intellection combine in the concept of the sign where signifier is related to signified” (Monaco, 2000: 170). The usual straight angle in the other photograph produces a meaning that gives equal weight to the subject. Here the structure of the sacred is dashed. The body with the uniform on it is apparent—it is decayed. By being different socially from the other photo, the dead soldier on the ground is lonely, and his body is facing the camera; there is no community around him, and no one is praying for him. The other living soldiers inside the frame are displayed as firing at other enemies like this enemy soldier.

As a war tactic of the state, used for many years, the dead body of the enemies is not depicted as sacred, and there is no mourning for it. Mainly this situation has been observed in the recent war between Kurds and Turks in the 1990s. The protest of the Saturday Mothers, who are searching for their relatives who have been lost or who do not have a grave, can be evaluated in that regard; because “Mourning emerges as a social process that separates the relatives of disappeared people from their loss properly. Under normal conditions mourning is a reasonable way to say farewell to someone” (Şanlı, 2018: 1). As in the example of mourning mothers, we witness that Saturday mothers show their relatives' portraits in their hands during protests. Because the state also relates these losses. Neither the disappeared bodies have been found, nor are their photographs in the media. Representation practices can be seen as a field of inquiry together with the ideology of the state. From this point of view, if the state's ideology affects the way of

soldiers' death representations in wartime. "Death was accepted as an unwanted but inevitable cost of a 'fight for democracy' against a 'treacherous foe.' Moral righteousness easily supported the larger hostility to burdensome grief, grief which, as some accounts noted, might even abet the enemy" (Otsuka and Stearns, 1999: 76). The body of the Turkish soldier will be sent to his hometown and will probably be buried as a hero and martyr, but no grave is allocated to another soldier. The photographs, which have news value and were published in the *Hürriyet*, also created a nationalistic memory. Neither the traces of civilians nor the destructive side of the war was found in those photographs. Instead, only soldiers were depicted as heroic ones standing proudly in front of the mountain of corpses. As Aytemiz (2013) states, "...in the cases of such photographs, there is to be no discomfort in gazing upon the dead body of the enemy" (Aytemiz, 2013: 327). In other words, not giving a place to an enemy's body or losing the body as a state policy, or the reflex of showing the dead enemy soldier explicitly as a tactic of war seen from this photograph from *Hürriyet*.

On the other hand, hostages (Image 16, Image 17) are another category in the published photographs in *Hürriyet* Newspaper. In Image 15, a civilian-dressed prisoner is seen. There are two Turkish soldiers on either side. One of the soldiers is pointing the rifle in one hand at the enemy and holding the prisoner with the other hand. The other soldier caught the enemy with both hands and is looking at the camera. They are in a place like a field, and there is space behind them. Turkish soldiers who captured prisoners of war represented this as the showing of their "compassion." However, newspapers such as *Newsweek* and *Times* made news on US Army soldiers who suffered inhumane treatment by "Reds." Soldiers' deaths did gain coverage in stronger terms than *Newsweek* offered, though *Newsweek* used the approach more sparingly as well to spur anger, not grief. North Koreans were committing atrocities against United States prisoners. Here, a human touch could gain full play (Otsuka and Stearns, 1999: 78). On the other hand, a news photograph about the torture inflicted on Turkish soldiers when they were taken prisoner was not available in the *Hürriyet*.



Image 18 - Hürriyet –16 January 1951– Photographed by Semiha Es Retrieved from Hürriyet Archive, 2013



**Image 19** - *Hürriyet* Newspaper – 06 January 1950–Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved on *Hürriyet* Archive, 2013

A similar photograph is seen in Image 17; in the photo, a few prisoners have their hands over their heads and are looking at the camera. They are wearing traditional clothes like in the other image (Image 16). Two Turkish soldiers are looking towards the camera with their backs facing the prisoners. They are holding rifles. Hostages are mainly represented as a sample of enemies, and they are usually shown when they are being arrested or taken captive. These photographs are primarily advertised as Turkish soldiers giving “mercy” to the enemy’s hostage.

Another thing is in these photographs; they identify enemies and provide information to the audience on how an enemy looks. The enemy narrative is

problematic here by showing the hostages. As O'Loughlin (2011) punctuates, these images are used strategically because of propaganda of the war. Conversely, an image could be 'placed' in media, strategically using images as 'weapons' to achieve particular effects in disrupting enemies' narratives. (O'Loughlin, 2011: 73).

Building public opinion via media tools in wartime is not new. Categorized soldiers' representation helped to shape public opinion during Korean War. *Hürriyet* newspaper still today fosters militarism and masculinity with its news, even decades after the Korean War. The civilians, destroyed streets, damaged houses were not seen. On the contrary, the discourse of heroism, which the nation-state rebuilt, could be seen in these photos, fostering masculinity and nationalism. However, Semiha Es' private archive of unseen and unpublished photographs shows us the possibility of seeing non-militarization in the war zone. In the next part, who Semiha Es is, the daily life photographs at the war zone will be addressed.

#### 4. “UNSEEN” KOREAN WAR PHOTOGRAPHS OF SEMİHA ES IN HER PRIVATE ARCHIVE

Archives are essential for groups excluded from the official narrative, discriminated against and missing, or under-represented to remember their histories, to remind them and to preserve their document and information heritage. Private archives, mainly the archives of women who belong to the under-represented group, have a political aspect. Institutions that pursue archives from the past preserve women's archives and ensure that they reach the present day and transfer them to future generations were established to fill this gap. The Women's Library and Information Center Foundation in Istanbul is one of these institutions. Many valuable documents are kept there, such as diaries, oral history narratives, autobiographies, photographs, videos diaries, and private collections that provide information about the unrepresented histories of women and their daily and specialty areas. “Women’s libraries make a special effort to acquire sources relating to daily and private life...which are an invaluable source of information about women which cannot be found anywhere else” (Davaz-Mardin, 2000: 450). As I mentioned earlier, Özgün Gürten Akbayır has Semiha Es’s archive; while I was searching the archive, Akbayır showed me some scanned *Hürriyet* News documents on the Korean war, with Semiha Es’s photographs. Akbayır protects them the boxes in her storage, so I spent one month there digging into the archive. In the process, I found the handwriting of Feridun Es, notes of Feridun Es, some Ottoman pieces written by Feridun Es, but I couldn’t find any notes or handwriting from Semiha Es. I wondered why she didn’t leave any diaries, letters, or handwriting of her life or photographs. Some photographs had dates on the back; some are not. I began to think: where is her voice, where can I hear her? Then it came into my mind that unseen photographs might give some clue about her way of seeing. I must say here that traces of war and mainstream discourse continued in her private archive photographs, which did not come to light. (Appendix) However, I had to find her voice by examining her unpublished photographs (See Appendix – 1).

If there were institutionalized women-centered archival resources, which the Women's Library Istanbul emphasized in its publications, Semiha Es' achievements would have been more accessible to everyone. In this sense, we see that the problem of not being able to reach women's works is also political. It is a matter of choice in official archives whose works are to be found, selected, or worthy of being kept as private archives. If these elections do not prioritize underrepresented groups, it may be determined who will be excluded in historiography. For this reason, the state must ensure equal representation in democratic societies, enact laws for this representation, if necessary, develop policies, enact legislation, and implement all these holistic policies.

Official historical narratives are of great importance in forming the memory of society. The forms of representation that support official history also support creating this memory through the media. In the previous chapter, published Korean War photographs in *Hürriyet* were read through this lens, and it was understood that its concepts are organized around the militaristic, nationalistic approach connected with gender roles while creating this official history. In the narrative dominated by militarist discourse, the practices of remembering the Korean War, were examined in the intersection of masculinity through themes, such as heroism, sacrifice, brotherhood, unity and solidarity, and flag, which are complementary elements of masculinity and militarism. The concepts of nationalism and masculinity shaped by the understanding of the nation-state, which has a prominent role in the construction processes of sociality, also complement the official historical narrative. It is seen that *Hürriyet*, a civilian publication, observes military tactics on the battlefield to each detail, glorifies military values, and even blurs the boundaries between civilians and soldiers. The army-nation myth was repeated, and the subtext "Every Turk is born as a soldier" was reproduced. It is possible to discuss a more subjective eye in the unpublished photographs where we see the demilitarization, take off the uniform, and daily routines of the anonymous soldier Mehmetçik, who idealized normative masculinity and the male body. Creating clichés like dead bodies of enemies, despairing children, tearful mothers, or exalted bodies of allies. As Marta Zarzycka (2016) indicates, "repetitive tropes

in the imagery disseminated by Western media and humanitarian organizations...create a sense of *deja vu* as they recur in different historical periods” (p. xiii). Therefore, it also creates a visual language, which the view of hegemony can question. Hegemony is related to militarism and other apparatuses of the state. Patriarchy reproduces itself by the arrangements made by the society for gender and its social shaping of gender and masculinity. In her “Feminist Antimilitarism,” Cynthia Cockburn (2014) states that “Feminists, of course, are particularly pointing to the significance of masculinities for the survival and reproduction of the patriarchal system, men brought up to be adequate to use power, to show their entitlement to privilege, to manifest masculine values” (34).

Instead of “warrior men,” in this section we will encounter male representations through unpublished photographs in which Mehmetçik become civilians, eat, swim in their underwear, and enjoy life. Through photographs that were not published in this section, we will have the opportunity to read about the difficult conditions experienced by civilians, their deaths, and how the war affected women and children. These photographs have the potential to create a new space for reading. Looking at the war photographs through the unpublished photographs of Semiha Es presents another possibility for remembering the Korean War as a historical moment in history.

Societies create passive and active roles and assigned sex at birth. Those roles are identified primarily as men are active and women are passive. Men are mainly under the shadow of hegemonic masculinity that is mentioned earlier, so their orientation, race, and disabilities affect them to be called “real men” in the society and that they need to be strong, active, and masculine. Therefore, men usually have a role to “protect” women, defined as weak and passive in society. This kind of societal structure that creates gender inequality strengthens militarism in the community. To get acceptance and be seen as “strong” in society, women may imitate masculine behaviors. For instance, we sometimes see women who use sexist and insulting language towards womanhood. During a soccer match, we can see women who use sexist language and display abusive behavior. Likewise, we

see women who choose to join the armed forces. Åsa Ekvall (2014) states that “Women who choose to join armies or other military groups have to subscribe to established values, norms and behaviors rather than bringing along their own” (47). In the militarization of society and at the behavioral level, aggression is very connected to masculinity and war.

Johan Galtung (1990) divides violence into three layers: Direct, Structural, and Cultural Violence. Direct violence is a form of violence that directly threatens one’s life or deprives one from basic human needs. Killing or raping can be as an example of direct violence. Structural violence is a type of violence that prevents some groups or communities from reaching equal opportunities for their basic needs. Girls who cannot go to school or perpetrators of sexual violence walking free from trials can be considered Structural Violence. The third one is Cultural Violence, a type of violence that enables the violence "acceptable" in the culture. For instance, sexist language and military parades can be counted as a part of Cultural Violence.

By ‘cultural violence,’ we mean those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence—exemplified by religion and ideology. Language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) - that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence (Galtung, 1990: 291).

From this point of view, Cultural Violence makes society justify war, supports perpetrators of domestic violence, and makes the culture more violent. “Cultural Violence makes direct and structural violence look and feel right, or at least not wrong” (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 39). Hence, patriarchy or masculinity has a strong tie with male patterns of behavior. Those types of behavior are the components that soldiers must fight for their nation-state, so-called their countries. In this habitat, war has a strong connection with militarism and masculinity that gets its support from cultural violence.

Reproduction of masculinity in war zones and gender identity of a photographer at this violent locale is another point that could emphasize. Accepted gender roles are embedded in occupations. When it comes to being a photographer in war, being a woman may also be linked to women's passive roles in society. There may be an expectation to behave according to that role of women. On the contrary, taking photographs makes the photographer an active intervenor that breaks the passive role of women. Women step up to war photography, which is mainly considered a male job, especially in this environment.

On the other hand, women are primarily associated with peacebuilding in wars. Her presence in a warzone and its representations via photographs, news reports are also connected with the passive roles of women in society. For instance, in mourning and photographs of grief, the expression of women is questioned by Zarzycka (2016) using queer theory and post-colonial theories. She claims that women's bodies in war zones are socially constructed. "The way female bodies in visual sphere function not only as symbols of individual psychological state but also indicators of losses suffered by communities" (2). In this way, women represent those communities who suffered, who lost the war. Some suffering photographs of women and children are also used by the war parties to support their actions.

The militarist discourse and militarist masculinity go hand in hand with gendered militarism. It is better to understand the military with all its activities as an institution to comprehend this link. Understanding this can lead to understanding how gender as a social construct or force works. The relation between has a complex structure, and the findings regarding this do not have to be evident since it can be molded mainly through practices. In particular, the socially constructed system, institution, and contexts should be considered while trying to have a framework regarding this. The relation between gender and the military gains a non-static nature and fluidity over time or geographical locations.

Dynamism of these relationships, for they are never static or inevitable but rather change over a range of timescales, are prompted by military transformations, are subject to shifts in gender politics

and are influenced by developments from the local to the global in geopolitical and economic events and circumstances (Woodward and Duncanson, 2017: 1).

This performative context yielded by the war is an indispensable part of militarism. It diffuses military institutions and their activities of war and militarization, which assumes preparation and engagement in practices related to war.

Anti-militarist feminists discuss the factors of militarist notions and argue that strong interactions between them are learned via culture. Everyday life is also defined as political. The violence deeply related to gender in daily life causes the population to consider the war ordinary. As a part of the militarism of a nationalistic state, the state creates a collective memory as the material of the dominant culture. This memory created by the state presents us only one perspective; it shows us whatever it wants, so what we see is always different from what we do not see. Therefore, feminist studies, anti-militarist studies, and survivors and remembrance of the Korean War try to provide an alternative history (Liem, 2009). In the field, by hunting down those memories, unmuting the individual experiences at war, and making the forgotten memories be remembered acts as resistance against the dominant discourses of militaristic ideas. From this point of view, the politics of everyday life is also significant to look at the object position of individuals, which gives us a chance to pursue an opportunity for change. In everyday life, we may follow the hints of peace, which is associated with living.

In history books, and has been mentioned before here, the Korean War is often referred to as the “forgotten war.” In a manner not resembling the Vietnam War, the destruction of the Korean peninsula is another subject that has not been mentioned enough. Some scholars conduct oral history research to collect the stories of the Korean War. Most of the traumatic events bring survivors together who had faced the war itself. There are some oral history projects like Ramsay Liem’s (2005) “Still Present Past,” the project contains experiences of civilians who have been through and survived the Korean War. And the project shows the other

side of the effects of the Korean War, like memory, remembering, and traumas of survivors of the Korean War. The national division has been separating ten million Koreans from family members for over half a century. These horrific losses are rarely acknowledged (Fox, Prilleltensky, and Austin, 2009: 402). Likewise, the term “forgotten” is also used together with “silenced” memories. Like these performances of Liem, personal and public remembrance aims to break the silence and remember the forgotten memories to resist the dominant discourses of militaristic ideas.

However, under all the hegemonic effects of the state, although there are past individual memories of different social groups, the states opt to form national stories serving their instrumental goals. Those stories permeated into collective memory through social dynamics such as through media. However, as Sontag (2003) points out, “there is no such thing as collective memory...But there is collective instruction” (76). She argues that “All memory is individual, unreproducible—it dies with each person. What is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: this is important, and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds” (76). Since remembering collectively is a kind of imposition by the authorities, we can say that the collective memory has a constructed and subjective structure that serves the states’ ideological purposes. In such a constructed memory, the past is reconstructed and reproduced by the need of the state. In that way, a collective memory shaped by the state can exist longer than individuals. It causes such a history in which what we see or hear is different from what we do not see or hear.

Anti-militarist and feminist studies on survivors and remembering of the Korean War creates alternative history and perspective in the field. Especially from oral histories of survivors of the Korean War and re-examining the official record of the US government offers an insight into these alternatives. Peacebuilders also put a gendered point of view of this anti-militaristic discourse. From this point of view, after years from Korean War, activists, researchers, and artists emphasize dialogue as Liem (2005) states, “ending ‘over a half-century of national division’

and moving towards ‘empathy for survivors and recognition of our common interest in acting for peace’” (402). Cynthia Cockburn (2012) also works on anti-militarist actions in the struggle area. Questioning the Korean War is one of those actions for Cockburn. She suggests a movement to re-examine history, calling for an investigation into massacres by US troops during the Korean War (Cockburn, 2012: 191). The remembrance of the war and women's role in building peace is another thing Cockburn emphasizes. For instance, between 1991 and 1993, while still under military government, women organized conferences with the North Korean women named ‘Peace in Asia and Women’s Role’ and later in the decade, women initiated a project of cross-border work called ‘Sharing Food, Sharing Love’ (Cockburn, 2012: 192). The anti-war movement contains a lot of positive names to build peace.

Motherhood as an identity in the public space is used to critique the war, injustice, and claim for peace. This type of protest was not new, mothers from Argentina had done such a demonstration, calling themselves *Mothers of Plaza de Mayo*. “The mothers’ white headscarves became a symbol of courage and the relentless battle for justice—and they have largely succeeded in their original aims: as of 2016, more than 1,000 of the dictatorship’s torturers and killers had been tried and 700 sentenced” (Goni, 2017). Alternatively, mothers who lost their children somehow because of militarist, racist or nationalist politics come together to make sit-in protests. For example, ‘Saturday Mothers’ in Turkey demand justice because their children forcibly disappeared. Mothers have gathered since 1995 under the motto “We want our disappeared loved ones” (Winter, 2016). This non-violent disobedience movement has been one of the most extended campaigns in Turkey.

There has always been a disproportionate impact of wars on the lives of women. The militarization of Korean society might lead to the masculinization of society, which might cause violence against women. No programs can be generated to hinder this, or no social welfare programs can be formed since the resources are allocated to the military. Yet, the demilitarization of the country is essential. It leads the experience of women and children in an armed conflict in a militarized society to be silenced. However, anti-militarist and feminist movements try to reexamine

history by calling for investigations of the events during the Korean War. Then, in the end, the past can be reviewed and rewritten.

I must state here that I cannot say that each unpublished and unseen photograph is outside the general discourse. I did not choose the research universe based on the number of photos in the themes among unseen private photos. Here, I separated the photos from which I could capture a different view and then made a selection based on these photos, and I created the categorization that I have titled in this section, not based on the number of photos. Some details, such as those we are looking for in unpublished photos, cause us to question the identities in the photo frame. The subjects of photographs we obtained in the content analysis (See Table 1 - Categories) are the gender of people, the number of women who are on the field of war especially or the women in the ruined houses, i.e., the dead bodies of civilians, women, and children are the subjects we consider in the analysis. Apart from this, the camera's perspective in the structural content, center-periphery duality in the photograph's frame, the distance and proximity of the fiction to the spectator, and the other formal elements in the published photographs help us read the meaning because "different viewpoints result in different visual, spatial, and psychological effects" (Suler & Zakia, 2013: 25). For this reason, it is necessary to question the existence of a narrative that covers the trauma suffered as a natural part of the war when reading the published photographs. In other words, the dramatic elements that are not in the photograph or the historical facts that we can try to find as hidden or symbolically but that we cannot find in the photograph can be identified either by its covering or by not seeing it in mediocrity. What are the roles of ordinary photos in displaying cruelty or brutality? This question makes us step forward to question what Es' private archive photos, or the mediocrity of everyday life, show us. As Semiha Es seems to suggest, civilians, primarily girls and women, are affected by the wars (Bereket, 2008), so it is not enough to describe war through photographs. We must imagine what we cannot see in the photo frames and those not there will be insufficient in describing the pre-existing reality of war.

Another issue that women photographers who are active subjects as beholders might be the possibility of questioning the dichotomy of the gaze. Mulvey points out that culturally constructed active and passive roles of the looking are related to genders as was repeatedly noted by some leading photography researchers (e.g., Tagg 1988, Hardt and Brennen, Berger 1972) ways of seeing matters. The elements which we do not see in the photographs tell us the story behind the power relations. These relations are also significantly related to the hierarchy between genders as a part of the hegemonic world order. Ahu Antmen (2016) mentions the importance of gender with these words: “It may be interesting to look at a photo and make predictions about whether it is a woman or a man, but even more interesting is the cultural cues are given by photographs about the process of the formation of your visuals: do women and men have the same freedom and direction?” (Antmen, 2016). The effect of the artist’s identity was also questioned by Virginia Woolf through the particular lens of “class.” Woolf refers to the question of class, which emphasizes the inequalities of opportunity of Judith and Shakespeare:

“For genius like Shakespeare’s is not born among laboring, uneducated, servile people. I was not born in England among the Saxons and the Britons. It is not born today among the working classes. How, then, could it have been born among women whose work began, according to Professor Trevelyan, almost before they were out of the nursery, who were forced to it by their parents and held to it by all the power of law and custom? Yet genius of a sort must have existed among women as it must have existed among the working classes (Woolf, 1935:73).

Feminist art critics who emerged in the 1970s mostly questioned institutionalized sexism in particular areas. In her pioneering essay “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?”, Linda Nochlin (2012) delves into the myth of the “Great Artist,” who is primarily male. Are adjectives given to male artists such as “big,” “supreme,” or “grand” also given to female artists? Nochlin answers this question

with these sentences: “There have been no great women artists because women are incapable of greatness” (Nochlin, 2012: 2). Feminist artists criticize so-called myths of “greatness.” In Semiha Es’ life, she is also represented mostly under the shadow of her husband, Hikmet Feridun Es. As Hikmet Feridun was a “great” journalist in his time, Semiha could not even get any salary from photography. In the documentary, Semiha Es mentions “pocket money,” which her husband gave to her periodically (Bereket, 2008). It also gives us the clue of her unpaid labor as a photographer.

Feminist historians, who assume that women's social existence is different from men, prioritized women's experiences to reveal women who have been forgotten and ignored in history. It is stated in Nochlin's (2012) article that “women's situation” and “experience” are the factors that distinguish women from men in art. “...its expressive qualities and based on the special character of women's situation and experience” (3). Nochlin also questions the relations with race, gender, and class with the concept of inequality. “If women have in fact achieved the same status as men in the arts, then the status quo is fine as it is” (5). Thus, we may assume that women war photographers have different experiences, ideals, and viewpoints than men on the battlefield. The status quo needs to be questioned in the field of photography like in other art forms. Woman experience is questioned in theoretical writings. Everyday life and experience of women are theoretically conceptualized in feminist standpoint theory. One of the pioneers in this theory is Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith (1987), who queries people who are members of the marginalized groups facing different everyday experiences than other groups and having a privileged life in the society. Her ideas of institutional ethnography and feminist standpoint theory are originated from the women's movement and influenced by Marxist theory. She also used the term ‘relations of ruling,’ ‘ruling apparatus,’ which took our interest to the structure of male-dominated institutions. “‘Relations of ruling’ is a concept that grasps power, organization, direction and regulation as more pervasively structured that can be expressed in traditional concepts provided by the discourses of power” (Smith, 1987: 3). Smith also mentions the intersectionality of texts and how women are excluded from man’s

culture. She makes connections with cultural elements which are mediated by texts which is created in male dominated society. Here, texts mean not only written language but also visuals, images, vocabularies, concepts, and abstract terms of knowledge are integral to the practice of power (Smith, 1987:17)” In the culture, ruling is connected with societal inequalities. It’s claimed that women and people having gender-based discrimination like the LGBTI+ community have better understandings of the world, have different experiences apart from ruling group or groups who have privileges. Those ideas come from Marxist theory, Marx and Engel’s formulation of a distinguishable working class. They state that working class consciousness is “the growing insight into the destructive nature of the capitalist system (which can be established without recourse to morality), the working class will take up the struggle against this system—not on the basis of morality, but rather on the basis of its own interest” (Heinrich, 2004: 36). So that these interests in class perspective give us the perspective of how the history is shaped by elites, in other words white, upper/middle class, heterosexual, men. “The Hegelian and Marxist traditions, then, provide the genesis of standpoint theorists’ claim that the ‘double vision’ afforded to those who experience social relations from a position of marginality can, under certain circumstances, offer them epistemic advantage” (Bowell). Smith’s ideas also point out differences when one looks upon the experiences of individuals. Our differences also differentiate regarding our experiences since individuals start with their own life and experiences. For instance, our race, gender, disability, physical capacities, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc. gives us different awareness. Therefore, among women, there are also some hierarchies or privileges regarding individual differences. While we discuss class and gender, another thing needed to be considered is the gaze of the photographer and “open/closed” areas to women. If we think about “war”, it can be also identified as a male dominated space. Sontag (2003), with a reference to Virginia Woolf’s anti-war book *Three Guineas* (1938) pointed out: “Men make war. Men (most men) like war, since for men, there is ‘some glory, some necessity, some satisfaction in fighting’ that women (most women) do not feel or enjoy” (Sontag, 2003: 3). Can we question that being in a war zone as a women photographer opens the space

slightly to women? As mentioned above, the representation of women's images in war is mostly produced by male photographers. Is there any difference in images that are related to our gender?

Semiha Es' presence on the battlefield should be considered to belong to a marginalized group, as a woman. The fact that Semiha Es is not an officially announced feminist or anti-war person as a public figure enables us to focus on the statements she provided in the documentaries about her and the photographs she took to ensure an alternative understanding of her photographer identity. She was married while she was on the battlefield and stayed with a group of men; she was known as a 'married woman.' Her class was counted as middle class although she didn't earn any money while she worked, and she was supported by her husband. I also needed to consider those facts while I read the photographs of Semiha Es. The mediocrity seen, especially in unpublished photos, helps us think about what the daily life narrative can tell us and what kind of a space it opens for us. It is necessary to take advantage of the mechanical properties of the photograph when opening this space. We can have a structural conclusion by trying to frame only the moments recorded by the camera or by looking at the technical characteristics of that photograph; because, with its optical-mechanical function, the camera is capable of recording ordinary aspects of an event. Inviting the spectator to observe the instant details creates a tension between the mediocrity/banal and the information acquired by the spectator from the explanation of the photograph. "The strategy of aesthetics of the banal is a common strategy in contemporary photographic practice" (Lowe, 2017: 179). This narrative of mediocrity and everyday life and those not in the frame arouse curiosity for the audience because the facts of war or images of victims are not observed in these photographs.

As we handle photography as a part of visual language, Hall (1997) says, "shared conceptual map is not enough. We must also represent or exchange meanings and concepts, and we can only do that when we also have access to a shared language" (Hall, 1997:4). With the help of organized signs, language is the second system that helps interpret the world. Visual images are also counted as

language, coded by signs that convey and express meanings. John Berger (1972) asserts that we see things affected by what we know or believe. The forms of seeing, the gaze, is also affected by our identity, as Ahu Antmen (2016) has asserted.

This section will also question the existence of photos that can create cracks in this shared map. For instance, Image 20 is a middle shot photograph showing General Tahsin Yazıcı with soldiers with different ranks. This photograph taken with medium shot shows that the photographer did not prefer to take a closer look; there is a row of standing Mehmetçik in front of the General. According to the golden ratio, Tahsin Yazıcı is in the center, where the other lower-rank soldiers are in the periphery. The following photograph is an example of this. One of the soldiers' faces can be read as childish in this photograph, which breaks the military posture. Another soldier tries to be seen in the frame by raising his head behind the General. All these acts nullify the purpose of this photograph which is trying to be militarist.



**Image 20** - *Hürriyet* - 30 March 1951-Photographed by Semiha Es, Retrieved from *Hürriyet*, 2013

What do we see in this Semiha Es' photograph? How did the press represent the photograph? To what extent does the attitude of the *Hürriyet* Newspaper coincide with the moment of Semiha Es' photograph? While the newspaper shows this photograph as a Turkish military going ahead by killing the enemy, Semiha Es might have wanted to display soldiers who were still shooting even though there were dead bodies in front of them (Image 15). Even the presence of a dead body there could not prevent the killing.

Nadire Mater says about *Mehmedin Kitabı* (Mehmed's Book): "I wanted to make the society hear the voices of the people who became/must have become the subjects of the war by their will or despite their will, and to construct a view of war from their point in people's minds" (Mater, 1998: 14). In this book, any person who joined the war talks about how one cannot do anything without order, and most of them highlight that they do not want to kill anyone. Mater announces the voices of the war, which people could not hear until this time. We might assume Semiha Es' photographs have a similar attempt to some extent. It can be understood from Semiha Es' speech in the documentary (Bereket, 2008) that she does not support the approach of the state about war.

The context of the visual representation resembles the representational practice and its attempt to help construct collective knowledge into the concept of hegemony. The soldiers' image's alternative story shows German artist and collector Martin Dammann (2018). With his colleague Harald Welzer, Dammann came across amateur photographs of cross-dressing Nazi soldiers. The article, "Cross-dressing in the Wehrmacht: Unseen Practices at the German front," stated that "The scenes are sometimes mixed with violent fantasies, albeit in a way that seems relatively harmless: we see remnants of childhood games, not a reflex trained by concrete experiences." (Dammann & Welzer, 2018:7). These photographs also make different parts of view in the collective memory of German soldiers in World War II. In their article Evans and Mailänder question this performance and link between normativity.

...images perform soldierly and patriarchal male bonding through stereotyped heterosexual re-enactments while also embodying the fluidity of military masculinity structured by a compulsively heteronormative yet homoerotic institution. Hence, they do not necessarily make the individual members of that force gay or transgender; nor do they express homosexual or transsexual 'orientations' (Evans and Mailänder, 2020:22).

Memory that was created in war is passed through by photographs that also contain memories. The symbiotic relationship between the photographic image and memory allows us, the viewers, to have a relationship to the past through the material object that is the image (Everly, 2016: 159). These images give us different memories, not shown in dominant history writing. Also, the knowledge of these photographs taken by soldiers, not by a professional photographer, gives us another insider view of soldiers because those photographs were not taken by any institution, agent, or state.

Another argument is presenting 'others' in war photographs. Hall (1982) states that "attempting to 'fix' it is the work of a representational practice, which intervenes in the many potential meanings of an image in an attempt to privilege one" (Hall, 1982:228). According to Hall, representing the difference, racializing the 'other,' and stereotyping as a signifying practice create the otherness. The context of the photograph is affected by which medium the photograph is printed or represented. For instance, if the photograph presented in the newspaper, magazine or gallery creates particular meaning or other perceptions. Stuart Hall calls it preferred meaning (Hall,1982: 228). When he refers to the preferred meaning, he explains that the media which publish the photograph privileged only one meaning among the other meanings of the image. Around the central argument likewise, Semiha Es' published photographs that create "otherness" are created by the authority which constructs collective understandings of "the other," "the enemy," "reds," "communists," and helped to contact the collective memory of "the

other.” Hall states that fixing representational practices is significantly related to the discursive practices linked to constructing public opinion.

Meanwhile, Hall asserts that while creating the meaning-making, punctuation represents the image with their binary oppositions. Therefore, the enemy needs a concept of an ally. Hall strongly argues the process of the classificatory system with its link to the culture. “We did not even know who the corpses belong to or who we crash into. It was not told. We could not ask too. ‘They are terrorists’, was said, that’s it.” says one of the soldiers in *The Book of Mehmed* (Mater, 1998: 21). The act of killing is legitimated with labels like “the other,” “the enemy,” “reds,” or “communists.” On the other hand, being against war becomes more intricate and more complicated; you may be judged with one of these kinds of labels above. Butler (2004) states that

The voicing of critical perspectives against the war has become difficult to do, not only because mainstream media enterprises will not publish them (most of them appear in the progressive or alternative print media or on the internet), but because to voice them is to risk hystericization and censorship. In a strong sense, the binarism that Bush proposes in which only two positions are possible - ‘Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists’- makes it untenable to hold a position in which one opposes both and queries the terms in which the opposition is framed (Butler, 2004:2)

The visual construction of death also reflects some politics under war photographs. As Foucault stated regarding disciplinary practices of a soldier’s body, it is mainly related to power. Brothers (1997) points to the connection between photography in war and photography as a weapon in combat. Death soldiers’ photographs can also be seen as a weapon of combat. “Indeed, the priority of the visual in the business of warfare has developed to such an extent that sight itself has become a weapon in combat, beginning even to overtake conventional armor in the military and strategic importance” (Brothers, 1997:1). Photographs are

a part of cultural products related to power and social order issues. In this order, gender and class are other issues so that war and combat images can be categorized in gendered perspectives. Men's images are mainly shown up with heroic background with courage or representative of state nation. With their dead bodies, it can be understood who gets an advantage from whom, so it is related to nation-states. On the contrary, women mainly have shown as mothers, victims, and passive elements in the war photographs.

Semiha Es' photographs of dead enemy soldiers in the Korean War can be categorized as ideological state purposes. What does the rotting body of enemy soldiers lying on the ground tell us? The evidential nature of the photograph should be questioned first. Was it a staged act, or was it taken for documentation purposes? The Turkish soldiers behind the rotten body show their guns as they claim they are "winners" this time. So, in a gendered perspective, they are "heroes" on the contrary, the dead enemy in a historical moment. This historical moment needed to be analyzed. However, what the photographer chooses will be read, as John Berger states. In his book *About Looking*, John Berger (1980) connects photography and memory with history. "Photography, because it preserves the appearance of an event or a person, has always been closely associated with the idea of the historical. The idea of photography, aesthetics apart, is to seize a 'historic moment.'" (Berger, 1980:51) That moment itself is historical, and it needed to be claimed that these historical moments create alternative history with feminist standpoint theory. Many findings can be utilized for research made for an alternative history reading other than the history imposed by the official history. For example, diaries of people, photographs were taken at that time intervals, articles in newspapers, personal archives, can be used to understand and explain the actual event pattern or individual experiences. Although this study does not claim that what "really" had happened could be learned from the photographs of Semiha Es, I am interested in the field provided by the structural content regarding the narrative when the photograph is analyzed as a medium. In other words, I argue that all the details seen in the photographs, the close shots of the photograph, the frame consisting of the long shots or the portraits, the center, and the periphery dualities will guide reading

and analyzing the photographs. The absence of violence in a war such as the Korean War, where millions died, where Turkey suffered a tragedy by losing almost a whole brigade as casualties, is a matter that should be questioned. Apart from what we see here, the things we cannot see also matter. To analyze the photograph or representation to understand the war through militarism or antimilitarism in an alternative history reading through photography is not enough to explain the tragedy of war.

#### **4.1. Civil Mehmetçik (Soldiers)**

The potential of everyday life discourse helps us handle everyday life as problematic; feminist standpoint theory suggests that we need to look at social relations, power relations, and bodily existence. For Mehmetçik, they do not have a rank in the military; they are the privates. When I look at power relations, we may consider that they also have a consciousness of the subordinated groups in that dominant hegemonic masculine sphere: their individuality, their bodily experiences, which are seen in the photographs, are also my beginning point for analyzing. It is not easy to classify soldiers as a marginalized group in the dominant world order. However, their potential to perform consciousness should be mentioned. We need more focus to understand and research on their memoirs, or their speech, documentaries, diaries to understand a person's perspective to the world. However, there is no way to understand their consciousness by just looking at the photographs. As Howell states, "Nevertheless, it is not impossible for those who occupy non-marginalized perspectives to become part of the process of helping reach a shared critical consciousness with respect to the effects of power structures on epistemic production" (Howell, n.d.). Although they are men who fight in male-dominated spaces, they have different perspectives than commanders at war. If we accept photographs as texts, we see Mehmetçik's actual doings in their daily lives when we look at unpublished photographs. Thus, one layer is the subjects of the photographs. Photographs show us their everyday life as the focus of inquiry.

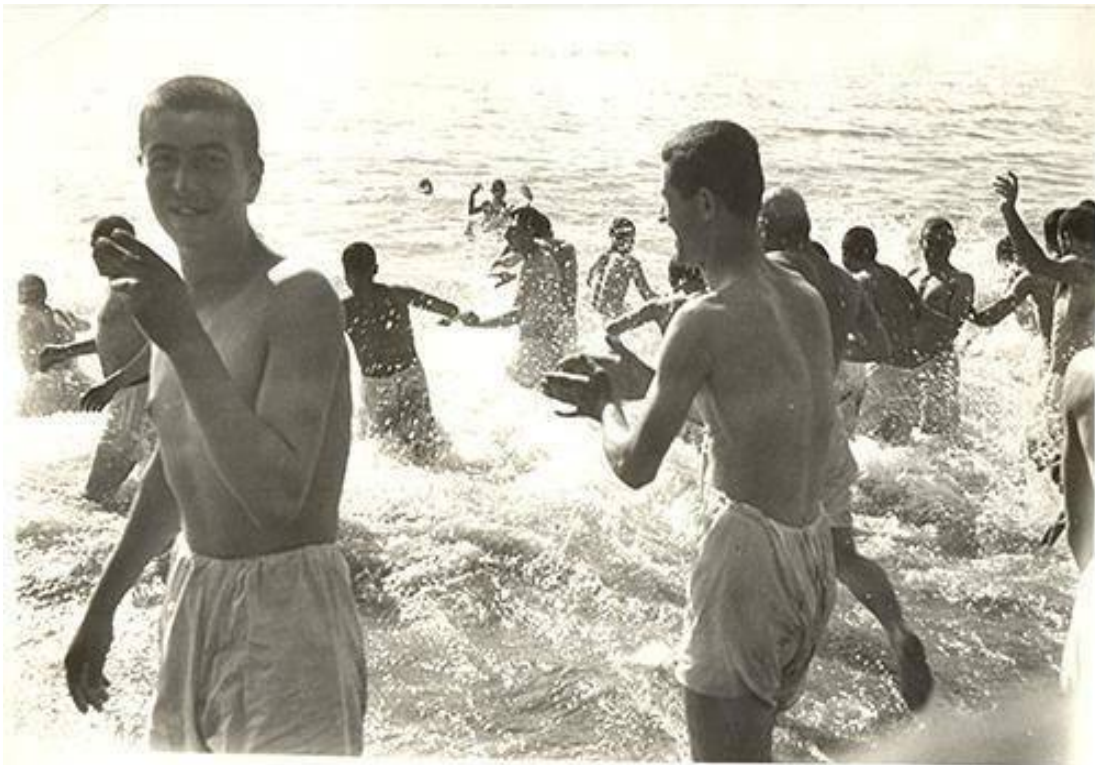
What can we read about those who convert Mehmetçik into civilians, explain daily life, focus underneath the surface, and are not there? Or what can we understand from the photographs that convey to us the feeling that these are staged? In some of Es' photographs in the archive, daily life can be seen as a phenomenon, which can be read from anti-militaristic approaches that she breaks the militaristic discourse. Semiha Es' practices as a woman war photographer are another layer that is explained. It gives us another dimension of the photographer's view. The discussions of photography which contain different messages to the viewers also need to be mentioned here. As mentioned before, 'choice of the moment' is affected by our objective perspective, which is highly related to our world vision. Feminist standpoint theory makes connections of these experiences. The effect of our experiences on our view of the world and its reflection on the focused area of the subject from the camera viewfinder also questioned the phenomenon of selective perception with connections of ideological factors that the photographer has. For instance, women war photographer Gerda Taro took a photograph of women in the army. Taros' exquisite sentence of militia women training on the beach stands out as a critical moment from a feminist standpoint. She portrays the women as vital, aggressive fighters in a wartime culture that privileges these traits as masculine. (Everly, 2016: 151). Gendered aspects of the ways of seeing historical events are also related to technical specifications and perspectives.

It is necessary to talk about the different effects of different perspectives. The camera angle is related to the fact that the psychological effects of the image in this angle are more subjective. Thanks to this subjectivity, the audience lives a personal experience with the choice of the photographer because the objective and subjective angles have psychological effects on the audience. "A subjective camera angle immerses us into the scene and subject as if we are part of the experience. An objective camera angle encourages us to remain more distant and neutral, like an observer of the situation." (Suler and Zakia, 2013: 25). From the average distance, the camera angle converges with the audience at a more intersectional point with the narrative of everyday life. A particularly significant issue here is the transformation of Mehmetçik as a civilian. The removal of the uniform is one of the

symbols that define the militant; additionally, dropping the weapon, or the absence of all the military symbols in the photos and framing the photo to include the narrative of everyday life are the most prominent characteristics of this transformation. We see the everyday life of the soldiers and their ‘soft’ side.

The use of metaphors of ‘softness’ and ‘hardness’ shows us how emotions become attributes of collectives, which get constructed as ‘being’ through ‘feeling.’ Such attributes are of course gendered: the soft national body is a feminized body, which is ‘penetrated’ or ‘invaded’ by others (Ahmed, 2014: 2).

As an example, two unpublished photographs of Semiha Es can be observed. (Image 21, Image 22).



**Image 21-** Semiha Es - Korean War - 1950-53 (Unpublished Photograph)

As seen in the first frame (Image 21), Turkish soldiers have abandoned their uniforms and weapons. In this photo, with an eye-level shot, a group of men in their underwear are bathing in the sea. The skyline is not apparent because it merges with the sea. The color, contrast, and tones of the photo are primarily with low contrast and gray tones. In terms of saturation and brightness, light gray and white dominate this frame due to the low dynamic range and the sun's location, especially on the sea. One of the most striking things about these men is their white underpants are long enough to reach their knees. One person on the left is looking at the camera, and according to the rule of thirds and the golden ratio,<sup>8</sup> this person is the focal point of the photo. In other words, the civilian soldier who looks and smiles at the camera is at the forefront of the frame, compared to the others due to the left reading and z-axis. Some of these men are swimming in the sea. The detail highlighted in the photo comes to the fore with the person who looks directly at the camera. His gaze is direct, towards the camera, and smiling, his hand is close to the mouth and as if holding a cigarette. It is not a photo of a war memory displayed in the frame.

What we are seeing is an action of sea bathing that we can see in everyday life. The eye-level shot is used. There is joy, amusement, and laughter at that moment. This is drastically different from the image of the soldier constructed by mainstream media as heroic figures exhibiting their masculinity by carrying their weaponry: this photograph above illustrates the soldiers who rushed themselves into swimming to clean themselves during a short truce. Based on all this, civilization, amusement, and joy are seen in the photo offer us an anti-militarist reading through the photograph of soldiers sea bathing (Image 22). Because in strict order of the army, these photographs are bending the images of frontline soldiers. As an observer, we see them close to humanity.

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<sup>8</sup> Golden ratio/the rule of thirds: Dating back to at least the late eighteenth century, when John Thomas Smith proposed it as a basis for painting composition in his book *Remarks on Rural Scenery* (1797), this tool is based on dividing an image into thirds vertically and horizontally to create nine equally-sized sections. Although the rule of thirds is easy to comprehend and create, it just provides a rough approximation of the golden proportions utilized in many masterpieces of art and design throughout history (Meisner, 2018: 134).

We may also question the subject position of soldiers who conscientiously refuse the war. This unjust war theory also opens a space for us to examine if a soldier chooses to be a Conscientious Objector (CO). From the view of Conscientious Objectors, oral history studies explain that they have several reasons; one could be religious, the other could be moral. However, it was not easy to be a CO in the 1940s and 50's, and it is not still possible in the Turkish military. Moreover, some wars are widely considered to be justified and get public support.

A decision to be a conscientious objector that seemed wholly justified in 1940 (to oppose a capitalist-imperialist war, for example) may have seemed considerably less justified in 1945 as the war took on a different coloration (say, as a struggle against inhuman fascism). The intervening years have only exaggerated this tension. Having chosen in the early 1940s to object to a war that-though popular, was hardly a holy war, COs now find themselves in the position of having objected to 'the good war (Eller, 1990:46-47).

Besides, these soldiers volunteered for the Korean War, and we don't know if they faced the truth of the war and tried to refuse it. In the collective memory, some works are done by oral history. Using oral history as a methodology also gives us a perspective of the everyday life of people who choose to stay outside of the dominant ideology. The traces of everyday life discourse in these photographs give us the view of Semiha Es. Why did she choose this leisure time in the middle of the war? What does she want to show the viewer or herself in her subjective focus? We can't know if she wanted to show these photographs or not. However, these photographs create a new memory that we can't see in official history. There is a chance to see the story behind the everyday life images by looking at the continuum of the series.



**Image 22:** Semiha Es - Korean War - 1950-53 (Unpublished Photograph)

As the continuum of the first frame (Image 22), the sunbathing soldiers are lying down along the shore after their sea bathing is finished. Two people are standing in the water at knee level in the sea, and a moment is captured in which a soldier is about to swim. Six of the soldiers seen in the frame focus on one point. The sun-bathing soldiers, who are the subjects of the continuous frame of the first frame, are captured in the moments where they were about to bathe in the sea or leave from the sea. Contrary to the other photo, there is a gap in the direction of the gaze due to the rule of thirds. There is no direct gaze into the camera. This frame creates a more distant feeling in the spectator. The sincerity in the first frame was replaced by observation. Again, in this second photograph, where the gray tones are dominated, the angle of the photograph is slightly higher than the other, and the people on the floor are facing backward. Therefore, the people in that frame are the elements to be watched from the spectator's eye. The sea is empty except for two people inside the sea. When space, meaning, and function are read through this photograph, it is necessary to refer to the concept of negative space. The space facilitated the reading of the photograph, which is the carrier of meaning, and put right this photo in contact with everyday life. Zakia and Suler describe the negative

space as fascinating in the image and as an element that makes the positive space more attractive. “We might define negative space as any area of the photograph that the mind perceives as the space around, between or behind the subject—the background—no matter what might be in that space” (Suler and Zakia, 2013: 25). Space effectively reads this photo, especially by allowing the eye to define the environment that the eye cannot focus on. It provides the elements in positive in this frame to be perceived easily. The opposite of the movement in the previous photograph is seen in this frame, the calmness and comfort of everyday life. We see leisure, happiness, joy, pleasure as the emotions associated with *joie de vivre*. Against the narrative blessing, the death in the published photographs, this non-violence state has left its place to the calmness and comfort that affirms life and civil area, and Mehmet is civilized.

#### **4.2. Staged Photographs**

Turkish soldiers in the Korean War, where the entire narrative of masculinity is associated with the army-state myth, the most important feature of the soldiers is that they are combative. They are expected to be more serious within the framework of this feature. Unlike the soldier's entertainment in the published photograph section, where positive emotions are processed, we see photos of individual sarcasm in unseen photographs. The fictionalized photographs section also describes this sarcasm. Probably it is necessary to ask this while stepping into this subject, as Douglas asked in his book on humor in wars: “How is humor developed in such a tragic environment? How are the visual and the verbal combined?” (Douglas, 2002:4). Of course, the power of humor to reverse all that seriousness in an instant is undeniable. Especially in daily life, we see that socialization areas also provide the formation of humor. In Semiha Es’ photographs which I describe as staged, there is a “joke” that brings togetherness, socializing, and an arrangement that everyone can understand. For the photographer to take a fictional photograph with a human theme, at least she needs to communicate with people and guide them, and she also needs to decide on an appropriate angle to position her point of view.

In the book, *The Five Cs of Cinematography*, Joseph Mascelli (1998) comments on the subjective angle that awakens the psychological and emotional reactions of the spectator. From this perspective,

the subjective camera films from a personal viewpoint. The audience participates in the screen acts as a personal experience. The viewer is placed in the picture, either on his own as an active participant, or by trading places with a person in the picture and seeing the event through his eyes (Mascelli, 1998:14).

From that point, in Image 23, we witness a joy that is seen as subjective and civilizes the soldier and his captive within the imagination of everyday life. We do not see a collective memory product evoking the myth of Mehmetçik created by the heroism or nationalist ideology supporting the war. In other words, the opposite of the warrior characteristics expected from the soldier is exhibited, and a performative scene is created.

On the contrary, the Minister of State Fevzi Lütüfi Karaosmanoğlu stated that fighting Turkish soldiers in Korea “proved that our masculinity and our valor neither die nor vanished” (Sünbuloğlu, 2013: 411). The army’s involvement in the press, its propaganda, or its cooperation with media have a past as old as the elements that created the myth of heroism. The characteristics attributed to a hero, such as being fearless, invincible, and playing cool, are not seen in this photo due to the humor element here; the soldier does not fit this familiar heroic narrative. I will try to explain why the heroic image also falls under the category of Staged photographs. Let’s look at the (Image 23). There are two characters in this frame. One of them is a soldier in uniform holding a gun. The gun is pointed at the other person who put up his hands. This person who surrendered is wearing a white jacket. Three buttons of this jacket are buttoned up, whereas the remaining one is fallen off. The jacket is worn out and dirty. There is a scarf around this person’s neck. These two are in front of a shed. The expression on their faces supports the fiction of taking captive. The person taken captive is smiling, whereas the soldier has an imperceptible smile, the person was taken captive while his hands up are

looking down and directly at the camera. The angle of the photograph is also low, so this angle gives a sense of subjectivity. In this photograph, we see a re-enactment of the heroic myth. It depicts a soldier who becomes a hero by capturing someone.



**Image 23** - Semiha Es - Korean War - 1950-53 (Unpublished Photograph)

But it is a fact that this photo is not among the published photographs. Contrary to similar images which were published, the ‘humor’ here contradicts the seriousness of the war. When bearing in mind that the press is making propaganda in a very intense way supported by photographs such as the ones on the Korean Front, I consider the possibility of creating a discourse against the discourse of war with this naiveness of daily life narrative. Just as in the 1960s, when Larry Burrows went to Vietnam on behalf of *LIFE* magazine and took photos on the daily lives of the soldiers in the Vietnam War; those photos formed an anti-militarist discourse. Goodwin states that those photographs “brought the war home, scorching the consciousness of the public and inspiring much of the anti-war sentiment that convulsed American society in the 1960s” (Goodwin, 2016). The camera angles’

close contact with the audience and the subject looking directly to the camera enables a more personal and intimate relationship with the audience. The fact that Larry Burrows was able to ensure close contact by the portraits of the soldiers, in particular, has led these photos to be more effective. In this frame, when the captive looks directly at the camera, this causes the audience to have an intimate relationship with the subject. “The viewer is also involved in the picture when anyone in the scene looks directly into the camera lens – thus establishing a performer – viewer eye – to eye relationship” (Mascelli, 1998:14). The apparent and dispassionate nature of war photos cannot be seen in this unpublished photography of Es’. Despite the trauma brought by the war itself, the civilian smiled knowing that the soldier behind was terrified and hesitant. The humor behind this photograph nullifies the aggressive atmosphere of the war.

#### **4.3. Deaths of Civilians**

The deaths of civilians in war photographs are mostly categorized in different perspectives academically. How deaths are represented, what messages do the photographs convey? These, however, are the basic questions that we can query the concept of photography as evidence. The content of the photographs, like the concept of death, can be linked with the purpose of the state; it is mostly coherent with their ideological agenda. For instance, the same civilian death photographs can be used to justify the war for opposite parties. If soldiers with uniforms are near dead bodies in different uniforms, they may show how the state extinguished “enemies.” As they convince the masses to support war, the media shows dead bodies of “others” or “enemies,” which symbolizes the enemy’s defeat on the battlefield. The images of the civilians in war photos, on the other hand, might carry a different function, as the images of dead civilians can potentially reflect the reality of the war. For instance, media shows the Vietnam War with realistic images, soldier memoirs written for Vietnam War, and media coverages commemorated with national trauma for the United States. Visual representations and the images of war also create collective memory, which affects social and cultural movements

on war. Because of their mass distribution in the public sphere, these images became a solid representation of the Vietnam War for many Americans, supplementing and shaping the memories even of those who served in the war (Chong, 2012:3). Photos of civilian deaths have also been effective in the development of the anti-war movement.

Anti-war protests are seen in the peace movement and a type of social movement. Laclau and Mouffe (2001) describe these social movements with the term of New Social Movements:

The last in time of these 'new social movements, and without doubt one of the most active at the present moment, is the peace movement...a growing number of people feel that the most basic of all rights, that of life, has been called into question (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, 165).

Furthermore, they mostly mention the peace movement of the 1960s. However, the anti-war protests against the Korean war were weak in the late 40s until the end of the 50s because of anti-communism propaganda. Protest against the Korean War (1950-1953) was limited, according to Wittner, to pacifists “talking to themselves” along with “a few Communists and die-hard isolationists” (Adams, 2002:12). After this cold war intervention in Vietnam, a peace movement emerged in the United States between 1965 to 1972 (Adams, 13). Nick Ut’s “Accidental Napalm” or “Terror of War” photos caused the public to argue whether the Vietnam war was necessary and that the tragedy in the war was not seen from the American perspective.

While the desire to stare at the death of the racially other may open one up to a closer imaged relation with subject, it can also reveal an identification that allows one to come closer to one’s death and vulnerability (Chong, 2012: 92).

It is necessary to question how these civilian photographs, even soldiers' dead bodies, carry out to create the possibilities of another vision against hegemonic ideology on war.

The editorial process of the photograph and the selection stages can be investigated in terms of both the political environment of the period and the point of view of the newspapers. Because of nudity in the images and photographs covering children's bodies, US newspapers rejected to publish this photograph. "By chance, later the same day, chief photo editor, Horst Faas, reviewed the day's work and decided to overrule the earlier decision and wire the photograph to New York. (Westwell, 2011:3) The other example can be Larry Burrows' "South of the DMZ" photograph, in which he had captured a very effective moment in the Vietnam war displaying the horror that can be seen through the eyes of the black soldier with a bandage on his head who is trying to help another wounded soldier on the ground. The editors of *LIFE* did not publish this photograph. "It was only after the photographer's death in 1971 that Faas began to look through a drawer full of Burrows' unpublished photographs and selected this image for publication" (Kuhn & McAllister, 2006: 215). Although the photograph faced some censorships from the editors and newspapers, it had a big impact after it is published. Drawing from Nick Ut's photograph, Hariman and Lucaites state on the function of the photos of civilians in pain about creating public opinion that "The little girl is naked, running right toward you, looking right at you, crying out. The burns themselves are not visible, and it is her pain more precisely, her communicating the pain she feels that is the central feature of the image. Pain is the primary fact of her experience, just as she is the central figure in the composition." (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003: 40) This central figure gives us a closer look toward the war and awaken our emotions. The focal point of the photograph is the girl, and that image reflect the pain, suffer, helplessness. If the image were bloody, we surely did not want to look at the image or we were traumatized in despair. However, this image did not freeze us, because it was not shown as an image of a person with devastating damage. We did not see internal organs protruded from their bodies and mouths. So, this kind of suffering was acceptable, in our limits. We want to do something to stop that pain, on a wider

scale we want to stop the war. The brutality of the war can only be reflected with Accidental Napalm photograph that comes into direct contact with the spectator. From our safe households this photograph comes to our homes, so that we need a collective action, we need an action. By awakening emotions in one's consciousness, there might be a chance to use images to make revolution. Sara Ahmed (2014) explains how emotions affect the politics, and how emotions are culturally constructed. According to their explanation, emotions are connected with passivity with its gendered perspective, it's feminine. At the photographs of civilians, the descriptions of Korean society and Korean people can be seen. As it is explained in the previous chapters, the knowledge of the images can be built in several ways in the field of photography. Photographs as evidence create the new knowledge of war. In the frames of civilian life, these are mostly seeing as poverty, destructiveness of war, victims, helpless Korean civilians and effects of war. Children and women are in the frames of civilian life. Like the other examples of the war photography and documentation genre, we observed civilians as "feminized others". According to Laura Mulvey (1999), she claims that most of visual materials are products of 'male gaze'. Women are often portrayed as sexual objects that men enjoy looking at:

...[H]ow to fight the unconscious structured like a language while still caught within the language of the patriarchy. There is no way in which we can produce an alternative out of the blue. Still, we can begin to take a break by examining patriarchy with the tools it provides, of which psychoanalysis is not the only but an important one" (Mulvey, 834).

Sexism and patriarchal order which is culturally existed create some gaps between "male gaze" and "female gaze." As I suggest, the gaze is related to the identities. It can be related to gendered, ethnic identity politics.

I also question how women war photographers break that hegemonic "male gaze," we may see images beyond the repetitive tropes we used to see in the press, like everyday lives in troops. This gendered perspective in war creates other

representations of women on grieves with the concept of “the loss.” Similar to Mulvey, women have become the subject of the “male gaze.” Male gaze, which is related to militarism and patriarchy. As Zarzycka (2016) investigates “how the mourning female body might easily become a tool of propaganda within the sanctioned boundaries of patriarchy, nationalism or neo-colonialism” (3). Refugees affected by the war seen in the photographs under the category of civilians, civilian life. On the other hand, from unpublished photographs, we see primarily Turkish soldiers feel at home in the troop, and mostly we see civilians' pains in these photographs.

The power relations on emotions are accruing here as well. For instance, pacifism stands against the mentality of war. Similar to Greek philosophers and Discards, we see the distinction between the mind and body. Mind is also associated with masculinity, and body is associated with femininity. Ahmed (2014) asks, “What do emotions do?” (4) in their book *Cultural Politics of Emotion*. They question how emotions are formed bodily and culturally and how emotions connect people. The peace movement's connections with emotions can be one subject that can be handled here. This particular view of emotion gives us the power to resist against wrongdoings of countries. And some war photographs, violent photographs help to awaken emotions. From this standpoint, visual politics of images, mainly photographs, and dissemination, have other quarrels about influencing public opinion on human tragedies.

In September 2015, the long silence on the Syrian war and refugee crisis was broken with photographs of toddler Aylan Kurdi's dead body, which washed up on the shores of the Turkish coastline in Bodrum. The photographs made an impact on the refugee crisis and created a public reaction throughout the World. The stillness of the dead body of a child affected people's emotions, so even the most apolitical people responded to policymakers, politicians, and international advocacy experts, United Nations, European Union, Turkey, and others. “Newspapers speculated that this might be the event to mark a complete change in attitudes toward refugee resettlement” (Elias, 2018: 71). Women, children, and

animals are the most affected group because of the hierarchies established in the structural violence environment created by wars. Here, the asymmetrical gaze-relation created by that hierarchy is also related to the way adults see children. Children's images are portrayed as innocent, dramatic, helpless and fragile. At first glance, these photos, which activate the feelings of compassion, may cause the feeling of sadness to be shown excessively. In the era of social media, where images are shown one after the other, there are possibilities to become the object of the gaze and be forgotten. After Aylan Kurdi's death, those who did not want refugees in Europe, who remained indifferent to refugees, began to invite refugees to Europe and say "Refugees Welcome." In continuing this behavior change, the great states that caused the war, the arms dealers and companies that profited from the war were unfortunately not questioned. These wrongs are explained by governments' political manipulation of emotions and "human trafficking by immoral smugglers," reduced to individuals embodied. "Through this connection, outrage has not been directed towards government policies and actions that cause or amplify suffering" (Sirriyeh, 2018:79). Like Aylan Kurdi's photograph, Semiha Es took a photo of a dead girl in the Korean War. But the photograph did not find the opportunity to be seen by large masses.

The child and the woman (Image 24) display a place where half is covered with snow. There is a sharp boundary between this place and the grassland on the left. A child's dead body can be seen on the snow, close to the camera. The child is wearing a worn-out sweater and has a rope as a belt on the waist. The child's hands are spread wide open. She seems to be overwhelmed and cannot resist the cold of Korean winter while traveling in the harsh conditions of the war. A child's frozen dead body gives us sadness. In the frame, the child is not alone. Possibly, her mother

or a relative is lying down with the child. Two dead bodies are helpless. They are both women. However, in the focal point, we see a close look at the child.



**Image 24** - Semiha Es - Korean War – 1951 (Unpublished)

The color of the child's face has changed due to freezing. It should also be noted here that this photo has not been published. However, the same child and woman were published in *Hürriyet*, but from a different angle and distance (Image 25). The most striking thing in these photographs is the existence of two different angles. The power of effectiveness is different from each other in terms of their proximity, closure, distance, and frames. In the second photograph (Image 25), three Turkish soldiers are wearing winter uniforms and boots. Two of them have long-barreled weapons.



**Image 25** - Semiha Es - Korean War – 1 March 1951 (Published)

When we compare the shooting moment of these photographs by Semiha Es concerning two different frames, the nature of the composition can be interpreted as the moment in which visual and psychological elements come together. The frozen bodies of the woman and the child, which we can read via the brutality of war, coincide with the decisive moment Henri Cartier-Bresson describes in terms of the emotional connection with the audience. “This moment occurs when the visual and psychological elements of people in a real-life scene spontaneously and briefly come together in perfect resonance to express the essence of that situation” (Suler, 2013). Bresson states that we have two qualifiers related to the two possible

concerns for us; the first one is about to face reality in the viewfinder, the other is about how to behave to differentiate the less powerful ones from the right ones when the images occur, and stabilize once (Bresson, 2015: 15). These two photos make us associate with this decision moment by providing different perspectives at the same time. In the second photograph (Image 25), the angle of the camera is more objective. This frame does not make contact with the audience and tries to describe the moment. It is, therefore, more objective. “The subjective camera angle tends to elicit a particular emotional reaction from the viewer, while the objective tends to be more impartial” (Suler and Zakia, 2013: 25). In particular, it was already described in the eye of the beholder section that the camera angles or the photographer’s look or point of view were not neutral. We can say that even a frame that seems to be the most direct or realistic drives the audience into a specific emotion or thought. What we see in this photograph is exactly the product of this biased look. Under the photo, as the explanation, it is written, “The bodies of a woman and child killed by the reds are seen on the snow.” In other words, the dead bodies of the woman and child are transformed into an image supporting the war against the other side. The choice of photos depends on gatekeepers following the rules or principles determined institutionally.

## CONCLUSION

Archives are the places of memory where we collect our remembrances of the past. These places can sometimes build to recognize, remember, remind, document, and transfer one's history to the future. Alternatively, it can be a function of giving information about how things were done in the past. They can be places for where we store daily information, doodles, photos with people who have an important place in our lives, our photos, note papers on which ideas fly, or just ephemera. It allows having information about a certain period, place, event, or movement through national archives. The selection of the collections in national archives is political: in other words, that someone's archive is worthy of keeping, and some are ignored related to discriminatory practices. The most important feature of archiving is carrying the traces of the past to the present. The writing of history is left to the monopoly of those who hold power unless there is evidence.

For this reason, carefully selected women's and women's private archives serve to complete an incomplete place, time, event or trend in history and even correct the date archives also have research values. Because ideologies sometimes manipulate that past to support their today's political achievements. Consequently, the history should be traced. Photography archives are one of the best resources to gain information from the past and an excellent tool for tracing. They create the opportunity to present this evidence in a specific period and events. Photography has the power to establish visual memory. The possibility of visual stories telling other stories should also be evaluated in history readings, so if a nation-state builds itself on a history of violence, nonviolent actions in history are worth collecting evidence to deconstruct history and offer alternatives. If today's politics get their strength on a violation, so we may search nonviolent stances for change and peace.

Photography archives, especially war photography, are a more ambivalent field where the representation of violence can be a psychological warfare element. It points to the politics of the practice of signification and interpretation. Sometimes violent images, pain, suffering, torture, sorrow are used by both sides in a conflict. For this reason, the image sometimes turns into something powerful enough to

ensure peace in wars. In that regard, we might find powerful images in Semiha Es' archive. Archives of women photographers in war zones, one of the hegemonic masculinity areas, tell us that women can exist in the public sphere and that another reading is possible with a biographical approach. Unfortunately, Semiha Es's personal archive was not a structured archive detailed with specific dates, names, and places. Semiha Es' photographs, though, were also evidence. The use of photographs can be interpreted as presenting the evidence to the reader, especially in news stories heard about war news but doubted its accuracy. However, readers may feel that the photos convey facts. Photos can document a real moment. However, when questioning the reality of the photographs used with the news, it should also question the context.

In this research a three-layered analysis as a methodology formed a space to reveal the layers of meanings. First of all, content analysis provided a detailed mapping of what appears in the photographs. The second layer, connotation and denotation, was analyzed by semiological analysis. The effects of the photographs on the interpretation and description and the impacts of technical features on the practice of interpretation were examined. Finally, by applying critical discourse analysis, the conceptual framework was tried with theoretical information and the authors' thoughts for background analysis. Reading the Korean war through Semiha Es' published and unpublished photographs presents the possibility of a different readings on the axis of (anti)militarism. Many factors are taken into consideration in reading the photographs, and the research open up a space for the possibility of feminist reading practice. This thesis gives a perspective to question the existence in wartime as a woman photographer in the field. The ideas of feminist scholars helped, especially while I was reading the unseen/published photographs of Semiha Es. Linda Nochlin, Ahu Antmen, and Dorothy Smith's ideas on male-dominated history helped me develop a different perspective. The negligence of women in history and the attempts to create "herstory" is also underlined. The Korean War, the forgotten memory of Semiha Es, the unseen photographs of her private archive, the haunting memory of the gendered history, forgetting and remembering practices, and absence as a context were the defining elements of the thesis along

with the ways of seeing. The ideas of John Tagg, Victor Burgin, Susan Sontag, Dorothy Smith, Johan Galtung, and John Berger also led this thesis' conceptual framework.

While analyzing the photographs in the universe of this study, it becomes crucial to identify what is included in the frame and interpret what is excluded. Is this a choice of the moment, or is there a regime, a connection to power in looking? When looking at a war photograph, what kind of meaning do the repeated elements or the things we do not see in the frame or a complete portfolio review bear? The question of how the selection process, editorial process, or media structure of *Hürriyet* newspaper define and are defined by the choices of the moment was one of the questions integrated into the analysis of the photographs published in *Hürriyet* newspaper. The historical development of war photography has not always been about the photographer's desire to show the reality of war. On the contrary, propaganda photographs have been widely used, especially in the mainstream media, for the justification of war.

This thesis also addresses the possibility of an alternative narrative and history reading through the photographs. Semiha Es's connection with *Hürriyet* was taken into the conversation with her photographed subjects. In addition, how the printed photographs are shown in newspapers or magazines, who selected the photographs suitable for the news, how they are placed on the page, the layouts, and the texts used with the photographs are the factors that determine what the photographs express. The photographer's choice of the moment, editorial selection, and objectivity constituted the framework for the critical discourse analysis of background concepts. The sequential level of symbols used in the content analysis was examined, particularly in the concept of masculinity, militarism, and anti-militarism through critical discourse analysis under the guidance of the denotations and connotations of the photographs. The aim here was to interpret the photographs by the symbols and reveal the implicit or explicit forms in daily life. Therefore, militarist masculinity has been examined in the context of domination. Narrative symbols like "manhood" or "Mehmetçik," which is at the top of the hierarchy of

masculinity, are investigated. The fear of disability and loss of masculinity was analysed thematically in the photographs in showing wounded soldiers. It was examined what it means to be a veteran's rank for Mehmetçik, who sacrificed a part of his body for the country. The label of the protector of the nation-state also brought the issue of masculinity and vulnerability to the fore. It was necessary to consider how important it is to show more images of non-uniformed soldiers in the war. The brotherhood of men as a unifying factor that brings together even different socio-economic classes in general, was emphasized. Additionally, the *Mehmetçik*, who socialized through local dances, mingled with each other and strengthened brotherhood, stood out. Body politics, dead soldiers, and the establishment of the sacred were also the subjects I focused on. The transition of the soldiers to the civilians and the questioning of the possibility of a different reading through daily life were made through some unseen photographs with the absence of items belonging to the military. Staged photographs, which destroyed the heroic discourse and caricatured the idealized types through jokes, contrasted with the seriousness of the war. We have seen those close-up photographs showing civilian deaths also reflect the realities of the war, emphasizing the psychological effect of far and close-up shots. I commented that close-up shots that can support the opposition to war are closer to being shown as casualties with the distant shots seen in the mainstream. It is discussed that “reds” were again shown responsible for civilian deaths in the photo descriptions.

In addition to how those are influencing the ways a photograph is formed and disseminated, how those influence the way the photographer thinks and looks are discussed by many academics. The moments of invisibility in the photographs can carry two possible meanings: the meaning produced through the photographer's choice of the moment, or the meaning constructed through the complex structure of news production. In published photographs, we see the reflection of the constructed identity of manhood with its militarized discourse. While reading the photographs, I also thought about the cultural codes that shape the message and the intellectual accumulation of the reader/viewer besides the photograph itself. Gender roles, nationalism, patriotism, and militarism are provided as the requirement of being a

good citizen. In such a system, the interpellated citizens are recruited as subjects who are expected to identify with the system's identities. In short, ideology tries to reproduce its values by its apparatuses; those apparatuses lead the individuals to be subjugated to the subjecthood produced by the ideology. It can be extended to photography since it may be an ideological practice and a part of the ideological state apparatus. The authorities can use the media tools to reassure the power relations. The culturally accepted archetypical brave man is seen in the published photographs; braveness supports the nationalist ideology and hegemonic masculinity. Because an ideal soldier is not constructed as a human, he resembles a machine, and dominant masculine identity is represented in the photographs with symbols. They are perfect, so we see a group of men with uniforms, so they share the same features. Therefore, Mehmetçik, the ideal national soldier, is questioned at first in published photographs. In unpublished photographs of Semiha Es, civil Mehmetçik, by taking off his uniform, is rehumanized, in contrast with a machine-like uniformed ideal soldier.

The questions on the gender of the gaze remained incomplete throughout the thesis, as the discussions on the ontology of gaze did not fit the axis of the thesis itself. Instead, more emphasis was placed on existence through the experience of womanhood in war and the public sphere. Semiha Es' unorganized archive created some limitations for the research. There was no caption, trace of dates, places, or any other information where and when the photographs were captured in unseen photographs. The lack of information and archive practices made determining the place, people, causation, and actions difficult. Future studies could address women photographers and their achievements more to represent them more or biographies in history and academic circles. Although we can say that these biographies also touch on another historiography, they can also be a tool for shedding light on the untold and invisible history of women. Photography as a field of study can bring to light the history of women and create space for representation opportunities. In addition, the existence of women in this field and their being subjects rather than objects will also contribute to the women's struggle in photography. In particular, producing works outside the usual patterns will also break normativity, militarism

and other dominant discourses. The experience of looking through the visor of the camera, the state of being outside itself can be seen as a support for women in their process of knowing themselves and the world around them. It is also a fact that this process might be much more intense in an area such as war photography. Women have been pioneers since the beginning of the history of photography. However, not only is there a lack of equality in photojournalism but also women photographers have been underrepresented in history. The psychological effects of this would be important, new research topics. When we look at women in history, art, and journalism today, they are still at a disadvantage in art historiography, exhibitions, and use of their archives. In art historiography, we see that the efforts to ensure that women are registered as they deserve in archiving are still incomplete and insufficient. Archiving has always been integrated into the agenda of feminist politics and feminist historiography. The digitalization in recent years has facilitated new opportunities to collect, distribute, and maintain gendered archives to not only establish different narrations of the past but also to build a more comprehensive understanding of the present. Systematic integration of archiving through gender lenses facilitates a more comprehensive and collective agenda in rewriting the history of photography. While women's journals and writing has constituted significant spaces in the feminist historiography of Turkey, other means of communication such as arts, sound, media, and particularly photography remained limited. They were archiving women photographers in different platforms through digitalization, which opened new methods of inquiry. While the issue of archiving should be placed in the center of the studies in gender and photography, Semiha Es and her works, career, and photography can further be explored through her traveling photographs and other war photographs for a more comprehensive understanding of her place within the history of photography, and the social and political history of Turkey.

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**APPENDIX – I: SEMİHA ES’S PRIVATE ARCHIVE**

**PHOTOGRAPHS (1950-1953)**

**1. Selected Unpublished Photographs for the Analysis**

**1.1. Civil Mehmetçik (Soldiers)**

























**1.2. Staged Photographs**





### 1.3. Deaths of Civilians







## 2. Other Unpublished Photographs\*



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\* Some photographs in this section are repetitions of published photographs. It is included in the category because of angle differences and framing.

























































































































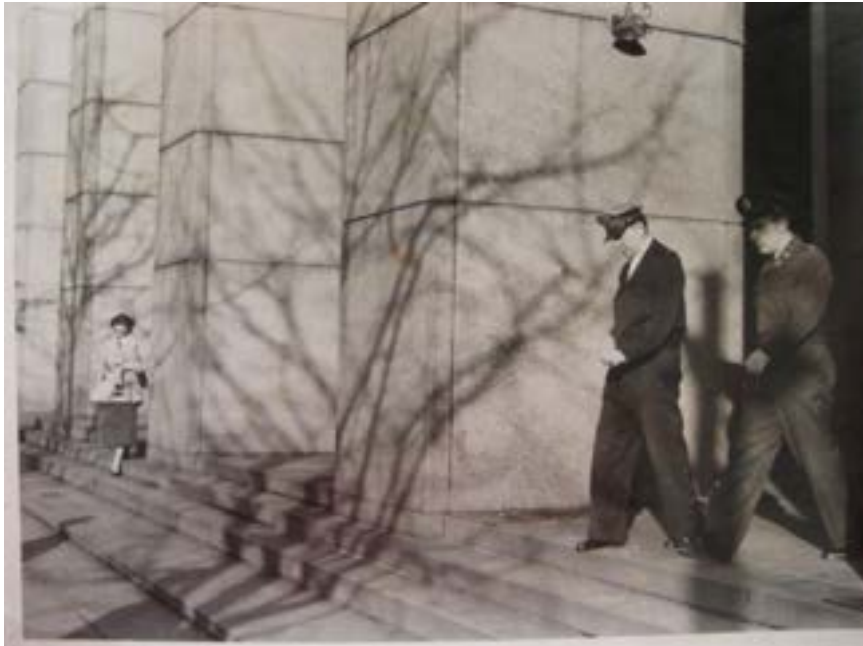




















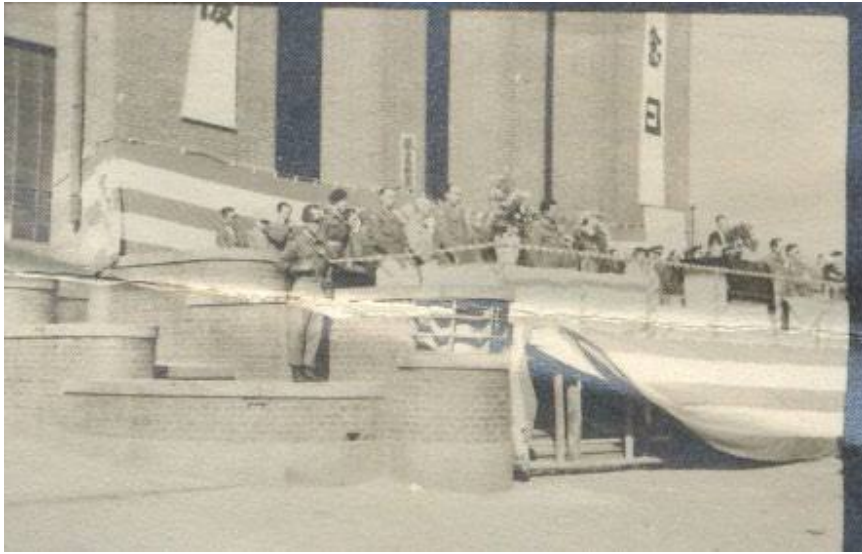




















Photographed by  
**SEMIHA ES**



















