PERSPECTIVES IN GENDER STUDIES
SPACE & HISTORY & ART

EDITORS İLKAY SÜDAŞ & ŞERİFE ÇAĞIN & DİLEK MAKTAL-CANKO

İZMİR - 2022

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Preface

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About the Editors

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Preface

Established in 1996, Ege University Application and Research Centre for Women Studies aims at raising awareness about gender issues and producing academic knowledge to contribute to the reduction of gender-based inequalities. For this purpose, we organize symposiums and panels, produce academic publications and, due to our educational mission, offer an interdisciplinary master programme.

This book is one of the outcomes of our academic efforts. In the beginning, it was inspired by the idea of collecting some presentations given at the Second International Woman Symposium that took place between 15 and17 November 2021. The specific subject of the symposium was time and space. The presented outcomes were met with much enthusiasm of colleagues from a wide range of academic disciplines and led to fruitful discussions. Gender inequalities and sexism were discussed and presented from multiple perspectives that showed us once again, that disparities and discrimination are spatially and temporally embedded in all aspects of our lives – in language as well as literature, from the domestic to the urban space, and even in the academic life. We tried to gather diverse aspects of gender studies in geography, history, literature, art and culture, not only with the contributions of some of the symposium participants but also with the original contributions written for this book. We, firstly, would like to thank the authors of this book which could not have been completed without their engagement.

We would like also to thank wholeheartedly Jarmila ANDROVIČOVÁ from University of Matej Bel-Department of Political Sciences; Ferda BARUT-KEMİRTLEK from Anadolu University-Archaeology Department; Sezer Sabriye İKİZ from Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University-Department of Translation and Interpreting in English; Orkun KOCABIYIK from Akdeniz University Department of English Language and Literature; Farhod MAKSUDOV from the National Centre of Archaeology-Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences; Gözde NÜFUSÇU-YENGÜL from Celâl Bayar University; Ertuğrul Murat ÖZGÜR from Ankara University-Department of Geography; Cihan ÖZGÜN from Ege University-History Department; Selver ÖZÖZEN-KAHRAMAN from Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart University-Department of Geography; Burcu ÖZTÜRK Kastamonu University-Faculty of Education; Pınar SERDAR-DİNÇER from Yozgat Bozok University-Department of Art History; Murat TOZAN from Ege University-History Department and Mieke VERLOO from Radboud University for their invaluable help in reviewing the chapters.

Locked at Home, Escape from Home: Changes of Everyday Life and Tactics of Elderly Women during Pandemic

AYLA DENİZ & SEHER SELİN ŞAHİN

'They closed the front door; I went through the back door. When I'm bored, I say how do I find a way to get out of here? After all, nobody usually thinks anything for elderly women. I have to think about myself.' (Emine, 66) [1]

The Covid-19 pandemic, which is one of the global disasters of the 21st century, has been a milestone in the transformation of everyday lives with the effect of the strong restrictions by the central authorities. On the effects of this breakdown, studies conducted in many countries from India (Jangir and RajNat 2020) to the United States (Parker and Leviten-Reid 2021), from Zambia (Mathew et al. 2020) to Malaysia (Balakrishnan et al. 2021), from Panama (Woskie and Wenham 2021) to Israel (Reizer et al. 2020) showed that women were more negatively affected by the pandemic (Seck et al. 2021) than men. On the other hand, studies in the related field revealed that the effect of the pandemic on women is a product of their intersecting identities, and therefore, their experiences differ (Günindi-Ersöz 2020:1518; Power 2020; Ünal et al. 2021). Accordingly, gender identity gains a new meaning when it is combined with other identities such as age or class, and this meaning forms the main frame of women's everyday lives during the pandemic. The intersectionality approach emphasized by Kimberle Crenshaw (1991), who attaches importance to the concepts of equality and justice, comes to the fore in studies aimed at understanding the differing experiences in this intersection area because this concept not only provides a comprehensive view of identity debates, but also enables the development of public discourses by making the experiences of groups with weak social representation visible (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Fiorillo et al. 2021; Giles and Oncescu 2020; Martin 2004; McCall 2005; Parker and Leviten-Reid 2021; Rose1993).

From this point of view, in this study, we primarily focus on the everyday lives of elderly women lacking an independent income who are heavily affected by the pandemic, based on the analytical framework offered by the intersectionality approach, which is fed by feminist theory. In doing so, we try to understand the ways in which elderly women adapt individually to the pandemic conditions by changing their home-based lives, which have been turned into "a

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[1] Anonymous names were used.

modern prison". Beyond a discourse of victimization and homogenization, we aim to make the women's agency visible. We draw on the analytical background presented by Michael de Certeau (1984) to understand what kind of individual attitudes women take towards organizational strategies that create their everyday lives. He analyses various daily practices such as speaking, reading, walking around, shopping, and cooking. Certeau argues that ordinary people develop tactics in everyday lives and initiate a resistance against power relations that are diffused and centralized throughout the social space (2009:47-48). According to him, no matter how widespread the surveillance mechanisms are, individuals develop various methods to play with this discipline mechanism, try to adapt this mechanism to themselves, and thus, create space for themselves. Strategies can only be used by subjects of 'will and power' and basically serve this relationship, since they achieve a spatial or institutional position that allows them to objectify the rest of the social environment. In this structure, individuals try not to live within the borders drawn by the authorities for them. They disrupt the schematic order of the reality produce through the strategic applications of authorities and continue to exist as active agents producing tactics.

Based on this framework, this study focuses on the tactics of elderly women living in Istanbul Bağcılar that shape their everyday lives during the pandemic. The study begins with the research process section, which includes the research method, information about Bağcılar and participant characteristics. In the following sections, the findings are analysed with thematic subdivisions and every tactic is evaluated under a thematic title. The chapter finishes with a conclusion section.

Research Methodology

The main data source of this study is the fieldwork conducted in Bağcılar, Istanbul in 2021 between January and July. Bağcılar is one of the most crowded and heterogeneous districts where the average household size is close to 4. The population of Bağcılar approached 750 thousand in 2020. 51% of this population is male and 49% is female. Known mainly as a settlement area of low-income internal migrants, this district gained a central position with the growth of the city and became a target of urban transformation projects. In this process, which caused the population of Bağcılar to decrease in the last 10 years, the elderly, who owned a house, continued to stay in this region, even if their income was not high. The rate of elderly people in the district is close to 10%. Despite their share, the periodic social services for elderly people offered by the municipality is only 400 people. There is no specific social facility for the elderly. Studies conducted in Bağcılar show that besides problems about its spatial texture, a structure that makes it difficult for women to participate in

public space is dominant in the urban social pattern (Lordoğlu 2018; Sarp et al. 2019:107).

This study is at the intersection of gender, gerontology, and everyday live. In recent studies in these areas, a qualitative research design is recommended to gain more in-depth information, understand experiences, and explore creative tactics (Ferreira et al. 2018:616; Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002:154-155). Therefore, face-to-face and telephone interviews were conducted between January 2021 and July 2021. 10 of the interviews were made face to face, 17 of them online or via phone call. Interviews were recorded and during the interviews, researchers took notes. The obtained data were coded, categories, and themes were created. In general, the data were evaluated with descriptive and content analysis. MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis program, was used in the analysis of the data.

Women in the pre-elderly stage (55-64 years old) who do not have direct age-based restriction of mobility with the duration of the pandemic, and women with age-specific restrictions (65+) were interviewed. These thresholds for the ages of the participants are chronological indicators determined by the World Health Organization. However, it is a fact that aging is a complex phenomenon, people have evolved in many social, economic, political, cultural, and psychological issues during this period, and the acceptance of old age differs according to individuals and societies (Köse and Çolpan-Erkan 2014). Each of our participants in this study defined themselves as an elderly. Although the initial aim was to compare the tactics developed by the two groups in the pre-aging and old-age stages, all data were evaluated together since there was no significant difference between them. In this context, it is possible to define the participants as "women over the age of 55" in general. 27 women were interviewed. Four of the participants were illiterate. Seven of them were literate, but not primary school graduates, 11 were primary school graduates and 5 were secondary school graduates.

Participants do not receive any pension or benefits from the government because of their unpaid family worker or informal employment experiences. Therefore, they need the resources provided by other family members in order to survive. They have at least two children and all of them either live in the same house or live very close to their children and/or grandchildren. This situation differentiates them from the solo-living elderly people which is common way of life in the developed countries (Corsi et al. 2021). All of the participants are internal migrants coming to Istanbul from other cities in the Eastern or Northern regions of Turkey. Their duration of residence in Istanbul varies

between 9 and 52 years. Although they had a home-based life in Istanbul before the pandemic, they extend the time they spent out of home by periodically visiting relatives. In addition, these women, who are invited to religious meetings organized by various foundations, attended these meetings from time to time before the pandemic. This new socialization environment has gradually transformed women's everyday lives, made them more aware of political events, and define themselves as a part of ruling party's politics. This transformation can be defined as traditional conservatism into political conservatism.

Transformation of Everyday Lives during Pandemic: Intertwining of Emotional and Material Tactics

Rejuvenation and Reorganization of Home

From the beginning of the pandemic, the main strategy of governments has been to protect physical distance among citizens and isolate risky groups. Accordingly, elderly people with weak immune systems and many chronic diseases were exposed to a strategy of being banned from leaving their houses. The manifestation of this strategy to women has had its effect more generally with the gender strategy because both strategies basically involve limited contact with the public space and secondary persons therein. At this point, the house remained, as before, the place where the elderly women spent most of their times in a day. However, other family members (such as the spouse and the children) who work or spend their time out of the house previously, have started to spend more time at home. Therefore, the need to make the home more comfortable has emerged with the effect of the workload increase of women. Attempts to increase this comfort reinforced the historical meaning of the house. Després (1991) in his work on the meaning of the house reveals that the categories of this meaning are diverse. Accordingly, the house is an area of security and control. The structure of the house, which provides a sense of security for adults, and enables spatial and social control, increases its importance. In addition, the house is an area where the person reflects her/his thoughts and feelings through objects and decoration, and she/he can arrange and change this area in various ways. The house, which makes continuity and permanence possible in this way, corresponds to an area where the feeling of being connected to a place is created. This commitment reinforces its meaning with others who share this domestic environment, becomes central to experiences and actions, and allows one to escape from the external world. This framework, presented by Després, explains why home is the first tactical area of elderly women and explains the background of the tactics here.

The information shared by the participants showed that women primarily developed three main tactics for rejuvenation and reorganization the home. The first of the tactics developed is to buy new household goods. Although women do not have an independent income, there are some family members who work in a paid jobs or receive a government pension. Some of the wage-earning family members have reduced some expenses, such as transportation and meals as they have been working from home for a while. The resources created by the decreasing expenses enabled the elderly women at home to purchase small home appliances they desired to have. Thus, these small home appliances started to be used for many tasks that take time and are expected to be done by women, such as cleaning and cooking:

'I asked the children to buy the small home appliances I wanted in installments… I did not make them comfortable at home until they got what I wanted. If they are at home, let them see that the household appliances are becoming old. Cleaning robot, dough kneader…' (Derya, 62)

The second tactic that shapes women's home-based lives is the relocation of the furniture. The main purpose of such re-arrangement is to allow more daylight to enter the house and to create a daily flow in harmony with these processes in nature. It is also a way for women to connect with the outside:

'I rearranged the house, the seats are close to window now, the light comes in from there, I watch the street from behind the transparent curtain' (Ayşe, 56).

Apart from renovating the interior of the house and changing the decoration, another tactic is interior modification, which requires more financial resources. In fact, women said that some of their renewal requests from their family members before the pandemic were left unanswered. However, since they started to spend more time at home, it caused the structural problems in the home more visible, the demands of women were also re-evaluated. In this uncertain process, since it was not considered rational to spend all the financial resources on the interior modification of the houses, the renovations were made in parts. First, the participants made an effort to renovate the bathrooms and toilets that require frequent cleaning. Some participants renovated the kitchen and the floor of the house to ease general cleaning after a while:

'We renewed the parquets, made the kitchen ceramics, dismantled the bathtub, had the ablution faucet installed' (Fatma, 73)

All these arrangements have reduced the time spent for organization of home and allowed living in a healthier and higher quality domestic environment.

Negotiations about Domestic Responsibilities

Based on traditional gender roles, domestic responsibilities such as cleaning, cooking or caring have been given to women and a composition has emerged in which men have a limited role in the division of labour at home (Eslen-Ziya et al. 2021). The burden of care created by the inequality in the division of labour is especially greater for women who do not participate in employment and cannot finance others to do housework. For this reason, it is also known that women who are limited within the framework of family responsibility and care cannot do enough activities to increase their own quality of life (Koca et al. 2009). This current workload has intensified with new hygiene-oriented practices during pandemic:

> 'Can you believe that housework never ends? In the past, I did not cook, at least, for lunch; I was doing laundry twice a week. Everyone is at home now. I clean a room, one hour later it gets dirty again. I do laundry and dishes all the time' (Hayriye, 68)

Some elderly women have found two ways to negotiate domestic chores with masculine subjectivities. The first tactic is to gain domestic autonomy through increased financial resources. At this point, women started to get piecework from the textile factories in the Bağcılar district. Their labour was demanded due to the widespread Covid-19 cases among factory workers, that caused products not be prepared before delivery date. At this point, some women with tailoring skills made money for the first time in their lives. Especially at a time when layoffs are increasing, this money earned by elderly women has accelerated their participation in decision-making processes at home and having other family members do some work:

> 'First, I got piecework with my neighbour, I did 2,000 piecework. I earned money for the first time in my life… Now, if something is bought for the house, I say that if you don't ask my opinion, you can't get money from me' (Fevziye, 63)

> 'One day my husband said he was hungry. I said that I was working so I could not prepare food for him. He went and warmed the meal himself. For the first time after 40 years, he went into the kitchen and did something. Even if I am not occupied by work anymore, I go and act as if I need to do something' (Nuran, 59)

The second tactic developed by women to reduce the responsibility of domestic chores is the practice of purchasing services from the market, which they started by using their own resources because even though women are busy, some other members of the family are reluctant to do these chores. After a while, taking the food from a restaurant was preferred even in the cases where there is also a possibility of cooking at home:

'When the kindergartens were closed, a neighbour who works at a bank asked me if I could take care of her child. I did not say I would not; I took care of her daughter 8-9 months. With my new position at home as a working person, my husband became more thoughtful. Now if we need something like meal, we buy it whenever we want from a restaurant' (Sema, 65)

Ordering food from outside was time saving for women, at least an hour a day. Actually, this opens the door for the transformation of unpaid labour expected from women. Those who tell that they find ordered-food practical and/or delicious seems to add buying food from the restaurants to their daily consumption habits will continue, even if the pandemic is over.

Transition to Semi-Public Life

Balconies have a very important function in urban life as they connect apartments to outside. However, balconies are not included in all buildings, and the way they are used varies greatly. For example, even if the apartments in the cramped cities have balconies, they may not be used intensively as a sitting area because the proximity of the houses to each other can make it difficult to create the desired privacy on the balconies. Particularly, some of the women who wear a headscarf in public places spend time at home without a headscarf. In this case, when they go to the balcony, if the balcony is visible to others, going out to this area may require redressing for women. This situation often leads to the fact that balconies are either left empty or used as a storage area.

In our study in Bağcılar, balconies often function as a place where unwanted items are kept at home. However, the pandemic has made it possible to establish a physical connection with outside without leaving the house, making balconies gain importance again. Some of the participants have installed curtains on the balconies. Others have covered their balconies with dark glass in order to gain more privacy and to prevent dust from outdoor:

'Our house has two balconies. Both were full of furniture because there is no other storage to put them. Things have been there for years. We were not throwing them away in case we would need them one day. I said, let's go through these things and open the balcony. There is no need to keeping them. There were old and incompatible things… We also had glass made for the balcony… It does not get dirty very much. Instead spending time in the home, we do everything here [in the balcony]' (Fadime, 68)

By elimination unwanted stuff on balconies, re-functioning of them become possible. This "new" space has been transformed into a sitting area where daily eating and drinking activities can be done. Some women, on the

other hand, engaged in small-scale agricultural activities by planting seeds of flowers and various vegetables in pots. In addition, they have started to perform various hobbies on the balcony. In this way, they had the chance to create a micro green area as a simple imitation of a real outdoor greenery that evokes a feeling of being outside without leaving home.

> 'I planted basil; I grew parsley. Then tomatoes, peppers, beans… The balcony became like a field. I feel very good when I look at them… I also paint wood on the balcony. If I would do it inside home, the paint could [accidentally] stain the other items, now I'm doing it comfortably' (Arife, 57)

All this variety of use of balconies has extended the time that women spent in this part of their house. In this way, women began to watch the street from the balcony. Thus, they both started to become more aware of the events in their own neighbourhoods and started to gain visibility as viewers. Since participants have not historically been seen as appropriate subjects in the public space, including the street, they are watched by men when they go out into public spaces. Since this state of being watched creates discomfort for them, they spend less time in the public space and do not have the opportunity to watch what is going on there in detail, to be a part of it and to transform it. In this respect, women's reshaping balconies and their presence on balconies as spectators have the potential to change the viewing-watching relations in the public space:

> 'Now I spend the whole day on the balcony, talking to the neighbours, the ones who come and go... Sometimes I say that even if it's on the balcony, at least I'm leaving the house in my home clothes…' (Leyla, 68)

This function of the balconies, which served for a feeling of being both inside and outside, offered the opportunity to develop women's relations between private and public spaces. This functionality of the balcony has led to the fact that the participants who do not have a balcony tend to look for houses with balconies. Although they did not find an answer to their search at the time of the study, it is possible that the balcony as a semi-public architectural component entered women's lives more than ever and women improved their public relations through balconies.

Reconnecting through Technology

Today, new communication technologies and opportunities they offer are becoming increasingly important for a wide range of population, from children to adults, and many people communicate with each other and with the rest of the world through these new communication technologies (Yıldırım-Becerikli

2013:19). However, there are various obstacles for the elderly people to access new communication technologies. These obstacles include age-related barriers such as visual impairments and technological barriers such as unfamiliarity with technical terms. In addition, the cost of accessing technology and the low level of technological literacy limit the elderly (Blaschke et al. 2009) and especially elderly women, who have limited access to economic and educational resources. On the other hand, although the elderly has a certain anxiety about using and adapting to digital technologies, their efforts to learn new technology increase when they access technological possibilities and start using them as a part of their daily routines.

The use of digital technology, which has many beneficial effects on continuing the socialization process, communicating with family and friends, and living an independent life (Gilly and Zeithaml 1985; Tuna-Uysal 2020:44) has increased especially after the limitation of physical socialization places due to the pandemic. A similar trend was seen for the participants of this study. They developed various tactics to create a source to buy smartphones. The first is that women sold their golds in order to buy phones. It is known that 'under the pillow' gold, which is seen as a financial insurance especially for low-income women in the Turkish society, is mostly used only in emergent situations. Women's preference to sacrifice their savings as gold, - their almost only economic investment - for the purpose of buying smartphones is actually related to an idea of an ending life, -an existential idea that occurred under the conditions of the pandemic:

> 'I went out with my grandson to visit the hospital. While we were out, we went to a jewellery store. I had a gold bracelet. I sold it. Death is already at the door; why should I keep it? We bought a smartphone… Now I'm calling everyone on WhatsApp' (Hüsniye, 56)

Not all participants have the jewels that they can convert into cash to buy smartphones. At this point, some women used the money they earned by doing various jobs during this period or asked other family members to buy a smartphone for themselves to be paid in monthly installments which is a popular payment method in Turkey. Those who could not do any of these started to use the phones of their children or grandchildren who live with them:

> 'Phones are very expensive. How do I get it? I want so much, but we have many needs to buy... My little grandson is staying with us. I am taking his phone and we are chatting online' (Kübra, 69)

It was observed that the participants, who did not have their own phones, only used the phones they received from their family members to make video

calls to their relatives or friends. This is because someone else's phone cannot be personalized, and the use of someone else's phone creates a privacy problem. On the other hand, it has been understood that those who have their own phones open an account on Facebook, watch recipes of meals and movies on Youtube, and improve their hobbies by following some channels. Also, some religious participants started to have religious conversations online, which they had previously face-to-face:

> 'I created a Facebook account. A friend of mine opened a channel today, she cooks, I watch it, and I try a recipe... We are making a video call on Thursday and read the Qur'an. It's like we're seeing each other more now' (Melek, 72)

The development of elderly women's relationships with smartphones and social media has made it possible for them to be more aware of what is happening around them, as well as to see themselves as part of a social environment. In addition, elderly women were able to discover online shopping applications on their phones, compare prices, and follow campaigns:

> 'For example, there is online shopping market, Trendyol, I look at all of them, they say, "Mom, you know how to surf online more than we do."' (Neriman, 61)

> 'In the past, they used to say that everything is available on the Internet, I used to say that I do not understand. When the children were at home, they showed a little, if I went in the wrong place, they would fix it right away. Now I go online myself... Sometimes there are funny videos. I show it to the children, we laugh together, I like it very much. They became like friends of mine.' (Seyhan, 57)

Since women's use of smartphones to improve their everyday lives and relationships increases their familiarity with consumption practices of different generations, there has been an improvement in intergenerational relations. The first node of this connection is to make it easier for children in the family to perform practices such as using telephones, connecting to the Internet, and creating a social media account for elderly women as if they are teachers. In other words, no matter how women access to smartphones, they have learned to use them thanks to the younger members of their families. It is already known that especially the young generation is users of digital technology and plays an important role in introducing many new digital technology tools to adults and elderly individuals (Ritzer 2000:53-54).

Discovery of New Mobilization Places

Although there is mostly no legal obstacle, the so-called public space has been indirectly forbidden to women, due to the idea that 'women should not be in the unsafe places' and this idea has been internalized. This situation has caused the fact that women are in more limited public spaces and generally

close to private spaces. Much of this thinking about how mobility shapes gender ideologies, meanings, and practices come from the observation that mobility is central to life. Accordingly, mobility towards public space has a transformative potential as it provides access to new experiences, information, and relationships arising from the complex relationships in this space. Within this structure, while gender shapes mobility and its boundaries, mobility itself shapes gender through repetition (Hanson 2010).

While the public space has a certain limitation for all women, some women are more exposed to this limitation. Accordingly, women's participation in the public space differs spatially and the duration of their stay in the space varies. The findings of the studies on the related subject indicate that class, beliefs, traditions, culture, and similar factors determine the duration and form the women's use of public space (Cantek et al. 2014:123-124) and that most of the women, except for visiting neighbours, go out once a week or less. It shows that they go out less and every one woman out of three wants to return home before it gets dark (Alkan 2005:113, 127). Within this structure, low-income and elderly women who do not participate in employment in Turkey spend less time outside the home than their counterparts in Europe (Köse and Çolpan-Erkan 2014). The elderly women who are the subject of this study avoid spending time in public places due to their limited economic resources and the pandemic. In fact, previous studies in Bağcılar reveal that young women also live a home-based life for similar reasons (Markoç 2020).

On the other hand, some participants who do not want to miss the opportunity of new knowledge and experiences that the public space offers to women developed various tactics. The first is to make an appointment with hospitals far from their homes. Thus, they were able to show their hospital appointment confirmations at street controls and instead of the hospital, they went to another neighbourhood in the city they wanted to go to each time:

> 'I make an appointment to go to the hospital. I come and visit wherever I want' (Hatice, 62)

In fact, although Antony Giddens (2010:113) states that individuals may feel uncomfortable when they move in environments with different lifestyles, on the contrary, the participants saw this experience as an escape from social control in their own neighbourhoods. Therefore, women have attained an environment in which they are not controlled through surveillance, not only by men who generally see themselves as the owners of public space but also by other women in patriarchal bargains withdrawing from the streets:

> 'Everyone who knows me is at home. I'm not saying what I'd do if I met them on the street... I've been living in the same neighbourhood for 30 years. Everyone

knows me. There's a lot of gossip. If you go to another district, [it is questioned] whom you would meet. I don't want to see acquaintances. I want to go around by myself, I will see acquaintances, they will ask something [to me] … I don't want that' (Gülbahar, 58)

Elderly women, when they could not go to distant districts, tended to go public parks close to their homes, but mostly enjoyed by men before the pandemic. In general, since the husbands of the women are older than them, actually it is the husbands who are subjected to age-based restrictions. In this way, areas that used to be dominated by elderly men have become places that women can also use. Taking advantage of the men's confinement to their homes, women tending to these spaces have re-gendered male-dominated spaces with their presence:

‘I am going for a long walk. I go to places where I would previously be afraid to go. There is a park here, but they call it a retired men's park. Now men are at home, so I go and sit comfortably... If the pandemic is over, I will continue to go anyway' (Güliz, 77)

Another tactic developed by elderly women in their relationship with public space is to walk with unhurried steps like a flâneuse. Women are accustomed to walking rapidly on the streets where they are alienated, only when the threat that creates this alienation decreases, they walk slower and can look more carefully at what is happening around them during these walks. At this point, the elderly women extended their walking routes in order not to return to their home early for various reasons:

‘Even if I go out to buy bread, I go slowly to the farthest supermarket. Sometimes I notice so many different things that I ask myself, how many years have you not realized this?’ (Özlem, 70)

‘I was always walking with my head down without looking around carefully. Now that no one was there, I realized that I lifted my head and started walking. I'm looking up, looking at shops and everything...’ (Necla, 60)

The slow steps of women not only prolonged their stay in public space, but also enabled them to get to know their surroundings better. As they became more familiar with their surroundings and felt safe there, they began to watch the city with their head upright rather than bowed, and they began to influence spatial power relations with this change of stance:

‘My husband says that I used to walk bent as if I had a hunchback, but now my gait has changed… When I walk upright, it draws attention on the street... If this is happening, let it be then!' (Neşe, 58)

Performative Identities

Women's participation in public space and their experiences there are related to their identities that position them in public space and their symbolic reflections. The most important step of this symbolic reflection is how women dress. Because, unlike men, there is a wide ideological background that affects the establishment of women's body image. Most of the time, women determine their way of appearing and taking place in public space according to the power relations. In fact, for some groups, not making this arrangement may even create an obstacle to attend directly to the public space. Participants also developed public identification practices according to their conservative circles, which have strong control over their own bodies. The most obvious tactic in this is to wear a headscarf, which is accepted as prerequisite for leaving the house more comfortably. This situation, which corresponds to Weigert's (2003) concept of apparent morality, involves the creation of an expectation that individuals will exhibit behaviours consistent with the identities they present, and this mediates the performative organization of the self. Although this is not an absolute moralistic line, it affects the regulation of women's relations with the surrounding community through the symbolic meaning of the headscarf. Therefore, in order not to be stigmatized from the out, the expectation arises that the person will provide her own internal control.

On the other hand, this understanding, which corresponds to the gender strategy of Islamist conservatism, has been the main tactic for some elderly women to enter the public space during the pandemic. Women first realized that the veil serves to hide the age of the person. In particular, they understood that wearing a chador paved the way for women to escape from street controls. The situation that creates this understanding is that women who wear chadors cover a large part of their faces, and there is the idea that revealing the face of women in a way that defines identity will be rejected in relation to faith. In addition, since all veiled women are mistakenly seen as strategic partners of the ruling party, there are also concerns that a crisis may arise if security guards insist that women reveal their faces. Some of the participants, who are aware of this idea and the gap it creates, have started to wear chadors to go out during the pandemic, although they did not wear them before the pandemic:

> 'During the prohibitions, I was always outside, I went out with a chador. Actually, I don't wear chador. One day, there was a discount in a market, my neighbour was going to go, I said, she would be fined. She said no, I'll give you a chador, they won't understand' (Nermin, 62)

This tactic allowed women being seen by hiding, and also led to the development of a new form of solidarity among them. As a matter of fact,

women who were neighbours in nearby apartments temporarily borrowed chadors from each other, which they did not prefer to buy, as they would not need to wear them after the pandemic. In a way, by instrumentalization of veiling, a kind of a solidarity among women developed.

Conclusion

This research focused on the transformation of everyday lives during the Covid 19 pandemic in the case of elderly women who reside in the Bağcılar district of Istanbul. It is understood that low-income elderly women as a vulnerable group, have developed many tactics to increase their well-being. Some of these tactics involve reorganizing and using domestic space, and some involve connecting with outside of the home. Although all these tactics correspond to the microphysics of power at some level, they are basically related to the anti-discipline pointed out by de Certeau, and as such, they show how power is consumed rather than how it is produced through strategies.

Further, in our study, which was conducted with an approach pointing to the return to the individual field in order to understand the tactics that shape everyday lives, it was seen that it is difficult for the participants to be defined as passive subjects under discipline, despite their intersecting identities such as age and low socio-economic status, which create many disadvantages. Although the boundaries of their lives have been sharply drawn under the influence of these identities, women have been able to produce creative solutions by themselves or by collaborating with each other in order to exist and widen these boundaries. This reveals that female agency has a powerful transformative potential. So, it should not be forgotten that even if a specific experience like the one pandemic enforced can be seen unique, this is actually a social dimension. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on the needs and potential of the individuals to create powerful strategies.

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"In Solidarity with Polish Women": Organisation of Demonstration against the Abortion Ban during Covid-19 in The Netherlands

DOROTA FALKOWSKA

In 1989 Poland once again became a sovereign state. After regaining this sovereignty, the country appeared to legally regress by reintroducing abortion legislation not seen since the nineteenth century. In 1993, Poland became the first democratic country in the world which legally limited an abortion procedure. Poland now demonstrates one of the strictest abortion charters globally. The so-called '*compromise law'* in Poland establishes politico-religious compromise between the Church and the state in Poland. Since 2016, the Polish state has been trying to outlaw abortion, arguing against the case '*risk of fatal damage'*[1], one of three conditions under which abortion was legal. This legislation was promptly recognised as an attempt to move towards the outright prohibition of abortion in the country. In direct response, women's protests, which were organised by the Women's Strike movement, mobilised thousands of Polish citizens between 2016 and 2020 in objection to the attempted infringement of their rights. The proposed law was perceived as brutal and inhumane rather than merely conservative. The proposal had approval and monetary support from the Polish Church, which itself had a history of conflicting with the liberal faction of Polish society. Partly due to this support and despite the unprecedented scale of disagreement and protests, in 2021 the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland broke the '*compromise law'* by ruling that pre-existing legislation violated protection of human rights according to the Constitutional Act. This meant that a total ban on abortion in Poland had been accepted (Korolczuk et al. 2019).

In response to this situation, many Polish people went out on to the streets of Poland. Due to travel restrictions regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, Polish diaspora were not able to join protests in their home country and instead organised demonstrations in their country of residence in solidarity with Polish women. Polish students, activists and workers set up events in Europe, which attracted not only heartbroken Polish citizens, but also global citizens worried about attacks on women's rights. Despite the global outbreak of COVID-19, one of the Peaceful Demonstrations was organised by Polish and international students in the Netherlands. This essay will take a deep dive into the logistics of

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[1] to either the mother or foetus

the demonstration in Nijmegen. With the help of a specific case study from the Dutch demonstration, this chapter aims to answer the twofold question: *How was the demonstration against the abortion ban in Poland organised in Nijmegen despite COVID-19 regulations and what motivated people abroad to mobilise?* To better understand the mass mobilisation of the international Women's Strike phenomenon, the first section presents the series of Women's Strikes in Poland, chronologically explaining the establishment of the controversial Polish legislation and its political roots. Subsequently, the second section summarises the results of interviews with organisers and participants of a protest that was called *Peaceful Demonstration in Solidarity with Polish Women* in Nijmegen on the 4th of November 2020 in Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

Methodology

Firstly, to show the massive scale of the protests in Poland, desk research on the existing literature about "Women's Strikes" in Poland was conducted. The data collection was strongly based on a detailed chronology of events from the books: "*Bunt kobiet*" (Korolczuk et al. 2019:19-33) and "*Right wing populism and gender*" (Graff 2020). The map of the Women's Strikes protests in Europe in 2020 was created to represent the temporal and geographical scope of the massive events. Several interviews were conducted to gain data on logistics and motivations behind organising a protest, during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, in solidarity with Polish women abroad. The researcher used labels such as "Interviewee 1–5" throughout the tex. It is worth to mention that the author of this chapter, also actively took a part in the demonstration. The findings were analysed on the basis of the theoretical lens of social movement properties as defined by Tarrow (2011).

Women's Strike in Poland – mass mobilisation

The mass mobilisation despite a national lockdown during the Women's Strike in 2020, was partly influenced by the large-scale protests in 2016 and 2018 and the political situation in Poland at the time. The mobilisation of the Women's Strike social movement began in 2016, as a response to the Polish government's effort to restrict access to abortion. *Stop Abortion* legislation proposed by a Catholic group, *Ordo Iuris Institute*, aimed at forbidding abortion, even in cases of severe foetal damage, and introduced up to five years of prison time for women taking steps to end a pregnancy. Due to this attempt to restrict citizens' private lives, a collective women's disagreement started in 2016 on the streets of Warsaw. In response, many grassroots resistance groups and many societal initiatives began to arise, mainly using social media. The profile

'*Dziewuchy Dziewuchom'* (Gals4Gals) on Facebook started to mobilise Polish citizens in many cities in just a few days. The petitions, internet actions, and demonstrations were used as weapons against the pending limitation of women's autonomy and their right to decide about their lives and bodies.

In opposition to the '*Stop Abortion'* legislation, the group of feminists - Women's Strike - registered the '*Save the Women*' legislative initiative, proposing legal abortion, access to sexual education and contraception. However, the anti-abortion group was heavily backed by a religious majority, which resulted in significant differences in the outcome between the two forces. Consequently, on September 23rd of 2016, the political power in Poland decided to reject the '*Save the Women*' initiative, and '*Stop Abortion*' was taken into further consideration by the committees. In direct response, on September 26th, 2016, a '*National Polish Women's Strike*' Facebook Profile was created. In Warsaw, 30.000 people gathered on the streets, which was an undoubtedly enormous success and a significant event (Korolczuk 2016). Thousands of men and women did not go to work, school, or university to show their disagreement with the government's decision. These people took to the streets, dressed in black and holding black umbrellas. The day has been called '*Black Monday'* ever since. Three days after the demonstrations, the parliament rejected the '*Stop Abortion'* legislation from parliamentary proceedings. Public pressure pushed the government *('The Law and Justice Party'*) to withdraw legislation (Graff 2020).

The determination that accompanied Women's Strike in 2016 also led to demonstrations against a new proposal to tighten the law in 2018 (Korolczuk, 2019). This new bill was aimed at banning abortions even in cases of foetal abnormality - one of the few exceptions that was still in place under the law at that time. The decision caused a demonstration now known as the '*Black Friday*' protest (Graff 2020). The data from the Municipality of Warsaw says that 55.000 (Women's Strike source: 90.000) people protested on the streets of Warsaw on March 23rd, 2018. Like previous protests, their effort got the strict law rejected. However, it was just a matter of time before another attempt was made to introduce the pro-life law to the parliament (Korolczuk 2019).

In 2019 members of the political party *'The Law and Justice'* started to dispute the constitutionality of the existing abortion law[2]. They argued that the abortion law violated protection of human rights in the Constitutional Act. On October 22nd, 2020, in the middle of the European Union, the Constitutional

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[2] It was followed by the parliamentary election where the conservative party *'The Law and Justice'* gained the majority of votes.

Tribunal of Poland ruled that abortion, even in case of severe and irreversible foetal defect or incurable illness that threatens the life of the foetus, is illegal (Trybunal Konstytucyjny 2020). This meant an almost complete ban on abortion in Poland. Despite the COVID-19 regulations and national lockdown, demonstrations began on October 22nd, 2020, and continued throughout the following weeks. Polish citizens took to the main streets of Warsaw and 60 other cities and towns across the country (Polskie Radio 2020).

Furthermore, on the 25th of October 2020, massive protests took place in the Catholic churches of Poland. On October 27th, 2020, after massive protests across the country, the vice-premier and leader of the ruling party '*The Law and Justice*' Jarosław Kaczyński said that

> 'We have to defend Polish churches. Defend them at any cost. I call on all members of Law and Justice, all who support us, to participate in the defence of the Church' (TVN24, 2020).

Women felt that the state prioritised the welfare of religious institutions more than women's health or reproduction rights.

After the national speech, on October 28th, 2020, the National Women's Strike took place with all participants deciding not to attend work. To show their support, many workplaces and offices allowed their employees to participate in the event[3]. According to police statistics (Gazeta Prawna.pl, 2020) approximately 430.000 people participated in 410 demonstrations across the country. On October 30th, the biggest protest took place in Warsaw gathering 100.000 people on the streets. The strong objection from society pushed the government to delay the publication and implementation of the controversial ruling on November 3rd. Despite the protests which lasted two months, on January 26th, 2021, the Polish Government announced that following the release of the Constitutional Tribunal's opinion, the ruling would be published as a new ban on abortion enforced from the next day (Kwai et al. 2021).

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[3] Additionally, universities, local media, and banks were strongly engaged in the protest.

"In Solidarity with Polish Women" – mobilisation overseas

In 2020 the Women's Strikes demonstrations in Poland were happening while many strict travel restrictions were in place in many European countries due to the fast spread of COVID-19. Because Polish emigrants were not able to join demonstrations in Poland, they organised protests in solidarity with Polish women in cities abroad. More than 100 events were held in Europe, Asia, Australia, the United States, and other locations (Strajk Kobiet 2021). The map *Women's Strikes in Europe in 2020* (Figure 1) visualises some of the demonstrations which were held between October 23rd and November 4th 2020[4]. The visual data shows how significant the scale of the events in Poland were, and how the phenomenon spread outside the country. The majority of protests overseas took place in the cities where a considerable number of Polish migrants live, e.g. Berlin, London, Rome, and Glasgow. The following section provides a close look at the place on the map where the qualitative data was gathered – the city of Nijmegen in the Netherlands.
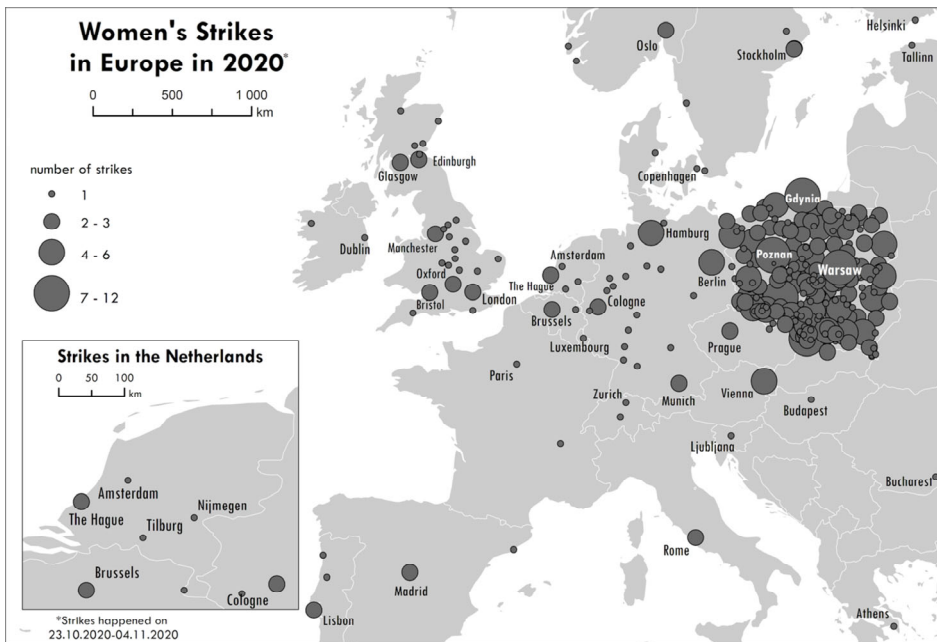
Figure 1. *Women's Strikes in Europe happened on 23.10.2020-04.11.2020. Designed by Magdalena Sien based on data from www.strajkkobiet.eu.*

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[4] The number of the protests was collected online through the Google Maps website by volunteers. Due to the censorship, the website was blocked in November and new protests could not be added.

The Netherlands plays a special role for Polish women who seek to have access to legal abortion. With the changing political situation in Poland, there has been an increasing demand for support related to women in general, and pregnant polish women specifically having to come to The Netherlands for an abortion. For example, Amsterdam Abortion Network works closely with other abortion support networks like Abortion Dream Team in Poland. They help to set up appointments and choose the appropriate clinic in the Netherlands for the Polish women who need an abortion. Their work mainly concerns Polish women who require a second trimester abortion[5]. Apart from that, the Netherlands is a popular destination for Polish migrants. The largest concentrations of Polish people can be found in Amsterdam, Den Hague and Rotterdam. According to national statistics, 209,278 people with Polish roots live in the Netherlands and 801 lived in the municipality of Nijmegen in 2021 (Central Bureau for Statistics 2021).

Peaceful Demonstration in Solidarity with Polish Women in Nijmegen

"You need you to make noise, to be heard ", said one of the Polish organisers of the Demonstration in Nijmegen. Three international students from Poland, Greece, and Germany, who had been living in the Netherlands for 3 months, none of whom spoke Dutch, were able to organise a demonstration in 6 days' time in the Netherlands. They and their friends built a network of people with an activist background who together brought 170 people to the square in front of the Valkhof Museum in Nijmegen on November 4th, 2020, supporting Polish Women with their words and banners.

The beginning: I could not join the demonstration in Warsaw in Poland. There was a recommendation from the Dutch Government to limit travel intake to a minimum. My friends went to the demonstration in Poland every day. I felt that my body was in the Netherlands, but my mind was with my friends and fellow women in Poland. I was exhausted from watching social media relations from the Polish demonstrations. I talked a lot with my friends about how helpless I felt. Friends and I posted some photos with hashtags of Women's Strike on Instagram. I printed posters with the logo of Women's Strike and shared them with my friends to hang them in the window. I wanted to show that we care that we cannot ignore the fact of taking away the freedom of Polish women, no matter where we live now.

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[5] In a direct response to a total abortion ban in Poland and the death of pregnant women in hospitals, which many have blamed on the abortion law, the Dutch government adopted a resolution approving the use of national funds to help Polish women obtain abortions in the Netherlands.

Time passed and I felt that the digital support of Polish Women was still not fulfilling. I started looking for information about the International Women's Strike group on social media such as Facebook and Instagram. A group of Women's Strike in the Netherlands with the newest information about women's activism was found. According to the news, the first protest in Solidarity with Polish women was organised on the 25th of October 2020 in Amsterdam. The event brought together many Polish people and many people from other countries. Due to COVID-19 regulations, moving or walking was forbidden. Hence, the event had a programme prepared beforehand and speakers were invited. The information and photos from the protest in Amsterdam were spread throughout the Dutch news which made organisers feel that they were not the only ones who cared about women's reproductive rights in Poland. Firstly, I wanted to join the next protest organised by the Polish diaspora in Dan Hague on 28 October 2020, but it was not possible due to economic reasons. I found a map which showed where demonstrations had been organised in the Netherlands and was impressed and felt empowered by the mobilised Polish people abroad. I noticed that most of them were held in the west of the country. That was the first moment when the idea of making our own "dot" on the map, by organising a protest in Nijmegen, came up.

Preparation phase: What stands behind the mobilisation of the Peaceful Demonstration in Nijmegen, could be compared with the properties of the power in social movements as defined by Tarrow (2011). It includes a direct action of ordinary people against elites and authorities (*mounting collective challenges*), where the *common purpose*, in this case women's rights, play a crucial role in banding people together.

> "When my Polish friend first told me about her idea of organising a protest, I thought she was crazy. It seemed like something you need a lot of resources for, not really something a few young girls, who had just moved to the Netherlands could do. However, I wanted to support her with all my heart. After a few calls, emails, and social media posts - everything started to come together" (Interviewee 1, 26 years; German).

When the decision about organising the protest was made, the "know-how" from previous protests was gathered. Organisers contacted Polish people from Amsterdam and The Hague and asked about every detail of "how to organise a protest?". They told them that permission from the Municipality is the most significant part in a successful demonstration, especially taking into consideration national lockdowns and COVID-19 regulations. On top of that, they pointed out the importance of inviting speakers, having a tent and sound equipment, and contacting the media. In the meantime, I signed up to be a

volunteer at the demonstration in Tilburg to get the "know-how" to organise the demonstration in Nijmegen. This was a symbolic experience because I could get access to the WhatsApp group with other volunteers, COVID-19 regulations, and the big networking of people with organising protests skills.

Asking for permission for a demonstration in Nijmegen could be done via email and needed to include the purpose of the meeting, date, location, expected numbers of participants, activities, and safety measures. It was at the time of the COVID-19 outbreak, so the organisers were aware that these regulations had to be treated with the highest priority. Organisers from Amsterdam, shared with them important insights, so they knew what to write in the request to successfully get permission. For example, the COVID-19 rules played a significant role such as, wearing a mask, keeping 1,5 meters' distance, drawing standing spaces on the square, participation of ten volunteers who were checking adherence to the rules. The live stream on Facebook was organised for people who did not feel comfortable being surrounded by many people during the COVID-19 pandemic. The request for a demonstration was sent in English on the 30th of November 2020.

The location of the protest was chosen due to the pandemic circumstances. A location for 100 participants who would have to keep 1,5 meters' distance between each other was sought. Two places were taken into consideration: Goffert Park and the square in the city centre. The Goffert Park was famous for being the location of the "*Black Lives Matter*" demonstrations organised in January and June 2020. The other option, the square in the city centre, in front of the Valkhof Museum was chosen instead. The location in the city centre made the demonstration more visible. The organisers could also identify more with the place because they often spent their free time there. The square is close to the historic centre of Nijmegen, a promenade on the river Waal, and Valkhof park, also a popular protest spot.

On October 31st, 2020, the group called "*NIMMA DEMO PL*" was created in the mobile application WhatsApp inviting all people from organisers' network: studies, work, student associations, and friend groups that they knew would be willing, to not only organise the event, but also participle in the demonstration. The link to the WhatsApp group was shared on the Facebook group of Women's Strike Netherlands (*Parasolki NL*) asking Polish women for help with organising a protest in Nijmegen[6]. One of them was a Polish organiser of a protest in Eindhoven, which was supposed to be held after the protest in Nijmegen. She shared the information that students from Tilburg organised a

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[6] Overnight 30 people joined the group.

crowdfunding within Polish diaspora in the Netherlands. From collected money, sound equipment was bought and borrowed by other people who needed a big speaker and wireless microphone for next protests. A Dutch friend borrowed a car to transport sound equipment from Tilburg to Nijmegen:

> "It makes me happy, if I can use my little resources to make something bigger. I can use my privilege as a Dutch citizen to help out" (Interviewee 3, 26 years; Dutch).

Thanks to networking, a tent was quickly borrowed from another Dutch friend. Organisers were afraid that their lack of speaking Dutch could have been a problem with contacting media and press. However, they reached out to Polish people who had been living in the Netherlands 20 years and spoke Dutch fluently. These people helped Dutch students with contacting local newspapers.

> We created a Google Drive with press that we have contacted via sending an invitation email and details about the event. Furthermore, we emailed politicians from local parties engaged with gender equality and De Klinker, a political café run by international activists and scholars to invite them to the demonstration" (Interviewee nr 4, 25 years; Dutch)

Photo 1. *Dutch and international citizens participating in the Peaceful Demonstration in Solidarity with Polish Women on 4th November 2020 in Nijmegen, Netherlands. Copyrights: Romy Fernandez/Photojournalist.*

Photo 2. *Polish women, who have lived in the Netherlands for 20 years, during the Peaceful Demonstration in Solidarity with Polish Women on 4th November 2020 in Nijmegen. Copyrights: Romy Fernandez/Photojournalist.*

Official permission for the demonstration was granted by the mayor of Nijmegen – *Hubert Bruls*[7] - who has been in this position since 2012. *Hubert Bruls* is also chairman of the South Gelderland safety region and, since 2016, chairman of the National Security Council. On the 2nd of November 2020, the mayor, despite the pandemic situation and the unusual purpose of the event, gave permission to organise a peaceful demonstration in solidarity with Polish Women on the 4th of November 2020.

Mass mobilisation phase: As soon as the request was accepted by the Municipality, a Facebook event was created and maintained every day with posts and Polish news until the day of the protest. Volunteers, responsible for promotion, created an Instagram post with details about the event. The graphic was widely spread via social media. On the day of the protest, an interview with

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[7] Dutch politician of the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA). Interestingly, the mayor in the Netherlands is not elected by the citizens, but by the national government.

one of the organisers was published in the student independent magazine of Radboud University, VoxWeb, inviting citizens of Nijmegen to join the demonstration. Polish students prepared flyers and posters which were distributed during the event. At the same time, others were preparing posters and banners with the most popular slogans.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not possible to organise a walking demonstration and shouting/chanting was also forbidden by the Municipality of Nijmegen. Therefore, there was a necessity to set up a programme for the event which included speeches. As the event was in solidarity with Polish women, three Polish female students from Radboud University and Tilburg University were invited to share their thoughts, emotions, anger, hope and reflection about the abortion ban in Poland[8]. Interviewee nr 2, was responsible for finding an expert who would like to give a speech on the demonstration. Because of the short notice, the task was considered as challenging.

> "I was trying to find people from Radboud University. I started small by contacting some professors that I knew. And then I had these really long, chain emails. I was emailing one person and this one person who was forwarding my email to other five people, and these five people were then emailing back asking for more information. So many people cared, and they were not only women, they were men, and they wanted to help me without knowing me. I was just asking them if they knew someone that would like to speak at the demonstration. […] But I was specifically looking for people that are experts in gender studies in Nijmegen" (Interviewee 2, 25 years; Greek).

She made use of not only her own network, but also the network of the people that she reached. These people tried to connect her with others from their private and professional network. In this way, she contacted professor *Mieke Verloo*, an expert in the fields of gender and politics, who agreed to give a speech during the demonstration. This shows that mass mobilisation happened through *contentious collective action*, which serves as the basis of social movements (Tarrow 2011) where the action is the only resource that most ordinary people have, to demonstrate their claims against authorities.

Reflection phase: The demonstration empowered women, gave hope, showed solidarity, and united people from diverse countries in the small square in Nijmegen.

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[8] The speeches were full of sorrow and embarrassment that still in the twenty first century women must fight for their reproduction rights. Students referred to how lucky they are to study and live in a much more tolerant and free country like the Netherlands, compared to Poland.

"I feel empowered. It happened in such a short time and so fast. It made me realise that if people get together, like-minded people, and work on a common cause, they can achieve anything" (Interviewee 2, 25 years; Greek).

Women are often portrayed as victims and persons who need to be taken care of, the protests showed that raising their voice and standing for their human rights contribute to becoming change agents.

"The fact that so many people showed up to stand in solidarity with Polish women, helped me believe that we can make a change if we practice compassion and empathy. It really strengthened the idea for me to 'just go for it. Even if things seem impossible, you can start with a small step and create something that can impact people and thus provoke change. It inspired me a lot, before I was more scared of going for things and daring to fail, now I know it is worth trying" (Interviewee 1, 26 years; German).

One and a half years after the demonstration, organisers were asked what motivated them to set up or join this event? As they all represent different backgrounds, and are strongly influenced by the county that they come from, what stands behind their reasons to join the movement?

"What motivated me was the opportunity to exploit my privilege of living in a democracy and being able to make my voice heard. Being an ally in my eyes is the least I can do to show solidarity and unity in opposing the system, particularly when human rights are very obviously violated" (Interviewee 1, 26 years, German).

The most common denominator of the demonstration in Nijmegen was solidarity, which was perceived as a collective interest. Eventually, the event became a fight for women's rights around the world. Nowadays, the power of globalisation makes the violation of women's rights in Poland a global issue. The perception that what happened in Poland can happen "in my country" can be explained as being the overlapping interests and values which were the drivers of common actions *drawing on social network*s (Tarrow 2011).

"I'm from Greece, so I still can get an abortion if I want to. But I was thinking of all these women, they are just deprived of a very basic human right. And I was afraid that if it happened in Poland, it might also happen in Greece. And if we don't react, then it will become a norm and it will just affect other governments. If people don't react, then it means that, it's fine, you can do it. They can just take away human rights from us. And for me, it felt personal, even though I'm not from Poland. It felt personal. It's an injustice. So, I did it for women, non-binary people,

or transgender people not only in Poland, but all around the world, because we are all connected (Interviewee 2, 25 years; Greek)."

According to a study (Gober et al. 2018) the massive protests in Poland led to the formation of a *'transnational feminist diaspora'* supported by a sense of responsibility for their 'sisters' at home. One of the Polish participants of the protest, who have lived in the Netherlands for 20 years, was surprised that women living abroad still took the effort to organise such an event.

> "Even though I've been living in the Netherlands for such a long time I still feel connected to the women in my home country, especially in such hard political times, when basic human rights are being taken away from them. What motivated me was anger and the will to do something instead of staying completely passive about it. There was maybe even something personal to be said about it. Remembering what kind of wonderful care, I experienced during my pregnancy in the Netherlands and knowing some horrific stories from women in Poland, also motivated me to join the demonstration" (Interviewee 5, 43 years; Polish).

Conclusion

The delicate issue of abortion became a priority for many people, not just in Poland, but also in other countries in Europe in 2020. It resulted in the organisation of demonstrations overseas, such as the Peaceful Demonstration in Nijmegen. The event was organised by using social media, building, and sharing personal networks, voluntary collaboration between people, sharing knowledge, skills and resources while expecting nothing in return. By analysing the detailed logistics of the demonstration in Nijmegen, this study established that the feeling of belonging to more than one place in the world and identification with women globally were the prevailing reasons for mobilisation overseas. The collective interests to protect women's rights and show solidarity, can significantly explain the fast mobilisation and reaction of people who organised the event in such a short period of time, and even during strict COVID-19 regulations. Moreover, the historical overview shows that Women's Strikes have helped to withdraw the abortion restrictions twice. The idea that protesting could have influenced a government decision again mobilised emigrants, who especially tend not to sympathise with populist governments, to take collective action and make their voice heard. Watching Polish people fighting not only for reproductive rights, but for their autonomy and freedom, also mobilised the international organisers and participants to overcome obstacles regarding COVID-19 regulations and show their support in opposing the government's decision. In terms of standing for women's rights, the

boundaries of country, nationality, and citizenship become blurry. One place, the square in Nijmegen, was able to unite people with different backgrounds and virtually connect them with women protesting in Poland daily. The phenomenon shows that no matter the place, country, time, lockdown, or legal restrictions, women's rights are human rights – they should be respected by everyone.

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Space and Gender in the Neoliberal Urbanization Process: Traditional Bazaars vs. Shopping Malls

GÜLDANE MİRİOĞLU

As a form of free-market economic theory, neoliberalism has become the dominant ideological rationalization for globalization and contemporary state "reform" (Peck and Tickell 2002). One of the main features is that it rests on the active mobilization of state power (Brenner and Theodre 2005). While neoliberalism refers to a set of doctrines for economic regulation, the term has been used to describe the organizational, political, and ideological reorganization of capitalism (Brenner and Theodore 2005). It is explained as policies developed to overcome the crises of capitalism (Turut 2018); a way to restructure the world economy since the 1970s (Eisenstein 2016). It is a form of extreme domination on a global scale in which the power tends to be structured only through the market (Özkazanç 2005).

Profit-motivated privatization of public services such as transportation, health, education, opening the public lands for the private capital, etc. depends on political regulations (Turut 2018). In this respect, neoliberalism is defined as the political and ideological form of capitalism (Turut 2018:109). The ideological aspect of neoliberalism is clear with the "ideological software" similes of Peck and Tickell (2002:380):

> Neoliberalism has provided a kind of operating framework or "ideological software" for competitive globalization, inspiring and imposing far-reaching programs of state restructuring and rescaling across a wide range of national and local contexts.

The main question is the relationship between neoliberalism and conservatism. Neo-conservatism, which is based on strict adherence to order and morality and the idea of dictating it to the whole world, is defined as the third stage of neoliberalisation (Turut 2018). While liberalism evolved into neoliberalism in the 1980s, the liberal tradition was rapidly stripped of the social-democratic elements and increasingly articulated to conservative and authoritarian elements within the *new right* discourse (Özkazanç 2005).

Conservative ideology and neoliberalism are intertwined. The relationship between neoliberal urbanization and gender, at this point, becomes even more significant. The increasing religious forms of representation of women (and the female body) in the neoliberal period is a form of gender-based exclusion (Hatiboğlu-Eren 2016). In this respect, the ideal woman identity reinforced by the conservative ideology is restrictive, obstructive, and threatening womens′

freedom. Moreover, the instrumentalization of the ideas of feminism by neoliberalism has initiated important discussions. Questioning the simultaneity of the rise of feminism and the neoliberal processes during 1970s constitutes the essence of these discussions. This "hidden and dangerous flirt" (Eisenstein 2016; Akgöz 2016) has caused feminism to be criticized with the allegation of collaboration with neoliberalism.

Feminism has unwittingly supported the transition to global neoliberal capitalism, which is in stark contrast to its goal to construct an egalitarian society (Fraser 2009). Fraser's expression "unwittingly" here matters, because it calms the accusations against feminism. The institutionalization of the feminist movement explains the link between feminism and neoliberalism. Instead of creating collective spaces that women could voice their demands, the institutionalization of gender-development projects tended to treat women as isolated individuals through clientelizating them in different forms (Schild 2015). In the last three decades of gender-sensitive social policy, this pattern has become entrenched (Schild 2015). Schild (2015) explains this by "*seeking out the patronage of neoliberal powers*". Neoliberalism instrumentalized the demands of the feminist movement in a way that would work in favour of capitalism (Eisenstein 2016; Fraser 2009). Discussions about this instrumentalization have mostly been on women's participation in the paid workforce.

This interrelationship has a spatial dimension and its own reflections in neoliberal urban landscape too. This corresponds to space production and spatial production. It is mostly the cities where neoliberalism manifests itself spatially, through residential units such as **gated communities** and **mass housing**, commercial units such as **shopping malls** or privatized public services in the sectors of **education, transportation** or **health** (Turut 2018; Tunç 2021).

Just as children parks accompanied the public visibility of women in the 19th century (Schenker 1996), or the relationship established between consumer woman identity and space (Bondi and Domosh 1998), shopping malls in the 21st century function in a way that reinforces the idealized woman of conservative ideology. The relationship between neoliberal urbanization and shopping malls is a highly debated issue in class-based discrimination. They sharpen class and gender-based inequalities in the context of the right to the city. Such inequalities are explained by the access possibilities in terms of the locations of the shopping malls since they are mostly located far away from city centers. Physical distance is actually one of the most significant factors for accessibility. In addition, the development of shopping malls as vivid centers

causes the traditional bazaars in the central business districts to lose their former economic significance. As a result, such a development might make especially women hesitate to visit these places of desolation. Because isolated places are frightening for women (Valentine 1989).

In this chapter, women's consumption preferences to choose a modern shopping mall or a traditional bazaar in the same city were investigated. What determines the preferences of two commercial units in completely different forms? How can we explain to prefer a shopping mall from a gender perspective, when *physical distance is not an important obstacle to access it*?". To answer this question, I focus on an exceptional case of the city of Antakya, in the province of Hatay in southern Turkey.

Neoliberal Urbanization and Shopping Malls

The gender-based division of space in the urbanization processes (allocation of paid work areas to men and dwelling/reproduction areas to women) explains the masculine character of urban centers where traditional bazaars are located. Capitalist urbanization processes have opened some parts of the city to women's access through the same division of labour (to carry out activities that are coded as feminine). The activities of middle-class women in the 19th century, for example, were limited to feminine activities codified in the Victorian standard as consumers and maintainers of cultural norms. Although the economic and political order of the 19th century allowed women to access urban public spaces, this change in spatial boundaries did not occur as a decrease in the ideological distinctions between public and private or between men and women (Bondi and Domosh 1998:280-281). Consumption spaces became feminine, and women's duties and responsibilities were included in this consumption (Bondi and Domosh 1998:281). In the 20th century, on the other hand, corresponding to the privatization of the majority of the urban space for the commercial purposes of the private sector, the public qualities of the urban space were eroded (Bondi and Domosh 1998:281).

One of the most prominent spatial representations of this process is shopping malls. They are large commercial complexes where diverse stores are concentrated such as small retail units, cafes, restaurants, pharmacies, banks, entertainment centers, cinemas, etc. that are managed from a single-center, along with having wide parking facilities (Timor 2004). The first examples of large stores, passages etc., as the basis of shopping centers occurred in major European cities at the beginning of the 19th century. However, today's multi-functional shopping malls with parking facilities and coordinated from on single-

center originated from the USA and spread especially after the Second World War (Timor 2004).

The first example was the *Market Square* in Chicago (1916), an integrated shopping complex with shops, offices, various uses, and parking arrangements (Timor 2004). Automobilization was an important factor in the development of malls in certain locations. Timor (2004) states that these first examples were defined as "suburban trade centers" with specific features: (1) *they consist of shops built or rented by a single company*; (2) *they are located at important intersections along main highways or junction points* and (3) *they provide wide parking facilities*. Because their locations were accessible only by a private car, highlighting parking possibilities indicate the social class-selective nature of such commercial units. Location was considered as an important criterion in the classification of shopping malls, and they were explained by certain driving time-distances. Indoor parts of shopping malls were designed for pedestrians, covered and air-conditioned. Activities, such as cinemas, theaters, museums, skating pists, watching wild animals, etc, were later added which refunctioned malls also as leisure and recreation centers (Timor 2004). At the end of this development, both the number and visitors of shopping malls increased and they have become quite popular as neoliberal components of urban space. Marketing became a significant aspect of retail, and consumption tendency dominated need-based shopping (Timor 2004; Birol 2005). Thusly shopping malls already were designed to encourage consumption. In the words of Aytaç and Öztürk (2018) "what a factory means for production, so does modern stores for consumption".

Shopping malls are designed as fantastic images of global capitalism (Aytaç and Öztürk 2018). Spatial arrangements in shopping malls are imposing contrary to spontaneousness and diversity of the traditional commercial areas of cities (Birol 2005). Shopping malls direct visitors' movement to consume more because they are designed to increase commercial success (Birol 2005). They are finely designed (for example, the width of aisles that allows visitors to reach storefronts on both sides, which the stores to be lined up, the locations of major stores, decoration elements, the level of heat, light, and music, etc.) in order to perpetuate visitors' interest and curiosity and encourage them to consume (Timor 2004).

Neoliberal urbanization processes started in Turkey in the 1990s and increased especially during the 2000s. One of the most important urban spatial outcomes of this process in the Turkish cities has been shopping malls. Until the 1950s, traditional commercial activities in Turkey characterized the commercial landscape in the cities however a change started with the

introduction of the first chain stores. This was followed by the development of department stores in the 1960s and 1970s. The first examples of what we today understand from shopping malls emerged at the end of the 1980s (Timor 2004). The first examples of shopping malls in Turkey are in certain big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana and Konya. The first one opened in 1988 in Istanbul. The significant increase in the number of shopping malls was in the 2000s (Timor 2004). They spread towards medium and small-sized cities too during the following years. In Antakya, the very first shopping mall was opened in 2011 and the second one in 2013. While the first one is located at the intersection of important crossroads, far from the city center and the second one is located in the city center. In this study, the second one was focused on.

Research Area and Method

The shopping mall[1] selected for research was opened in 2013 in Antakya. Antakya is a central district of Hatay -a province located in the south of Turkey (Figure, 1a). The location of the X shopping mall is quite close to the traditional bazaar (Figure, 1b) of the city of Antakya. The proximity of the mall makes it easily accessible through several streets connecting it to the traditional commercial zone. The public bus stops are also lined between X Mall and the bazaar strengths their connectivity. This interbedded position of two distinct commercial landscapes eliminates the role of physical distance to a modern shopping mall which generally is a significant factor in consumption preferences. The lack of physical distance makes the research context peculiar to search the role of other possible factors that shapes the shopping preferences.

The traditional bazaar in Antakya consists of a main shopping street historically named as *Long Bazaar* (Uzun Çarşı[2]) and streets surrounding it, mainly with commercial functions. Traditional bazaar zone has different entrances like *The Long Bazaar*, *Abacılar Bazaar*, *Kunduracılar Bazaar* and *Meydan Bazaar* (Üçeçam Karagel and Karagel 2014) that were historically named after the specializations of the artisans such as coppersmith, shoe making, etc. The traditional bazaar is partly covered up with a fixed tent (Photo 1) for the purpose of protection from outer factors such as strong sunlight or rain. The X shopping mall, on the other hand, is a multi-storey building, an indoor space (including its car parking area) however it has an open-air space - the terrace (Photo 2).

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[1] In this study, named as the X shopping mall
[2] Uzun Çarşı is the first market place of the city of Antakya (Dinç 2017)
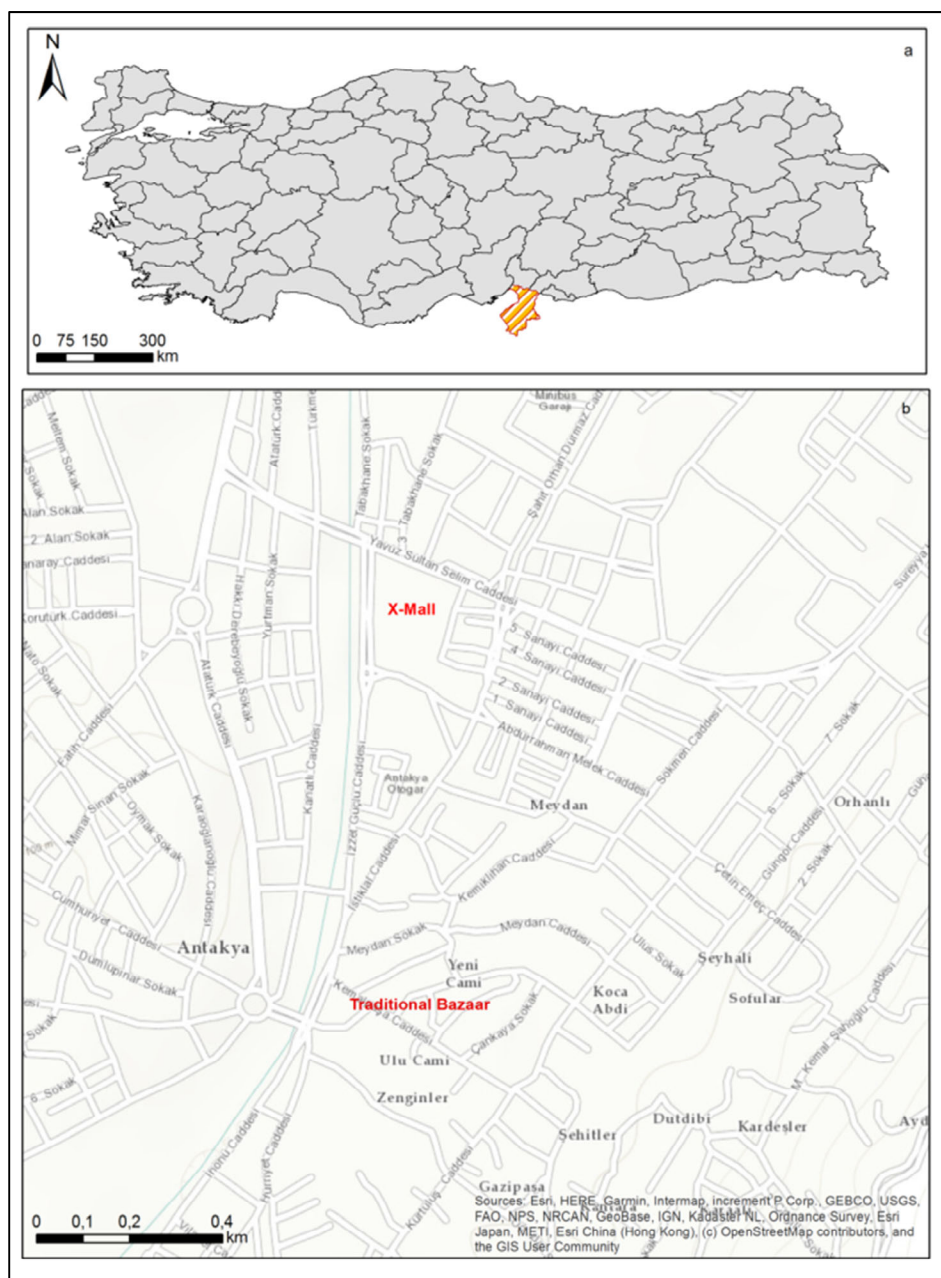
Figure 1. *Location of the X shopping mall and the traditional bazaar*

Photo 1 and 2. *Views from the Long Bazaar (16.01.2022)*

Photo 3. *A view of the X Mall (16.01.2022)*

10 women who were born and raised in Antakya were interviewed by snowball sampling. Their age ranges between 32 and 69. Participants were chosen among women married with children, over 30 years-old, who, as locals, have already witnessed the change of shopping facilities in downtown Antakya, so that they could compare their shopping experiences before and after the opening of the X shopping mall. Another criterion for participant selection was to have a regular shopping habit. The location of residence of the participants was also important. My main aim to understand the role of physical distance-independent factors required the selection of participants residing only in the city center that allows them to experience the shopping mall and the traditional bazaar by walking, without the need for public or private transportation. Interviews were conducted over the phone due to the Covid-19 pandemic and they were audio recorded with the permission of the participants. After transcription of interviews, the text was subjected to discourse and content analysis, some certain themes were distinguished and coded.

Critical discourse analysis is based on identifying culturally accessible linguistic resources, positionings, and dilemmas that participants use while constructing their explanations (Arkonaç 2014). It has three basic concepts: *interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas, and subject positions* (Arkonaç 2014). _Interpretative repertoires_ are discursive resources that are reached by distinguishing recurring themes such as legitimation, justification, blame, and excuses (Arkonaç 2012). _Ideological dilemmas_ are the contradictory repertoires of discourses that construct the object in conversations about the same object (Arkonaç 2012). It expresses the distinction of conflicting meanings in discourses that construct the same object (Elçi 2012). _Subject positions_ indicate whom the repertoires point to (Arkonaç 2014). Subject position and ideological dilemmas in the analyzes are interwoven in the interpretative repertoires. Only interpretative repertoires were exemplified by quotations however explanations of both subject positions and ideological dilemmas were also included.

The Choice of the Shopping Mall or the Traditional Bazaar

Diverse reasons were given to explain choosing or not choosing the shopping mall and the traditional bazaar. In the case of the X shopping mall, interpretations of preference are much, on the other hand, interpretations of preference of the traditional bazaar are limited. The interpretations for not preferring the traditional bazaar are relatively more, and for not preferring the shopping mall are relatively limited (Table 1). Stronger tendency to justify the preference of the shopping malls gives a rise to the thought that it has already become an important part of consumption practices.

Table 1. *Interpretative repertoires of preferences*

REASONS TO PREFER THE SHOPPING MALL	REASONS NOT TO PREFER THE SHOPPING MALL
Parent- and children-friendly spatial organization	It is a none-place without any distinctive character
Perception of the availability of high-quality products	Impossibility of maintaining traditional shopping habits
Brand preferences- availability of preferred stores	Lack of fresh air and open space
Visible price labels	Noisy
Credit card and pay-in-installments opportunities	Exhausting
Parking facility and parking location	Losing sense of time
Time-saving	Anti-capitalist critique
The comfort of visiting by a private car	Nonnegotiable prices
Being an indoor space	Expensive prices
Protection from weather conditions	
Better spatial organization-well coordinated	
Availability of hygienic lavatories	
General cleanness	
Institutionalization and professional approach to the customers	
Safety and security	
Cafeterias	
Architectural aesthetics	
Perceived privilege and high statue	
Availability of products on-line as well	
Seven-days service	
REASONS TO PREFER THE TRADITIONAL BAZAAR	**REASONS NOT TO PREFER THE TRADITIONAL BAZAAR**
Proper and fair price	Unclear pricing
Bargain opportunities	Limited payments methods alternative to cash
Originality	Parking problem
Sense of place (memories, belongingness etc.)	Overcrowded
Wide product range	Exposure to weather conditions
Maintenance of cultural habits	Insecurity
The idea of supporting the local economy	Lack of toilet facilities
	Lower quality products
	Non-friendly spatial organization for children
	Worse spatial organization of the stores
	Insistence and selling efforts of salesmen
	Closed on Sundays

"*It's for My Child!*": Child-Friendly Spatial Organization and High-Quality Products

One of the most prominent interpretations of preference for the mall is "*the needs of their children*" and *"parent- and children-friendly spatial organization"*. This repertoire was revealed in the discourses of almost all participants in relation to their mother-woman position. This subject position is also pointing to the dependent daily practices of women, as a result of gender-based division of labour and the social expectation of being responsible for

childcare and shopping. Shopping malls as one of the most obvious physical outcomes of the capitalist accumulation processes and the baby care rooms, playgrounds, etc. in shopping malls are a spatial response to mentality of being a family. The discourse of "*everything has been thought for your and your family's comfort in ...*" on the website of the X shopping mall also points to the relationship between the idea of a familial society, conservatism, and capitalism. One of the most common reasons of women I interviewed to prefer the shopping mall is the needs of their children.

> You know this is a place where I can easily take the stroller out and put it down. My life has mostly been shaped by my son after him, and this was one of them (Interview 1)
>
> If you have your child with you, while the child plays safely, you can shop (Interview 2)
>
> I can walk around relievedly with my child. I don't get wet in the rain or anything. If my child needs to go to the toilet, there are facilities for every need (Interview 3)
>
> The brand obsession of children. Their brand obsessions direct us to that side (Interview 4)
>
> As I said, such children can have needs we can even meet their toilet needs right away in the mall (Interview 6)
>
> The playground is a critical comfort. 2011 was the year my child was born. I am giving an example when he was 1-2 years old I could leave my child there in that playground then finish up and come back in half an hour. It has such advantage and comfort (Interview 8)

"*Valuable Things Are Bought from a Mall!*": Availability of High-Quality Products

In the discourses, the needs and sensitivities of children and some requirements of being mother-woman lead women to shopping malls. The legitimation of the said orientation with the value given to their children shows that they attribute a class meaning to the products sold in the shopping mall. Actually, this meaning is accompanied by the fact that "*fair price*" is an important reason for preferring the traditional bazaar.

> - Frankly, we stopped to go to the traditional bazaar when we got married and had children.
>
> - *Can you explain this process a little bit, you have had a bazaar shopping habit for long years, how was the process of giving up that habit?*
>
> - How did we start? With children. We started with clothes. Because children are sensitive. What can be good for children? From clothes, depending on the type of fabric, it has become more and more a brand issue. We started to look for quality.

We actually started with the needs of children. Shoes should be orthopedic. Which one is healthier? Just then, such a [new shopping] tendency occurred (Interview 6).

The discourse of "buying high quality goods from the mall" is accompanied by the "search for the modern one" in the mall. Upper middle class urban needs such as a baby stroller rain cover or sea shoes etc. are sought in the shopping mall. This, in turn, points to the explanation that neoliberalism is fed by the disintegration process of modernity and although it deepens this process itself, instrumentalizes modernism while doing it (Özkazanç 2005). Despite the subject position that often rejects the mall in her discourses, Interview 5 has turned to the shopping mall for modern and valuable goods:

For example, I was looking for a towel for my child. The towels in the bazaar were baby towels in the form of bathrobes and were very hard. I went to the shopping mall.

- *Is there anything else you can think of that has led you to the shopping mall so far?*

- … Well, there was a need for a child-oriented sea shoe. I was going to buy it from the internet, but given the time needed for home delivery [it would be difficult]. I couldn't find it in the bazaar either, so I had to buy it again from the shopping mall.

- *Is there anything else that comes to your mind that attracts you to the shopping mall?*

- … There was. Since we could not make babies wear masks in the stroller, I looked for a rain cover. Again, we could not find it in the bazaar; [so] we went to the shopping mall.

In some discourses, the reasons for choosing the bazaar and the mall seem incompatible with each other but are based on the same psychological motive in the background. While some women stated that they definitely go to the bazaar to buy shoes, some said that they definitely prefer the shopping mall to buy shoes. Some participants stated that they prefer shopping malls for a certain type of product, others definitely head to the bazaar for the same product. This shows the main point here is the meaning attributed to that product, rather than the product itself. "Better" products are looked for in the shopping mall.

For underwear, we all go to the traditional bazaar for underclothes and shoes in general, but clothes and pajamas, what else can I say? Household items are usually [bought] from the mall. Because it is easier to carry (Interview 1)

For example, I care very much about shoes; I go to the shopping mall for shoes (Interview 9)

Then I give an example, for buying clothes I can not give up the shopping mall, I can find the type of fabric I am looking for there, but for example, for shoes, slippers or something else, I can find them in the bazaar (Interview 8)

Visible Price Labels, Proper Prices and Price Negotiation

It is understood that price matters in preferring the shopping mall or the traditional bazaar. "Proper price" is an explanation for preferring the bazaar, whereas "expensive price" is an explanation for not preferring the shopping mall. The main comparison here, is between the unpredictable capitalist selling tactics in the shopping mall and more traditional ways in the bazaar, like interpersonal trust between the seller and the buyer. As explained in the examples below:

There is also something like that, for example [in the bazaar], prices are always negotiable, the sellers can always give you the most discounted price possible, in the first place. At the shopping mall on the other hand, I see a price, it is not discounted, if I check it ten days later for example, then it is discounted. When I buy stuff from a price as soon as I see it, I feel bad. I say to myself, why couldn't I wait a bit longer? (Interview 3)

The spirit of small business is lacking [in the shopping mall]. This is what I can mostly refer to. We like price negotiation. Actually, not the negotiation but, how can I say it? What lacking [in the mall] is conversations with tradesmen. I think this is the most negative side of (Interview 5)

"*Capitalism is on the rise!*": Discounts, Credit Cards, Paying in Installments

In the shopping mall, discounts and payment options like credit cards and installments are promoted as tools of capitalism against the price negotiation possibilities of traditional commerce. In case of difficulties in cash payment, customers tend to spend by borrowing especially in the form of credits. At this point, it can be said that though they ideationally reject modern shopping the malls, especially people with lower income prefer the X shopping mall because of the availability of payment options extending over time:

Actually you are more comfortable when you are in the bazaar, you can bargain, you can buy it at the price that you want. You pay the price they set in the shopping mall as it is. There is no [montly] installment possibility in the shopkeepers. There is a payment option by credit card in the Mall. These are the differences, so maybe the mall attracted us (Interview 4)

> There [in the shopping mall] is the option of payment by credit cards, when it comes to discounts, bulk shopping, since more than one item will be purchased more than once, family shopping, whole the family shopping, we shop by considering discounts (Interview 7)

The repertoire of "proper" does not only refer to proper prices in the bazaar but also to the variety of goods there and also that it applies to traditional culture. Cultural and local elements are sought in the traditional bazaar. The shopping mall is the place to look for the more modern, and "valuable" goods that are not available in the traditional bazaar. The product range is an important explainer of preferring the traditional bazaar.

A Wide Range of Products

The product range which is an interpretation of preferring the traditional bazaar is explained by the need for access to traditional needs as well as a variety of products. While shopping malls are explained by being without a certain sense of place because of its uniformity; a sense of local belongingness seems to be significant reason to prefer the traditional bazaar. After exemplifying the importance of the wide range of products available in the case of traditional bazaar, I will focus on the role of this emotional aspect under the following title. The attributed importance of the diversity of products in the bazaar can be found in the narrations below:

> For example, you are walking through the bazaar and you think that you will buy a jar. When you are looking for one, there is this one too, let me get this one, and there is also another thing etc. So you can meet all your needs easily. But there are certain things in the shopping mall. You may not be able to reach everything you want in the way you wish (Interview 2)

> The bazaar has a wider range. I think it has a wider range in line with the needs. I think it is limited in the shopping mall and shopping mall is more expensive than the bazaar (Interview 7)

"Finish up quickly and leave!": Belongingness to the Bazaar vs. Alienation in the Mall

The traditional bazaar sounds to be a more real place where some participants feel belonged. This "sameness" and the "cultural distance" that the atmosphere in the shopping mall is not appreciated when compared to the traditional bazaar that gives a feeling of home with own cultural references. The dichotomy in the aspect of the sense of these two distinct shopping places can be very well seen in the lines below:

The prices are more affordable, more sympathetic, more original (she refer to the bazaar). Everything seems to be the same in the shopping mall. (Interview 1)

[In the shopping mall] I feel more like an outsider, even as a country. I feel like I am in the lap of capitalism. I have always adopted the culture of tradesmen, chandlering in the bazaar, and I am very attracted to those historical characteristics, it always makes me feel like this is the warmth of our own country. (Interview 5)

As I said, firstly I can find the things I need; I can find what I need in the bazaar. Communicating with people is sincerer to me in the normal bazaar. It feels sincere, intimate. I can express what I want better (Interview 7).

Products reflect our culture in our bazaar, so if there will be rituals that reflect our family culture, if there are rituals, I would definitely not go to the shopping mall to buy something (Interview 8).

Though spatial arrangements and design of the shopping mall with the purpose of keeping customers there longer, the above-mentioned cultural and emotional reasons construct the meaning of the shopping mall as a place where one has to finish up quickly and leave. The bazaar, on the other hand, is a place to spend longer time and experience deeper emotions.

I enjoy seeing different things; I go back to my childhood, so I like it [the traditional bazaar] in that sense. I like this in the bazaar, for example, to create memories (Interview 1).

Now, since I don't like the mall, it's like there is a responsibility there. I want to finish up immediately and leave. When I'm in the bazaar, I can walk around relievedly. I walk around more. I like that environment even though it's hot, maybe it's about my personality. I mean that I feel I belong there more by walking around. I walk around more in tranquillity. But at the shopping mall, I want immediately to finish and go out (Interview 3).

I want to get what I'm going to buy from the mall and leave right away. It is nicer to be in the bazaar. I mean I feel belong to, I feel like it's where I belong. I can feel the sense of belonging in the bazaar. But in the shopping mall, I don't feel anything like that (Interview 8)

"*Visiting a mall requires a private car*": The Comfort of visiting by car

The feeling that the shopping mall evokes is not only the alienation caused by its global therefore inauthentic atmosphere. It does not only give a negative feeling as a non-place without a distinctive character but on the other hand, for some, it arouses the feeling of a place of privilege. But this feeling is also about the practices that reproduce the alienation.

This is reflected by some participants with a specific reference to car ownership. Despite the rather central location of the X shopping mall, some participants declared that they prefer their private cars to visit the mall while they walk to the traditional bazaar. The preference of a private car to accsess the mall instead of walking, I think, is about social representation of shopping malls. Because the historical development of shopping malls has been related to a peripheral location that requires a private car to access thus shopping malls have a class difference connotation. Among the participants, the idea of a necessity of a car is related to such a connotation. Accordingly, the X Mall is, somehow, a place of privilege that can be accompanied by a private car though it is not so far away from the city. This perspective discursively constructed the shopping mall as a place to be visited by car – a higher social class indicator. The circle-road location and the necessity of private transportation in its very foundations, puts the idea that a mall requires private car ownership into effect as a consumption-encouraging factor. Car ownership makes shopping faster and more comfortable as well. Morever the noisy and tiring athmosphere makes a fast and comfortable shopping experience desirable; and this is possible by car. Explanations such as the possibility of carrying the purchased stuff in a shorter time and easier way and the advantage of easy parking support the justification of the idea that a car is needed to visit the mall. Despite their centrality and adjacent locations, walking to the traditional bazaar while driving to the X mall seems to be not related to the location factor. Objectively, the location of the X Mall is not too far away from the center thus a private car is not always a must for its accessibility in the case of the selected participants. Rather than such objective aspects, the idea of class-based difference is discursively constructed by possible situations and practices during shopping. The different means of experiencing the same road also differentiate the emotions about the urban environment. One participant (Interview 7), for example, mentioned how relaxing the route she takes while walking to the bazaar is. Though the route to the X Mall is the same, she did not mention such a relaxation -due to her preference of driving to the mall. Some other participants told that they prefer walking to the traditional bazaar but driving to the mall. I must emphasize that the concept of "walking-distance" is relative. Their stronger tendency to prefer walking to the bazaar more than walking to the X Mall indicates the same explainer. One of the components of this explainer is the parking problem in the traditional bazaar. Car parking is an explainer to prefer the shopping mall and not preferring the traditional bazaar thus working in favour of the mall.

- Despite the mall is within walking distance, why do you prefer driving?

- Well, we actually go to the bazaar on foot. To the the mall (interruption), I do not know, perhaps because it is always after work (laugh) (Interview 5)

- Do you ever walk? How do you go to the X Mall?
- Oh, yes, this is a very good question. We do not have a parking problem in the shopping mall.
- Well, is this its difference to the bazaar?
- Exactly, we directly park the car, do our shopping. When we are in the bazaar, because we can not find a place to park the car, we have to walk everywhere, so and so, I mean, honestly, it is difficult (Interview 6)

- I have the feeling of finishing up quickly to turn back home (laughter).
- In the case of both? The bazaar and the mall?
- (Laugh) Yes, I mean, in both but honestly when I am in the bazaar, the road back is greener, with trees, you know, I prefer the Antakya city park as a walking route to turn back. It feels nice to sit and have a rest there shortly.
- OK, if you think, the X Mall and the bazaar are next to each other. Perhaps, you can prefer the same route to the mall too?
- Yes, nevertheless, the bazaar in that way is more attractive for me (Interview 7)

"Time-saving": The Idea of time-saving makes the shopping mall preferable

However, the participants were chosen among those who live in the city center and within walking distance to both shopping places, driving was not among the selection criteria, but during interviews, I realized that there were some participants who were driving too. Saving time due to the parking facilities are among explanations for preferring the shopping mall. This is accompanied by explanatories such as "sellers' behaviors" through professional communication in the shopping mall, and the "well-planned positions of stores":

It is perhaps mostly preferred due to the shortage of time, but if I have time, I prefer the bazaar. (…) Let's say you have a child with you. You can do your shopping while the child plays safely. Either, as I said, most of the time, when they don't say "What would you like to have?" I can tour around from one store to another in a short time (Interview 2).

I prefer the shopping mall right now because it's all at hand there, but the bazaar is more proper in terms of prices. (…) at least, all the stores are at hand in the mall, they are close to each other. I can move faster (Interview 4).

"Indoor Space": A Sense of Time Loss

There is another time-related aspect about the shopping mall, different than the "time-saving" advantage. The shopping mall causes a loss of sense of time especially because of the lack of daylight. Interpretative repertoires such as "indoor space", "being noisy" etc. are accompanied to this explanation. Though the indoor shopping experience causes a sense of loss of time and it is tiring, "indoor space" is an important explanation for preferring the shopping mall because visitors can avoid the negative effects of weather conditions such as sun or rain.

> It is true when you think about it, shopping malls are air-conditioned, cool, you forget yourself, and you can stay there for hours and hours (Interview 3)

> The fact [about the shopping mall] that being an indoor space always bothers me. It takes my energy, it takes my energy, perhaps because of the electrical system, but it always takes my energy, I feel tired at the end of the day. When I leave there, it gives me the feeling of exhaustion (Interview 5)

> Big shopping malls, where we can find all products easily, actually they are waste of time but also seem like time-saving. During your visits, you can lose yourself, but on the other hand, all the stores and all the brands are located together as if it serves to save time (Interview 5)

> In other words, being indoor space. Not understanding how time is flying. So, when in the bazaar, the sun, sunset, the moon, how bright the light is, these make you feel aware. But this is not felt when you are in the shopping mall. So let's buy this, let's buy this, it's a little more like this, it causes to a shopping spree (Interview 7).

Spatial arrangements: Locating shops together in short distances, Comfort, Visual appeal

A series of spatial arrangements in shopping malls are planned to encourage customers to consume more (Birol 2005). Distance to walk is one of them. In this study, widespread dispersal of the shops over long distances is an explanation for not preferring the traditional bazaar. The fact that well-planned juxtaposition of stores within short distances in the shopping mall is among reasons to prefer the shopping mall. Some other architectural arrangements, from the entrances to the gardens in shopping malls can also be added to:

> There is an area to sit when I need to rest in the shopping mall, but there is more of a walking distance in the bazaar, walk walk walk (laugh) (Interview 2).

> Maybe that's why we don't prefer the bazaar because the distances are far away, each one [shop] is located in another place, dispersed. That's why we prefer the shopping mall to save time (Interview 4).

> Right now, I don't think anyone will say that "I don't like this view" [in the mall]. Very nice decorations are made on New Year's Eve or holidays, it gives people enthusiasm (Interview 8).

"Tramps cannot enter": Class Distinction, Safety, and Security

In addition to all its decorative and architectural attractions, the shopping malls are interpreted as spaces of high-status too. Although its location does not require a private car (which would also symbolize a class difference), individuals are positioned themselves in a "better" place in terms of social class. This meaning is also an explanation for preferring the shopping mall. This is accompanied by the sellers' behaviors (appearance, communication style, etc.), the security checks for incoming people, and even the explanation of "pricey" (actually a reason for refusing the mall). Shopping malls mean "class difference" in the minds and experiences of individuals. This difference is also revealed by pointing out the availability of catering facilities such as cafeterias and patisseries in the shopping mall, although there are some cafes in the traditional bazaar too. These two different shopping places –the mall and the traditional bazaar- provide two distinct behavior settings for their visitors:

> Actually, it's more comfortable in the bazaar. The shopping mall. Ummm. How can I explain it? There you have to be careful with your actions, talking, or something like that. What do they say? Preppy. It feels like it is your own people in the bazaar, but the mall requires a little more formality (Interview 9).
>
> I mean, I thought that it would look a little cool in the mall because of its name. I had the feeling that there was such a plus when I went to that cafe and sat there (laugh) (Interview-2).
>
> There are places for eating. Though it doesn't make much difference compared to the normal bazaar, the mall is more luxurious. So to speak, shopping malls appeal to the bourgeois (Interview 7).
>
> That is, customers are subjected to a body search while entering. Tramps cannot enter (Interview 10).

"*What do you need? Let me help you!*" Sellers' Behaviours

One of the reasons for not preferring the traditional bazaar is that the tradesmen/sellers are too much interested in the customers. Sales with a style to pressure customers to make a purchase are found unpleasant. On the other hand, the sellers in the shopping malls leave the customers on their own and do not show a strong interest in them much. This is an important reason for preferring the shopping mall:

Other than that, sometimes you look for the products by yourself, no one bothers you, I like that in the mall. "What are you looking for?", "Let me help!". I don't want such interferences. This is what makes me feel comfortable in the mall (Interview 2)

In fact, that insisting, "come in", "come in", "yes please?". There is such comfort in the mall. Sellers do not come and wait [next to you]. You choose, if you like it, you go and pay. There is a communication thing about the sales policy, there is a difference. In the bazaar, there is usually an attitude of asking "What are you looking for?", "Yes please", "Yes please". A lot of effort is spent on you, and you feel indebted. I experienced it, I tried to make the shoes fit my feet. As this salesman was interested in me, [I had the feeling that] I should buy. I mean, let's keep their heart nice, let's buy the shoes. In the mall, this comfort impresses me mostly that there is no one to surveil my shopping (Interview 8).

In fact, I really would like to shop the bazaar, from the tradesmen, but I don't like it when they deal with customers one-on-one. I mean they push you by saying "How is this?", "How is it?" "Is this beautiful?" "This one beautiful?". Either they force to sell something. I don't like this, so I usually go to the mall (Interview 9)

The skills of "good communication" in the mall are just the opposite in the case of the traditional bazaar. "*The male gaze over women is not nice, especially in the section where we called Kunduracılar bazaar. There is much eyeolating*" as the Participant 9 said.

Moreover, in the discourses of the same participants (I2 and I9), while supporting the tradesmen, conversation with tradesmen and bargaining are the interpretative repertoires that explain preferring the bazaar, the discomfort discourses about the deep interest of tradesmen, point to an ideological dilemma. In addition, the protection of consumer rights, such as the right to exchange-return, is an explanation for preferring the shopping mall and also points to such dilemmas that contrast with the pro-tradesman discourses (I5 and I9).

"*Consumer rights!*": The Importance of Institutional Identity

A significant difference between the traditional bazaar and the shopping mall lies in consumers' rights. The institutionalized structure of the shopping malls gives a sense of safety to its customers about the after sales support, mostly about a possible product change which would be more problematic in the traditional bazaar:

I can say that since there is a little more institutionalization in the shopping mall, for example, you can protect your rights a little more in

product change. Sometimes the tradesmen in the bazaar may not want to replace the product they have sold, or they, perhaps, preaccept that there is already consumer's using mistake. It is the problem of change and return (Interview 5).

For example, when there is a defect in a product, it is easier to replace it in the mall. They cause a lot of trouble in the bazaar, in order not to do anything to change it. So we go to the mall because it is guaranteed, that is, for shoes (Interview 9).

The mall is better, you can make a product change, there is no possibility of being deceived because everything has a price label. In the bazaar, there might be some salesmen quoting a higher price (Interview 10)

"Safe tenants of shopping malls!": Availability of Big stores

The existence of major stores, which are called *safe tenants* of shopping malls (Timor 2004) is one of the important preferring reasons of shopping malls. "Availability of a certain store" is explained as the reason for preferring a certain shopping mall, even though one of the shopping malls is within walking distance, closer, or on the route that a participant takes every day. As I mentioned in the methodological part, there are two shopping malls in Antakya. Participants' preference of the 1st Mall, which is located far away from the city center instead of the X shopping mall, is based on the presence of certain brands and various outdoor arrangements such as an open car park or a yard in the first one. This is sometimes the case also for the X Mall due to certain stores it includes. This once again shows the role of the consumption-based regulations of shopping malls. However, for those who do not own a private car, the physical distance matters; therefore, they prefer the X mall.

Although the 1st Mall is on my daily route I prefer the X Mall because the … supermarket is in the X Mall (Interview 1).

If we are going with my husband we go to the 1st one, he likes the way how it is organized. If I am going alone, I prefer the X Mall, because when I come to the bazaar so that two deals can be done at the same time (Interview 2).

Since some stores are not in both, it varies according to the store, but in terms of the environment, about the car parking and traffic, of course, I prefer the 1st Mall (Interview 3).

Since there is the … store, after having the child, we turned to the 1st Mall (Interview 5).

The 1st Mall is more vivid; I think it's more lively. Although the 1st Mall is further away, we can go to the 1st Mall only by car but to the X mall on foot. Yet we usually prefer the 1st mall (Interview 8)

Lavatory Facilities and General Cleanness

It is known that access to public toilets is more essential for women than men due to their physiological needs (Beebeejaun 2017). In this study, it has been stated in some discourses that there are no public toilets other than the toilets located in the gardens of the mosques in the traditional bazaar. Toilets in these mosques are not for free; moreover, they are not considered to be clean enough. The need to find cleaner toilets is a reason to prefer the shopping mall. The cleanness of the shopping mall in general and its toilets' hygiene standards seem to be quite significant to prefer the shopping mall to the traditional bazaar. This is not only for the participants themselves but also for the needs of their children:

> There are only three [toilets] in our bazaar and all of them are only in the mosques (Interview 3)
>
> As I said, children may have such needs, even the need for toilets; we can meet them right away in the mall, so the mall is more comfortable in every way (Interview 6)

Conclusion

Shopping malls are considered convenient in terms of being sterile, away from the disturbing and unsettling actions of the city streets (Aytaç and Öztürk 2018), kept under tight control, free from the effects of cars and various crimes (Timor 2004). It is indicated that contrary to the complexity of a traditional bazaar, the possibility of harassment and other crimes, the malls as being inspected, secured, and organized make shopping malls convenient for women (Durakbaşa and Cindoğlu 2003). However, these explanations lead to the same false that second-wave feminism unintentionally responded to the purposes of neoliberalism. Shopping malls are appliances through which neoliberalism instrumentalizes the ideas of feminist struggle. The capital and the conservative ideology of neoliberalism are at the core of such instrumentalization. Neoliberal shopping malls implicitly serve for the conservative ideology that is based on familial values and an understanding of private property and they are treated as if they were "saviors" to meet the very valuable child care and shopping duties of women -just as the same way that the instrumentalization of feminist struggles for women's participation in paid work. Thereby neoliberalism reinforces traditional gender roles based on conservative ideology.

Considering the dialectical relationship between *the spatial* and *the social*, such socio-spatial emergences are actually a threat to women's freedom. Moreover, although neoliberalism feeds off from the disintegration process of modernity and deepens this process itself (Özkazanç 2005), it

instrumentalizes modernism while doing this; just as it instrumentalizes the established gender roles while deepening gender-based inequality.

In the words of Bora (2021), "running of big things like neoliberalism depends on smaller things". Individuals reproduce what is imposed by applying them differently in daily practices (De Certeau 2008; Mayol 2015). Harvey's (2016) explanations that different human practices will produce different spatial conceptions point to the same relationship. According to Harvey (2014:231), whatever the scheme of fixed representation, the practice has an inappropriate character that escapes from the buoy to which it is attached. This leads us to Bondi's (2005) claim, the dual form of gender and space. Urban space is not independent of the actions that individuals who live in the city. In this regard, it is not fixed.

It is necessary to reject the capitalist patriarchal conservative ideology embedded in the daily practice of urban life through the shopping mall. In this study, although the subject positions that are non-consumers, against capitalism, rejecting the formation of shopping malls, and having the idea of promoting local tradesmen, are repeated with very specific discourses, all women (except the one 69-years-old), legitimized their shopping mall preferences with childcare. In one way or another, gender-based discourses such as saving time and being safe that legitimize the shopping mall preferences, show that instrumentalizations through shopping malls direct women to the shopping mall in daily life. As a result, the malls took place even in the practices of women who strongly rejected the malls in their discourses. This point indicates that the traditional bazaar in Antakya also needs some urgent arrangements. Two of the most important problems are toilets and parking problem. The city center needs a clean and sufficient number of public toilets. It is significant to arrange the traditional bazaar based on gender equality. Because neoliberal urban arrangements serve for a mentality that reinforces a gendered behavioural setting, they endanger women's liberation movement by creating an illusion of a gender-friendly environment.

Understanding the relationship between neoliberal spaces and gender-based roles was the main aim in this study. The sample was limited to women with children but many other women groups are also involved in the shopping mall. Therefore, studies can be expanded by including other samples. In this way, abovementioned relationship will be better understood by focusing on the experiences of diverse women groups, for example, the elderly, the single or, the women employees of the mall.

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Cities as Places of Identity and Memory in Women's Stories

SERAP ASLAN-COBUTOĞLU

The ways in which writers perceive the space and how this perception affects the structure of the space in their works is an important issue. Writers, who mostly base their works on the environment they see and perceive, also shape the objective data about the environment/space in their works in accordance with their perception style. In this respect, spaces in literary genres such as poetry, novels and stories are established by the "subjective" perceptions of the writers. In this perception, certain natural and historical values in or on the space play an important role in the formation of a holistic image of the environment (Ögçe 2020:22). Finally, everyone is surrounded by a series of intertwined "layers" or circles of living spaces, starting from the room, and extending to the home, neighborhood, city, region, and country. In addition to these layers, there are also "privileged places" in people's lives such as "the place where s/he was born, the place where s/he remembers her/his first love or the city of a foreign country s/he first visited in her/his youth" (cited from Eliade 1957, Buttimer 1976:284). Pocock describes our birthplace as "a mark that determines our perception of the world" (1981:339). According to him, in a sense, we take our roots in space and settle there. According to Sillitoe, holy or not, "we all come to this world with a sense of space, a certain part of our perceptions is forever rooted in the place where we first saw the light" (cited in Pocock 1981:339). It is possible to talk about privileged places and special places/ geographies on which the writers elaborate in their works. In this context, the city, which is one of the most important elements of the environment, appears as one of these privileged places.

Although the urban phenomenon has been defined many times, it can be broadly defined as "a city which is in continuous social development and where the needs of the society such as settlement, accommodation, commuting, working, resting and entertainment are met, few people are engaged in agricultural activities, and are denser in terms of population by looking at the villages and small neighborhood units" (Keleş 1980:68). Everyone using the city has images, memories and meanings related to the city due to its long-term interaction with certain parts of the city (Ayvalıoğlu 1993).

Cities, the most complex unit created by human beings, have been handled in many ways by writers and poets. At this point, Adalet Ağaoğlu's statement like "when you shine the light of the city on the pages of a novel,

poem or a story, the watermark of the city in human form is also seen" (Ağaoğlu 1997:75) is important in terms of giving the reflection of the city-human relationship on literary texts. The city is always "written" and "lived" again. As Chambers says (2005:135), it is "an amphibious signifier that contains hundreds of interpretations and thousands of stories". The perspectives and perceptions developed by the artists regarding the ways of reading and seeing the city are extremely important. This point of view not only strengthens the place of cities in literary discourse, but also offers a perspective to the reader. In this context, our study focuses on the meaning and value of cities as places of identity and memory in women's stories in Turkish literature. Nearly 30 storytellers such as Adalet Ağaoğlu, Selçuk Baran, Oya Baydar, Erendiz Atasü, Jale Sancak, Cihan Aktaş, Mine Söğüt, and Menekşe Toprak focus on Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and the Black Sea by putting women and their perspectives at the center in their stories[1]. In these stories, how the women's perspective establishes the city with references to the context of identity and memory places, how the belonging and memory-based elements are represented in the city or what they represent and the socio-cultural values that the female characters or the woman's point of view impose on the city are among the subjects which are aimed to be emphasized in this study.

Cities as Places of Identity in Women's Stories

The existence of the relationship between space and identity and the views that spaces have a certain identity have been accepted for a very long time. The concept of identity, which is defined as the recognizable character and feature of a person or an object, is the reflection of the way of responding to the questions about who a person is, how s/he is seen by others, his/her roles, needs and values (İmançer 2003:234). The space, which has a great representation power and is the mirror of the individual and society, is the place where identity is realized, in a sense, it finds a place of existence, transforms, in short, it is a place where identity is attributed and identities are reflected (Uçar and Rifaioğlu 2011:64). Kong and Yeoh discuss two kinds of relationships between space and identity. The space itself has an identity/personality, that is, every space emerges with an identity. Another relationship is that people see space as an element of identity. In this way, people feel that they belong to the space and identify with the space. Therefore, space becomes an element of identity by giving the person a historical origin (Alver 2010:21).

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[1] In the study, the selection named *Istanbul in Women's Stories, Ankara in Women's Stories, İzmir in Women's Stories* and *Black Sea in Women's Stories*, which was published by Sel Publications in 2008 and 2009, was taken as a basis, and the page numbers given in parentheses in the analysis part were made with reference to the book in which the city was mentioned.

In the stories we have examined, these two aspects have drawn more attention in the relationship between space and identity. Cities are the places which are described with the perspectives of the writer, the narrator or the character of the story play an active role in the formation of individual and collective identities within the framework of both the material and spiritual dynamics and the space-human interaction, the identities are expressed, the personalities intersect, and the sense of belonging develops. In this respect, it is possible to say that cities appear as "areas of identification" (Mazzoleni 1996:97-98) in stories.

The interaction of the place and the spirit with each other and the effects of one on the shaping of the other reveal the cultural identity of historical areas. In this framework, "identity" defines the meaning of place and this meaning constitutes a whole that includes natural, material, and spiritual assets (Uçar and Rifaioğlu 2011:64). When we look at women's stories from this point of view, it is possible to encounter many material and moral components about identity. Based on Lynch's (2018:127) view that "every functioning urban area has a structure and identity, even if it is weak", districts, neighborhoods, streets, avenues, squares, architectural structures, monuments, urban structures, and parks draw attention as important reflections of the identity in women's stories. Squares and streets are extremely important components of urban identity. Some squares are identified with the cities in which they are located. Kızılay Square and Tandoğan Square, which are frequently mentioned in the stories of Ankara, can be given as examples. Avenues and streets also have a great contribution to the revitalization of urban life and the strengthening of urban identity. Istiklal Avenue in Beyoğlu, which is in the stories of Istanbul, Atatürk Avenue and Sakarya Avenue in the stories of Ankara, Alsancak Avenues, which are frequently mentioned in the stories of İzmir, are good examples in this sense. Streets are among the elements that strengthen the identity of both the district and the city (Oktay 2011:12-14). At this point, Ankara takes the lead in women's stories. ın the stories that introduce the reader to a street culture, Antakya Street, Menekşe Street, Kumrular Street, Sümer Street and Cihan Street are just a few of the characteristic streets that attribute an identity to Ankara. Another component that plays a symbolic role in the identity of the city is the districts. The districts whose names are frequently mentioned in many stories of Istanbul include the Bosporus, Usküdar, Beyoğlu, Tarlabaşı, Fatih, Eminönü, Beşiktaş, Samatya, Anatolian Castle, Rumelian Castle, and Kadıköy. Ankara is mostly represented by Ulus, Kızılay, Çankaya, Bahçelievler and Yenimahalle, while İzmir is represented by Kordonboyu, Alsancak, Karşıyaka, Konak, and Kadifekale. Therefore, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir have settled in

the minds through these districts/ places with a distinctive character. Monuments that create a sense of continuity in urban life and support the sense of being settled (Oktay 2011:13) are among the elements that strengthen identity in urban spaces. The statue of Atatürk in Samsun in Zerrin Koç's story "I've Called You Too Much, Mr. Şükrü (*Ben Sizi Çok Aradım Şükrü Bey*)" is an important example because in the story, there are some statements like "it represents sovereignty, makes it visible" and "reflects its identity by acting as a mirror to the character in the story, and indicates its place in the world geographically and historically" (Aslanoğlu 1998:219-220). Architectural achievements are among the most praised expressions of a culture's identity and competence (Tümertekin and Özgüç 2004:96). Thus, Suleymaniye Mosque, Hagia Sophia, Maiden's Tower, Galata Tower, New Mosque, Spice Bazaar, Topkapi Palace, Yedikule Dungeons, Sarayburnu, and Basilica Cistern are among the indispensables of the Istanbul stories, and Victory Bazaar, Grand Cinema, Çankaya Cinema, Kuğulu Park, Youth Park, Anıtkabir, Atatürk Forest Farm, Opera House, Castle, Ankara Hotel, National Library are the indispensables of the Ankara stories, and Clock Tower, Kemeraltı Bazaar, Alhambra Cinema, Passport Harbor, and Bostanlı Bridge are among the indispensables of the İzmir stories.

Emre mentions that cities have a unique spirit and identity, and that this spirit symbolizes those unique to the city with his statement "cities also have a soul. There, you immediately feel the peculiarity of the place" (1997, p. 130). Alver mentions geographical and spatial characteristics, historical, social, and cultural characteristics, population characteristics, production and consumption patterns, climate and all values that shape life among the sources of urban identity, he also indicates that they are the identity indicators (2012:19-20). The expectation of urban identity is related to the fact that the city reflects its unique character and differences as a "place", in other words, it is "authentic" (Oktay 2011:10-11). When we look at women's stories, it is possible to say that Ankara, Izmir, Istanbul, and some Black Sea cities have a soul and have unique and urban identity indicators. An identity is attributed to Istanbul through its natural beauties, and while the identity value that Istanbul makes individuals feel is shaped through the sense of belonging, Ankara is described through the identity status it gained through government offices and the status of being a civil servant city attributed to individuals. İzmir, which is famous for its sea breeze, phaetons, lush gardens, and mussel sellers, draws attention with its two different urban identities. The Black Sea, on the other hand, has a distinct identity with its strong winds, angry waves, humid air, plateaus, folk dance, and nomadic culture.

The identity of a region encompasses much more than its spatial order. For this reason, identity should not be limited to space only. Its visual features, clamor, smell, dust, fumes, confusion, lifestyles, and meanings for people should also be considered. Istanbul, which is mostly told through the images of escape and asylum, is identified through the images of smell and sound. In Oya Baydar's story "Remembering A City (*Bir Şehri Hatırlamak*)", the impressions of smell and color come to the fore in Istanbul, which is intertwined with loves, wars, and occupations. In her story, which reminds that the city has an identity and personality, she mentions that cities constantly change their "habit", she also compares Istanbul with other cities and reveals the differentiating identity of the city. Athens is the color of sand, Prague is the color of rose, Madrid is red, Ankara is gray, Paris is pink with marbling, but Istanbul has been the color of purple since Byzantium. (133) Sound is one of the important identity indicators of Istanbul in Susan Samancı's story "In the Sorrow of Wisteria (*Morsalkımların Hüznünde*)". Istanbul, which absorbs all the sounds, is a "fluid river", "pansies", "an ethnic joke". (241)

Moreover, the values, symbols, and functions defined by the inhabitants of the city in the urban space carry references to the cultural identity of the city. The phenomenon of identification with the place depends on the social environment and its components as well as the physical dimensions of the place. Urban identity is formed not only by formal features, but also by the meanings that individuals attribute to the city (Oktay 2011:10). For example, the pigeons of Beyazıt Square, the green cool road of Dolmabahçe, the sounds of prayer call in cafes around Sultanahmet, the shabby tea gardens in Yakacık, the madrasahs in Çemberlitaş, Süleymaniye Mosque, the ferry sailing in the Bosporus and second-hand booksellers constitute the identity of Istanbul, as Cihan Aktaş mentions in his story "Borders of Istanbul (*Sınırların İstanbul'u*)". (57) Another story that emphasizes that people and the city can be read on the same platform is the story of Oya Baydar. The cities to which personality is attributed in the story cannot bear to be abandoned, they can eat their own children, betray, and commit suicide. In the story, the disappearance of the city, which is seen as a part of people and an extension of lives, is given in parallel with the disappearance process of the human being. Those who stay in Istanbul are the main elements that give the city its identity: the legendary silhouette of the city, the Bosporus hills, the remains of the city walls, mosaics, marbles, tile, and the wind. (133)

The general appearance and lifestyle of the city are among the most important determinants of the urban identity. However, as spaces change, the relationship of society with space fundamentally changes. Considering the opinions that the possibility of the place being surrounded by human values and

its interpretation as a space vanish (Robins 1996:77), it is quite thought-provoking in terms of identity what the decrease in the sense of the city as a place will mean. Rutherford (1998:26) points out exactly such a problem when he talks about "not belonging". In this respect, one of the most frequently mentioned issues in many stories is that the identity of Istanbul with its greenery, purple color, silhouette, and ethnic structure which is deteriorating day by day due to changing spatial elements. Lost and replacing urban spaces, the roar of the metropolis, exhaust fumes, garbage dumps appear as elements accompanying the new identity of a gigantic Istanbul In cities that have changed, the identities of "people exposed to the urban" (cited from Turan 2005, Çağın 2019:153) are also re-established. Especially in Erendiz Atasü's story "A Short Sorrow (Kısa Bir Üzüntü)", Istanbul has become a place where people lack compassion and expect crumbs of attention from even the closest people in this new situation. (80) Stella Acıman, in her story "I am Dastgāh-e Māhur Semai Istanbul (*Mahur Saz Semaim Istanbul'um*)", talks about the deteriorating ethnic texture of Istanbul, which she looks at from the Rumelian Castle, along with the changing texture. In Istanbul, which used to be able to live together regardless of language, religion or race, the old tolerance no longer exists. Istanbul, which found its identity with the colors and smells it contains, has now changed with concretization and rapid change. (13-14) This often brings the problem of placelessness and homelessness to the agenda. As seen in Handan Öztürk's story "I lost my swimsuit to Poseydon in Kilyos, my jeans to Bosforos in the Bosporus, and my heart to Eros in the Islands (*Kilyos'ta Mayomu Poseydon'a, Boğaz'da Blucinimi Bosforos'a, Adalar'da Yüreğimi Eros'a Kaptırdım*)", this problem constitutes the main issue of many stories in the context of urban identity.

In the context of urban identity in women's stories, Ankara is told through the identity value it assumes with state buildings that have become the symbol of the new Turkey in many stories. As seen in Adalet Ağaoğlu's story "Three Minutes a Day (*Gün Üç Dakika*)", it is identified through the image of the city identified with the officer in many stories. Of course, government offices have given some districts of Ankara the status of exclusivity. Şiir Erkök Yılmaz brings this issue to the fore in her story titled "Being from Ankara (*Ankaralı Olmak*)", and while talking about the "selected" and "unselected" districts of Ankara, she associates the fact that the western part of Ankara is never elite with its distance from government offices. In the same story, while the emphasis is on being from Ankara, reference is made to the geography/ land element that shapes people with a deterministic view. It gives the color of the eyes to the earth, so the eyes of the people in Ankara are brown, low, yellowish, sunken

eyes. (113) As can be seen in many stories, "land becomes synonymous with identity" in Ankara (Ayman 2006:151). However, as it is expressed in Cooke's words, "even though a city has an identity that the nation-state puts on it, it has its own identity and this identity also affects the formation of national identity at certain points" (cited in Pınarcıoğlu 1994:103), identity in Ankara has not only been shaped by government offices, which are the symbols of the new Turkey. While the otherworldly places that contribute to the identity of the city are mentioned in Ayşegül Çelik's story "Torchlight Procession (*Fener Alayı*)" the unchanging practices shaped around the Hacı Bayram Tomb are presented as elements that determine the texture of the city's identity. The same crowd including mostly of women who come for the vows, the hard candy distributed, the wishes and this unchanging state are the factors that contribute to the formation of the city's identity. Similarly, women who take their children for a walk in Tandoğan Square, which points to the social bond within the city, lovers, bagel sellers whose stalls smell of sesame and burnt bread also contribute to the familiar view of Ankara and take place in the story as constructive elements of the urban identity. (75)

İzmir's urban identity is mostly told in women's stories with its flowers, people, the smell of the sea, its music, carriages, lovers, smiling beggar children, kites, and vital elements in the city. Life in İzmir is cheerful, happy, and enthusiastic in Yasemin Yazıcı's story "Sadness in İzmir's Eyes Love in Aegean's Heart (*İzmir'in Gözlerinde Hüzün Ege'nin Kalbinde Aşk*)", which reflects the piece-whole relationship she established between the Aegean Sea and İzmir. The words of the people in Izmir, whose tones resemble polyphonic music, are a common echo spreading from their streets, shores, and hills to their slopes. In Selma Sancı's story "Lost (*Kaybedilen*)", the sounds of bells are accompanied by geraniums and basil gushing from the oiled rusty cans in the windows because being from Izmir means being fond of flowers. In Birsen Ferahlı's story "A Crazy Enthusiasm (*Bir Deli Heves*)", Izmir is a city that honeysuckle, wallflower magnolia scents can be felt, wave sounds, moss smell are known and aged palm trees, black pepper trees, evening primrose, cockscomb, layered rose, margarita, cloves, marigolds, and bay windows with houses, its narrow streets, waterfront piers and seagulls are remarkable.

The dynamics of human relations with space is based on separating different points or regions of space from each other. The identity of the region will also differ with the meanings attributed to each separated region (Bilgin 2007:220). Two different aspects of İzmir's urban identity draw attention in some stories. Emel Kayın creates an identity for two different Izmir in her story "Light, Secret and Dream Izmir (*Işık Sır ve Rüya İzmir*)". İzmir, which is represented by Yokuş Street, is described as boring and suffocating lives, which

includes the problems of living, the fight between parents, the tears of women whose husbands do not return, and the whining of the elderly. In İzmir, represented by lights, Mario, Livia, and Niko have colorful lives. The women there do not cook by the stove, do not wash clothes in the basin, but they sing. These songs are the sounds that spread to Izmir from the narrow streets of Punta Point in Kordonboyu. Yokuş Street İzmir and illuminated İzmir are like two different cities. In the uphill districts of İzmir, the serene atmosphere of rural towns is dominant. The curving streets are protective and surrounding. Everyone here seems to have known each other for hundreds of years. Everything is the same every day. The other Izmir is a coastal city. The people of this port, where a new ship comes and goes at every moment, are as changeable as the fluctuating sea. Most of them speak in incomprehensible words. As such, this Izmir is almost another world (163-164), so its identity is also different. A similar distinction is made in Mine Söğüt's story, "It is Impossibility that Makes Love a Story. Isn't it, Granny? (*Aşkı Hikâye Yapan İmkânsızlıktır. Değil mi Anneanne?*)" and in Deniz Engin's story "Chicken Pox (*Su Çiçeği*)". In the story of "Willow (*Söğüt*)", while talking about the protagonist, who wants to pass through the tall, beautiful, neat buildings and go up to Izmir, where poverty represents, Engin says that the ones below and above are always different in İzmir, where the poor settle on the mountains and the rich on the shores.

The Black Sea, which is described with cities such as Trabzon, Samsun, Bayburt, and Sinop, gains identity according to the concrete structures of these cities and the common life styles formed in these cities. Samsun, which gained an identity with the National Struggle and became identified with the commander from Thessaloniki, especially in Zerrin Koç's story "I've Called You Too Much, Mr. Şükrü", Sinop, which found a place for itself in Esra Odman's story "Two Figs (*İki İncir*)" with its castle, which used to be a prison where famous names stayed, as well as Trabzon, which was identified through the contrast between its naturalness reflected in its clear folk songs on the one hand, and its hard conservatism, which on the other hand, has a knife pulled for the sake of honor, in Erendiz Atasü's story "From Bayburt (*Bayburtlu*)" are mentioned.

II. Cities as Places of Memory in Women's Stories

People not only occupies a volume on space, but also has a zone of influence, a unique space, a field of action. In the words of Bilgin (2007:220), "the spaces we live in are also an address where individuals take root and anchor". Cities are the carriers of the values and experiential elements of the past, in a sense, they are the "workshop of civilization" (Harvey 2009:187). As

Calvino finds its place in his narrative about the city of Zaira, "the past is hidden in the city" (2011:62). Cities, where it is possible to read as a historical narrative, are among the places that contribute to the formation of collective identity along with the places that contribute to the construction of individual identity. Bilgin (2007:222-225) describes such places as "places of memory" in terms of the community. Places of memory are generally defined as places that are remembered or places where memory works. They are not only witnessing to the past of the community, but also a reflection of the re-interpretation and reuse of this past in the present, contributing to the construction of collective identity by forming a "second-order history". Lynch emphasizes that a named environment that is familiar to all produces shared memories and symbols that bring the group together and enable them to communicate with one another. The landscape acts as a vast system that preserves the memories and ideals of the group and strengthens its memory" (2018:141). Nora (2006:172), on the other hand, counts not only the named ones but also the ruins and remains that point to the ties to be established between the past and the present, even if they are not named, among the places of memory.

When we look at the places of memory in women's stories, the streets, monuments, buildings, bridges, mosques, market squares, ruins and trees of the cities draw attention as "controversial spaces of historical memory" (Chambers 2005:117) because the community settles around these units, which are the core points. According to Bilgin (2007:222), such places are also important in terms of keeping memories, as well as addressing the community's need to make sense of and organize their life, in addition to their many functions. Bosporus, Istiklal Street, Suleymaniye Mosque, Hagia Sophia, Maiden's Tower, Galata Tower, Topkapı Palace, Yedikule Dungeons in Istanbul and Kızılay Square, Zafer Bazaar, Atatürk Street, Kuğulu Park, Youth Park, Anıtkabir, Castle in Ankara as well as Alsancak streets, Alaybey streets, Clock Tower, Kemeraltı Bazaar, Alhambra Cinema, Passport Port, Bostanlı Bridge in İzmir and Atatürk Statue in Samsun, prison in Sinop, Ganita and Greek houses in Trabzon are spaces of collective memory.

In addition, the past of the cities that ascribe identity in women's stories, which takes place in the collective memory, and the longing of individuals for their past lives in the city are presented in parallel with a nostalgic point of view. In this age where the need to connect with the past is felt more and more, the search for new identity in cities by different cultures and the identity crisis that has arisen with rapid urbanization make the desire of people to feel at home and to connect with a special "homeland" understandable. Oya Baydar, in her

story "Remembering A City", returns to the past of Istanbul before 1970, to the times when the hills on the Bosporus were green, you could swim in the sea from anywhere in the city, drink soda and go out for bluefish in the Bosporus. Nilüfer Açıkalın talks about the old buildings smelling history in the back streets of Kuledibi in her story "When Solmaz Fades (*Solmaz Solarken*)" and thinks about how many generations who look at these buildings are filled with the same feelings. Ankara, which is remembered as the capital of Atatürk in the memories, has again taken its place in the memories with the memories of childhood. This nostalgic Ankara is often remembered with longing. In Selçuk Baran's story "Urban Resentment (*Kent Kırgını*)", one remembers childhood Ankara, where paper boats were floated in the waters and children went to school in ashen-colored white-collar school clothes. In the deep, the past Ankara is always missed. The changing texture of the city is rapidly erasing the past of the city. In the conditions of rapid change, the number of places where the individual can make sense of his/ her environment is decreasing day by day. At this very point, Erendiz Atasü, in his story "Smell of Blood (*Kan Kokusu*)", points out that while shedding light on the vanishing face of Ankara, the memory becomes mute in the process of the destruction of the city. Furthermore, the memory can no longer remember anything from the past. In the story "Old Neighborhood (*Eski Mahalle*)", Menekşe Toprak states that there are no longer any streets or houses in Ankara where you can trace your childhood and early youth. Objects are worn out, discarded, have lost their soul. In the face of forgetting and disappearing, sometimes there are things which are done to remember and keep alive. In Şiir Erkök Yılmaz's story "Being from Ankara (*Ankaralı Olmak*)", Ankara residents, who miss their old streets, try to establish their old Ankara by waiting for the weak trees planted on the streets of their new neighborhoods to grow.

Individuals also have places of memory, albeit fragmented, in their personal histories. The family associated with the home appears as an important place of memory. As Bilgin (2007:225) states, the memories told by the elders of the family, the family's beliefs, habits, practices, secrets that are not disclosed to others, personal belongings, and unspeakable things can all be described as memories. The family inherits this culture. This heritage is shaped in the house, which is the "first world of human existence" (Bachelard 2008:41) and corresponds to a "mood state". In this respect, we should not see the house, which creates our sense of identity, space and belonging, as just a physical object, just like the geography we were born into. The place, where we can represent ourselves and have a sense of personal integrity, is home and represents belonging (Rutherford, 1998, p. 26). Although the meanings

attributed to the representation of the house are encountered in many city-oriented stories, the image of "home" is a remarkable example, especially in the representation of the place of memory, in the women's stories in which the woman's point of view is centered. The house is a place of memory for the female character in Gül İrepoğlu's story "Tree (*Ağaç*)", which mirrors Bostancı's past in Istanbul. The memories that the house hides come to the young woman mostly through the associations of mother and grandfather. The honeysuckle swirling around the wooden balcony, the scents of honeysuckle mixed with the sound of the piano playing by the mother, and the wooden patio where you spend time with your grandfather are the elements that turn the house into a space of memory in the woman's imagination. (175) The history of the tree in the street where their house is in Bostancı merges with the personal history of the female character. the Tree is always there when a young woman transitions from childhood to a young girl, when she goes to university, when she gets married. It is like a document that takes her to her childhood, presenting him all her past. When the houses and gardens begin to collapse on the street where the young woman lives, everything gets mixed up. What remains in her memory are the smell of roses for jam, fried eggplant peppers, the taste of juicy fruits picked from the trees, how she caresses every tree, flower, every wall of the house. (175, 176) In this sense, family, street, tree, which have a place of memory, means trust, sincerity, childhood, youth, mother, grandfather for a young woman. The tree has dried up and only its trunk remains in the concrete molds, while the honeysuckle root persists. This root and stem also represent the transfer of memories and habits acquired in the family environment to the next generations.

Houses, which are an important part of the city, appear as an important place of memory in the stories of Izmir and the Black Sea on an individual level. In Jale Sancak's story "Garden in Güzelyalı (*Güzelyalı'daki Bahçe*)", the woman narrator clings to memories in İzmir, where every part of the city was plundered, and old houses were demolished, and apartments were built. When she struggles with her memory, she remembers the cool garden covered with pines and covered with conifers, the wide house in the middle of the garden with three floors, green wooden shutters, and high windows. The gravel, wicker gazebo and pier at the end of the road leading down to the sea evokes serenity. The house and its extension, the city that contains the sounds of the garden, laughter, whispers, innocent gossip, the sounds of the sea, come to life like a picture in the memory of the narrator woman. The woman lived in the garden of her imagination, surrounded all parts of the garden, took pleasure from the garden, brought joy and haste to the garden (105-106). Similarly, there is the

city remembered with the image of home in Emel Kayin's story "Light Secret and Dream Izmir". In the story in which the two faces of İzmir are told, the closed and silent houses also took a place in the memory. These houses, which are called "the other", correspond to the life in the houses, foreign faces, the games played, the pomegranate trees in the gardens of the houses, the foamy coffee drunk under the pomegranate clusters, the dresses made of pomegranate flowered fabrics, in this state, living in dreams. The Greek houses in Trabzon, which are featured in Umran Uygun's story "Ganita", are the products of a similar imagination. The joyful laughter overflowing from the gardens, the sounds of children, moss-covered pools with moss, ivy roses, the sounds of piano flowing through open windows, the sounds of violins, children playing on the streets, on the marble stairs, the parties in the gardens of the mansions, the scents of jasmine and honeysuckle spreading from the garden to the street are the elements that transform the house and its surroundings into a place of memory.

Conclusion

Each writer reads and makes sense of the city through the spaces in his/ her mental map and interacting with each other. In this study, in which we deal with cities in women's stories through places of identity and memory, it is seen that the writers' subjective perceptions, previous knowledge of the city, personal life stories and the way they experience the city are effective in the processes of reading and making sense of the city. The fact that the story writers are women in terms of the city and women and almost all the story characters are women made the subjectivity of the woman's point of view felt in the determination of the places of identity and memory. In some cases, the existential experiences of women in the context of identity and the existence of cities, the construction of women's identity in the city and the construction of cities, the disappearance of cities and the existence of women who are traumatized in the city have taken place in the same line. Of course, the woman-oriented perspective, the way women see and experience the space have brought along different women-oriented reference points about the city.

In the conditions of rapid change, which is a result of globalization, the number of places where the individual can make sense of his/ her environment is decreasing day by day. When the search for new identities in cities by different cultures and the identity crisis arising with rapid urbanization are added to this, the need to connect with the past is felt more. In the stories we examined, places of memory and identity emerged due to the desire of the person or society to feel at home and to connect with a special homeland. In the

stories, cities are presented as places of memory and identity, and the focus is on the places of identity and memory that have a place in the collective and individual consciousness within the city.

Cities as places of memory and identity draw attention as "the tool of human lifestyle" in the stories. In this sense, almost all storytellers focused on "urban life" in their stories and presented a sense of belonging and memory-oriented reading of cities in this life system. The combination of material qualities such as structure, area, landscape, and features such as memory, texture, color, trace, sound, smell, values, traditional knowledge, monotony, congestion, and spiritual qualities of the city have transformed the city into a place of memory and identity.

In the stories, cities were processed in such a way as to be a source for the formation of identity based on space and individual/group self-expression forms due to the formation of sociality bonds with social and cultural meanings. There is a natural identification between people and space in Ankara. In most stories, Ankara refers to the people of Ankara, the land and the nation are placed in the same context. Thus, a more homogeneous picture emerged in the urban identity of Ankara. Istanbul is more heterogeneous with its diversity coming from centuries past. Such are the identities of the city as much as Istanbul. The Black Sea, on the one hand, has an integrity that encompasses almost all the cities in the region. All the cities in the stories, such as Trabzon, Zonguldak, Bayburt, Rize, Samsun, and Sinop, contain references to the Black Sea identity and being a Black Sea dweller. İzmir, on the other hand, has a heterogeneous appearance with its sea breeze, southwester, phaetons, lovers, and different ethnic elements, but has managed to remain more homogeneous when compared to Istanbul.

In the context of the city and identity, the writers' and story characters' references to the city, unique spatial relations and their traces in the physical space, rituals, cultural usage habits are given as parameters that make up the identity of the city. However, many writers have discussed the deep ties with the city, with the physical and social units of the city via their story characters, through the identity of place. The emphasis on gaining an identity in the city, feeling of belonging to that place, that city, and the emphasis that the city has an identity with its physical and psychological components has often been mentioned in the same context. Some special and privileged places both represent a place and value in the personal history of the story characters and contribute to the urban identity living in the social memory. In the stories, especially Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, and Samsun are among the cities that draw

attention in this sense. Kızılay Square is one of the spaces that integrates the urban identity, which is embedded in both personal space and social memory like the Bosporus, Istanbul's islands, hills, silhouette, walls, Ankara's squares, streets, parks, Kordonboyu, Clock Tower, sea in İzmir, Atatürk Statue in Samsun, prison in Sinop and Trabzon houses. The social elements of the city draw attention as elements that integrate the identity of the city and take place in both personal and social memory.

While the memory in the stories continues to bring the city into existence by reproducing concrete and intangible signs every time, the places of memory, with its vitality and meaning in the social memory, created the consciousness of continuity to be established between the past, present, and future in individuals. For this reason, almost all the storytellers emphasized the necessity of protecting all the material and spiritual elements that give meaning, value, and emotion to the city. Thus, in the stories in which it is understood that the city has a consciousness just like human beings, cities are often a state of mind that includes feelings such as hatred, love, anxiety, anger, longing, affection, and they are a form of identity and belonging, far beyond being a physical unit. It has been concluded that they are "storage", they exist with what is in memory, and they are reproduced by transferring what is in memory to writing.

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Female Physical Geographers in a Gendered Academic Discipline in Turkey

DUYGU ALTINOLUK & MEHMET ALİ TOPRAK

Sexism can be defined as discrimination shaped by social roles and expectations based on biological sex of individuals. As a concept occurred in the 1970s, sexism has often been used to emphasize the gender discrimination against women[1]. Social life has been experienced through sexist codes that causes gender inequality. Gender inequality in a society can be examined within the historical context of its own however in all societies it leads to socially disadvantaged positions for women. These positions are reproduced by social actors and structures, and lead to gendered identity construction. Gendered identities are constructed during the socialisation process that initially begin in the family that a person was born into, and generally manifests themselves in different forms in many areas of societal life. Considering the sociological dichotomy in a society, such as public-private, culture-nature, masculine-feminine, men are seen in the first of these categorisation-pairs, and women in the second. In these dichotomies, men take assertive and active roles, whereas women are assumed to have a passive and dependent role in the background. Thus, men are attributed to the public sphere, and women more to the "home" - the private sphere.

Participation in working life, for example, is considered as one of the socially expected acts for men and thus appears to be less acceptable for women. William A. Haviland et al. (2008) underline that the fact that it is men who work in paid employment, they are in a position to support their households, and this also strengthens their dominance and influence over the household. This is exactly why gender identity emerges as a sociological phenomenon. Norms, which are more prominent in traditional societies, assign many roles to men and women. Although social roles are maintained by traditional values, they are constantly reconstructed through various ideologies in the transformation of social life. While women encounter patterns of

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[1] The binary progression of the concepts of men and women, which we will talk about throughout the text, points to a situation that emerged from the interviews we conducted with people who are socially assigned genders of men and women, not as the particular preference of researchers. Otherwise, we believe in the diversity of much more than this binary gender division that is constantly generated by social norms, values, and roles and permeates all social organisations. We think that it will be possible to purify the literature from gendered science and concepts with such annotation and deconstruction in language.

gendering in working life in general, *academia* as a working environment is either not exempt from a gendered nature despite the relatively higher educational level of its members. It is organised in parallel with gender roles too.

Independence, anti-apartheid, and ecological movements, feminist protests, and orientalism studies in the 1960s and 1970s brought new problems to the agenda of social sciences, these social upheavals also placed the gender inequality on the agenda of the academy as an important problem. This agenda was based on female labour, participation in public life and business. Beginning from this period, besides the studies on the existence or scarcity of women in the field of science in general (Sonnert 1957; Rossi 1965; Etzkowitz et al. 1994; Giannoula 2014; Kamerlin 2016), academic studies about women in certain disciplines (Hughes 1975; Rawl and Fox 1978; Kahn 1993; Schole 1998; Brandes et al. 2001; Ahtela et al. 2005; Kantola 2008) were carried out.

Geography was one of these disciplines; the first objections were on the dominance of male geographers in the discipline and the masculine institutionalisation and structuring that this results in (Zelinsky et al. 1982; McDowell 1992; Bondi and Davidson 2003). Early studies on gender representation and participation in the discipline of geography were made by the American cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky (Zelinsky 1973a and 1973b). On the basis of countries, studies were conducted in the United States (Rubin 1979; Berman 1984; Lee 1990; Al-Hindi 2000; Brinegar 2001; Monk 2004), Spain (Garcia-Ramon et al. 1988), The Netherlands (Droogleever and Fortuijn 2004), Hungary (Timar and Jelenszkyne, 2004), United Kingdom (McDowell and Peake 1990; Dumayne-Peaty and Wellens 1998; McEwan 1998; Crang 2003), Singapore (Yeoh et al. 2004) and Turkey (Özgüç 2008). The result of these studies indicated similar findings. Although there have been developments in recent years, women geographers are still underrepresented in the discipline of geography and are in a disadvantageous position in the academic hierarchy. Some studies look at this problem separately in human geography (Fortuijn 2004) and physical geography (McEwan 1998; Luzzadder-Beach and Macfarlane 2000).

However, a uniform structure may come to mind when "science" is mentioned, the scientific field actually consists of many disciplines with different epistemologies. This difference, in a sense, determines the place of each discipline in a scale of sexism. Starting from Evelyn Fox Keller [2007 (1985)], it is fair to say that the scientific field is divided into two main areas characterized as "hard" [natural sciences] and "soft" [social sciences]. In this categorisation,

the first one refers to natural sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology, engineering, and earth sciences while the second refers to social science disciplines such as sociology, history, economics, psychology, education, political science, law, and geography. The positions of these disciplines concerning natural and social sciences determine their ontology and epistemology. Due to the attributions based on the traditional gender codes, such as *soft*, *delicate*, *fragile* that women are exposed to in the wider society (Kurt-Topuz and Erkanlı 2016), the representation of women is a problematic in "hard" academic disciplines where field and nature studies are important. Lynne Segal (1987) underlines that this dichotomous situation referring to nature will not be consistent and that feminists are trying to destroy this biological sex. She states that the masculine is "strong, fierce, animalistic and instinctive" while the feminine is the "trained, tame and civilized". Such a distinction transforms sexes that the masculine is outside and the feminine is also inside. Thus, women and men, still today, appear consistently in connection with nature like in a hunting and gathering society.

The discipline of geography operates in the intersection of natural sciences and social sciences due to the physical and human geography fields it contains. This feature distinguishes geography from other social science practices that fall under the soft category. Physical geography represents the "hard" face of the discipline by establishing intense relations with natural sciences while human geography represents the "soft" face by converging with social sciences. In this way, a micro model of the gendered structure in the wider scientific world reflects in the discipline of geography. As a result, these hardness and softness categories shape the representation of women in discipline, especially in physical geography sub field, where there are specialisations such as climatology, geomorphology, plant geography, and hydrography that are closer to natural sciences. Physical geography requires research to be "outside" which is obviously contrary to a socially expected situation for women to stay "inside". We believe that this dichotomous situation is the reason of the problem of under-representation of women in physical geography. From this point of view, the main purpose of our study is to reveal the mechanisms, processes, practices that produce and reproduce gender inequality in physical geography, and the struggle strategies of women against them.

Methodological Standpoint of the Research

Gender is a concept that is constructed during the socialisation process of an individual and reproduces itself in every social institution it encounters but

under different conditions as previously mentioned. To understand gender roles and see their reflections in society, in the case of an academic discipline, we positioned ourselves at the feminist standpoint. In our research, we tried to reveal the general picture of the academy based on the statistics showing the gender distribution of academics in the Turkish universities. After making use of statistics and describing the general situation of female academics (and geographers as well) in Turkey briefly, we employed a qualitative framework based on the experiences and perspectives of male and female geographers.

We conducted semi-structured interviews with seven female and five male participants based at various universities in Turkey and at different phases of their academic careers. The interviews were conducted face-to-face or over the phone and recorded with the permission of the participants. The names[2] and academic titles of the participants were not referred in order to keep them anonymous; instead, we conveyed the information that is coded throughout our chapter. In the cases where the names of any colleague were mentioned by participants, we preferred using different names for them to strengthen anonymity and confidentiality.

The data is based on personal experiences of the participants that would not be possible to collect, for instance, by a positivist approach. Our preference of adopting such an approach is due to the nature of the phenomenon we focus on –the gender-based discrimination. A better understanding of gender-based discrimination is possible by considering what is experienced; how and to what extend it is experienced rather than employing statistics. Given the fact that this phenomenon already remains mostly undocumented (Başterzi 2015), a quantitative approach it is already not possible due to the lack of any statistics or similar data. Therefore, our study is based on the hermeneutic paradigm from a feminist epistemological point of view.

The interpretative paradigm argues that individuals create "the meanings" within the social environment they live in and the relationships they establish and that individuals should be evaluated as those who recreate their social worlds with their subjectivity (Kümbetoğlu 2015:169). Qualitative research starts by drawing attention to the contradictory patterns and restless nature of social structures, that is, by not taking social reality as a given. May (2011:47-59) emphasizes that the basic premise of the hermeneutic paradigm is that the world we live in can be grasped by understanding and interpreting rather than

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[2] In this chapter, you will see someTurkish names of male and female academics. *Seda*, *Özge*, *Hilal*, *Elvan*, *Merve*, *Zuhal*, *Gülsüm*, *Bediha*, *Rezzan* are female, and *Emre*, *Ahmet*, *Yaşar*, *Metin*, *Batuhan*, *Hasan*, *Muzaffer* are male names.

explaining it and that the social researcher who adopts this approach is expected to be in this direction. The research has been shaped in the light of such methodological framework because it can be said that the epistemological basis of feminist methodology is close to the critical school and hermeneutics.

Belkıs Kümbetoğlu (2015:174) lays an emphasis on the role of critical researcher. According to the author, "an inside view, a critical stance and as close interaction as possible are considered ideal" in the approach of a critical researcher. This is quite different from the positivist one "whose expectation is to have a distant, widely spaced, outside stance". We also took a stance in solidarity with the feminist methodology for the framework, purpose, and necessity of the study, and we took care to remain in this stance throughout the period from the beginning of the research to the analysis of the narratives. We aimed to describe the experiences of the participants from a feminist methodological point of view, and to bring to the fore the reality in which the social is constructed with the relations developed by in-depth interviews with a small number of participants. The positivist paradigm criticizes researchers doing qualitative research such as not being objective, presenting subjectivities as commonplace, and deflecting the truth due to the bias of the researcher (Restivo and Loughlin 2010:573-574) however the qualitative researchers can respond to criticism based on the basic principles of hermeneutic philosophy. Our study also aims to capture an insider's view by accepting that reality is socially constructed, each individual is unique, and the fact that the social scientist herself/himself is equipped with a given culture cannot be ignored. In line with this goal, the theoretical background of the research was framed by Joan Acker's (1990) "gendered institution" theory. Therefore, while transforming the data into findings, we tried to understand and interpret it with the descriptive analysis technique (Kümbetoğlu 2015:154), which is an analysis technique that allows the direct transfer of experiences in feminist methodological research.

The View of the Scientific Institution with the Gendered Institution Theory

Institutions are part of a society and they are socially constructed. The scientific institution also got its share from the masculine structure in this way and generally took part in a male-dominated institutionalisation. Keller (2007) underlined that with the voices of feminists being heard in the 1970s, the gendered construction of science could be seen as a blow to male" social sciences. While Stanley Aronowitz (2021:14-7) touched on the historical analysis of science in *Science as a Power*, the first feminist criticisms against male science, including the concept of feminist standpoint by Evelyn Fox Keller (1985), Sandra Harding (1986) and Nancy Hartsock (1986). Afterward, Joan

Acker, who studied gender restructuring in social organisations, and institutions in 1990, for the first time in her article titled *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations*, conceptualized those working women are also exposed to gender discrimination in the workplace as a gendered organisation. Acker and Donald R. Van Houten (1974) refer to gendered structuring in institutions, but there is no emphasis on "academy" in these articles. Insomuch that while theorizing the concept of gendered institutions, it is undeniable that Acker benefited from the thoughts of these three thinkers who thought about sexism in science. Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, the sexist scientific situation and male structuring in academia has been criticized, with the influence of second-wave feminism. In such an atmosphere, Acker, in the article titled *From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions* (1992), discusses in detail that gender roles are determined socially based on biological sex and that this overflows from *the home* and spreads to every area into the institutions.

Acker and Van Houten (1974:152-3) state that institutions and organisations are socially constructed places, and that gender roles and expectations shape these institutions from the bottom up, they repeatedly explain that masculine structuring in organisational research increases gender discrimination in institutions. Organisation theorists Blauner (1964) and Furstenberg (1968) stated that, based on gender roles learned through socialisation, women's roles in the family are not shared by men, and that these roles lead to male-based structuring in social organisations and institutions. Acker (1990:146-7) composes the forms of gendering in institutions, and organisations in five basic categories:

1- Business planning by gender in institutions and organisations: *"Gendered division of labour"*

2- Gender-based arrangement of symbols, clothing, signs, and rituals that include social roles and expectations between the sexes: *"Gendered symbols"*

3- Gender-based interaction in the workplace, which includes interaction between same-sex and opposite-sex: *"Gendered workplace interaction"*

4- Gender-based components of individual identity: *"Gendered individual identity"*

5- Gendered institutional logic, which includes the spread of gendered state in family and kinship relations to all institutions: "*Gendered organisational logic*"

This categorisation of Acker is quite compelling to see the gender-based discrimination in institutions. Since even in the academia, where education level is the highest in any society, sexism can explain the low number of female academics in academic and administrative positions. Gender-based

discrimination is experienced in a wide range from the division of labour between sexes to gendered interaction.[3]

To see gender-based discrimination in the discipline of geography in academia, we interviewed the participants using the five categorisations in Acker's gendered theory of institutions. Therefore, when we analyse the discipline of geography through this theory, we can see that it is not at all exempt from gender roles and values and that it creates a gendered institutional logic by including the division of labour, symbol, interaction, and individual identity arising from the role distinctions between men and women. As a matter of fact, the discipline of geography is a male-dominated discipline as of its establishment, and the visibility of women in the discipline started in the 1970s with the rise of the voice of feminist geography (Özgüç 1998a:16-7). Therefore, it is not surprising that women are invisible within the geography, especially physical geography sub-field, which has had a male-dominated character since its foundation.

Representation of Female Physical Geographers in Academic Geography

Based on the statistical data, here we are going to briefly present the situation of female academics in Turkey both generally and in geography specifically. The rate of female academics employed at the universities is surprisingly higher in Turkey than in many other European countries.[4] There were only 93 female academics in Turkey in the early 1930s. The ratio of female academics kept increasing in parallel with the gender-equalist priorities of the Republican ideology. The ratio of female academics to male academics was 13,9% in 1945, 18,8% in 1960, 26% in 1982, 31% in 1991, 36,6% in 2002, 40,8% in 2011 (Şentürk 2015), and finally reached 45% in 2021. According to the Turkish Council of Higher Education report, 180.065 academics work in 207

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[3] How Acker's gendered institution theory can be applied to research specific to academia, see Duygu Altınoluk's *Kadın Olmak mı Akademisyen Olmak mı? İşte Bütün Mesele Bu. [To Be a Woman, To Be an Academic? That's the Question]* (2018) and *Cinsiyetlendirilmiş Kurum Olarak Akademi: Erkek Akademisyenlerin "Öteki" Üzerinden Erkeklik İnşaları [Academia as a Gendered Institution: The Construction of Masculinity through "Otherness" of Male Academics]* (2017) for the Turkish case.

[4] Previous studies indicated that the share of women academics in Turkey is much higher than their counterparts in developed countries such as Germany, Great Britain, or USA (Özgüç 1998b). Burcu Şentürk (2015) in her article titled *Nonthemore: An Essay on Female Academics in Turkey* concludes that the hight numbers of women academics in Turkey in comparison to many other countries is "promising" and underlined that the relatively high rates of female academics in Turkish universities despite the country's poor score in Global Gender Gap Index and to the rankings of female employment is notable. However, women's striking presence in Turkish academia is related to the gendered nature of the academic employment, for example, the share of women academics is dramatically higher than men in nursing and pre-school teaching departments. According to the author, there is also a contradiction between the number of women in the academia and the number of them represented in administrative positions.

public and foundation universities in Turkey in 2021. However, there has been a significant increase in general in the share of female academics in Turkey, the different ontologies and epistemologies of many faculties and disciplines causes a gender-selective process that affect the number of female academicians in each discipline. For example, only 32% of the academicians employed in engineering faculties are women and 68% are men. When it comes to disciplines such as *education*, *literature*, *communications*, and *law*, a relatively equal shares are observed: 49% female; 51% male in faculties of education; 45% female and 55% male in faculties of letters; 51% female and 49% male in faculties of communications and %47 female and %53 male in faculties of law. In the faculties of health sciences (76% female[5]; 24% male), art, design, and architecture (female 64,5%; male 36,5%), the number of female academicians is much higher than the number of male academicians. Even these numbers show how women are positioned in academia in the context of their various socio-cultural roles which explain gender roles, domestic roles, traditional roles.

Although the discipline of geography is organised as a social science, it is intertwined with natural sciences and social sciences. Despite this versatile structure of the discipline, geography seems more similar to natural and engineering sciences in aspect of gender (28% female, 72% male)[6]. Why women have not been equally presented in the academic geography in Turkey despite the fact that it is actually a "soft" discipline under the umbrella of social sciences? An answer can be searched in the very foundations of the discipline. The institutionalisation and development of academic geography in Turkey took place under unique political, economic, and social conditions. The perception of geography as a discipline, the content of academic studies, the schools to which it is affiliated, and ultimately the gender context of the discipline have been affected by the dynamics in the institutionalisation and development process. The institutionalisation of geography as a discipline in Turkey began in 1915 with the opening of the geography department (along with the other departments of literature, philosophy, and history) within the Faculty of Letters of Darülfünun in Istanbul. The second geography department in Turkey was established in Ankara, the new capital of modern Turkey, as a part of the

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[5] We should consider that there are gendered professions and disciplines such as midwifery and nursing within the faculties of health sciences.

[6] Although the ratio of male and female academicians is close to each other on the basis of faculties, there is a different organisational structure on the basis of departments. The gender distribution of other departments in the same faculty with geography's is as follows: Sociology (53% male, 47% female), Turkish Language and Literature (58% male, 42% female), History (74% male, 26% female), Archaeology (61% male, 39% female), Art History (49% male, 51% female), Philosophy (66% male, 34% female). The aforementioned departments are under the faculties of literature as social sciences, but we see that the female-male ratios of the faculties of literature are not valid at the departmental level.

Faculty of Languages and History, Geography in 1935. The foundations of modern geography were laid by French and German male geographers such as Erich Obst, Herbert Louis, Ernest Chaput[7].

The absence of female geographers is remarkable during the early years of the foundation of the discipline. "There was not even one single female geographer" as Nazmiye Özgüç (1998b:180) underlined. Why there was not a female geographer? The author considered it as "a difficult question to answer" however she suggested that the dominance of physical geography, geology and mathematical geography during the early stages might have been influential on non-involvement of women in Turkey as it was also the case in some other countries (Özgüç 1998b:180). The representation of female academics in geography reflects the national and international context, cultural values, traditions, and transformations in the labour market (Özgüç 2008:233). It took decades until the first women geographer to be appointed to an academic position.

The very first female academician in the discipline of geography in Turkey was Ayhan Sür, who was appointed as a research assistant to the Chair of Physical Geography in the Faculty of Language, History and Geography in 1955. The second one was Bedriye Tolun, who was appointed to the Chair of Human and Economic Geography at Istanbul University Institute of Geography in 1959 (Özgüç 2008:235). However, the appointment of two female geographers did not accelerate the entry of female academics into the discipline. As a matter of fact, until Nazmiye Özgüç was appointed as a research assistant at the Geography Department of Istanbul University in 1970, no new female geographer was employed or could not be employed in the discipline. For example, until the end of 1990s, there was still only one woman at a full-professorship position. The expansion of geography departments across country did not result in an equal expansion of female geographers (Özgüç 1998b) however, numbers of female geographers has increased during the 2000s and the 2010s as the rapid increase in geography departments with the rapid *universitisation* (Toprak 2012) in Turkey. There were only four geography departments until the 1990s. In the late 1990s, the total number of geographers was 230 and only 44 of them women whose share was approximately 20% (Özgüç 1998b:184). The number of geography department increased to 45 in 2021, where 441 geographers are currently employed. Though there is an increasing number of women geographers, their share and academic positions are still significantly lower when compared to men, especially at the full-professorship and associate professorship positions as it can be seen in the Figure 1.

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[7] For detailed information, see: Ceylan, 2013; Gümüşçü and Karakaş-Özür, 2016.
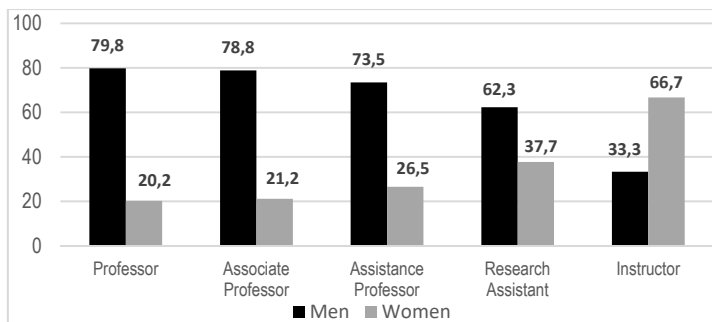
Figure 1:
Academic Position and Gender Distribution in Geography Departments (%)

In order to understand the distinct situation of physical geography in aspect of gender, let us take a closer look to the sub-branches. Academic geography in Turkey is organized in six certain branches that can change in number from department to department, including (1) Human and Economic Geography, (2) Physical geography, (3) Regional geography (4) Geography of Turkey [*Türkiye Coğrafyası*] (5) Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and (6) Geography[8]. According to the statistics of Turkish Council of Higher Education, employment status of geographers is available as to these six branches. Geographers in Turkey are employed predominantly in the two branches, *human and economic geography,* and *physical geography* (Figure 2).
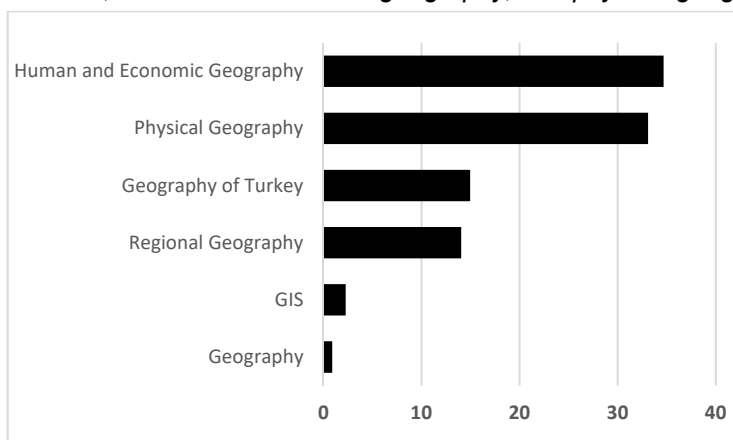
Figure 2:
Distribution of Academic Staff according to Sub-Fields of Geography

146 geographers are currently employed in the physical geography branch. Only 31% of them are women. Gender inequality to the detriment of

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[8] As it is mentioned previously, academic structure of geography departments in some of the recently established ones, this branch was organized simply with a title of "geography" due to the lack of sufficient academic staff who has specialized in a one of the other certain branches.

women in physical geography becomes clearer in the distribution of academic positions. Female physical geographers have significantly lower shares at all academic levels except instructors (Figure 3). The lower shares especially at full- and associate-professorships are notable because these are the decision-making positions in universities in Turkey. Women considerably occupy assistant professorships and research asistantships both being non-parmanent academic positions and the latter is already the lowest one in academic life. Male and female instructers have an equal share however instructers have only pedagogical duties limited with undergradute programes.
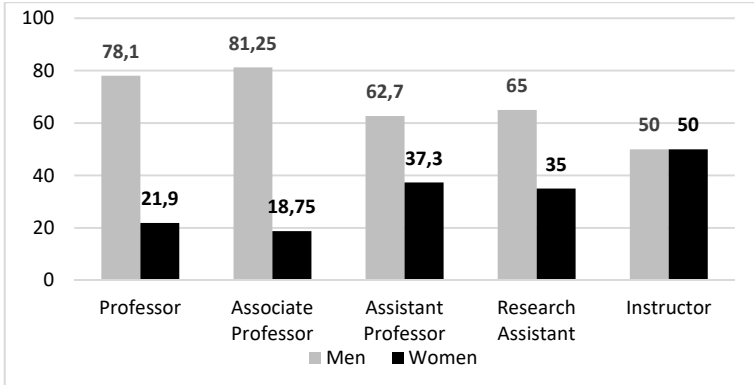
Figure 3: Academic Position and Gender Distribution in the Physical Geography (%)

As the accessibility of undergraduate education for both male and female students increases in Turkey, we could expect a relatively equal gender division also at the post graduate level, at the very first step to enter academic life. How is it that there is almost equal representation at the undergraduate level in geography, but there is a considerable gender inequality in postgraduate education? There is not a huge gender gap among undergraduate students of geography (45% female and 55% male students) however the significant change in the shares to the detriment of women in postgraduate education is very remarkable. Only 30% of the students enrolled in postgraduate geography programs are women. The metaphor used to answer this question, the *leaky pipeline*, gives us a way; according to this metaphorical concept, while progressing from undergraduate life to the end of graduate life, women decrease at each education stage due to the differing gender roles and expectations between women and men, and the number of men remains the same on the sieve, or a very slight decrease is observed (Nayir and Taneri 2015; Dubois-Shaik and Fusulier 2015; Scott et al. 2018). Considering this reveals the reason why the share of female master's and doctorate students is low and the number of women in research assistant positions, which is the first

step of academic life, is relatively low. According to the statistics, the numerical inequality between men and women starting from graduate students is therefore reflected in the discipline of physical geography, and this inequality also affects the gender distribution.

Female Geographers in the Distinction/Intersection of Physical and Human Geography

In the words of Anlı (2016), "*the relationship between the sub-divisions of the discipline of geography carries within itself the distinction between natural sciences and social sciences*". This dual structure of geography both resulted in having a different story from other disciplines historically and determined the internal development and structure of the discipline. The discipline of geography has developed under the dominance of physical geography and earth sciences tradition for a long time. However, the 1970s, when social sciences were questioned, was a period in which human geography also stepped forward and strengthened its ontology and epistemology. Human geography and physical geography, institutionalised under the discipline of geography as two parts of a whole, started to diverge from each other after this break in social sciences. Although it is traditionally emphasized that geography is a science that synthesizes natural, environmental, and human elements together, it is also said that this is not easy or even possible (Holt-Jensen 2017:5). It seems that this idealised emphasis on synthesis is a just myth. As a matter of fact, even though most of the participants emphasized that geography is basically a science that synthesizes physical and human elements, they accepted that this is not the case in practice:

> In the courses, we were always told that it is a part of a whole; but I think the difference is a very serious difference in this regard. Although it is different in terms of both the way it handles the subjects and the method, it is also different in terms of the subjects themselves. I think physical geography is closer to natural sciences, and that it is explained by mathematical formulas. (Emre)

> The only difference [between human and physical geographers] is that we are more focused on the physical aspect which is related to the natural sciences while the human geographers are closer to the fields of social sciences like sociology and economics. So, there is a difference in terms of work or approach, but in my opinion, [both human and physical geography] should be carried out together. At least, if we are conducting a physical geographical research, we should never ignore the role of human geographical aspect, because geography needs to be addressed in terms of how people affect today, no matter what subject we focus on. In my opinion, the distinction between the two [human geography and physical geography] is, of course, necessary in terms of the

definition of the discipline, but we should not draw sharp lines [within geography]. (Ahmet)

According to Lacoste (2014:104), despite geographers almost agree that the reason for geographers' existence is the study of interactions between "physical phenomena" and "human phenomena", they do not seem to be very much interested in these interactions in their practice. Some are only concerned with "physical geography", while others are mainly concerned with "human geography". This situation becomes evident in the objects researched by both fields and the methods they use. Human geography consists of subfields such as population geography economic geography, political geography, urban geography, cultural geography, tourism geography, while physical geography consists of subfields such as geomorphology, climatology, hydrology, soil geography, and plant geography. While human geography mostly uses the methodology used by the social sciences, physical geography mostly uses the methodologies used in the natural sciences. Özgür (2014:156) stated that physical and human geography do not have much in common except sharing the same space and described this situation as "forced marriage". The author says that, however these two disciplines follow distinct trajectories in the world, what keeps human geography and physical geography still together in Turkey is environmental determinism, the traditional regional approach and school geography.

The general social image of the discipline of geography is based on physical geography as some studies previously found (Morley 2012; Gans et. al. 2018). When it comes to geography, the concepts used by people to define geography are maps, mountains, rocks, plains, etc. This under detection produces the illusion that human geography is office-based and physical geography is fieldwork-based as a *though* and *heroic* activity (Rose 1993; Sparke 1996). Including the discipline of geography within the soft science is misleading, and also reflects the ontological crisis of the discipline. In fact, fieldworks are very important in both human and physical geographical research. As a result of neoliberal higher education policies with a publish or perish approach, academics are forced to focus on mostly publishing and because the academic value of field works are underrated (Arı 2020:21), fieldworks do not receive the attention they deserve. Studies in human geography such as population, migration, industry, tourism, and political geography have begun to be perceived as "desk work". This misconception causes women to move away from physical geography and prefer human geography in the process of choosing a major already at the beginning of postgraduate education. In parallel, Sarah Maguire's study aims to research the attitudes -especially gendered roles, and attitudes- of students against

fieldwork. She underlined that "women may be less drawn to physical geography, partly because they feel they are not fit enough to participate fully in the fieldwork activities, and/or because they cannot compete and win within the framework established and perpetuated by male students." (Maguire 1998:207). Maguire's survey found that 22 per cent of the male students perceived their fitness level to be high, while this was true for only 4 per cent of female students (Maguire 1998:210). The survey also found that students thought they needed to be fitter for physical geography tasks than for human geography tasks. In support of Maguire's research, Clare Madge, and Anna Bee (1999) emphasized in in-depth interviews with 15 female physical geographers that this masculine "way of fieldwork" creates informal psychological barriers, fostering women's marginalisation and affecting career success.

> (…) it is very wrong to separate physical and human geography with a border; there are a lot of things that definitely need to benefit from each other. That is why I do not make any distinction between physical geography and human geography in the courses I teach in the department. I think it is all intertwined. Even our students concern about it. Postgraduate students do not want to choose to study on physical geography. Only a few students voluntarily chose to study in the field. Especially women do not prefer by saying that "professor, I cannot do it, it requires fieldwork, I cannot go out to the field". And it is very difficult to reframe such a perception (Rezzan).

> When we talk about the discipline of geography, the physical and the human cannot be separated. Physical geography is a slightly more technical field and employs methods different from the social sciences (…) Although the methods are different, physical, and human only have a meaning when they are together (Metin).

As stated by the participants, the physical and human distinction within the discipline of geography actually appears as "false facts". In other words, to put it briefly, discrimination in physical geography takes place as a result of a two-sided process. On the one hand, there are decision makers who have negative prejudices towards women working in the field of physical geography, and on the other hand, women themselves who are exposed to this have strategies to stay away from this field.

Gender Inequality in Physical Geography

Women face discrimination in many academic disciplines. However, some male-dominated disciplines are more conservative about women's entry and ascent into academia. Gender distribution of academic staff in geography is also unequal. A similar picture prevails both in geography in general and on the basis of subfields. Statistics point to a gender inequality in general. The gender

codes that produce this inequality also in physical geography are based on already-existing gender roles and social expectations. Therefore, a woman who decides to enter academic life develops some strategies in the selection of behaviour, approach, and field of study against this discrimination from the first stage. In this part of the chapter, sexist approaches towards women, implications and the strategies developed by women against them are discussed based on the interviews. As a matter of fact, one of the main purposes of using Acker's theory is that the theory does more than focus on numerical data showing gender inequality and mentions that gender inequality spreads to all areas within institutions and organisations, from gestures to clothing, from the division of labour to interactions at workplaces and individual identities.

Women's Preference of Physical Geography and Their First Steps

It is understood that the ideal of "becoming a teacher" has been an important factor in preferring a geography department for higher education, as it was also previously documented in literature (Özgüç 1998b:181) since teaching is a profession in the category of "what women can do". Acker (1990:140) says that the slogan of "equal pay for equal work" in the feminist movement should be related to the previous problem of the gendering of professions in working life. Considering the differences between the motivations of choosing a profession between sexes, it is possible to say that the ideal profession for women would be the profession that does not prevent them from becoming mothers or doing housework. Some of the participants stated that the reason for preferring geography in line with this view was the idea of becoming a teacher:

> When choosing a field for undergraduate, I would choose between archaeology and geography. I wanted [to study] archaeology. However, my family forced me to study geography to become a teacher. After registered, I had realised that teaching in the rural regions[9] was not very suitable for me, thus I decided to become an academician. (Özge)

> I wanted to become a geography teacher. Nevertheless, when I think about it after a while, teaching felt like dull. (Hilal)

The first contacts of women with geography and more specifically with the academic community can be examined under several periods:

1- The period of undergraduate education and writing an undergraduate dissertation

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[9] The participant here, means the possibility of being appointed to a peripheral, remote Anatolian town by the Ministry of Education in case she would become a public teacher.

2- The period of graduate and doctoral education
3- The period of being included in the "community" as an assistant, that is to say, becoming a colleague

There are two main stages of academic life where female candidates mostly face gender discrimination: getting a master's degree and being appointed as a research assistant. However, a participant stated that although/ even though she was interested in physical geography and wanted to write an undergraduate dissertation on this subject, she had to write an undergraduate dissertation under the supervision of a human geography professor due to the prejudiced attitude of another professor, such as *"a girl cannot work in the field, she cannot cope with hard times"*:

> I worked actively in the field of physical geography from my second year of university until the end of my master's degree. (…) I got my bachelor's degree. I started to study in a graduate school in August. I enrolled at another university because, in the department I graduated from, the only graduate program available was the human geography program. And I had been studying physical geography since the second year of bachelor, including the topic of my undergraduate dissertation. We were eight graduate students there, three of us were women. He supervised only the male students. His academic specialisation was geomorphology. However, I was focusing on climatology. (Zuhal)

Another one stated that she experienced discrimination at the stage of becoming a colleague -during the process of becoming a research assistant- not when she started the master program. Implicit or explicit discrimination against women can continue even after being appointed as a research assistant:

> Once you enter the academia, discrimination begins. In fact, they say that female students are more hardworking. They [male professors] have always supported us during undergraduate education; but, whatever happened when we entered the academy, I was suddenly stigmatized as someone with inadequacies. Something like this had happened, the professor whom I was working with, he said: "You will work as a team with men. I am a man, and I could work. You will have a hard time as a woman." After your undergraduate and you head to graduate school, no one guides you about anything. You do not ask how to do it as a woman when we come to the subject selection, then they begin to discriminate. What I mean here is that you are at your desk as a woman, or you can conduct a fieldwork. (Merve),

> When hiring a research assistant, female assistants were not welcomed very warmly because sometimes connotations of having a woman assistant [in a

department] is different. "Oh, you will get a female assistant now?". She will marry very soon. She will be pregnant; she will have a child. How would it be like to sleep (in the men's area) [in case of a fieldwork]? That is why, in physical geography studies, female assistants were not considered very positively. (Zuhal)

I had decided [to become a physical geographer] in my freshmen year of university, but I laughed a lot at the debate about physical geography or human geography when I was senior. Some of my professors said, "[You should] study human geography, how will you do it in physical geography?" Some of the physical geography professors did not want me either. For example, Prof. Muzaffer said that he wanted a man for physical geography. He said he did not believe a woman could perform physical geography. And there was an exam for an assistantship position. I wanted to apply. He told me not to apply because he said, "I will even ask questions that you might not know". When I go out on the field, I want to go out with the men whenever I want. We are staying in a tent. There was even such a conversation. Then he took me to a fieldwork. He asked me to lift [a piece of heavy equipment]. He said, show yourself. He tried to separate it with such a show of power. And I could not remove [that tool]. I do not think this should be an indication, I could of course use certain tools to have it removed. He said, "You see, some jobs are not for women. You will understand why I prefer male students." (…) But physical geography and human geography became a very painful distinction. Because it was clearly told to my face. (Rezzan)

The discriminatory attitudes faced by women led them to adopt two types of strategies in their academic career. The first one is to change their fields and transfer to the human geography, and the other is to stay in physical geography but prefer the field of climatology, a specialisation that requires relatively less fieldwork or not at all. This again shows us that the organisations and institutions in the society cannot be separated from gender discrimination and that the duties and responsibilities arising from the gender-based role imposed to women are also reflected in their professional choices. Acker (1992:567) underlines that these micro-domain divisions within a profession also reproduce gendered spaces within a discipline. Therefore, discrimination based on gender can continue by reproducing itself every time:

There was even such a restriction on admission to the university. It was much earlier. In other words, when I was a student, it was stated as a prerequisite in the university selection guide while taking the university exam. It seems that no more than 5% of female students will be accepted. The reason for these limitations is, of course, related to the intense fieldwork of these branches of science. Maybe

the necessity of working alone in the field brought something like this. As soon as the woman does it, that is another matter. But that was the main reason. Otherwise, there is no other reason for this distinction. It was something about fieldwork. Is it possible to do without fieldwork in physical geography? It is possible. (Batuhan)

For example, we were not accepted to a PhD program by our professors, because we would not be able to go to the field. They accepted the men at that time. After I applied to another university, my other female friend also turned to human geography. (Seda)

Destroying a Myth: The Dilemma of the Female Field Scholars

The most important activities covering the observation and data collection process in physical geography are field studies. Female researchers in physical geography stated that they faced both direct and indirect discrimination. This discrimination manifests itself in different forms when choosing a major, the dissertation topic, and going out the field.

In fact, there was no such discourse during the lecture, but no female student was offered a dissertation in the field of geomorphology when fieldworks were being conducted or the research topics to be determined. Therefore, when fieldworks were to be carried out, the proposals regarding this were first sent to male students. They said that women can also come if they want. During my graduate education, we went to a one-week fieldwork, and he took us to Manisa[10]. They were his assistants, and some of them were graduate students. But every significant tasks in the fieldwork was assisted, managed by male students and male assistants. Actually, we were a bit like knick-knack. No direct responsibility was given to us. (Zuhal)

I heard something like… for physical geographers, look, you are a physical geographer, how do you get to the field, blah blah blah… is it not hard for you? – from what point of view? I have heard that fieldwork probably requires strength, it forces fitness level of female body, a few things like walking and so on. But we used to go to fieldworks as a group of men and women. (Emre)

Most of the professors who trained us used to always imply that fieldwork was not very suitable for women, even if it was not like such a sharp discrimination when we were studying in undergraduate education. In other words, the fieldworks could have passed in such a camp with accommodation and so on. It could be a problem for women and men to stay together in the camp. You know, the times

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[10] Here again, the name of the site of the fieldwork has been changed to a different province to ensure anonymity.

when women were distressed because of their physical characteristics could disrupt work. (Zuhal)

[It is] because Prof. Muzaffer had prejudices about female students. In the other words, [according to him] girls could not work in the field, they could not handle difficult conditions, that's why he directed me to Prof. Gülsüm (a human geographer). (…) I had to write my thesis with her. [In fact] I wanted to work with Professor Hasan. Mr. Hasan accepted me and another female student, but Muzaffer did not allow, and he barred us. Hasan suggested a research topic for me and my friend that he could supervise and informed Prof. Muzaffer about it. Muzaffer asked, "Is this the topic what you are going ot study?", "Will you really study this, is this your topic?" (Elvan expressed this with a gesture describing the academic insignificancy of the subject). Perhaps, I have been in a disadvantageous position in my academic specialisation because I am a female physical geographer. I think Mr. Muzaffer's discriminative approach has been an effective factor in this issue (Elvan).

The old professors always used to say Women find the fieldwork difficult. They will get married and have children. This does not just apply to physical geography. It applies to the entire academy. There were quite a few people who thought that other duties of a woman as an academic would prevent it (researching, working, studying on fieldwork). (Batuhan)

The narratives of the participants above form the basis for Acker's gendered division of labour and organisational logic, which is one of the five basic elements in the masculine hierarchical structure of organisations. The discipline of geography was generally organized as a male-dominated academic discipline, and thus, in the dichotomy of human geography and physical geography within the discipline, women were directed more towards the human geography or women who tried to exist as women in physical geography were subjected to gender discrimination in various forms. While emphasizing on their motherhood or attributed vulnerability, it was directly or indirectly stated that women would have difficulties in the field and would not be able to do anything on their own.

No matter what you do, you will not be seen as successful as men. Women's social limitations and background prevent them being as successful as men. [Due to] responsibilities or something else [social expectations from women], family, home, children… That is why there is a logic that women stay away from work after giving birth. A woman cannot go to everywhere [fieldwork] she wants on her own. That would socially be considered dangerous. Even though I cannot explain it fully, I cannot make male colleagues accept the success of a woman. As a

woman, when I succeeded in something despite all its difficulties, they always found something to annoy me. For example, one says, "We do not talk about cosmetics here." Men slur and demoralise you. They are half-joking, half-serious, at first, I was glossing over it, then I realized that this approach of them was not well-intentioned. It took me a long time to understand and warn men about this. They were saying, for example, that I dressed well, I was well-groomed, how could I be a good scientist? It is asked why I chose the difficult side. Once, everyone giggled after professor made innuendoes [about the insufficiencies of women]. I suddenly became their laughingstock. (Merve)

Let me put it this way. When I was a master student, I used to attend congresses, once I entered to the congress hall, the male attendees there paid utmost attention not to what I presented but to my appearance. Yes, I was single. But during break time or something, no one was interested in what I had to offer as an academic. Then I stopped participating in congresses. I stopped it at the beginning of my doctorate, I started going again after my associate professorship. It created so much antipathy in me. You enter, I always say, they come in to watch, not to listen to me. Even now, I think so. I took my associate professorship exam, I was very fancy, I think I entered brilliantly, and I failed. One of my professors said to me that I cannot get on the podium like that, if I enter like that, I will create the impression that I was not working. In the second time, I learnt to tie my hair back, as I never tie my hair back. I tied my hair back during my second exam; I walked in with a T-shirt and no make-up. My English test score was very high, the male colleagues said, "If she gets 80, we get 100". This bothered me a lot. Perhaps because I am getting older now. I restarted to go to the congresses when I have the self-confidence today, dare to ask them why they look at me, if they look at me again as they did before. I could give you endless examples of such situations. (Rezzan)

What we see in Merve's and Rezzan's narratives is that women, as gendered symbols, are well-groomed and underline that they are in a secondary position by constantly reminding them of their gender with feminine symbols such as nail polish and lipstick. It reflects practices, ideologies, and symbols that manifest themselves in various stages of institutions and social life. Institutions and organisations form and maintain their logic in a way that strengthens this patriarchy. Acker's gendered organisation theory underlies exactly this point. Institutions, structurally, put these gendered symbols into operation in a way from the establishment stage.

A participant who attended in a fieldwork provided important clues about gender discrimination in the division of labour at the field. The logic of

organisation in both spatial and social structures from *home* to *public space* is adorned with patriarchal codes. However, while a man can get rid of a domestic role of being a "father" as soon as he enters the public sphere, a woman is not freed from her role as "mother" or other gender-based roles even she enters the public sphere. Since the socio-spatial location of the social gender-based role of men, as being strong, breadwinner, making a living, is "outside" while the women's is "inside". For example, being a mother as a "top ranking" gender role of women is encouraged, sometimes even through social policies and legal regulations,[11] This state of being inside is thus reflected in the gendered logic of organisations, it is socially constructed; in this way, even in fieldworks, roles are differentiated based on gender and reconstruct themselves every time.

> When I was a research assistant, male researchers were given more outdoor field work; female research assistants were given tasks such as organizing the students and where to eat. There is work to be done about the field, for example, such as taking measurements with GPS, I am not sure if this gender-based task division was intentional. [Perhaps] it was related to the social background, to the dominance of the masculine system. But when I also wanted to take GPS measurements, there was no negative reaction to stop me, there was no problem with that it was me –a woman- who took the measurements. I also worked with a professor of geomorphology. I also participated in a landslide research. I have been quite active. What a big deal! There were no other assistants at that time. If there had been another assistant, maybe he wouldn't have taken me to the field (laughs) but yes, there was discrimination in task sharing (Hilal).

> When I started going out on the field, I always had a member of my family with me. Ever since my first graduation from university, including my father, my nephews, my older sisters' spouses… At least one of them was always escorting me, during a drive for example. I always went outside to the field with someone beside me. some situations that may be encountered during the field work would be social interactions with unfamiliar men, chatting with male villagers or male attendees at the coffee house etc. So, women may prefer to work at a desk and focus more on human geography (Seda).

> When it comes to task sharing, we do not easily make girls do something that requires physical power. But I do not know about activating a field tool, it is simpler things like pushing a button with one arm. Maybe it will be different when

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[11] For example, when a working woman marries a man, she can submit a petition within a year to her company on the grounds that her husband does not want her to work and request to leave her job with compensation payment. This does not apply to male citizens (Article 14 of Labour Law of Turkey No. 1475). This means that organisations in the public sphere are organized according to the fact that women are expected to be "at home" as a given.

it comes to extracting soil samples. So, if you ask, is there a difference in the division of labour, I think yes. (Emre)

Climatology, as a sub field within physical geography, is an exception for fieldworks, because most of the climatological studies can be done in an office by working on the already-collected official data by the officers in the meteorological stations across Turkey. Obtaining data mostly requires no more effort than demanding the official statistics from the relevant state institutions. This character of this sub field that does not require outdoor performance has transformed it into a "safe haven" for women in physical geography.

> For example, I wanted to study on another subject in those years. Therefore, Mr. Muzaffer told me that he prefers to work with a man, not with a woman in physical geography. Women study climatology in their offices because there is not a necessity of outdoor fieldwork in climatology. Just study climatology if you want physical geography. I also studied climatology with Mr. Hasan. However, what I wanted was another field. (Rezzan)

> Fieldworks were a part of geomorphological studies. However, since we could not do much fieldwork during the undergraduate years, I did not feel like I had developed myself enough in that field. This is the primary reason why I quitted geomorphology. Because there were two fieldworks. When I went out to the field, I thought that I could not do the research I desired. I did not find myself trained in that subject rather than physical impossibilities. I felt better trained in climatology. (Özge)

> When I went out to the fieldwork with my professor, something had bothered me a lot. (…) He also told me that if he would see me as a woman, he wouldn't take me to the fieldwork. I still find it difficult to make sense of this expression of him. The professor might have considered two possibilities here. First, he thought he did not gender discriminate, which is very unlikely. I do not know how to explain the other one, I didn't want to say the other one. Maybe he wanted to say that I didn't have the gender roles, motherhood, etc., I do not know. (Merve)

In the study of Etzkowitz et al. (1994:53), some female researchers' identity is based on their research and successful careers; they found that acts that impose more social roles on women, such as marriage and having a child, are secondary. These authors also underlined that female researcher are in a constant struggle to determine the best time to have children. As a matter of fact, while it is obvious that women are exposed to discrimination from the private to the public sphere many times over their childbearing and marriage, we can say that they are marginalized at the academic level and are seen as a *woman* only after as a *mother* that also makes their academic identities

generally remain in the background. According to Altınoluk (2018:62), in fieldworks where female and male academicians work together, it has been revealed that women undertake the task of tidying up locales, just like they do in the private space, like their homes, and that men undertake more "difficult" tasks.

Denial of Masculinity: Gender Inequality Passes Men "Tangent"

Gender inequality is mostly noticed by women and is generally not an issue for men; in fact, it is an issue where the existence of inequality is denied rather than ignored. For instance, Etzkowitz et al. (1994:52) found out that the rate of dropouts in the department is 50% among women and 17% among men. When this gender discrimination was brought to the agenda in the faculty board, men claimed that such a thing could not happen, that there was not enough statistical data on this gender discrimination subject. The authors underlined that a male colleague was quite surprised when they stated that it was nonsense and that such a connection could not be established. Men sometimes are not aware of this fact and, when the data is revealed, they are very surprised. Etzkowitz et al. (1994) underlined that everybody knows that the decrease in the number of women in their educational life and the increase in inequality due to social expectations stemming from gender roles is a situation that can be explained both by the patriarchal societal structure and the "leaky pipeline" metaphor mentioned before. We asked male participants if there is gender discrimination in geography and the answers support the findings of Etzkowitz's et al. (1994).

> Well, this question seems unnecessary and meaningless to me. Now, I guess, work will gradually shift towards the distinction or capacity of men and women. To begin with, I can say that there is no need for such a distinction. Fieldwork is difficult so women cannot go outside. I did not think that women could do well in physical geography. Besides, we had a professor Bediha. She specialized in climatology, but it is a very difficult study as well. There is also a fieldwork in climatology. I have never noticed such a distinction or differences in capacity throughout my academic life. (Metin)

Such statements of the participant are discursive reflections of "gender blindness". Gender blindness (Zorlu 2021) is generally used to describe treating all genders the same, ignoring that individuals of different genders may be affected differently by a situation due to their different roles, needs, status, and priorities in society.

> *It is an irrelevant question within this discipline today. Because you see that women are everywhere. You talk about underrepresentation [of women], but I do*

not think so. If it would be true, these women should not be able to become at professor positions today. For example, women can become even a vice dean, every semester, right? That is why we cannot talk about this [such an underrepresentation] in geography or other social sciences. Look, I do not know about physics or chemistry. Former professors used to say that women could not go to fieldwork in our country. I never said, I never said [to women] not to join fieldworks, but I did not encourage them either. It is not something that can happen by compulsion. (Batuhan)

Women's under-representation in academic geography was recognizable in Turkey until the early 2000s (Özgüç 2008:245). As a matter of fact, the concepts used by Metin for the question are related to a state of "not recognising" and "finding it ridiculous", just like in the academic board meeting that was the subject of Etzkowitz's research.

The gendered symbols pointed out by Acker, on the other hand, underline those symbols include gestures, facial expressions, and conversations between the sexes in organisations, and institutions, which is one of the situations that may include implicit sexism, which is perhaps the most difficult to realise. For example, actions that seem to be in the natural and ordinary course, such as *manspreading*, *mansplaining*, and *mansrupting* in fact, symbolically indicate that they put women in a secondary category. Thus, during the interviews, it shows us the point where male participants position women in their scientific discipline through their gestures, mimics and behaviours, and subtexts in their discourses, which is generally limited to domestic roles in business life and fieldworks that are accepted as an action that belongs to the public sphere.

Conclusion or Just the Beginning?

First of all, we can finally state why we prefer the physical geography subfield. In the section where we touch on the historical development of the discipline of geography, we said that the discipline has a sexist structure. We have underlined that this gendering became more and more evident in the division of human and physical geography during the period when women began to be represented in the discipline of geography. Although literature on the sexist and masculinist attitudes and behaviours in the discipline of geography is limited, there are considerable studies (Bee, Madge and Wellens 1998:195-6; Dumayne-Peaty and Wellens 1998:197-205; Elmhirst, 1998:225-35; Maguire, 1998:207-14; McEwan 1998:215-23). In this research, we included the narratives of male and female geographers, and statistics in line with the scope of our research. Thus, we intend to both end the ignorance of sexism by

striking a feminist perspective on the gendered geography discipline and provide a start by raising awareness about gender discrimination within the discipline. However, we have highlighted the narratives of academics in the discipline. Along with the semi-structured interviews, we tried to analyse the experiences of individuals from the perspective of Joan Acker's gendered institutions theory. We can see five basic elements in Acker's theory when we look at the findings.

The ratio of male and female academicians in the discipline of geography is imbalanced, 72% male and 28% female. A similar picture emerged when the ratio was analysed in terms of human and economic geography and physical geography. Such a picture was not expected at the beginning of the research. Instead, human geography was expected to be relatively better in aspect of gender equality. In this study, the reasons for the underrepresentation of women, at least in physical geography, were revealed based on interviews. The codes that produce this inequality in physical geography are based on gender. The metaphor of the leaky pipeline may not seem very appropriate considering the general proportion of female academics in Turkey, but it seems quite appropriate for the discipline of physical geography sub-field, giving us some clues about the gendered nature of geography. Acker (2009:200) poses this question as follows: We have known and discussed these patterns of discrimination, the glass ceiling, and leaky pipes for a long time, and we are trying to eliminate discrimination through legal action. What exactly is preventing the success of our efforts to eliminate these forms of discrimination?

One of the answers might be: Unequal regimes based on patriarchy. Regimes regulating social life appear as the continuation of unequal practices between men and women. All processes from marriage to childcare are already regulated. So, one of the answers to the gender inequality on the way from the undergraduate to the postgraduate process we asked above may be that most of the female students have to shoulder the burden of invisible domestic labour such as marriage, domestic labour, and childcare. Acker (1973:937) defines the family as a unit of social stratification. At the same time, as conceptualized by Acker, professions are gendered with the logic of gendered organisation. The majority of students enrolled in the geography department may prefer geography to become a teacher; because teaching is a profession that is considered "appropriate" for women according to social roles. Özgüç, in her study of *Kadınların Coğrafyası* (Women's Geography) (1998:27), emphasises that while being a wife, mother and caretaker in the home comes first among the traditionally adopted roles for women, even in western context, professions

such as civil servant, nurse, and secretary are outside the home. For this reason, when it comes to postgraduate education and academics, geography can be defined as a male-dominated discipline. The example of the translation of the word "scientist" as a "man of science" in Turkish language for long time is a linguistic reflection of a sexist mentality and indicates the idea that science normally belongs to men.

It is important to stress that although many of the female participants faced different institutional and patriarchal barriers, they all showed great commitment to their careers as physical geographers. In the studies dealing with the gender-based discrimination of field studies in the discipline of physical geography, we see that gender is not only related to the body, and that even some female academics with an *"early burning desire"* (such as especially Rezzan and Merve in our research) are exposed to this discrimination because of their personal characters (Bee, Madge and Wellens 1998; Dumayne-Peaty and Wellens 1998; Elmhirst 1998; Maguire 1998; McEwan 1998; Bee and Madge 1999). Because individual identities are framed not only by biological sex but also by gendered institutional logic, as Acker points out in her theory. As we have seen in the interviews in our research, we encounter symbols with workplace interaction and division of labour. Although the results of our research are similar to the previous studies, one of the distinguishing points is that both genders are interviewed and men almost ignore gender discrimination. Another point is to analyze the data systematically through a theory. Thus, the discourses of each of the male and female participants were discussed in a feminist critical way. We uncovered this situation in which all participants, regardless of gender, were directly or indirectly exposed to their experiences of discrimination based on gender. We have identified and revealed that female participants were directly or indirectly experienced gender-based discrimination. In-depth interviews with male participants allowed us to analyze also how those involved in gender-based discrimination approached to this problem. Their acceptance of gender-blindness is actually a denial of distrcimination against women. People with attitudes or behaviours that can be categorized as "discrimination" do not generally consider such attitudes and behaviours of theirs as discriminating because in the opposite case, a subtantial part of the members of a society would have to accept that other people are aggrieved due to their behauviours (Göregenli 2012:62). Therefore, we think that it is important to uncover male academics' denial of their discrimination through their gender blindness is of great importance. An initial stage of accepting discrimination, as Harding (1993) argues, is the first step and *"our task must be to advance it"*.

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In The Pursuit of a Flâneuse in the City: A Review[1]

BEYZA ECEVİT & İLKAY SÜDAŞ

Cities have always been social, economic and cultural interaction nodes, that they have functioned as hubs for aggregation and diffusion of diverse people, goods and ideas (Tümertekin and Özgüç 2020:397)[2]. They are under influence of ever-changing social dynamics. Lifestyles of urban citizens, their participation in the decision-making mechanisms, their struggle for social equality and their visibility in different parts of the city is directly related to different identity representations in the urban fabric where diverse social and political factors operate together. Seemingly diverse and inclusive settings for all citizens, actually urban public space has not been very welcoming for women. Koskela (2002:261) writes that "urban space is gendered in its essence" and that's why "there are elements of urban life that simply cannot be understood without gender relations". Spatial experiences of men and women have "traditionally" been different where men are encouraged for larger and diverse spatial experiences while women's lives have mostly been limited by indoor spaces, especially home. Such a social construction creates nurture gender differences to the detriment of women in aspect of territoriality and spatial skills (Özgüç 1998a). Women's deprivation of participation in the urban space started to decrease slowly with modernization of the nineteenth century. Though women could participate in the modern urban life, it was within certain limitations determined by social expectations from women. The modern city of the nineteenth century was a masculine space. It was characterized by a distinction of public and private places where the former is more associated with men and the latter more with women (Almila 2018). As Pacione (2009:412) writes:

> The advent of industrial urbanism introduced a separation of home and workplace, a division between men's and women's jobs, and a distinction between public and private space. Specifically, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards a redefinition of women's role in society emerged which prioritised the care of home, husband and children. The institutionalised separation of social roles on the grounds of gender is reflected in and affected by urban structure.

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[1] This chapter is based on the ongoing master thesis of Beyza Ecevit at Ege University Institute of Social Sciiences Woman Studies Master Program Her thesis focuses on the urban experiences of flâneuse women in Turkish cities and is supervised by İlkay Südaş.

[2] Unless stated, all the translations from Turkish to English in this chapter is ours.

Feminist urban studies have focused on how gender-based power relations spatially develop and early researches discussed gender-based division of urban space as a result of industrialization-related urban development (Mirioğlu 2018:188 –translation ours).

Cities are home to large populations that are heterogeneous in aspect of gender, age, class, ethnicity etc. and the historical development of cities often leads to a change in socio-cultural structure and daily practices. Social relations and processes that create a certain spatiality has a crucial role in comprehending urban change. How urban spatial changes reshape citizens' accessibility to, or deprivation of certain urban facilities can be better understood only if the spatial practices of everyday life are scrutinized in detail. By experiencing the city through daily practises such as transportation, working, recreation, socialization or long term ones like residential mobility (Pacione 2009), citizens become actors in the urban space therefore they have a role in the urban spatial change too, because human agency is an essential component of construction of space (Kitchin 2009). When spatial organization and functions of cities are explained by focusing on daily practises of residents; individual observations and experiences of the citizens are of great importance The approach to urban space with a specific focus on the individual experiences is nourished by humanistic geography (Tuan 1974) and psychogeography (Debord 1956; Lynch 1960). From a humanistic perspective, in Breton's words (2008:99) "the city is not outside of man, but in him, permeating his gaze, his ear and all other senses." As Wood (2010:186) writes Guy Debord introduced the idea of psychogeography with its name and content. Psychogeography refers to "some provisional terrains of observation, including the observation of certain processes of chance and predictability in the streets" and "the *dérive* [drift] was the essential psychogeographic method".

Walking and strolling around in the cities are useful for reading the daily practices of an urban citizen to map individual territorialities. Strolling around, is actually something entirely different than the action of moving from point A to B; it allows sensing and discovering the urban space. Acording to Cadwalladr (2014) walking is the best way to go more slowly than any other method that has ever been found. Strolling around allows individuals to sink in thoughts and dreams of their own; it can be inspirational in terms of cognition. Parallel to this idea, Elkin (2018:34) wrote that she walks because she has a lot in her mind and strolling around helps her for a solution. According to Solnit (2016:270) it is a good state for reflecting and creativity. Experiencing the urban space through strolling has inspired many poets, writers and philosophers, such as Nietzsche,

Rousseau, Nerval, Rimbaud, Thoreau and Kant, as Frederick Gros (2017) noted. Strolling around a city, changes into a journey towards self. Certeau (2002:97) thinks what the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered. In the same vein, Solnit (2000:213) writes that "a city is a language, a repository of possibilities, and walking is the act of speaking that language, of selecting from those possibilities". Walking is not only an explorative, fascinating and stimulating practice but also keeping a track of many fluid and volatile stimulators that are accompanied by a series of events passing in the course of time (Köse 2012:138). Perhaps, the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the city is hidden in spatial behaviours against the cadence of the daily life such as looking around for a long time, lingering, prolonging and altering a route on the way to work, school or shopping and while returning as well. To uncover this relationship, thus, it is better to scrutinize the idle individuals who avoid modernity-informed, finely-scheduled, automatized spatial (and temporal) behaviours in the city.

Who could slowly drift in the crowd of the modern urban space? Slow and aimless spatial practices in the city that are antipode to modernist mentality in their essence were mostly a masculine privilege. At this point, we can firstly focus on *flâneur* - a male character who appeared in the streets of Paris during the early nineteenth century running against the wind in the modern urban space by manifesting his idleness. But if our aim is to understand daily urban life and its gendered nature by looking at the individual spatial practices of its residents, it is not possible to achieve it only looking through a male gaze. Therefore, we are going to give a review of discussions on whether a "female flâneur" – a *flâneuse* can exist. Any discussion on the visibility or possibility of existence of a flâneuse in the urban social landscape would require a gender perspective. Given the imparity of their range of spatial experiences, her "male equivalent", flâneur, as an anti-modern figure could exist in the city as a man but, can there be also a flâneuse? Further to that, how can we look to flaneuse women by having also an eye on their diversity?

Studies that consider the flâneuse mostly as a nineteenth century character and the female alternative to flaneur fail to notice their diversity within. We think that flaneuse can be more than only the female equivalent of a flâneur. We aim at presenting a review about the concepts of flâneur and flâneuse firstly and attract attention to the possibility of alternative flaneuse representations based on related literature.

The Concept of Flâneur

The word *flâneur* is derived from the French verb flâner that means to stroll or drift around aimlessly[3]. Elkin (2018:21) says that the word *flâneur* was used for the first time in 1585 and probably borrowed from a noun "flana" which means "a person who wanders" in Scandinavian languages. A *flâneur* is a person aimlessly strolling around in the glass and steel passages of Paris, it is a concept that emerged in the first half of 19th Century (Elkin 2018:13). However, a male figure strolling in a city appeared long ago, it was Baudelaire who for the first time mentioned *flâneur* per se in his book titled *The Painter of Modern Life* in 1863. However, this word corresponds to idle [*aylak*] or wanderer *[başıboş dolaşan]* in Turkish language, Arslan (2012:430) underlines that actually *flâneur* became such a native character to Paris that a counterpart in another language is not possible to find so to say it became a term.

Flâneur is a person who aimlessly promenades along the enormous streets of a city that are home to galleries and passages (Sarı 2012:290) and he, while strolling around in the crowd of the city, prefers to remain unnoticed. Flâneur has an urban cognitive map and cognitive maps, as Bilgin (1999) underlines, are indicator of mental borders of a city that show how much of the city is experienced and appropriated. According to Artun (2003:33), flâneur is an urban stroller. He wanders the metropolis to its most remote corners, observing all aspects of modern life with a great enthusiasm, eliminates and records them in his archive of memory. Flâneur can only exist in the urban crowd, lives with the urban crowd and enjoys it. Thought in a visible stage, he is socially invisible, not recognized by others however he is aware of them. He is good at distinguishing individuals, as the author underlines. Baudelaire emphasized the significance of the urban crowd for a flâneur:

> …just as the air is the bird's, and water that of the fish. His passion and his profession is to merge with the crowd. For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate observer it becomes an immense source of enjoyment to establish his dwelling in the throng, in the ebb and flow, the bustle, the fleeting and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel at home anywhere; to see the world, to be at the very center of the world, and yet to be unseen of the world, such are some of the minor pleasures of those independent, intense and impartial spirits, who do not lend themselves easily to linguistic definitions (Baudelaire 2005:9).

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[3] Collins Dictionary, 2022. [https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/french-english/flaneur Last accessed 07/03/2022

CHARLES PIERRE BAUDELAIRE (1821-1867)

Born in Paris, Baudelaire was a notable French poet, an essayist and art critic. Having lost his father at an early age –in 1827- and his mother's second marriage were traumatic experiences for him. Upon his stepfather's appointment to Lyon as lieutenant colonel, Baudelaire entered the Royal College of Lyon, a boarding school; and then passed to Collège of Louis-le-Grand in Paris, again, as a boarder. In 1840, he enrolled some courses at the Faculty of Law. That's how his involvement into literary circles started in the liberal atmosphere of the city of Paris and he resided in bachelor rooms in different neighbourhoods. Leading a debauchery and lavish life, Baudelaire enjoyed idleness. He is generally credited with coining the term modernity and used it to describe Parisian urban life. His famous book, *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1857) marks the inauguration of the modern poetry. In his works, he reflected the social dichotomies of the big city life of his time (Britannica 2022a, Lebow 2012, Sözer 2006a and b).

By referring to Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin (1999) also touches upon this solo character. Benjamin calls Paris "as the capital of the nineteenth century" and he is the name who considered the concept of flâneur an academic research topic in the end of the twentieth century (Solnit 2016:286). The place of flâneur in Baudelaire's works is mostly the streets and avenues while in Benjamin's, they are the covered, closed passages with large spatial arrangements. Flâneur stroll around the locations where visual imagination sources are abundantly available and is fed by the modernity-informed urban cultural representations –streets and passages- (Tandaçgüneş 2012:99). According to Benjamin (2020:341), the street feels like a residence for the flâneur; just as an ordinary man feels at home within his own four walls, so the flâneur feels at home between the facades of the buildings. The streets on which the flâneur steps have become the home for him by means of the passages. Doğan (2007:103) suggests some characteristics that distinguish a flâneur from an ordinary citizen on the streets. A flâneur is a character who strolls around without any other purpose than this action itself. He gets lost in thoughts and recollections while strolling around. The lack of sense of a public and private space distinction is also remarkable in flaneur's mind. In Walter Benjamin's *Passages*, Baudelaire's flâneur is identified with Edgar Alan Poe's detective character who is hidden and spying by its very nature (Demirkıran 2017:143). According to Poe, first of all, the flâneur is a person who feels anxious in society. This anxiety is the reason why the flâneur is in need of the urban crowd to hide in it (Benjamin 2020).

Rush of the urban citizens that is imposed by the rapid rhythm of modern life is against flâneur's nature. That's why the movements of flâneur in the city where he considers as his home, are slow and calm. Strolling around is a way of teasing the modernity (Breton 2008:14). In a similar vein, Solnit (2016:380) in

her definition of flâneur's act, states that strolling around is a kind of resistance against "the speed of industrial revolution". For a flâneur, there is no destination because his odyssey is never-ending. Walking for him is both a journey and a destination (Solnit 2016:23). Flâneur's way of challenging the nineteenth century modernization is experiencing the city slowly. "In 1839 a tortoise fashion came over Paris" says Benjamin (1991 – 2020:148). According to the author, it is possible to imagine how the elegant in the passages are lighter than on the boulevards mimic the pace of these creatures. As a stance against the modern rush of the city, fâneur enjoys synchronizing himself with the tempo of a tortoise.

İpek (2012:342) asserts that the flâneur does not desire modernity. The author compares flâneur's exposure to modernity to Charlie Chaplin's falling into the world that was constructed by capitalist industrial mechanism in *Modern Times* (1936). Flâneur, as the first traveller of the modern urban culture, struggles on comprehending this rapid social change and innovation, is puzzled with where to carry his troubles with himself and observes the city (Tandaçgüneş 2012:100). Modernity was a breaking point for the European societies, in a matter of speaking that caused reality to be perceived like a dream. In a way free from the concerns of modern urban individuals, flâneur takes observing idly and sinking in thoughts upon himself. Actually, such a self-attributed "duty" has not a part in the modern division of labour. Flâneur observes, analyses and tries to understand both the physical structure of the city and the lives of citizens who oscillate between reality and dream. Flâneur is neither in a physical nor in a social space. He is in the threshold of both, the big city and bourgeoisie; he is not surrendered by any of them yet. He has not gained a place in any of them (Benjamin 2020:98). Since the flâneur is not fixed to any production or disciplinary tools of modernity, he considers urban professions and human characters only as objects to be observed (İpek 2012: 341). The flâneur, in the words of Jenks (1995:146):

> [i]s essentially a product of modernity, it provides one image of how that state of being in time can be realised or, at least, understood. It is also an attempt to 'see' modernity; a metaphor for method.

It is believed that that questioning the underlying reasons of the informal attitudes of the flâneur against the 19th Century modernization is of great importance. Due to its masculine usage and connotations, the word flâneur brings to mind a male image (Sarı 2012). In the literary works that were written by male authors, flâneur is solely imagined as a male character who is able to cast away his social attachment and responsibilities for a luxury of idleness. He

is a figure of masculine privilege and leisure, with time and money and no immediate responsibilities to claim his attention (Elkin 2016:3). If this is only a masculine privilege, then, the gender dimension is to be open to discussion. Could there be women who are also able to experience what flâneurs do? How would these women see the urban space that is originally designed according to the needs and expectations of men?

Can a Flâneuse Exist?

The question of whether a "female flâneur", a *flâneuse*, could exist has been discussed by many different scholars. A French noun flâneuse, is the feminine form of flâneur, an idler, a dawdling observer, usually found in cities (Elkin 2016:7). According to Elkin (2016:11), it is possible. "If we tunnel back, we find there always was a flâneuse passing Baudelaire in the street", she wrote.

Şenel (2019:240) points that opening a discussion on flâneuse and *flâneuse-ing*[4] would mean asking questions about which areas in urban space are accessible to women, what they face in these areas and their struggles to be able to exist. Scholars such as Anne Friedberg, Rachel Bowlby, Judith Walkowitz, and Erika Rappaport theorize the stereotypical image of flâneuse while Janet Wolff, Griselda Pollock, and Keith Tester demonstrate her impossibility (Levy 2001:178). For instance, Janet Wolff, in her famous article named *Invisible Flâneuse* (1985), drew on the works of names who wrote on modernity such as Sennett, Benjamin, Baudelaire, Berman, Simmel. Wolff (1985:37), underlines that the literature on modernity defines only male experience in public world of work, politics and city life in which women are invisible and banned. According to Wolff (1985:45), "there is no question of inventing the flâneuse" by reason of the flâneuse character was rendered impossible by the sexual divisions of the nineteenth century. A female flâneur cannot fully own the visual range of the urban landscape, because the actions such as wandering around the city, watching, sinking in thoughts long are reserved for men. Due to the urban modernization which takes its source from masculine functions, cities that are organized according to the desire and needs of men allow only men's visibility. Because of the nature of flânerie, flâneuse as well, is expected to be a character who is able to gaze but as a woman it is hard to do so without turned heads towards her.

According to Solnit (2016:334) women's walking the city was mostly considered as a performance of being seen and stared at by men rather than as

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[4] Flâneuse-ing, a word suggested by Elkin (2016:3) refers to what flâneuses do, their general repertoire of urban experiences.

a performance of seeing. At the same time, the flâneur as a privileged male member of patriarchal society had the right to be invisible in the city and to preserve his anonymity however women were associated more with negative connotations (Wilson 2001) when they became more visible in public as result of the burgeoning modern life. The existence of women in the public space is implicitly prohibited by written and unwritten rules, norms and values. That's why when flâneuse-ing in a city, a woman can never remain unnoticed what makes a "flâneuse" to find herself visible in the urban space contrary to the flâneur. In other words, when a flâneuse attempts to become the subject of the city, she becomes the object of the masculine gaze at the same time.

Pollock (1988:100) agrees with the idea of Wolff that "there is no female equivalent of the quintessential masculine figure, the flâneur; there is not and could not be a female flâneuse" because women in Baudelairean text could make ground for themselves only as an object of the flâneur's gaze. "Women characters are very common in Baudelaire's articles and poems. Modernity creates different categories of urban women or makes them visible. Among them, the most notable ones include prostitutes, widows, mothers, lesbians or victims of murder" (Özsoy 2012:306). For instance, the woman in Baudelaire's poem *A une passante* is imagined as a prostitute, but Baudelaire does not even think of her as a real woman (Elkin 2018:20).

Contrary to Wolff and Pollock, who claimed that flâneuse could not exist, since the 1990s, the writers such as Elizabeth Wilson, Mica Nava, Deborah L. Parsons claim the existence of flâneuse by accepting the differences between a flâneuse woman and a flâneure man (Nava 1997; Wilson 1992; Parsons 2000). Similarly, contrary to Janet Wolff, Wilson, in *The Invisible Flâneur* (1992), wrote that in the Nineteenth Century, women became more and more visible in the urban public space. According to her, the shopping malls –a public space where women had the possibility to stroll around aimlessly without concerning of being labelled as "loose women"- made the presence of flâneuse possible. According to Friedberg (1991:421):

> The female flâneur was not possible until a woman could wander the city on her own, a freedom linked to the privilege of shopping alone. Certainly, the development in the late nineteenth century of shopping as a socially acceptable leisure activity for bourgeois women, as a "pleasure rather than a necessity" (Bowlby 1985), encouraged women to be peripatetic without escort.

Parsons (2000:40) finds the arguments of Wolff and Pollock, problematic especially for two reasons:

(1) They generally accept the dichotomous public/private structure of gender relations, and this emphasis on the confinement of bourgeois women leads them to disregard evidence of possibilities for female freedom in the city streets as deviant and thus irrelevant (the prostitute) or rare and thus non-representative (cross-dressing artists such as R. Bonheur and G. Sand).

(2) As both writers conflate the concept of the flâneur with his social manifestation, they fail to distinguish the characteristics of flânerie from those of the feminist theory of the controlling male gaze.

At this point, the lifestyle of George Sand confirms Parsons, who criticizes the ideas of Wolff and Pollock. George Sand, whose real name was Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin, preferred a male pen name in her writings and had a flânerie experience along the streets of Paris by disguising herself as a man. In this respect, she became one of the most outstanding flâneuse characters of the nineteenth century. Dupin, after making a deal with her husband in 1831, moved to Paris with a toddler and very little money in her pocket. To experience the Parisian life and catch the artistic zeitgeist, she used to dress like a man to achieve a realm of freedom because she knew that she could not have her share of such an experience as a woman (Özsoy 2012:315).

MARIE ROSALIE BONHEUR
(1822-1899)

French painter and sculptor. Born to a family of artists in Bordeaux, France, Marie Rosalie Bonheur had a privileged life when compared to the women of her time. She is among the most successful female painters of the 19th Century. Despite being pejorated for wearing trousers in public places, she kept on dressing masculine upon her admiration to George Sand. She could get an official cross-dressing permit (Britannica 2022b, van Slyke 1998).

AMANTINE LUCILE AURORE DUPIN
(1804-1976)

French writer Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin was one of the controversial names of the 19th Century France. She was one of the earliest and best-known adopters of male garb. She preferred a male pen name –George Sand– to be more liberated and productive in literary circles and enjoy the rights preserved for men. Sand was one of the women who wore men's clothing to experience the city of Paris more freely. She wrote on her experience of disguise in *Story of My Life* (1848, 1855) (Özsoy 2012).

Wolff's interpretation on impossibility of a flâneuse is worth noting here: "The disguise made the life of a flâneur available for her; as she knew very well, she could not adopt the already-non-existent role of a flâneuse. Women could

not stroll alone in the city" (1985:41). As it can be understood from Sand's experience, it seems quite difficult for women to move freely in the public space in the Nineteenth Century. The female flâneur troubled herself by cross-dressing to not to become an object of the male gaze. She had to change not only her clothes to exist freely in the public sphere, but also her real name to exist in the literary world. Because it was as impossible for her to exist as a woman in the male dominated literary circles, as it was to be a flâneuse in the city. As a matter of fact, strolling around a city as an "invisible" woman in the appearance of a man was quite difficult.

Sooner or later, writes Tseng (2006:236), a flâneuse was a woman who had the freedom of strolling around and looking in the city; she was a desiring female subject, rather than a passive object seen and desired. That's why they were the actors who unsettled the established gender roles of their time. Women in their own appearance –different than their more challenging abovementioned counterparts in men's clothes– were able to become more visible in the city too thanks to the popularization of centralized shopping facilities of 19th century but such visibility was not easy for them either. However, Tseng does not agree with the idea that they could be accepted as "female flâneurs" because the shopper women were essentially different than the flâneur in aspect of the targets of their gaze:

> [U]nlike the nineteenth-century female consumer's, the flâneur's gaze bespeaks an undomesticated and active sexuality, since he savours less implicitly the sight of the women on the loose in the city streets than that of the merchandize in the department stores (Tseng 2006:236).

Despite the borders for women between home and city started to become fuzzy as a result of the rise of consumerism which carried them to public space as consumers, it does not necessarily mean that they are female versions of a flâneur. According to the author,

> the flâneuse becomes truly visible only when the flâneur ceases to signify at once the freedom of city roaming and the privileges of the public spaces, and only when the feminine domestic sphere no longer serves as the vital but nonetheless obscured constituent of modern life (Tseng, 2006:236).

Nava (1997) suggested that women actually played a significant role in the formation of modernity contrary to Wolff's idea that they were excluded from the experience of modernity in public space and criticized her way of periodization. The author thinks that Wolff's historical focus was on earlier stages of modernization:

> If she had periodized modernity differently and linked it to the drama of high modernisms, the expansion of mass culture and consumption and the socio-political instability of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, her investigation would have encompassed the moment when women's appropriation of public spaces, in both symbolic and material ways, was growing rapidly. In this case, each argument about women's lack of participation in the experience of modernity would have been harder to sustain (p. 40).

Even though they were not included in the works of male poets and writers in the nineteenth century, marginalized women who were seen on streets were also underestimated by some researchers and writers. There were, of course, women who could always "exist" in the urban space however this existence had nothing to do with enjoying the city but was limited with obligatory purposes such as going to work or buying something. Though it was accepted that women played an important role in the formation of modernity because women's existence is immanent to modern life, vast rights entitled to men became a masculine privilege and even often prevented women from participating in the public space. Gender differences in spatial use was also well-noticed by Virginia Woolf. Woolf thinks that not only public space but also private spaces are occupied by men. Elkin (2018:102) mentions that Woolf established close relations with the city, especially by recognizing the women on streets in her works. By indicating the significance of spatial independence for a woman, she wrote that "a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction (Woolf 2012:6)." At this point, the tactic of Aurora Dupin to *become* George Sand to get her right to exist in (public) space is notable. Dupin, a woman whose literary production and right to exist in the public space was restricted, could overcome this difficulty only by acting masculine. We can recall here Foucault's (2016:21) argument that "where there is power, there is a resistance or the possibility of resistance."

Elkin scrutinizes in detail the concept of flâneuse in her book titled *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (2016). She focuses on the notable names such Virginia Woolf, George Sand, Martha Gelborn, Agnes Varda, Sophie Calle and narrates the experiences of flâneuse women through their eyes as well as shares her own walking experiences in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London. Elkin presents evidence against her fellows, who accept the flâneuse invisible or deny it. According to Elkin, women's presence on streets changes not only the women themselves but also places where they have been. Through flâneuse-ing, in Elkin's words, "we claim our right to disturb the peace, to observe (or not

observe), to occupy (or not occupy) and to organize (or disorganise) space on our own terms (2016:288).

Flânerie of the "Others"

Kern (2019) provides a comprehensive overview of difficulties that urban space contains for women. Spaces reserved for women in a masculine urban planning and cities as man-made environments reproduce heteronormative patterns. Starting from her body, she analyses her urban spatial experience. As a response to Elkin's (2016:11) argument "*if we tunnel back we find there was always a flâneuse passing Baudelaire in the street*", Kern (2019) asks if a *flâneuse* had ever got pregnant or had to push a baby carriage in the city. Kern underlines that none of the authors writing on *flâneuserie* has ever mentioned a pregnant body. Given the already-existing difficulty of imagining a *female flâneur*, the idea of a pregnant flâneuse would be socially very hard to accept. In her work, Kern has adopted the intersectional feminism approach to express that gender norms are essential in the spatial organization of cities and thus those who fall outside these norms cannot enjoy their right to the city. In the studies on the concepts of flâneure and flâneuse, we see that their main discussion is mostly "women's publicity". Beyond the heteronormative norms, Kern includes factors such as gender, sexual orientation, identity; social class opens a stage for wider discussions. Besides usual middle-class, white, non-disabled, non-trans and heterosexual female flâneure; there is also a need for studies focusing on what kind of disadvantages they have during their wanderings in the city and which tactics they develop to overcome these disadvantages. There exist many flâneuse women in many countries of the world and has been many names who write on them. Elkin's question on the possibility of existence of a flâneuse continues to be asked, also from an intersectional perspective. Studies on the practice of urban walking has also been extended to include the other flâneuse characters, beyond the historically masculine connotations of flânerie (Coates 2017). "The right to the gendered city", as Fenster (2005:229) puts it as a feminist critique to Lefebvrian concept of right to the city, "always intersects with other identity issues such as ethnicity, nationality and culture." Inspired by Kern and Elkin, we can raise the question whether there can always be a non-western, black, queer, aged or disabled flaneuse passing by another flâneuse?

For example, Mello and Ribeiro (2021), based on "*a nineteenth-century concept, which is usually applied to the life of men and to other urban contexts*", considered the factors like race and social class in their attempt to understand the relationship between the women and the city. The authors focus on tactics

and resilience mechanisms developed by women in the case of the metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro. Serlin (2006), in her article titled *Disabling the Flâneur*, uses some photographs, one of which belongs to the famous American blind advocate Helen Keller. By focusing the image of Keller, window-shopping in Paris in 1937 on Champs-Élysées, the author aims at "challenging the scholarly literature that limits the way we understand the concept of the flâneure, the celebrated street-walker who has been an icon of urban modernity since the Nineteenth century" and suggest that "the sensorial and tactile experiences of disabled people should be included alongside the able-bodied privileges of the flâneure." In a recent study by Moji (2022), the spatiality of blackness in the everyday life is analysed through the eyes of a *black flâneuse* in today's France. Ivanchikova (2011), in another study, mentions her disappointment as a *lesbian flâneuse* caused by her disorientation in the queer space that is dominated by gay culture in the city of Toronto.

There is also a growing literature on the diverse flaneuses however as fictional characters in literary works. Bur (2006), for example, attempts to identify salient motifs and critical themes relating to flânerie of Arab women. By focusing on the experiences of an Egyptian woman character in Salwa Bakr's *Thirty - One Beautiful Green Trees* (1986); a Lebanese woman character in Hanan al-Shaykh's *Beirut Blues* (1992) and a Sudanese woman character in Leila Aboulela's *Colored Lights* (2001), she presents the reflection of Arab flâneuses in literature. According to Bur (2006:43), "the extent to which women have been excluded from city planning is a viable item on the agenda of an emerging Arab feminist mode of urban thought.". Since "the cultural construction of space has inherent in its symbolism the legitimacy to exclude women from power and influence", "space is where we can see most tangibly that cultural citizenship values exclude women – literally" (Fenster 2005b:245). Literature works are not detached from such a social reality as Bur (2006) underlines. Bur's work is notable because it exemplifies flânerie in a non-Western context.

Ivanchikova (2007) traces the postmodern queer flânerie in the works of contemporary gay and lesbian writers. She focuses on Samuel Ray Delany's *Dhalgren*; Sarah Schulman's *New York Trilogy* and Kabelo Sello Duiker *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*. There are still links with its modernist prototype, postmodern flaneure/flaneuse has some distinctive aspects such as heterogeneity, difference and fragmentation; s/he is "no longer an elite subject but comes from the margins"; has "a heightened sensitivity in respect to 'otherness'" and is "not defined by privilege, including bourgeois, male,

heterosexual and western privilege" (Ivanchikova 2007:187). According to Schers (2019), queer flânerie is still an underexplored subject in academic debate. The body of literature based on an idea of flâneure / flâneuse dichotomy and the possibility of the existence of flâneuses leaves out a group of people who do not necessarily belong to each of these gendered –masculine or feminine – groups (Schers 2019:45).

Scheper (2008) focuses on Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* (1928) where a mixed race protagonist Helga Crane, "an intelligent, sensual, beautiful, searching, and ambitious woman"[5] oscillates between different socio-cultural contexts such as black society and white society, folk and elite cultures of the rural South and the urban North. Novels of Larsen among "the first novels by African American women to locate black female subjectivity in the urban space" (2008:680). Black view of urban spaces is examined also in cases of poems (Bartholomew-Ortega 2007; Ballantyne 2016).

Sethi (2018:399) claims that it is difficult for women to be flâneuses in what is now called the "rape capital of India" Delhi. By asking the question "How do women demand spaces of pleasure in a city where the rate of crimes against them is high?" the author explores the problematic nature of gendered spatiality in Delhi and reveals the public spatial discoveries and achievements of the women characters in Manju Kapur's "*A Married Woman*" (2002, 2006) and "*Home*" (2007, 2007) and Advaita Kala's "*Almost Single*" (2007, 2012). The author describes how women in today's Delhi claimed their spatial rights through The "Pinjra Tod: Break the Hostel Locks" campaign launched on Facebook, and over time they began to share photos of their leisure activities in the city to show their mobility is not only commuting from one point to another. Focusing on both fictional characters as well as the experiences of women residents of Delhi, this study shows that women can produce counter-spaces and extend the limits of their public space.

Gandikota-Nellutla (2019) writes that it is important to ask for women's presence on the streets as opposed to in privatized public spaces like malls. Phadke (2013) demonstrates "how even a merely traditional understanding of the public-private divide is politically unhelpful in a comparative study of Mumbai and Singapure. Privatization of urban space by shopping malls provides a place for women to exist and visible but such visibility does not mean participating city life.

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[5]   Oxford Reference. 2022. "Overview: Helga Crane" (by Frances Smith Foster) https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095929945 (Last accessed on 26.03.2022

In this new space where the illusion of public space is performed repetitively, it is argued the lines between public and private blur in places like malls, without affecting the reality that these are private spaces, controlled and under surveillance. If at all one sees women obviously hanging out in Mumbai, it is only in the new spaces of consumption that one sees them performing masquerades of flânerie and loitering; window shopping and strolling along the gleaming vitrified floors enjoying the illusion of the pleasure of the public but, this does not stake a claim to women's right to participate in the everyday politics of city life (Gandikota-Nellutla 2019:54; Phadke 2013:51).

Many contributions have been made to the literature through studies on alternative flaneur and flaneuse representations in recent years. These studies show that, in today's cities there are diverse actors of *flânerie*. Mostly from disadvantaged groups, these actors can take part in changing of urban spaces as they develop tactics against the social oppression that they face due to their social identities. Their ways of experiencing urban space, their limitations and tactics against to exist in the city must be explored from an intersectional perspective and in different geographical contexts.

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Note on the visual materials:

Visual materials used in this chapter are public domain

Photo of Charles Baudelaire by Étienne Carjat, 1863

Portrait of French painter Rosa Bonheur by Charles-Michel Geoffroy, 1859

Portrait of George Sand by painter DeLacriox

A Turkish Flâneuse:
Walking in Ayşegül Savaş's *Walking on the Ceiling*

ORKUN KOCABIYIK

Ayşegül Savaş's first and only novel Walking in the Ceiling (2019) is about the imaginative power of walking. As its title also suggests, the plot revolves around the theme of walking of the main character namely Nunu, who is a young woman walks around the streets of Paris, reminding her blur memories of her childhood in Turkey and elsewhere. Therefore, this chapter aims to scrutinize the function of walking in the fashion of nineteenth century "flâneuse" in terms of Nunu and reveal how she holds her past and future by reflecting the dynamics of walking in the city through the literary sentiment. In this respect, it is crucial to assert the dynamics and the historical development of the concepts of flâneur and flâneuse.

The French word flâneur, meaning "the one who wanders aimlessly" was first appeared in the nineteenth century in Paris. Undertaking this act with a masculine privilege and leisure, "the 'flâneur' understands the city as few of its inhabitants do, for he has memorized it with his feet" (Elkin 2017:12-13). Since there is no precise definition of the term, The Cambridge Dictionary gives the term as "someone who walks around not doing anything in particular but watching people and society" (The Cambridge Dictionary). A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory accepts that flâneur comes from French and "the 'flâneur' is the cultural consumer as modern hero, moving anonymously through the crowd, experiencing city life as a succession of compelling but instantaneous impressions" (A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory, p. 291). On the other hand, Meriam Webster Dictionary prefers to give a very brief definition for the term: "an idle man-about-town" (Merriam Webster Dictionary). As one might infer from the varieties of the above dictionary definitions, Flâneur as a special term that has been dealt with individuals' relation with topography, more specifically with his environment. I use the adverb "his" here since the term flâneur was accepted by the critics as merely a male activity through the end of the nineteenth and the beginnings of twentieth centuries because of the understandable male dominated doctrines of the nineteenth century. The flâneur was coined by Walter Benjamin in his essay on Charles Baudelaire namely "The Writer of Modern Life" (2006) and the flâneur became widespread in the poetry of Charles Baudelaire. As he focuses on the figure of flâneur and

his behaviors in detail, Baudelaire's poet is a masculine identity who searches for the aesthetic meaning among the teeming crowds of the city of Paris. For Keith Tester "Baudelaire is quite explicit about the gender identity of the poet; if not indeed all, of Baudelaire's work[s] presupposes a masculine narrator or observer" (2014:2). Baudelaire explains his figure of flâneur in "The Painter of Modern Life" (1863) as follows: "The crowd is his domain, just as the air is the bird's, and water that of the fish. His passion and his profession is to merge with the crowd" (1972:399). In this crowd, the flâneur is the one who sees without being seen; he is an amateur detective. Walter Benjamin observed that the flâneur "catches things in flight." The author is not only a person who dwells in the city, he/she is also an individual who produces of his own version of city, not in a physical sense but with interconnection of body, mind, and space. But within this figurative conception of the mind of the city, one might hardly come across with women. Instead, "women are either repressed or disobedient marginal presences" (Pollock 2003:1).

Mostly, even this concept has been referred to masculine agents, the term flâneuse has been used when the subject of this movement is a feminine identity. The term flâneuse is probably coined by Lauren Elkin, in her study on the act of walking through female perspective. She "converted the masculine noun to a feminine one – a flâneuse" (2017:7). Janett Wolff asserts that "such a character [flâneur] was rendered impossible by the sexual divisions of the nineteenth century" (1989:37-45). Griselda Pollock supports Wolff by asserting that "[t]here is no female equivalent of the quintessential masculine figure, the flâneur: there is not and could not be a female 'flâneuse'" (2008:100). As Deborah L. Parsons notes "the urban observer, as both a social phenomenon and a metaphor for the modernist artist, has been regarded as an exclusively male figure" (2003:4). The literary historian Raymond Williams' assertion on this matter also supports this idea that "man walking, as if alone, in its streets" (1973:231). While Rebeca Solnit categorizes the types of walkers in her Wanderlust: A History of Walking, she takes the readers' attention that "men have usually had an easier time walking down the street than have women" (2001:423).

In the nineteenth century, when it was the zenith of the figure of flâneur in Paris, the women were mostly streetwalkers. As it is also mentioned in Elkin's Flâneuse, "what the streetscape looked like in the nineteenth century are male, and they see the city in their own ways" (2017:19). For sure, there is a historical reason why the flâneuse figure was generally excluded from the process of city walking and this reason had to do with the social circumstances of women in

the nineteenth century, when the prototypical image of flâneur was shifted into a stereotype. Many conceptions and usages of the word flâneur were mostly male-oriented during the nineteenth century that even the famous writer of the time Balzac, in his Cesar Birotteau (1837) defines flâneur "as a desperate man as an idle one" (1837:54). Both as an observer and observed, flâneur is a tabula rasa, a mood in which different periods have projected their own desires, needs and memories. As there have been many different interpretations of flâneur, same is applicable to flâneuse.

According to Deborah L. Parsons, "women had a different experience of the modern city to men" (2000:4). Nineteenth century British poet and novelist Amy Levy was one of the well-known figures who used the term flâneuse in Oscar Wilde's edited collection entitled as The Women's World. She mentions the term in her own section namely "Women and the Club Life" (1888) as such: "The female club-lounger, the flâneuse of St. James's Street, latch-key in pocket and eye-glasses on nose, remains a creature of imagination" (1888:366). Since the first appearance of the term in literature and the figures of the flâneuse in the streets of Paris, the depiction of the definition outnumbered among the famous writers as well. From the beginnings of the twentieth century onwards, for example, Virginia Woolf "sought and celebrated a woman's prerogative to walk the streets of London" (Dean, 2018, no page number). In Woolf's essay "Street Haunting: A London Adventure" (1927) the narrator leaves home and explores the imaginative act of dipping in and out of people's minds as they move through the city's cold streets. This essay is considered among the most referenced examples of Woolf's passion for walking as an emerging flâneuse along with her other literary character Clarissa Dalloway in *Mrs. Dalloway*, who strolls in the streets of London different than her male counterparts.

Fin de siècle was not only a transitional period for the society but also a period of time which encapsulates and shifts the perceptions of the life itself. In the metropoles of Europe at that time, the city functioned not just as setting or image, but as "a constituent of identity … [an] experience of urban space into their narrative form" for women (Parsons, 2000, p. 7): writers like Virginia Woolf, Elizabeth Bowen, and Doris Lessing and many others "move the discourse of the flâneuse from the Victorian to the modern period, from London to Paris, from the wealthy to the vagrant" (2000, p. 7). The widespread presence of women in the streets signified not only the transition of the topographical activity, but also a transformation of the mind both in the streets and narratives of the time. "As cinema and other leisure activities became popular in the

twentieth century and taken with the large-scale entrance of women into the workforce during the World Wars, women's presence in the streets was confirmed" (Elkin 2017:28).

Even seemingly these visibilities of women in the public space reflect a certain improvement as the counter discourse of flâneur, there was still invisibility in the actions of women in the cities of the twentieth century. Figures such as George Sand and Virginia Woolf were the pioneers for this curious public eyes. Although the existence of such female strollers, Janet Wolff highlights the invisibility of the *flâneuse* that "[t]here is no question of inventing 'flâneuse:' the essential point is that such a character was rendered impossible by the sexual divisions of the nineteenth century" (1989:154).

Some dynamics of *flâneur* have been changed from the late nineteenth century, when women were enjoying the use of public space, to today's shopping malls as the current streetscapes. "The advent of the modern era affected all these women, transforming their experience of home and work" (Wolff 1989:14). Thus, this transformation in the public space not only visible in the city streets, but also in the literary works, especially in the postmodern novels and movies. Elkin points some of the contemporary aspects of the act of walking in the streets:

> The flâneuse is still fighting to be seen, even now, when, as we'd like to think, she more or less has the run of the city. A more politically engaged descendant of Baudelairean flânerie reigns today, one that operates by derive, or 'drift'. A mid-twentieth-century group of radical poets and artists calling themselves the Situationists invented 'psychogeography', in which strolling becomes drifting and detached observation becomes a critique of post-war urbanism. (2017:33)

Since the first experimental attempts of the flâneuserie during the nineteenth century, to contemporary conceptions of the 'psychogeography', while many dynamics of walking in literature have been shifted, some fundamental dynamics has continued to be the bases of the many fictions in which the central motif revolves around the act of walking. Ayşegül Savaş is one such writers, who constructs her Walking in the Ceiling through a postmodern flâneuse character. Apart from her debut novel, her second novel entitled White on White has been published in October 2021. Savaş in Walking in the Ceiling has created a paper city out of the pages of her novel, and readers follow her plot through this reading experience.

The plot in Walking on the Ceiling revolves around the main character Nunu (short for Nurunisa) with a nonchronological order of events that set in various cities such as Paris, Istanbul and London. On the surface, it is a story of

a young Turkish undergraduate student (Nunu) and her friendship between an elderly British novelist (M.) whose writings are mostly set in Istanbul, but from the deeper or interlinear perspective, it is a story of Nunu's (and thus Savaş's) act of flâneuse. Flâneuse is covering most of the text attaching the importance of stories and memories in one's life. The novel is proceeding not in a linear timeline, instead Savaş uses flashback technique with short chapter designs in which readers mostly follow the street strolling's of Nunu and a British novelist in Parisian fashion, re-memorizing the common past of the city of Istanbul. Thus, the reciprocal relation of flâneuse and nostalgia has a crucial role in the plot of the novel.

At the beginning of her novel, while the narrator (Nunu) is in Paris, she feels some nostalgia to her home with a minute awareness around her new atmosphere as if Savaş foreshadows her readers to a new walking experience: "I read, morning changing to afternoon, afternoon to night, the station outside gathering and dispersing like a beating heart, the shadows looming and contracting. And my room grew bigger and dimmer with the echoes of Istanbul" (Savaş 2019:26). In the very initial stage of the novel, the protagonist not only alerts the reader in her intention of observing the topography through an act of a contemporary fashion, but also gives some evidence about the upcoming nostalgic tone. This nostalgia throughout the novel is provided by the short chapters in a Mise en Abyme format. The plot revolves around a frame story, in which the core narrative illuminates some aspects of the framing story. Savaş also chooses this kind of micro or fragmented stories in order to lead the reader to frame narrative of Nunu. A good example of this can be observable in the novel when Nunu reminds her childhood memories of making paper houses:

> DURING THOSE DAYS WHEN I COLLECTED POINTS WITH EACH passing hour, I built my paper city. I had a stack of my mother's newspapers – the small-print, leftist Cumhuriyet I used for building walls; the colourful Hürriyet …I used to construct telephone poles; and the thick black letters of Milliyet I used to pave my labyrinthine streets. The city twisted and turned around itself, with courtyards and dead ends that I alone could see from my godly vantage point but that were invisible to the people walking in the streets…The headlines of my childhood were all folded inside the paper city. (Savaş 2019:45-46)

Re-memorizing her childhood in act of walking, Nunu not only amalgamates *flâneuse* and childhood memories, but she also drags the reader into a postmodern play of mise en abyme. Savaş supports this claim in her article *On the Struggle to Become a True Parisian Flaneur* by asserting that "in novels that unravel with walking, the weight of the narrative is often felt through

the shadow of an undisclosed mental strain. Perhaps walking without pause, losing oneself in the labyrinth of a city [Istanbul or Paris], is akin to feeling emotionally adrift; perhaps the chaos, multiplicity, and anonymity of a city is a relief to the chaos of one's own mind" (Savaş, 2019b, no pager number). Multiplicity and anonymity are the keywords in order to perceive the act of walking in terms of Nunu as well. She alludes the title of the novel in the following lines where she strolls in the streets of Istanbul:

> Sometimes, we sat on a bench in front of the İstinye state hospital, listening to the echoes of hammers ringing from the shipyard. This tiny bay, cupping the blue-green water and crowded with lumber, ropes, and cranes, was proof for me of Istanbul's arrogant beauty. I thought that if the city could spare such a bay to a chaotic shipyard, it must have been many more beautiful sights. At such moments, Istanbul split into the city I could see and a hidden city reserved for other people. (Savaş, 2019:71)

Nunu reflects Savaş's will of prerequisite to writing in visiting such peripheral districts. Savaş also "goes beyond the neighborhoods…to the city's fringes, which could mirror an inner, troubled landscape; a muted psyche too frail to speak for itself" (Savaş, 2019b, no page number).

Through her re-memory, when Nunu transforms the typical flâneuse to the city of Istanbul, she hears the hidden sounds of the landscape. Walking with M. in the streets of Paris, recalls her memories in her own scattered past and helps her to share the common sentimental and nostalgic mood, once M. had also experienced in Istanbul long time ago: "All this, as I said, is in the past. These days it seems naïve, if not misguided, to retreat from the real city. And it's hard to talk about Istanbul without mentioning the fate that has befallen it…So much loneliness in the midst of so many people…But I know that the city is saying something and that its message is growing louder. I don't doubt that its meaning will soon become clearer, whether I listen to it or not" (Savaş, 2019, p. 93). The "so much loneliness in the midst of so many people…" is the evidence where the act of flâneuse follows the path of the memory in the dialectical relationship between Nunu and M. Savaş also supports her own flâneuse experience through Paris asserting that "walking the city was closer to what I felt writing: jagged and slow" (Savaş, 2019b, no page number).

The parallelism between the women act of walking in a big city in a fictious way (Nunu) emerges from Savaş's own way of perceiving this act as a writer who has lived in Paris for a long time. As a writer, who registers the details of her surroundings, floats through the city – like Nunu – and without judging them, sensitive to the slightest details merging them with her Istanbul

memories. Mostly dealing with the novel and flâneur, James Wood, in his How Fiction Works (2011) calls this act of walking author as both "a reporter and a poet manque" (Wood, 2011:51). Different than Woods masculine assertion, Elkin scrutinizes her own experience of flâneuse in a parallel way of Nunu's act of strolling as follows:

> I still walk in Paris, after having walked in New York, Venice, Tokyo and London…Why do I walk? I walk because I like it. I like the rhythm of it, my shadow always a little ahead of me on the pavement…Walking is mapping without your feet. It helps you piece a city together…Walking helps me feel at home…Sometimes I walk because I have things or my mind, and walking helps me sort them out…I walk because it confers – or restores – a feeling of placeness…I walk because, somehow, it's like reading. (2017:36-38)

As Yi-Fu Tuan asserts "[i]n works of literature as well as in humanistic psychology, philosophy, anthropology and geography, intricate worlds of human experience are recorded" (2001:7). Concerning the act of walking and memory, Elkin's statement of "walking helps me feel at home" seems supporting idea that the readers of Savaş's novel intensely face with. Following excerpt from Savaş's novel is worth considering in comparison to Elkin's feelings: "Sometimes during a long walk, when I felt that we saw the city through the same eyes, when our conversation flowed effortlessly and would continue to do so for hours to come, M. would look at his watch and say, 'Sadly, it's time for me to go" (Savaş 2019:102). As the novel precedes, the readers are dragged into Nunu's inner voice about M. and the act of walking experience. According to Nunu, the moments of gatherings with M. and walking aimlessly is "nothing more than…harmony with…surroundings" (Savaş 2019:118). Through M.'s consciousness as an author reinforces some of the common memories and tropes with Nunu merges into their act of walking as a company in the streets of Paris especially when M. tells Nunu about the "being in tune to the invisible threads that connected [them] through time and space was a state he usually achieved only in the depths of writing" (2019:118). Through her own inner feelings of act of walking, Savaş states that

> walking the city as a woman…I had her [the narrator] follow a group of teenagers spraying graffiti on walls, and past them into a tunnel, where she sat at its darkest depths…But what I couldn't ignore, even as my narrator walked the city from north to south, in and out of strange pockets, is that woman does not walk the city as a shadow. Her walk is often jarred by apprehension, and a different sort of alertness – not just to architecture, history, and cultures, but to the city around her who notices her presence and may cause her harm. (Savaş, 2019b, no page number)

Back to the pioneering names of flâneur, Baudelaire states that "it[flâneur] is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive…To be away from home and yet to feel everywhere at home" (1972:26). Baudelaire's statement seems to be the central difference between the flâneur and the flâneuse, a literary and historical figure that has been intrinsic a lot since the end of the nineteenth century. "From the largest metropolis to the most rural outpost, municipal architecture is part of an infrastructure designed to exclude women from power: cities aren't built for women. Statues and street names honor presidents and generals in cities where women can't safely walk alone at night" (Brister, 2019, no page number).

In Savaş's so-called novel of flâneuse, most of the characters seem to be defined by their interaction with the city and the way in which they walk through it. For Nunu, and her mother Nejla, all of these walks are obviously gendered. As she was grown up in an industrial Turkish town (Aldere), Nejla "wished to become a man, as she later recounts to her daughter, and imagined the freedom of mobility that she would enjoy" (Brister, 2019, no page number). Nejla wanted to be like Uncle Akif, a trusted family friend and next-door neighbor, who was keen on walking in the forest with his stick. On the contrary, she had to prefer the role expected of her: married a poet and had a child. As a citizen in Istanbul, Nejla follows her instinctive routines of walking in the city's various places, stopping at the same restaurants and shops every day and never walks far away from her district. Her daughter Nunu sees these routines as an act of "walk along the water to Yeniköy on Sundays to have fist at Aleko's" (Savaş, 2019:69).

In her childhood, Nunu feels trapped by some of the patterns and her tense relationship with her mother. To manage this, she builds her own paper model city – with telephone poles, courtyards out of old Hürriyet and Milliyet newspapers. Savaş states that "the city twisted and turned around itself, with courtyards and dead ends that I alone could see from my godly vantage point but that were invisible to the people walking its streets" (2019:45). When Nunu's adult life feels out of her hands, this paper city helps Nunu to dominate over space and time. Within this world she created, Nunu lives in a walled-off garden at a safe distance from prying relatives. "There was also a path leading to an opening in the garden wall and past it, through the opening, to a small cabin" (Savaş 2019:47). In this cabin, her father, who committed suicide several years earlier, is still alive, unknown to everyone but her: "I would allow one of my favorite citizens to visit this cabin where, unknown to anyone but the two of us, my father continued to live" (2019:48).

In the novel, as an adolescence, Nunu seems to be reflected in the opposite qualities of her mother whom she never gained freedom and autonomy. With constant flashback and forward techniques, Savaş connects Nunu's past and present memories in 72 short chapters: her childhood in Turkey before her father's death and the husband tones afterward; her education in England with her friend Molly and her boyfriend, Luke; memories in Aldere with Uncle Akif; and her years in Paris after her mother's (Nejla) death. Nunu flees away from the neighborhood where she grew up, but even in the most multicultural cities, she is often someone outsider. That is one reason she prefers to act as a flâneuse, staying distant to the city dwellers and watch them. She also recalls her past and tells her life story to teachers and friends. "It's as though she's constantly trying to recreate the paper city of her youth by watching from a 'godly vantage point' and manipulating those around her" (Brister, 2019, no page number). The intersection of Nunu's childhood memories (Istanbul) and act walking (Paris) is revealed through the end of the novel as follows: "The white city required patience. It had to be walked slowly. Otherwise, the traveler would stumble and fall, or would see nothing but her own reflection. If the expedition was carried out in haste, if a weightless ledge was not carefully stepped over or a sightless and heavy mountain not avoided, the city would disintegrate. The white city had to be walked blind but with open eyes" (Savaş 2019: 204). Savaş elaborates Nunu's movements in Paris, as her "past in Istanbul began seeping more insistently into the novel, so that her walks in Paris merged with the walks of her childhood, and earlier, to those of her parents' student years" (Savaş, 2019b, no page number).

As Lori Brister asserts "in Paris…Nunu initially seems at her most vulnerable. Still grieving the loss of her mother, she moves to the city…Relegated to the margins of Parisian life, Nunu roams the labyrinthine streets of her neighborhood with no social connection or purpose" (2019, no page number). When, by chance, meets one of her favorite writers namely M. after a public reading, the two become friends. M. becomes her company on their shared walks of Paris streets:

> A few days later we went to see movie close to Place de la Republique. The streets were full of people my age, smoking all along the pavements, sitting at run-down bars. It was beautiful in a different way from the neighborhoods. M. and I walked repeatedly. Our walks, the stories I told M., our shared vocabulary suddenly seemed far away and irrelevant…We went to a bar in Oberkampf and sat outside on stools. Once again, I had the feeling that another city had passed me by all this time. (Savaş 2019:190-191)

Nunu's walks with M. are given in a detailed description that readers could follow the directions like a city map. Apart from Turkey, Savaş also grew up in Denmark because of her father's job. At the moment she teaches at the Sorbonne. As a writer, has been experienced the streets of Paris, she describes neighborhoods, street names, gardens, and all the details in Paris who has spent much time of walking those paths in the same way that M. narrates Istanbul. This adds a realistic tone to Savaş's novel. According to Brister,

> The geographical specificity lends a sense of realism to a novel that's largely about artifice, but readers shouldn't necessarily expect realism from Savaş. Instead, *Walking on the Ceiling* seems to owe much to Mrs. Dalloway, [in which] the characters push against the boundaries of their secluded urban lives…The novels share a similar pacing and an eye for seemingly inconsequential details while important events succumb to a general fogginess. Even Nunu's relationship with M. is left largely undefined. Like Woolf, Savaş focuses more on interiority, and the novel's modernist sensibility fits Nunu's flânerie perfectly. (2019, no page number)

As Savaş states that her protagonist's walks turn into a sort of stillness in the end of the novel. "The city, after all, is not a narrator, capable of giving words to one's own consciousness. It is rather, a mirror, and walking its streets brings you face with the turns of your own mind, its dark and forgotten stretches" (Savaş, 2019b, no page number). As a postmodern novelist Savaş conflates author and character in one point through the motifs of flâneuse and past memories. If Nunu can be considered as an unreliable narrator, then so can be Savaş, who drags the readers into the story that leads the readers hesitate to believe but somehow trust. Thus, she has created a paper city out of the pages of her novel, that we can follow her in the fashion of a postmodern *flâneuse*.

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The Political Representation of Women in Slovakia in the European Context

TIBOR MADLEŇÁK – IVAN CHORVÁT

Slovakia has experienced a dynamic political, economic and social transformation in the last three decades. The essence of the changes since the 1989 revolution is the democratization of the political system and society. An important part of democratization is increasing civic participation and strengthening the position of citizens as actors in public policy (Michels 2012). The participation of all citizens, regardless of nationality, race, age or gender, is important for the quality of democracy. Citizens' political participation takes various forms and expressions. The participation in elections and the interest in running for public office are among the most important. Candidates thus, when elected, take an active part in the formulation of various policies, representing their voters.

Political representation is usually defined in various ways and in different contexts. Hannah Pitkin in her book *The concept of Representation* (1967) distinguishes descriptive, substantive and symbolic political representation. The concept of descriptive representation focuses on the composition of elected representatives in relation to different groups of society (race, ethnicity or class). In our article, we will use this concept, focusing on the political representation of women in elected legislative and executive positions at various spatial levels. Another form of representation, substantive representation, tells how women's politicians represent the interests of women. Symbolic representation indicates the importance women attach to women being represented in political institutions.

Research on women's political representation at various levels is given relatively considerable attention in European countries with a longer tradition of democracy (Wängnerud 2009). In the transforming post-communist countries of Europe, research on women's political representation has been delayed in time for objective reasons, but has become an important part of the study of the processes of democratic transition (Rashkova-Zankina 2020). In both cases, more attention is paid to the political representation of women at the national level, but the number of works devoted to the sub-national (local and regional) level is also increasing (Maškarinec 2020). Regarding a type of political institutions, texts focusing on legislative institutions (parliaments) predominate, while those focused on the representation of women in executive positions were given less attention (Klimovský 2015).

In the case of Slovakia, several sociologists and political scientists have addressed the issue of women's participation in public and political life (e. g. Bitušíková 2005a, Filadelfiová et al. 2000; Gyarfášová – Pufková 2002, Gyarfášová et al. 2008). These analyses have become, for example, a part of the annual reports on the state of society (e.g. Filadelfiová et al. 2002), or they were included into publications evaluating the results of elections, especially parliamentary ones (e.g. Filadelfiová 2003; Bútorová-Filadelfiová 2011). Thus, most studies either focused on specific aspects of women's participation within the selected period, or analysed elections (most often national) on the spatial level. However, there were also interesting studies that compared the political representation of women at different levels within the state (Bitušíková 2005b), or compared the situation in Slovakia with other European countries (Klimovský 2015). In most cases, it was a research of a descriptive forms of women's political representation. One of few exceptions is the paper by Rashkova (2020), dealing with the substantive representation of women, focusing on the radical right-wing parties.

The aim of this chapter is to carry out a comparative analysis of patterns of women's political representation in Slovakia with an emphasis on the European context. The comparative framework of the analysis is based on three main concepts (scale, time and space). The analysis identifies the spatial patterns of women's political representation (space) at the various levels, from local, through regional to national (scale). The analysis also indicates the basic trends and dynamics of the patterns of women's political representation at these levels (time). The spatial dimension of the analysis is amplified by placing Slovakia in a broader European context. The source of data for Slovakia is primarily the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. The analysis of women's political representation at the level of national parliaments in European countries is based on data from the Interparliametary Union (2001, 2021). The patterns of women's political representation and their dynamics are documented in maps, graphs and tables.

Patterns of women's political representation at local and regional levels

In Slovakia, there are two levels of elected self-governments, a local level and a regional one. Local or municipal self-governments were established immediately after 1989. The first municipal elections took place in 1990, when Slovakia was still part of Czechoslovakia. Self-governments at the regional level were established later, in 2001. Municipal and regional elections are held regularly every four years. Quite interesting is the significant difference in their turnout. When comparing different types of elections in Slovakia, we find that after the parliamentary elections, citizens participate most in municipal elections. On the contrary, regional elections, together with elections to the

European Parliament, have the lowest turnout of voters. In an effort to reduce the number of elections in Slovakia and to increase voter turnout in regional elections, the terms of both municipal and regional elections were unified. In 2022, municipal and regional elections will be held together for the first time.

Municipalities represent the local level of self-government in Slovakia. The current number of municipalities is 2929, of which 141 have the status of a city. The directly elected mayor and the municipal council represent the self-government of municipalities. The number of municipal council deputies depends on the size of the municipality. In total, there are about 20,000 municipal deputies in Slovakia. A problem is the relatively large number of small municipalities, with about 150 municipalities with less than 100 inhabitants. Such municipalities have a problem to implement a wide range of competencies available to this level of self-government. Municipal reform to address this issue, which has been debated in the country for a long time, has not yet taken place.

Table 1 The Representation of Women in the Position of Mayor in Slovakia

	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018
Proportion of women mayors (%)	14,5	16,8	19,4	20,7	21,2	23	25,5

Source: The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

The representation of women in the positions of mayors of municipalities has been increasing continuously and steadily over the last three decades (Table 1). While in 1994 women represented only 14,5% of all elected mayors, in the last elections in 2018 it was 25,5%. The representation of women in municipal councils is similar, in 2018 it was 26,2%.
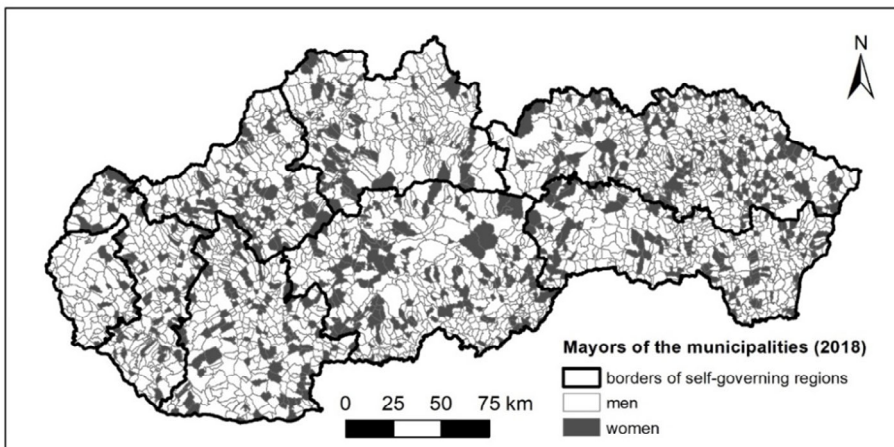
Figure 1 Gender Division of Mayors in Slovakia based on the Results of Municipal Elections in 2018

When examining the regional distribution of women's mayors, it is not possible to identify a clear and stable spatial pattern of women's political representation at the municipal level. The differences between regions are not very significant (Figure 1). A much more important factor in explaining the pattern of women's representation is the size of the community. It is true that the larger the population, the lower the political representation of women (Filadelfiová et al. 2000; Maškarinec et al. 2018). In this context, it is interesting that the capital city of Bratislava and the other 6 largest regional centres have no woman in the position of mayor since 1990. The only exception in the group of eight regional centres is the city of Prešov, which has been headed by a woman mayor since 2014. If we look at the group of 71 district cities (which also includes eight regional centres), then the number of women in mayoral positions increased from one in 1990 to twelve in 2018 (Table 2). In terms of regional distribution, five of them are located in western, four in central and three in eastern Slovakia. Because this is still a relatively small sample, it is difficult to talk about any spatial pattern.

Table 2 The Representation of Women in the Position of Mayor in District Towns in Slovakia

	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018
Number of women mayors in 71 district towns	**2**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**6**	**8**	**12**

Source: The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

At the regional level, there are eight self-governing regions in Slovakia. They are headed by a regional president directly elected by the citizens in regional elections. The election of a woman to the highest executive position at the regional level did not take place until 2017 in the Žilina region The number of deputies in eight regional parliaments is determined by the number of inhabitants living in individual regions. The total number of regional deputies increased from 401 (in the first regional elections in 2001) to the current 416 (in the last regional elections in 2017). The largest parliament is in the Prešov region (currently 62 deputies), the smallest is in the Trnava region (40 deputies).
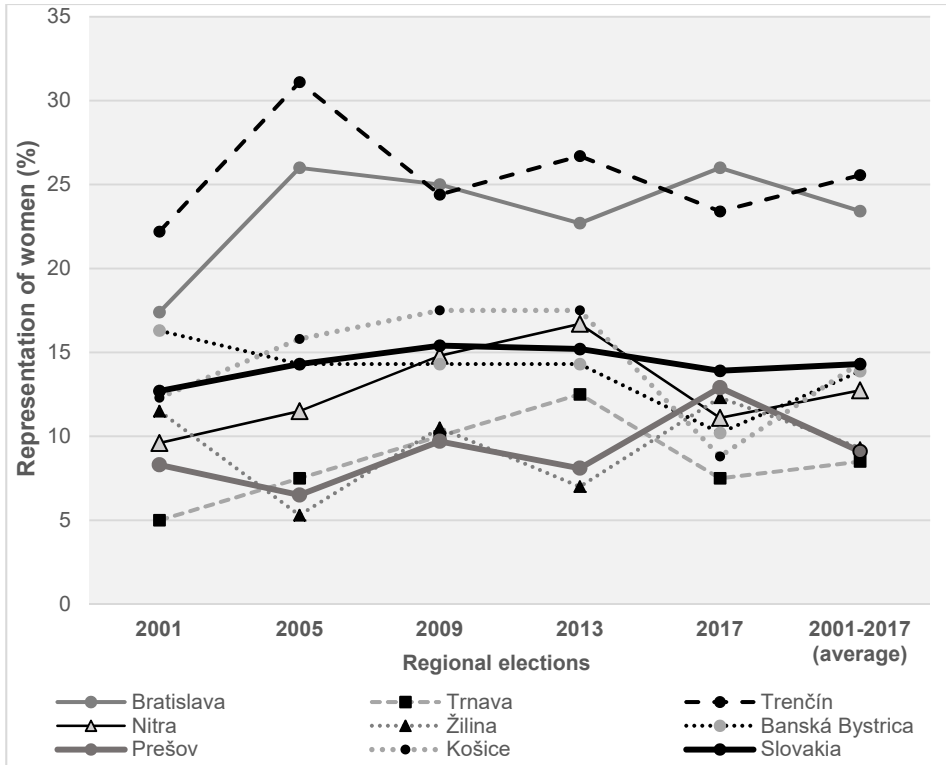
Figure 2 The Representation of Women in Regional Parliaments in Slovakia

The average representation of women in regional parliaments since their establishment in 2001 was 14,3% (with no significant differences in time course – Figure 2), which is much less than in municipal councils). The representation of women increased slightly between 2001 and 2009, from 12,7% to 15,4%. In the last two elections, the value of women's representation fell to the current 13,9%. In contrast to the municipal level, relatively high differences can be observed between individual regions (Figure 3). It is also interesting that the identified pattern of women's political representation at the regional level is relatively stable over time.
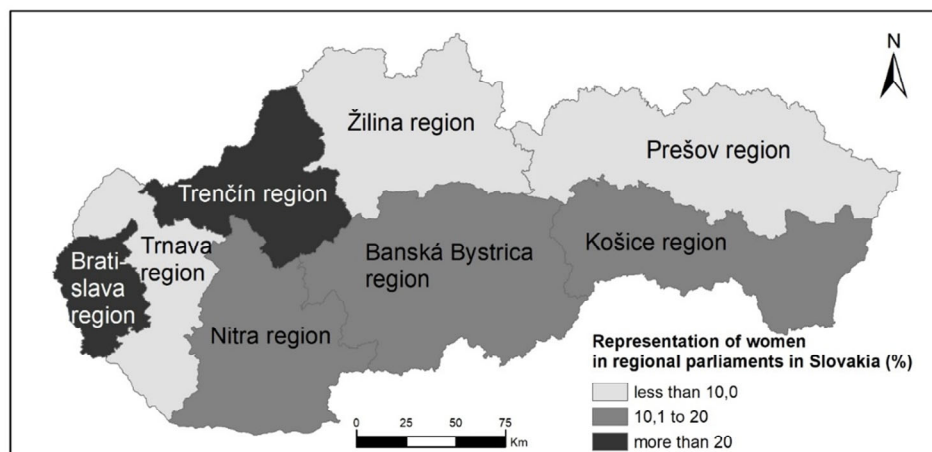
Figure 3 The Representation of Women in Regional Parliaments in Slovakia (average for the period 2001-2017)

Two regions have the highest proportion of women in regional parliaments: Bratislava and Trenčín. The Bratislava region is dominantly an urban environment with a higher share of younger, more educated and more affluent voters. In such a more liberal and tolerant environment, not only the willingness of voters to support female candidates but also the willingness of women to become politically engaged may be higher. A different case is the Trenčín region, where the political representation of women at the regional level is 25,6% on the average – that is even slightly higher than in the capital city region (23,4%). It is an industrial region with a good transport connection to the capital city, with a relatively high rate of economic and urban development. Thus, a higher degree of urbanization and industrialization may be related to a higher degree of political emancipation of women. Although the political preferences of rather left-wing Trenčín region differ significantly from the right-wing and liberal Bratislava, they seem to be relatively close to each other in terms of women's political representation.

On the opposite side of the regional pattern of women's political representation (Figure 2 and Figure 3) are regions of Trnava (8,5%), Žilina (9,3%) and Prešov (9,1%). These are relatively different regions regarding their geographical location and the level of economic development. While the Trnava region, located in western Slovakia between Bratislava and Trenčín regions, is one of the most economically developed regions in Slovakia, the Prešov region in eastern Slovakia lags far behind economically. However, what they have in common is historically more conservative political environment, which may also be related to the cultural conservatism of some population segments based on

their declared religiosity. Although these regions are not homogeneous in this respect, in all of them there are subregions with an above-average representation of believers (in the Trnava and Žilina regions mainly Roman Catholics, in the Prešov region also Greek Catholics and Orthodox).

Political representation of women in the national parliament - Slovakia in a European perspective

Political representation research has traditionally paid the most attention to parliamentary elections, as parliaments are the most important legislative institution at national level in representative democracies. Parliamentary elections in Slovakia are held every four years. After 1989, ten parliamentary elections took place in the country, two within Czechoslovakia (1990, 1992) and eight after the establishment of an independent Slovakia. The unicameral parliament (The National Council of the Slovak Republic) has 150 members. In addition to the electoral preferences of voters, the setting of the electoral system also influences the composition of the parliament. A proportional electoral system applies, with the whole country representing one constituency. A voter chooses a list of candidates of one political party or coalition, using a maximum of four preferential votes for candidates on this list. To enter the parliament, a political party must receive at least 5% of the valid votes (a coalition of parties needs at least 7%). Their ranking on the list of candidates, which is strongly influenced by party leaders, significantly influences chances of individual candidates. Consequently, this one-constituency electoral system does not motivate parties to look for strong personalities in regions and to build effective regional party structures (Madleňák 2019). As a result, the party system is heavily centralised and personalised, as the support from voters often depends on the popularity of a single person, mostly the party leader.

Table 3 The Representation of Women in National Parliament in Slovakia

	1990	1992	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2012	2016	2020
Representation of women in national parliament (%)[1]	12,0	15,3	14,7	11,3	14,7	16,0	15,3	16,0	19,3	21,3

Source: The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

Electoral quotas are one of the tools that can influence the level of women's political representation in national parliaments. In Slovakia, this tool was used before 1989. However, it was in the conditions of an undemocratic political system, when people could only vote for one list of candidates drawn

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[1] The figures are based on the results of the parliamentary elections. However, the composition of the parliament may change during the election period. For example, if a Member of Parliament becomes a Minister or resigns, he or she is replaced. In this way, the proportion of women and men also changes during the election period.

up by the Communist Party. The representation of women in parliament at that time was about 30 percent (Bitušíková 2005a). The quota system was related to the communist regime's effort to declare women's emancipation as an important achievement and a manifestation of the progress of the communist political system. In reality, however, members of parliament did not have real political power. Their task was only to formally approve the decisions of the Communist Party leadership, in which the representation of women was minimal. The change in the political system after 1989 brought, in addition to democratization, the abolition of the electoral quotas. In general, the public perceived this instrument negatively as something that distorts free political competition. Although electoral quotas for women's representation were discussed in the last decades (mostly before Slovakia's accession to the EU in 2004), they were not adopted. All proposals were rejected across the entire political spectrum (Klimovský 2015). The only exceptions were voluntary quotas set by some political parties when drawing up their candidate lists. At present, this tool is not officially used by any of relevant political parties.
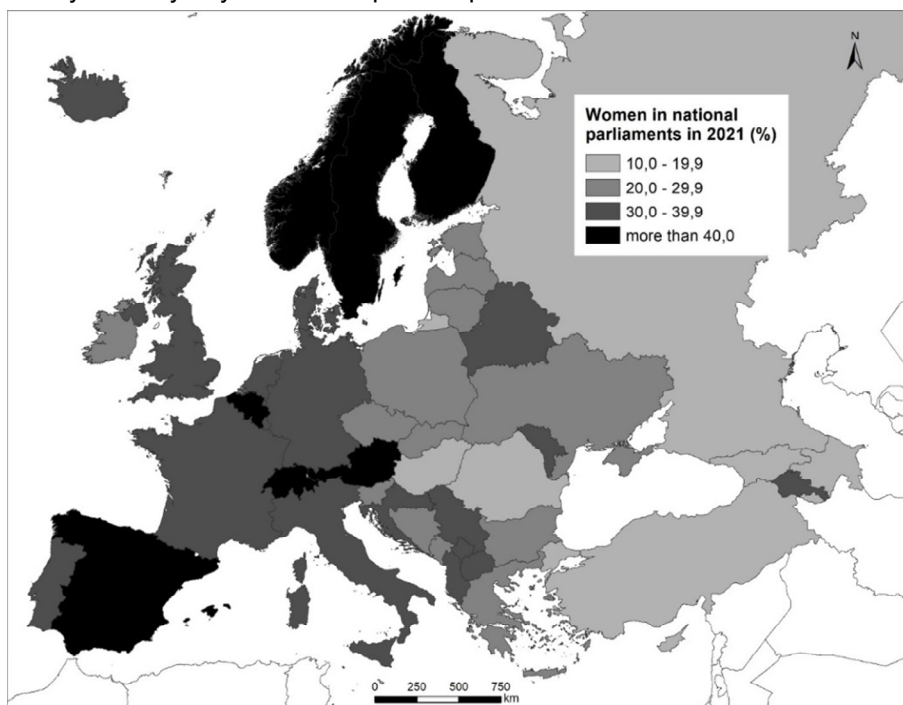

Figure 4 The Representation of Women in National Parliaments in European Countries in 2021[2]

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[2] Data refer to September 1, 2021 according to Inter-Parliamentary Union (2021). In the case of countries with a multi-chamber parliament, data relating to the lower house of parliament were included in the comparative analysis.

After the first democratic elections in 1990, the representation of women in the Slovak parliament was only 12% (Table 3). For the next two decades, the proportion of women in parliament ranged between 14% and 16% (with the only exception of the 1998 election when it fell to 11,3%). A more stable increase in the proportion of women in parliament has occurred in the last decade (from 15,3% in 2010 to 21,3% in 2020). In the European perspective, Slovakia among countries with the lowest representation of women in the national parliament (Figure 4). The neighbouring countries, e.g. Czechia, Poland, Ukraine, the Baltic states and some countries in the Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece) achieve similar values. The countries of northern Europe currently have the highest representation of women in their parliaments, followed by Spain, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria. In Sweden (47%) and Finland (46%), the proportion of women's political representation is close to their real representation in society. On the contrary, the lowest representation of women in parliaments is in some countries of southeastern Europe (Malta, Cyprus, Turkey, Romania), the Caucasus region (Georgia, Azerbaijan) and Russia. The last position currently occupies Hungary (12,1%).

We can see a positive development when comparing the current pattern of women's political representation in Europe with the situation in 2001. Although the basic spatial pattern is very similar (Fig. 5), the level of women's representation has improved in all European countries. The average representation of women in national parliaments in Europe almost doubled, from 16,6% (2001) to 30,7% (2021). The largest shift (an increase of more than 30 percentage points) was recorded in Northern Macedonia, Serbia and Armenia. For example, in Armenia, which ranked last in Europe in 2001, women's representation rose from 3,1% to 33,6%. Other countries in the Balkans (Albania, Kosovo, Moldova), as well as France, Italy and Portugal, have also made significant progress in women's representation over the last two decades.
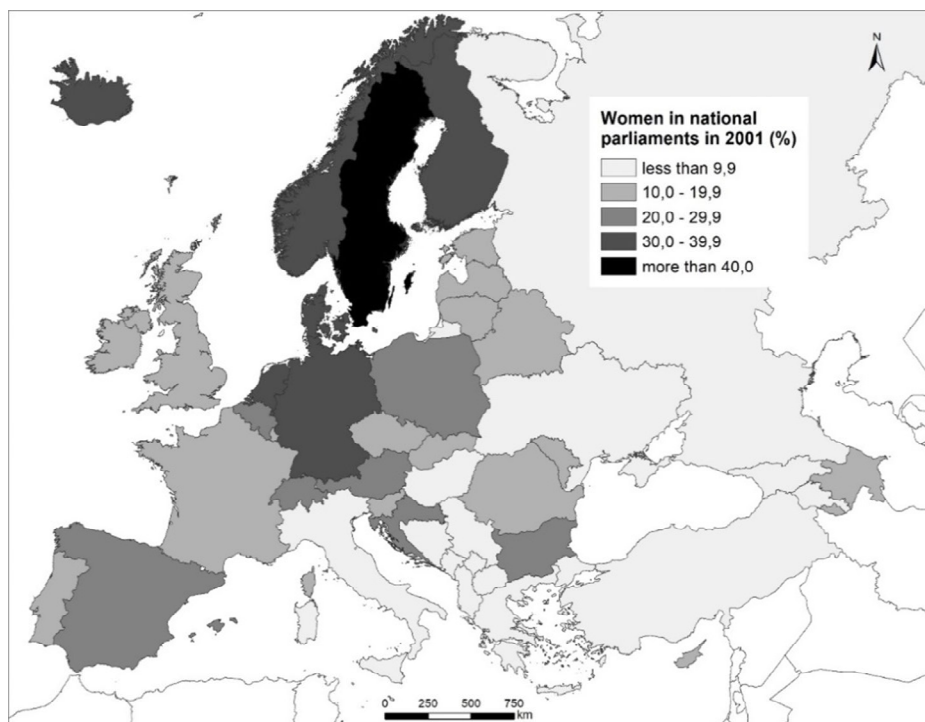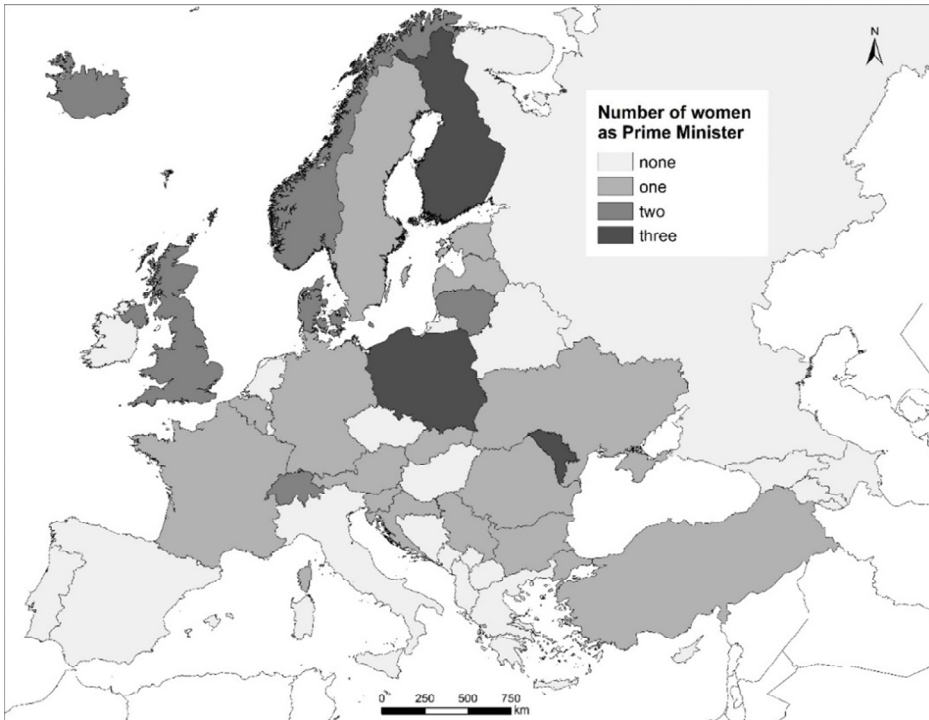
Figure 5 The Representation of Women in National Parliaments in European Countries in 2001

Political representation of women in the highest executive positions
- Slovakia in a European perspective

Presidential elections offer probably the widest possibilities for discussion on the position of women in public and political life in Slovakia. Since 1999, the President of the Slovak Republic has been elected directly by the citizens; the elections are two-round and are held every five years. In the first presidential election, ten candidates ran, with only one woman, publicly known actress and ambassador Magda Vášaryová, active in domestic and foreign politics who ended up in the third place with 6,6% of the vote and did not advance to the second round. She was mainly supported by liberal and urban voters. The discussion that took place during the election campaign indicated that Slovak society had not yet been prepared for a woman in the highest constitutional position.

The next episode was the 2009 presidential election. Iveta Radičová, a professor of sociology and former Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, was the first woman to advance to the second round of the presidential election. She received 38% of the votes in the first round and 44,5% of the votes in the second round of the election. It was not enough to win, but almost a million

voters for her represented an interesting voting potential for the 2010 parliamentary elections. Iveta Radičová became the leader of the candidate list of the strongest opposition party. The new government was formed by a coalition of four then-opposition centre-right parties. Iveta Radičová became the first and so far the only woman in the position of Prime Minister in Slovakia. However, after the tensions between coalition parties, her government ended prematurely in 2012. Iveta Radičová was the Prime Minister for 636 days.

Figure 6 The Representation of Women in the Position of Prime Minister in European Countries

Slovakia thus belongs to the 24 European countries that had a woman in the position of Prime Minister (PM) in modern history (Figure 6). Nine of these countries had more than one woman as PM. Iceland, Norway, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Lithuania had two women as PMs, Finland, Poland and Moldova three, which is the most in the European perspective. The Europe-wide pattern of women's political representation can also be analysed in terms of time women spent as PMs (Figure 7). For the longest time (more than 10 years), women have been PMs in Germany, the United Kingdom, Norway and Switzerland. Some of them turned to be strong personalities in their positions of PM as prime minister, which was reflected in their long tenure (M. Thatcher in UK, A. Merkel in Germany or G. Brutland in Norway). Switzerland

cannot be taken into account due to its specific political system. The second group consists of countries where women were PMs from four to ten years, i.e. more than one full electoral term, which is usually 4 years in most European countries. This group of countries includes Iceland, Denmark, Poland and Serbia. In the third (1 to 4 years) and the fourth group (less than 1 year) of countries, women headed the government less than the entire standard electoral term. The female PM is currently in power in Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Lithuania, Estonia, Serbia, Moldova and Germany. Countries where no woman has headed the government so far are located in various parts of Europe, but most of them is in southern and south-eastern Europe. This indicator - the number of women as prime ministers or the amount of time women spent as prime ministers - does not give us any clear spatial interpretation. It can be seen that women in Scandinavian countries, in traditional democracies such as the United Kingdom, or in some post-communist countries, have a chance to get into the top executive position. However, it is still rather an exception than a rule.
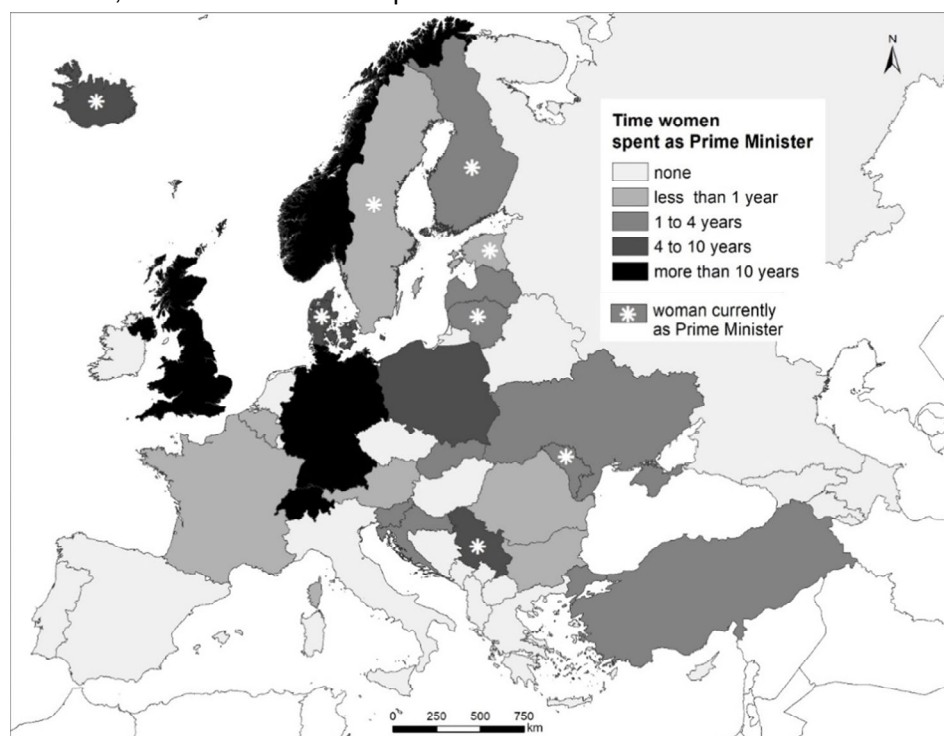
Figure 7 Time Women spent in the Position of Prime Minister in European Countries

One of the most important points in the analysis of the patterns of women's political representation in Slovakia was the presidential election in

2019. After the fall of the center-right coalition government of Iveta Radičová in 2012, two governments led by nationalist and populist Prime Minister Robert Fico followed. His candidate for the presidential election in 2019 was Slovakia's European Commissioner Maroš Šefčovič. Opposition parties were looking for a suitable candidate to defeat him. Before the elections, the electoral preferences of the candidate Zuzana Čaputová began to grow very significantly. She was a candidate of the non-parliamentary liberal and pro-European oriented party Progressive Slovakia. The election campaign thus included a discussion on whether the Slovak society is now ready to elect a woman, moreover liberally oriented, to the highest constitutional position. Some of the highest representatives of the Catholic Church also intervened in the campaign, declaring that the election of a liberal-oriented candidate will be a grave sin for Catholic voters. Robert Fico began using conspiracy theories that linked Zuzana Čaputová with Jewish financier George Soros, a traditional target of Central European populists. Nevertheless, Zuzana Čaputová won in the first round of election with a gain of 40,6% of the votes, while the second Maroš Šefčovič got only 18,7% of the votes. With a gain of 58,4% of the votes, she also won the second round of elections with a significant lead. She thus became the first woman president not only in Slovakia, but also in Central Europe, where none of Slovakia's neighbouring countries had a female president so far.
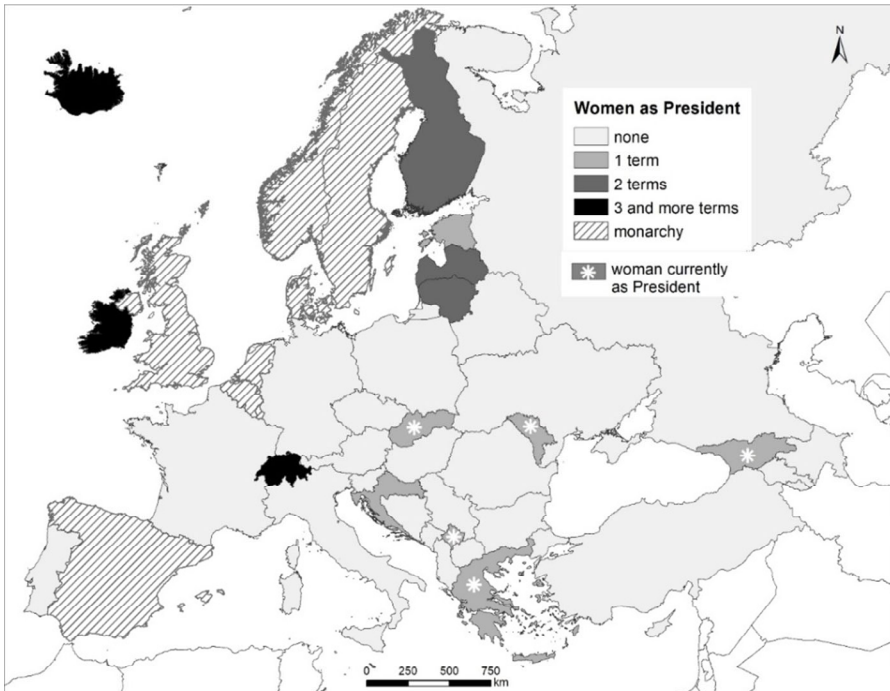

Figure 8 The Representation of Women in the Position of President in European Countries

At the present, Slovakia is one of five European countries with a woman in the presidency. Other countries are Greece, Georgia, Moldova and Kosovo (Figure 8). In addition to these countries, women previously held the presidency in nine other European countries, namely Iceland, Ireland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Croatia, Switzerland and Malta. In Finland, Latvia and Lithuania, a female president served two terms in the office, in the case of Malta there were two female presidents serving one term. The longest time were women in presidency in Ireland (two presidents, a total of 12 years) and in Iceland, where Vigdis Finnbogadótir became the first president in Europe, with up to 4 terms in office (1980-1996). A specific case is again Switzerland, where the president is elected out of the seven-member Federal Council for a one-year term. In total, only 14 European countries have experience with a woman in the presidency. Interestingly, eight of them represent post-communist states. However, in most of these countries it is more or less a representative function without significant real powers.

Discussion and Conclusion

A comparative analysis of women's political representation in Slovakia yielded several findings. In general, it can be stated that women's representation in politics is still insufficient at all levels monitored, although the situation has gradually improved over the last three decades.

Looking at the elected executive positions, we see modest progress at all three analysed levels. At the local level, there is a continuous increase in the share of women in the position of mayors of municipalities from 14,5% in 1994 to 25,5% in 2018. In the position of mayors of district towns (71 in total), there is an increase from two women's mayors in 1994 to twelve in 2018. In 2014, the first woman in the position of mayor of the regional capital (in the city of Prešov) was elected. Other regional capitals as well as the capital city Bratislava are still waiting for their first woman mayor. At the local level, the degree of political representation of women is not differentiated geographically, but depends on the size category of municipalities. With the growing size of municipalities, the rate of women's political representation is declining (Filadelfiová et al. 2000).

At the regional level, only one woman has been elected for the position of regional governor. This happened in the last regional elections (2017) in the Žilina region. At the national level, we focused on the top two executive positions in the state. At this level, we have put Slovakia in a broader European perspective. Within this perspective, Slovakia is one of few countries that have an experience with a woman in the office of both Prime Minister and President. Iveta Radičová was the first and so far the only female Prime Minister in

Slovakia from 2010 to 2012. Zuzana Čaputová was elected to the presidency in 2019 by popular vote. However, it should be noted that in terms of women's participation in the government, Slovakia has long been one of the European countries with the lowest number of women in ministerial positions.

When comparing the results of elections to legislative institutions at the three analysed levels, we see the highest level of the representation of women at the local level (26,6% in 2018). This is followed by the national level (213% in 2020), which is one of the lowest in the European perspective. One of the explanations may be the setting up of the electoral system in Slovakia, which is, due to the existence of one national constituency and a single list of candidates of each candidate party for the whole territory of Slovakia, strongly centralized and does not motivate parties to build regional party structures (Madleňák 2019).

The regional level seems to be the most problematic in terms of women's political representation. As the only one of all three analysed levels, it has not been increasing, and the current share of women in the parliaments of eight self-governing regions is only 13,9%, which roughly coincides with the long-term average of 14,3%. At this regional level it is possible to identify more significant and relatively stable regional disparities in the degree of women's political representation. The highest values are reached by two regions, which are, however, quite different in terms of long-term political preferences. It is rather a right-wing and liberal region of the capital city of Bratislava located on South-West of Slovakia on one hand, and a left-wing and relatively highly industrialised Trenčín region (north-west) on the other hand. While in these two regions the average values of women's representation in regional parliaments are around 25%, the values in three regions with the lowest representation of women are less than 10% on average. These are the Trnava region in the west, the Žilina region in the middle and the Prešov region in the eastern part of Slovakia.

In conclusion, we can summarise that the political representation of women in Slovakia, taking into account the gender perspective, is insufficient, but at the local level, it is significantly higher than at the regional and national levels. We can also see differences within the local level, where the usual formula is that in smaller municipalities, women are gaining ground in municipal elections to a greater extent (Klimovský 2015, Maškarinec et al. 2018) and their numbers are slowly increasing with every election (Bitušíková 2005b). In general, gender stereotypes and socio-cultural expectations in the Slovak society hinder higher women's participation in politics. Several opinion polls

show that the active citizenship and the interest in public affairs are not among the preferred qualities of what constitutes an image of "proper" woman. Citizens in Slovakia (both men and women) believe that higher involvement of women in politics has been prevented by their family responsibilities. Nevertheless, the majority of the public supports the participation of women in public life, and the fact that the trend of women's political participation is increasing mainly at the local level is a consequence of the fact that conflict between work and family is easier to resolve here (Gyárfášová et al. 2008). Women as municipal officials are able to stay close to home and harmonise their family duties with work more easily. They can also identify better with local issues, they feel more familiar with problems of local people and community where they live and feel that in this way they can contribute to the improvement of living conditions in their village (Bitušíková 2005b).

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Ambivalent Sexism in Proverbs: A Cross-cultural Study

ESRA HATİCE OĞUZ-TAŞBAŞ & NİHAL MAMATOĞLU

Language is one of the main mechanisms that reflect people's perceptions, and it helps people to share those perceptions with others in each society. In her book, *Starting from Scratch a Different Kind of Writers' Manual,* the American writer Rita Mae Brown (1988) perfectly summarizes the culture-language relationship. The chapter titled Words as Separate Units of Consciousness starts with those words: "Language is the roadmap of a culture. It tells you where its people came from and where they are going."

The dynamic interplay between culture and language plainly manifests itself in proverbs. In Collins dictionary, a proverb is defined as "a short sentence that people often quote, which gives advice or tells you something about life". In other words, proverbs are byproducts of the culture in which they were created. Therefore, cultural comparisons on proverbs are not necessary only for making inferences on the universality of any concept but also examining possible differences among these cultures. Hence the main aim of this study is to describe and compare ambivalent sexism between two distinct national cultures (Turkish and British) based on proverbs.
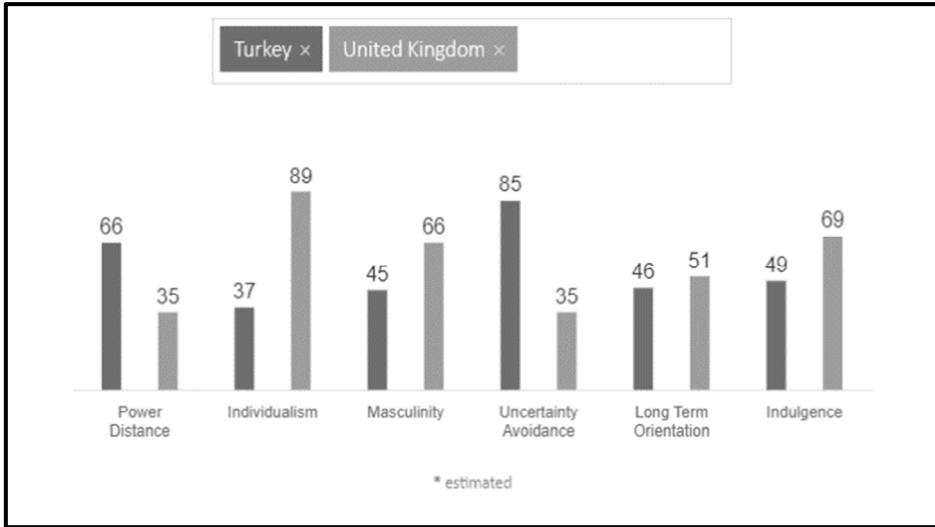
Culture

Culture can simply be defined as a system of values shared among people who share the same language and dialectic within a certain area (Tirandis 1994). When it comes to cultural comparison, one of the most widely cited theories in the literature is Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory (Ng, Chow and Yang 2021). Cultural comparison of Hofstede's (2011) classifies national cultures in six dimensions; power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, long/short term orientation, and indulgence/restraint. Hofstede's Cultural Dimension Theory allows us to analyze any two cultures in each of these dimensions separately. In this study, we have used Hofstede's cultural dimensions to compare ambivalent sexism in the national cultural orientations of Turkey and the United Kingdom through proverbs. For this reason, it would be appropriate to define the national cultures of Turkey and the United Kingdom by comparing them through Hofstede's cultural dimensions.

The **first** Hofstedeien dimension, *Power Distance* is defined as the dimension that is "related to the different solutions to the basic problem of

human inequality". Turkey scores on the higher part of the power distance dimension indicating that power is distributed unequally in the society. On the contrary United Kingdom scores low in power distance showing that power is not centralized, and people believe power should not be shared asymmetrically in the society. The **second** dimension is *Individualism versus Collectivism*. It focuses on the level of definition of people's selves in a group level versus an individual level. Since Turkish culture scores very low on individualism meaning that it is a highly collectivist culture, group identifications are central for Turkish people's identities. Conformity to the norms of the group and being in tune with the rest of the group is stressed upon in collectivist societies as it is also the case for Turkey. Conversely, the UK is one of the nations that scores highest on individualism in the world. British culture teaches to emphasize the self-interest of individuals. Besides, uniqueness is more appreciated instead of following other members of the group. The **third** dimension is *Masculinity versus Femininity*. People in masculine societies are triggered by accomplishment and ambition compared to people in feminine societies. In the latter, people are motivated by interpersonal relationships and approval. Turkey is a Feminine society as opposed to the UK that scores high on Masculinity. The **fourth** dimension, *Uncertainty Avoidance* implies how tolerant a society is. While Turkey is very high on the UA dimension, the UK is the opposite. Accordingly, people living in Turkey do not feel happy about ambiguity and they demand strict regulations. On the other hand, the British nation scores low on UA. Therefore, people in the UK feel comfortable in uncertain situations. The **fifth** dimension is *Long Term Orientation versus Short Term Orientation*. While long term oriented societies address future accomplishments, short term oriented societies concentrate more on the present moment and the past. Neither Turkish nor British cultures are long or short term oriented societies. The **last** dimension is *indulgence/restraint*. It refers to "the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses" (Hofstede Insights 2022). Turkey does not present any dominant characteristic on this dimension, whereas the UK shows indulgent characteristics meaning that people are weak at controlling their desires (Figure 1).

Turkish and English languages were selected for investigation of possible cultural similarities and differences in proverbs that are related to women. Considering these two languages belong to two very distinct cultures, we do not expect that the potential historical background of these cultures would directly affect possible similarities found in proverbs.

Figure 1: Comparison of Turkey and the UK in six cultural dimensions (Hofstede Insights, 2022)

Sexism

APA Dictionary of Psychology defines sexism as "discriminatory and prejudicial beliefs and practices directed against one of the two sexes, usually women". Yet Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick and Fiske 1996) proposes that the nature of sexism is not unidimensional instead, it is multidimensional. It suggests that sexism has two faces representing two sexist ideologies that may seem different and opposite on the surface, but they complement each other.

Hostile sexism is quite similar to the traditional understanding of sexism. It is overt, machist, and very easy to detect. HS involves derogation of women through negative attitudes and beliefs. On the other hand, benevolent sexism is considered to be subtler, subjectively positive, and chivalrous. It encourages the idea of the inferiority of women. BS ideology stresses that women should be protected -obviously by men- as long as they stay within the boundaries of existing traditional gender roles. Although they might look very different or even contradictory at the first glance, they are regarded as "two sides of a coin", "iron fist in the velvet glove" or "carrot and the stick" in the sense that they both reassure asymmetrical gender status.

According to Ambivalent Sexism, HS and BS involve three components; that are paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy (Glick and Fiske 1996). Dominative paternalism as the subcomponent of HS indicates that men are superior to women and men should have power over women.

Protective paternalism as the subcomponent of BS indicates that women are needed to be looked after by men just like parents do for their children. Competitive gender differentiation (HS) presents the idea that men have the necessary characteristics to hold the power in society and complementary gender differentiation (BS) advocates that women should only hold an accompanying role in social life. Heterosexual hostility is the last subcomponent of HS, qualifying men to have power over female sexual relations while heterosexual intimacy praises heteronormative values by picturing men and women being in a relationship as the ultimate goals of human lives.

AST was tested in 19 countries (Glick et al. 2000). HS and BS were not only present across these nations, but they were also found very highly correlated. Turkey and England were two of those countries, as well. Both in England and Turkey, the two factors (HS and BS) were correlated respectively .88, .91.

Sexism and Proverbs

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989) proverbs can be regarded as powerful schema stimulators by describing and exhibiting knowledge. Besides, Dion (1990) scrutinized why psychologists should work on proverbs in his seminal paper. According to Dion (1990), psychologists should examine proverbs because it enables psychologists "to touch the thinking of humankind's cumulative wisdom and its compilation and crystallization by some of the world's great sages".

Gender has been one of the main research topics in language and literature (Lomotey 2019). Research on several languages has investigated gender issues in proverbs. For instance, Spanish proverbs displayed sexist metaphors reflecting the dehumanization of women as either animals or objects (Lomotey 2019). Also, He and Zhang (2018) showed patterns of sexism in English proverbs and idioms via discussing the roots of sexism in those language forms.

Unfortunately, in gender research on proverbs, cross-cultural studies are very new and limited. Lomotey and Chachu (2020) compared representations of men and women in two European languages, they analyzed Spanish and French proverbs. They extended the idea that the Ambivalent Sexism Theory can be used in proverbs as "it offers an insightful definition of how societies define what it means to be a woman or a man" (p. 71). Jayawerena (2015) argued that similar reflections of sexist ideologies were explored in two very different cultures and languages, French and Sinhala (the language that is spoken in Sri Lanka). As a result of the categorization of some themes,

misogynistic beliefs in both cultures emerged particularly by dehumanization and objectification of women (Jayawardena 2015).

As presented by previous research on proverbs of some other languages, Turkish scholars agreed on the patriarchal patterns in Turkish proverbs and idioms (Yiğitoğlu and Yalçınkaya 2016; Özkan and Gündoğdu 2011; Ejder-Apay and Uzun-Özer 2020; Çer and Şahin 2016). These studies demonstrated various forms of gender inequalities in Turkish proverbs.

Current Study

We aimed to investigate ambivalent sexism in proverbs of two different cultures, i.e. Turkish and British cultures, for three reasons. Firstly, proverbs were particularly selected as a research material considering proverbs show any given culture's understanding of gender relationships, to be more specific, the culture's understanding of women. Secondly, language exposes gender ideologies not only in relatively close cultures (Lomotey and Chacu 2020) but even in distant countries (Jayewardene 2015). Thirdly, we selected these two cultures not only because the authors are able to understand those two languages but also because of the differences between the scores these two cultures display in Hofstedeian values. As it can be seen in Figure 1, in almost every dimension Turkish culture and British culture fall into different ends of the scales.

Method

Since previous studies on proverbs have used both internet and published resources, we followed a similar methodology to collect proverbs for the present study. We benefited from a wide range of resources for creating proverb lists from scratch. Most of the previous research used a methodology by selecting proverbs according to their meaning. Merely for the sake of adopting a more objective approach we preferred not to analyze meanings of proverbs at the beginning of our study. Therefore, we chose not to select them according to our own interpretation of those meanings. Instead, we decided on using certain keywords and included all proverbs with these keywords regardless of proverbs' meaning. In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods were implemented to explore ambivalence in Turkish and English proverbs by involving synonyms of female human beings.

Materials

Selection of Turkish proverbs

We used several resources to include as many proverbs as possible. For Turkish proverbs we used eight keywords, i.e., "kadın", "avrat", "anne", "ana",

"karı", "kız", "dişi", "gelin". The proverbs with these keywords were gathered from *TDK Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü* (https://sozluk.gov.tr/), *Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü* (Aksoy 1971) and *Türkiye Türkçesinde Atasözleri* (Albayrak 2009). We ended up with 117 Turkish proverbs.

Selection of English proverbs

For English proverbs, we used eight keywords, i.e., "woman", "women", "wife", "bride", "female", "mother", "lady", "daughter", "girl" which have similar meanings as Turkish ones. The proverbs with these keywords were gathered from *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, *Never Marry a Woman with Big Feet: Women in Proverbs from Around the World* (Schipper 2010), *Cassell Dictionary of Proverbs* (Pickering 1996), https://www.phrases.org.uk/ and https://en.wikiquote.org. In the end, we had 98 English proverbs.

Procedure

In both languages, we searched for the above-mentioned keywords in various dictionaries of proverbs. After a collection of Turkish and English proverbs was created, their content was coded in each language distinctively by the authors. Then, the codes that the authors agreed on by working together were separated into the main codes in both languages. On a language basis, Turkish and English proverbs were categorized in terms of their content holding hostile, benevolent, or not-sexist nature. The latter classification was based on Glick and Fiske's Ambivalent Sexism Theory, and we did not exclude proverbs that were not holding any sexist meanings aiming for an unbiased analysis.

Results and Discussion

Number of Non-Sexist Proverbs in Turkish and in English

Of the 107 Turkish proverbs that included women-related words, only one proverb (0,9%) was not thought to be sexist. On the other hand, of the 98 English proverbs 13 (13,2%) proverbs were considered non-sexist. 106 Turkish proverbs (91,1%) and 85 English proverbs (86,7%) were identified as sexist in the collected proverbs.

Number of benevolent and hostile sexist proverbs in Turkish and in English

Among Turkish proverbs, 49 proverbs (45,7%) presented benevolent characteristics, whereas among English proverbs 25 proverbs (25,5%) presented benevolent characteristics. Among Turkish proverbs, 56 proverbs

(52,3%) showed hostile perceptions, whereas among English proverbs 60 proverbs (61,2%) showed hostile perceptions.

Main Themes of Turkish Proverbs

Marriage (44%), motherhood (24%) and honor (8%) were recurring themes in Turkish proverbs.

Marriage

The idea of paternalism suggests that men do and should protect, dominate, and provide for women just as parents do for their children. Dominative paternalism can be observed in Turkish proverbs in the examples of "Avrat (kadın) malı, kapı mandalı (A wife's dowry is a blow on the head)", "Yaman komşu, yaman avrat, yaman at; birinden göç, birin boşa, birin sat (If your neighbor, your wife or your horse give you nothing but trouble, move away from the neighbor, divorce the wife, and sell the horse)"). Protective paternalism can be observed in the following examples related to women in marriage: "Avradı eri saklar peyniri deri (It is the husband who keeps the wife safe, just as cheese is protected by the sheepskin that contains it)", "Kendinden küçükten kız al, kendinden büyüğe kız ver (Marry your son to the daughter of someone less important than yourself, but marry your daughter to the son of someone more important than yourself)".

Heterosexuality is one of the three components of ambivalent sexism. It is possible to observe patterns of heterosexual hostility ("On beşinde kız ya erde gerek ya yerde (A girl of fifteen should be in a husband's house or under the earth, i.e. married or death)", "Kadının şamdanı altın olsa mumunu dikecek erkektir (Even if a woman's candlestick is made of gold, it takes a man to provide it with a candle)") and heterosexual intimacy ("At beslenirken kız istenirken (The horse should be sold while in high condition; the girl should be married off while she has suitors)", "Atta, avratta uğur vardır (There is luck in buying a horse and in marrying a wife)") in Turkish proverbs related to women in the context of marriage.

Competitive gender role differentiation suggests that women are different from men, and they are the inferior group compared to men. Turkish proverb examples of competitive gender differentiation are "Kadın erkeğin şeytanıdır (A woman is a man's Devil)", "Kadının fendi erkeği yendi (The woman's trickery got the better of man)". In Turkish gender-related proverbs, one comes across so many complementary gender differentiation proverbs which imply women's completing gender roles especially as wives: "Erkek fedakar, kadın cefakâr gerek (Man should be loyal, and woman should be long suffering)", "Erkek

getirmeyi, kadın yetirmeyi bilmeli (A husband must know how to bring in food, and the wife to make it suffice)", "Erkek sel, kadın (avrat) göl (The man is a flood and a woman a lake)" "Oğlan atadan (babadan) öğrenir sofra açmayı, kız anadan öğrenir biçki biçmeyi (A son learns from his father how to provide for a table, the daughter learns from her mother how to sew)". This sort of proverbs also serves the function to teach what roles women should play in a marriage as well as in society.

Motherhood

Some Turkish proverbs emphasize "the unique nature of being a mother" ("Ağlarsa anam ağlar, başkası yalan ağlar (If someone bewail me, my mother would do so)", "Ana gibi yar Bağdat gibi diyar olmaz (No friend like a mother, no country like Baghdad)"). As a natural consequence of being married is having kids in traditional Turkish culture ("Gelin eşikte, oğlan beşikte (The family should start preparing for children as soon as the bride moves in)", "Kızı duvak, gelini beşik arkasında görmeli (One should see a girl to marry behind a veil and a bride behind a cradle)"). Additionally, motherhood is not only attributed to biological mothers but also other female members of the mother's family i.e, aunts who are also responsible for the children ("Teyze, ana yarısıdır (One's mother's sister is like a second mother to one)").

Mothers are unique significant others to their children ("Ananın bastığı yavru (civciv) incinmez (ölmez) (A mother's tread does not harm her young)", "Dilsizin dilinden anası anlar (The mother can understand the language of her dumb child)"). Women once become mothers, they are also equipped with superpowers such as beating the angel of death ("Doğuran avrat Azrail'i yenmiş (A woman who keeps bearing children overcomes the angel of death)"). However, the relationship between daughters and mothers are regarded different than the relationship mother and son have ("Ana ile kız, helva ile koz (The mother and her daughter are like candy with a nut in it)", "Bir anaya bir kız, bir kafaya bir göz (One daughter for a mother like an eye for a head)"). They are and should be very close, inseparable.

One of the clearest indicators of ambivalent sexism in Turkish proverbs can be observed in the proverbs that refer to having a daughter compared to having a son. While some proverbs declare the advantages of having a daughter ("Koz gölgesi kız gölgesi, söğüt gölgesi yiğit gölgesi, dut gölgesi it gölgesi (A walnut tree's shade is the shade of a girl; a willow tree's shade is a shade of a brave man; a mulberry tree's shade is the shade of a dog)", "Doğan anası olma, doğuran anası ol (Do not be the mother of one born (i.e. son), but be the mother of one who gives birth (i.e. a daughter)"), some others totally

defend the opposite ("Kız doğuran tez kocar (A woman who gives birth to a daughter grows old quickly)", "Oğlan doğuran övünsün, kız doğuran dövünsün (A woman who gives birth to a son should be proud, but one who gives birth to a daughter should beat herself out of shame)").

Honor and sexuality of women

In the analysis of the proverbs one of the most remarkable themes that emerged in Turkish proverbs, but not English proverbs was that many proverbs referring to the honor of women in Turkish proverbs. However we should note that by honor it is meant that women should not have sexual intercourse before marriage ("Tarlayı düz al, kadını kız al (Buy a flat field and take a virgin for a wife)"), divorced/widowed women are worthless ("Altın adı pul oldu, kız adı dul oldu (Her name was once like gold, is become worthless, and she is now known a widow)"), they should not attract men ("Dişi köpek kuyruğunu sallamayınca, erkek köpek ardına düşmez (If a female dog does not wiggle her tail, the male dog does not go after her)", "Dişi yalanmazsa erkek dolanmaz (Unless the female bitch licks her lips the male dog will not go after her)", "Oynaşına inanan avrat, ersiz kalır (A Woman who trusts in her lover is left without a man)") and women should always be loyal to their husbands and it does not matter whether their husbands are loyal or not ("Kadının yüzünün karası erkeğin elinin kınası (Shame on a woman's face, but henna on a man's hand [referring to an illicit love affair])"). These examples emphasize heterosexual hostility toward women by fearing women's usage of sexual attraction and controlling their sexuality.

Main Themes of English Proverbs

Negative personality traits (37%), marriage (22%) and mother-child relationship (10%) were recurring themes in English proverbs.

Negative Personality Traits

One of the most remarkable themes in English proverbs is attributing women negative personality traits. According to competitive gender differentiation, only men possess fundamental agentic traits that are relevant to power and competence. As a result, women are not seen as intelligent as men ("A wise woman is twice a fool", "The wisdom of a woman is wonderful to hear", "If she has a mind of her own, there won't be many with a mind for her"). If they were not explicitly viewed as stupid, they are perceived as weak-minded (Six hours' sleep for a man, seven for a woman, and eight for a fool). Although they are not wise enough there are numerous proverbs about women's talking (A woman's strength is in her tongue, Women's tongues are longer than their arms).

Clearly, women as a whole gender group are pictured as evil characters (A bad woman is worse than a bad man, "Better to live with a dragon than with a bad woman"). Examples of competitive gender differentiation between men and their "enemy" can be seen in many proverbs. They cause dispute ("No mischief but a woman or a priest is at the bottom of it"), they ruin their "enemy" ("The female of the species is more deadly than the male", "Venom is the doing of woman"), they are not trustable ("There is no trusting a woman nor a tap", "A woman is a weathercock") even they are worse than the ultimate evil ("It takes a woman to outwit the Devil.") especially when they are old ("A woman is an angel at ten, a saint at fifteen, a devil at forty and a witch at fourscore").

Marriage

Remarkably women-related proverbs in English very often refer to marriage, as well. In the framework of ambivalent sexism, what is worthy to mention is that both hostile and benevolent proverbs toward being married to a woman exist together. As an indicator of complementary gender differentiation, some proverbs attribute positive aspects to being married ("He that will thrive must first ask his wife", "Behind every great man there's a great woman"). On the other hand, some other proverbs propose that it is better not be married to a woman at all ("There's only one thing in the world better than a good wife … no wife", "If you would be happy for a week, take a wife") which is closely related to competitive gender differentiation phenomena of ambivalent sexism theory.

According to dominative paternalism, the wife should be submissive to her husband in a marriage. Illustrations of dominative paternalism can be noticed in the following proverbs: "A married woman has nothing of her own but her wedding ring and her hair lace." "Bachelors' wives and maids' children be well taught". In the latter proverb, wives are regarded just like children who need to be "taught" by their superiors. Dominative paternalism's benevolent correspondent is protective paternalism can be observed in proverbs referring to marriage. Some proverbs focus on the weakness of female partners as if they are minors who need to be taken care of and not able to care for themselves ("Women and children first", "Lend not horse, nor wife, nor sword").

Proverbs like "A deaf husband and a blind wife are always a happy couple" and "A young woman married to an old man, must behave like an old woman" are exhibiting examples of competitive gender differentiation by making clear distinctions between men and women in marriage specifically. Wives do not need to see everything while husbands are the main denominators of the relationship. In harmony with competitive gender differentiation, complementary gender differentiative proverbs tell women to stay inside the borders of their

own territory: their homes ("A woman is smart if she can distinguish her skirt from his trousers"; "A woman's place is in the home") and leave the other gender the important matters.

When proverbs mention marriage of course it is all about heterosexual couples. In several proverbs, women are regarded not as intellectual agents but as sexual objects ("A pretty woman should rather be seen than heard"). However, their expression of sexuality is clearly defined ("A good wife is a perfect lady in the living room, a good cook in the kitchen, and a whore in bed") as heterosexual hostility predicts. Moreover, sexual reproductivity of a couple is only associated with women ("Some women will conceive if you but shake a pair of breeches at them"), and even if someone wish to sexually approach a woman, the person should not consider her as an individual human being but definitely needs to take her "motherhood identity".

Mother-Child Relationship

There are many proverbs in English pointing to the distinctive relationship between mothers and their children. These are mostly examples of complementary gender differentiation ("A child may have too much of his mother's blessing", "No pap like mother's to nourish", "A child that has lost his mother, his help is behind."). Only communal traits are assigned to mothers though, not agency traits as AST suggests ("Don't judge a man by the words of his mother, listen to the comments of his neighbors").

Furthermore, some English proverbs reconstructed the distinctiveness of the mother-daughter relationship in proverbs like "Like mother, like daughter", "My son is my son till he gets him a wife, but my daughter's my daughter all the days of her life", "Choose a good mother's daughter, though her father were the Devil", "He that would the daughter win, must with the mother first begin". The daughters but not sons are expected to continue bearing the inherited burden of womanhood.

Common themes in both languages

As all proverbs of both languages were examined together, three common themes drew our attention. In both languages, marriage was one of the most mentioned topics in proverbs. When one considers the didactic function of proverbs, characteristics of "good wife candidates" and "how to choose a woman" were directly taught to men through proverbs (e.g. "Tarlayı taşlı, kızı kardeşli yerden almalı (If you want a field buy a stony one, if you want a girl pick one with siblings)", "Pekmezi küpten, kadını kökten al (Take grape-molasses from near the bottom of a jar, and take a wife from a good family)",

"Tarlayı düz al, kadını kız al (Buy a flat field and take a virgin for a wife)", "Choose a good mother's daughter, though her father were the Devil", "Never choose your women or your linen by candlelight").

In very close relation to marriage, proverbs quite often refer to the motherhood role of women in both languages. Proverbs emphasize the unique nature of motherhood. Motherhood is usually regarded as a very special feature that a woman can ever have. The relationship between mother and child is viewed as a connection that no other comparable connection is ever possible ("Ana gibi yâr bağdat gibi diyar olmaz (No friend like a mother, no country like Baghdad)", "No pap like mother's to nourish").

In both Turkish and English proverbs, women are explicitly dehumanized either by objectification ("Kız ile altın gizli gerek (Daughter and gold must be kept hidden)", "Koz gölgesi kız gölgesi, söğüt gölgesi yiğit gölgesi, dut gölgesi it gölgesi (A walnut tree's shade is the shade of a girl; a willow tree's shade is a shade of a brave man; a mulberry tree's shade is the shade of a dog)", "A woman is a weathercock", " A woman is like a tea bag; you never know how strong she is until she's in hot water") or animalization ("Dişi yalanmazsa erkek dolanmaz (Unless the female bitch licks her lips the male dog will not go after her)", "At beslenirken kız istenirken (The horse should be sold while in high condition; the girl should be married off while she has suitors)", "A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them the better they be", "The owl was a baker's daughter"). Lastly, examples of direct physical violence towards women can be observed in both languages. Usage of physical violence is advised towards women in general or towards daughters specifically (Kızını dövmeyen dizini döver (He who does not beat his daughter will beat his knees)" "A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them the better they be").

Sexist proverbs with very similar meanings in two languages

Interestingly, we encountered some surprising commonalities in proverbs of the two languages in the objectification of women. For instance, "Gemi donanır kız donanmaz" in Turkish and "A woman and a ship ever want mending" have exactly the same meaning with the same "ship" metaphor. In addition, in both languages, women and fabric are seen similar regarding not to be "taken/bought" at night "Kadın ve kumaşı gece alan aldanır (The ones who take/buy a woman or a piece of fabric at night are deceived)" and "Never choose your women or your linen by candlelight"

"Kadın erkeğin şeytanıdır (A woman is a man's Devil)" and "It takes a woman to outwit the Devil." are examples of perception of the connection

between women as a gender and the devil. It is also in line with the idea that Eve, as the very first woman, who was convinced by the Devil then tempted Adam with the forbidden fruit. As the story goes, Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden.

Overt ambivalence of proverbs in both languages

Ambivalence in proverbs can be observed in the existence of both direct negative attitudes toward women (such as "Kadın erkeğin şeytanıdır (A woman is a man's Devil)") and direct positive attitude toward women (such as "Atta avratta uğur vardır (There is luck in buying a horse and in marrying a wife)"). Here one can argue that in Turkish culture while some sort of woman is considered evil, some others bring good luck. Among English proverbs, obvious ambivalence can be detected in such examples: "Two things prolong your life: A quiet heart and a loving wife" and "There's only one thing in the world better than a good wife … no wife", "A wife brings but two good days: her wedding day and her death day".

Conclusion

In this study, we tried to trace patterns of ambivalent sexism in proverbs of two different cultures. We did not only observe many common ambivalent sexist patterns in both languages, but we also found some surprisingly similar proverbs with word-by-word translation. This finding was unpredictable when one considers how distant Turkish and English cultures are. To our knowledge, this study was one of the first studies which evaluated ambivalent sexist ideologies of two very different cultures through proverbs. We tried to contribute to understanding how different and similar both cultures are when it comes to benevolence and hostility toward women.

Although in both languages majority of the proverbs containing the gender words, such as women or mother, are sexist, it seems like there is a cultural difference in terms of the emphasis of the facets of ambivalence towards women. While most English proverbs represent hostile sexism, Turkish proverbs predominantly exhibit examples of benevolent sexism. It is possible to conclude that in the Turkish language benevolent sexism is more prevalent especially by educating society about women's honor, maternity, and responsibilities in a marital relationship. On the other hand, English proverbs exhibit more overt and hostile characteristics. Women are categorized as evil, not smart but talkative creatures who all the time cause trouble for men. We should note that number of non-sexist English proverbs was remarkably higher than nonsexist Turkish proverbs. Yet, the difference might result from the usage

of the word "mother" as the synonym of the word "source" in most of the non-sexist proverbs in English.

Of course, like any other research, this one also had some limitations. First, we did not include proverbs that mention gender issues implicitly such as "Saçı uzun aklı kısa (Woman have long hair and little intelligence)" or "A man is known by the company he keeps". Second, the authors were not native English speakers, they are very fluent in English though. Third, the languages that were evaluated were limited to Turkish and English languages. Yet, we believe that it was a good first step for cultural comparisons in proverbs to become more conscious of ambivalence in sexism.

Future studies in this line of research can address ambivalent sexism in proverbs about men, as well. Comparing and contrasting both women-related proverbs and men-related proverbs would be a fruitful field to work on. Moreover, other cultural comparisons, such as between another individualistic and collectivistic culture can help us to better understand whether the differences and commonalities are specific to the Turkish-English dyad, or it is possible to generalize for other individualistic and collectivistic cultures.

Note: English translations of Turkish proverbs were obtained from A Dictionary of Turkish Proverbs (Yurtbaşı 1993).

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The Importance of Women According to the Art Works of Gokturk Period

JALE ÖZLEM OKTAY-ÇEREZCİ

Women shared the life with men at all aspects and had both mundane and spiritual roles in society in the early period of Turkish history. These roles were especially important in family life, politics, wars, administration of the state, and blessing rituals. We can say that these features come from the earliest period of Turks'. For example, two mummies which are called as "The Tattoed Man" and "Ukok Woman" (both from the times of Asian Huns) (**Ill. 1a-b**), have the same tattoes that show their equal social status such as a leader or shaman (Oktay, 2013, 365-368). Furthermore, the fact that women who took part in the art scenes with Umai and related with "blessing rituals" during Gokturk Period, show that the spiritual power of them came to the forefront. In addition, the respect for women in the Gokturk Period can be observed from both written sources and works of art, as we will discuss in detail below.

As we look at the works of the Gokturks, the Orkhon Inscriptions is the first to come to mind for the information about the importance and place of women in this period. In the depictions on the Kultigin Inscription such as '*Yukarıdaki Türk Tanrısı (ve) Türk kutsal yer ve su (ruhları) şöyle yapmışlar: Türk milleti yok olmasın diye, halk olsun diye babam İlteriş Hakanı (ve) annem İlbilge Hatun'u göğün tepesinden tutup (daha) yükseğe kaldırmışlar"/ The God of Turks (and) the holy earth and water (spirits)of Turks above did as follows: My father, İlteriş Hakan (and) my mother İlbilge Khatun, was held to the top of the sky and lifted (higher) in order to the Turkish nation would not perish, Turkish people would become a nation"* and *"Türk halkının adı sanı yok olmasın diye baban hakanı ve annem hatunu yüceltmiş olan Tanrı"/ God, who glorified my father, the khan and my mother,khatun, so that the name of the Turkish people would not perish"* (Tekin 1998:41) and the depiction on the Altın Köl I Inscription, with various comments according to many researchers, such as "*İlahemiz Umay/Our goddess Umai...*" (User 2013:550) have very important details about the place of Turkish women as they mentioned like goddess, related with khan. The high status of women and their connection with holiness are seen not only in the inscriptions on the monuments but also on the memorial tombs. The expression such as "*come, my holy (noble/bright) mother*" on a memorial tombstone plate in Mongolia, draws attention in terms of our subject (Tişkin and Seregin 2017:183). In addition, as mentioned below, many

works of art belonging to the Gokturk Period show parallelism with the inscriptions mentioned, and further emphasizing the importance of women in this period.

Within the scope of our study, we will try to examine the importance of Gokturk women at art works under the topics of "Place in the Family", "Political and Administrative Position", "Shaman", "Umai", "Protective Spirit", "Blessing Rituals" and "Warrior". However, it should be noted that one figure or composition can symbolise one or more topics that mentioned above.

The Place of Women in the Family in the Artworks of Gokturk Period

In the Gokturk Period, women are the "wife/ partner" of the men in family life, however, it is known that when a son enters the yurt, he first greets the mother and then the father (Vural 2016:124). Within the frame of family life, it is also important to mention "khatun". Khatun is the first woman that the khan married and have Turkish origin; and only the male children born from the khatun can take the place of the khan. At this point, within the framework of the Legend of Descent from the Wolf, it is necessary to mention the belief that the Ashina family, who founded the Gokturk State, is descended from the Turk's younger wife (Ögel, 2003, 28). It is also vital to remember the animal-mother elements that ensure the continuation of the lineage in the legends from animal descendents, such as deer, eagles, etc. (Çoruhlu 2000:106; Ögel 2003:569, 595).

There are a number of family depictions that may belong to the Gokturk Period, although we do not encounter them very often in terms of works of art. In such a depiction from Mount Manhay, Irkutsk Region; a man, a woman and their children in the middle are shown in a yurt-type tent, on a floor, from the front (**Ill. 2a**). This scene also brings to mind some expressions such as *"Evdeki eşime, vadideki oğullarıma doyamadım, değerlilerime, kutsal devletime, baştaki begime doyamadım değerlilerime / I couldn't get enough of my wife/partner at home, my sons in the valley, my precious ones, my holy state, my precious ones"*, which emphasized the importance of women in the family for men in the Yenisei Inscriptions in the Gokturks. As can be seen, the first rank in this expression is the wife/partner. (Useev 2012:61). And also "mother's right, referred as God's right" for Turks (Aksoy 2010:158).

In relation with the concept of family and couple, we can consider some pairs of statues under this title. As it is well known, stone statues were generally placed on, near and around the kurgan. These may represent the wife of the deceased, or they may be related to the woman's fertility, as a kind of immortality and protection, depending on the life bringer aspect of women.

(Dosimbaeva 2013:57). Especially in Kazakhstan, two statues were erected on the kurgans of the Gokturk Period, possibly one representing the husband and the other representing the wife (**III. 2b**). In other words, the coexistence of the khan and the woman that we will see on the coins of this period, may have continued in the other world in this way as a couple. However, single female or male statues have also been identified. (Çoruhlu 2007:161). It is seen that these sculptures preserve their classical Gokturk period sculpture qualities, although some of their features such as the headpiece have changed (Çoruhlu 2007). Single female statues, on the other hand, appear in a few different situations such as shaman, Umay and warrior characters, as will be discussed in detail below.

The Place of Women in Politics and Administration in Artworks of the Gokturk Period

Khatuns (hatuns/wifes) in the Gokturk Period were very active in state administration as well as in family life; they had the right to speak and vote in state courts. In addition, in the absence of the khan, khatun take over the state administration and it is known that the khatuns accepted the ambassadors as rulers of the state. For example, we've learned from written sources that khatuns were present at the reception of Chinese ambassadors in 585 and 726 (Kafesoğlu 2004:270) and at the end of the VIIth century, a woman named Khatun ruled in Bukhara (Goibov 1989:40).

It is also important for our subject that the phrase "khatun" is seen in a group of Gokturk period coins that were found in Uzbekistan along with the ruler (Babayar 2007:162). On a front face of a coin example from Tashkent, are a Khan that has a round face with the parted in to middle hair and next to him, a Khatun that has again round (moon like) face, almond like eyes and three-horned crown on her head; and also there are star and crescent between them (**III. 3**) (Babayar 2007:66). We can notice that the khatun representations especially from Uzbekistan, have three-horned crowns. This detail also can be related with the general representations of Umai that have three-horned crown. However, we have to mention that this kind of crown is not only for Umai; this crown can be used by warriours, leaders, or shamans (Oktay-Çerezci 2020:764-781).

The Warriour Women at Gokturk Period Art

During the Gokturk Period, women also participated in the war along with the khans; they rode horses, shoot arrows and wrestle (Kafesoğlu 2004:229). These aspects of women are supported not only by written sources but also by stone sculptures and archaeological findings (**III. 4a**) (Hudyakov

2017:83). Women's graves, which show that women were warriors and were buried with horses, appear in this period as well as in earlier periods. For example, an iron knife, two horses with their stirrups and saddles, as well as wooden beads, were found in a woman's burial, in the Djolin III Tomb (South East Altai) (**III. 4b**) (Kubarev 2011, r.2; Seregin 2012:65-66). These findings are also similar to those found in male warrior graves.

Especially the female stone statue which was found in Tuura Suu in Kyrgyzstan is very important for our subject (**III. 4c**). Similar to other Gokturk Period types, this rare female statue has a moon like face, almond like eyes and bow shaped eyebrows. Her head gear and her hair that is long enough to cover her arms were depicted. There are also earrings in her ears. The six-piece belt on her waist and the sword attached to the belt can be seen quite clearly, and another object thought to be a spearhead or a bag is also located on the belt. Although not being three-dimensional, the woman is sitting cross-legged. She holds a bowl at chest level in her right hand (Âşık 2013:160-163). With all these details, it repeats the sculptural features that we encounter in stone male sculptures of the Gokturk Period. In particular, holding a bowl at chest level in one hand and holding the other hand on the abdomen is quite similar to the male stone statue in Jaysan, Kazakhstan (**III 4d**). Again, another female statue from Jaysan, with its weapons and cross-legged position, suggests that the statue in question represents an important woman, possibly a heroic warrior and/or ruler, or was made in memory of her (**III. 4e**) (Hudyakov et al. 2015:113-114; Hudyakov and Belinskaya 2012:130). For iconography, cross-legged sitting in Turks are unique to heroic warrior rulers.

The presence of warrior women in the Gokturk Period is also seen in wall paintings. On one of the Pencikent murals, a warrior (perhaps the wife of the ruler) woman and man in white clothes on a red background are seen riding their white horses side by side. The woman wears a pointed helmet, a double braid of hair that extends from her temple (**III 4f**). It is possible to see the similar shape of this woman's helmet in the warrior depictions in many Gokturk Period rock paintings (İbekeyeva 2015:291). In Pencikent, there is again one of the rare scenes which is related to the our subject, in one of the wall paintings (**III 4g**), there is a 6-armed, 3-headed deity in the composition. From its three heads, the middle head is that of a man, a woman head on the left and a demon head on the right. There is a drop-shaped urn in the middle of their foreheads. With these features, it points to the influence of Buddhism, and although it shows a date a little later than the Gokturk Period, it can be briefly discussed within the framework of our subject (Belenitsky and Marşak 1976:78). The woman has a lotus shaped crown and a pendant earring like a ball, which we also see in the sculptures depicting Umai. This woman plays a rhyton-like

musical instrument and holds a trident spear. The man, on the other hand, is of the "*alp*" type, which we are accustomed to see in Turkish art iconography. He has also two dragon heads on his shoulders. Starting from all the details, we can evaluate this scene and the warrior woman in the late Gokturk Period.

Woman Shaman in Gokturk Period Art Works

Archaeological data and historical sources show that women have aspects such as healers, herbalists and shamans (Hoppal 2014:34-35). There are even comments that the first shamans were women and that female shamans were stronger than men (Bayat 2020:20-22). In addition, the fact that the Turkish word "*udagan/odkan*" refers to the female shamans who protect the fire once again proves how effective female shamans are in Turkish culture. In addition, we want to mention that similarity of the words "udagan/odkan" and "Ötügen/Otukan" is very close and it can be stated that female shamans, namely odkans, were under Ötügen's protection (Bayat 2020:51, 53). The most important detail under this topic is that in the Gokturks, it is seen that women (probably women shamans) take part in the rituals for the sky, earth, water and fire, and in some cases they lead the ritual.

In this context, female statues, which differ from many Gokturk Period ones that they hold musical instruments in their hands, and that allow us to define them as female shamans. In other words, it is possible to characterize these referred to as shamans, based on the fact that they hold a musical instrument or etc. in their hands. As it is known, shamans play various musical instruments, especially drums, during their rituals (**III. 5a**). For example, it is possible to see this kind of statues in Aulieata (Jambıl Region), Kazakhstan Moimkum Region (Çoruhlu 2007:205). Here, it is seen that most of the female statues from the Aulieata Region (Bahtibaev 2020:213-220) have their hands joined at the level of the abdomen and they hold a musical instrument between their hands (**III 5b**).

Woman as Umai Respresantitons at Gokturk Period Art Works

In the Gokturk Period, women had an important bond with Umai. Umai is associated with women, protects children and puerperants, and even protect all the people (Çoruhlu 2000:41). With this aspect, it is one of the existential foundations of the society. At this point, it is also necessary to talk about "kut/blessing", which we will discuss in detail below. It is important for the rulers to receive blessings from the mother, Umai. We can see this issue from Kultigin Inscription with the sentence such as "*Umay gibi annem hatunun kutu sayesinde, kardeşim Kültigin erkeklik adını elde etti/ Thanks to the blessing of Umai like my mother, my brother has achieved his bravery name*" (Tekin

1998:47) and a depiction on a kiln from Ulan Bator such as "Umai Khatun". So this means that we can follw the Umai part of Gokturk women from both inscripitons and art works of that period.

There are many statues of a three-horned female head from Gokturk Period, which is thought to be Umai or at least a noble woman (Skobelev 2021). Some of the heads are a little different from the traditional three-horned ones; they form a spherical form in the middle and are handled with a slight ridge towards the ears (Hudyakov 2010:101). The female statues found in Kyrgyzstan Taldu-Suu (**Ill. 6a**) and Balhash differ in this respect from the three-horned ones in hair design and head gear (Hudiakov et al. 2017:93-94). In the first one, the woman, who is iconographically Mongoloid type, has a pointed helmet ending at her neck. She has a sphere shaped pendant earring. There is one sphere in the upper row and four spheres in the lower row of the double row necklace. In her right hand she holds a bowl at chest level between her thumb and forefinger; the other hand is on the stomach. This last detail is similar to the female statue at Tuura-Suu (**Ill. 4c).**

The female statues, whose head consists of three horns in the form of a triangle, are mostly associated with Umai, as we have just mentioned (Polat 2019:1070). These types of female statues generally have earrings, they hold an offering bowl in their hands, and there are also examples with one hand holding an offering bowl and the other hand on the belly (**Ill. 6b-c**). Their breasts, moon face, almond eyes, bow eyebrows and a flat nose are sometimes indicated (**Ill. 6d**). The female statues, whose head consists of three horns in the form of a triangle, are associated with Umai, as we have just mentioned (Polat 2019:1070). These types of female statues usually have earrings, they hold a bowl in their hands, and there are also examples with one hand holding a bowl and the other hand on the belly (**Ill. 6b-c**). These kind of statuettes generally have moon-shaped faces, almond-like eyes, bow-shaped browe and flat noses and sometimes their breasts are indicated (**Ill. 6d**).

The statue, which is from Altai Republic, Apshiyakta I Complex and dated to VI-VIIth centuries AD. is also considerable (**Ill. 6e**). The upper part of it has broken, however we can assume that it has a conical head gear. This statue again has the typical face as we mentioned above and looks like smiling (Kubarev 2017a:95-101; Kubarev 2017b:93-101). In our opinion, the conical head figure is that of a woman and the figure on the chest can be considered as Umai. Here, most probably, a woman ruler is receiving blessing from Umai or her important aspects as a ruler and her relation with Umai are tried to be represented.

A rare example, a pair of earrings, which we can consider to belong to the late Gokturk Period, was found in the Koybalı kurgan no 7 that is a female grave on the Abakan River (**III. 6f**). It is of no coincidence that this pair of earrings was associated with Umai due to its characteristics and the fact that it was found in a woman's tomb. On the earring, which was made of gold and silver, the woman (probably Umai) is depicted with her wings, her hands raised to chest level and she is holding a bowl between her hands. She has a halo on her head and his wings open behind her back. There is a circle approximately in the middle of the wings. Umai has a bunch of grape shape jewelry on her head and neck; they are made of tiny gold particles. Hollow gold and silver spheres which probably represent the spirits of existence, were hung on both sides of the halo and on the ends of the wings by an attached silver wire. On both sides of the pendant that was designed as a tail, a rhombus form with a trefoil depiction can be seen. One of the corners of the hollow rhombus has a loop designed to be hung on an earring, silver wires hang from the other three loops and they hold ball forms at their ends. The trefoil symbolizes fertility, and the ball forms symbolize the child spirits of animals and humans. Some researchers state that "the embryos of the creatures that will be born in blessed milk" is in the bowl that Umai holds. Ball-shaped pendants are also can be considered within the scope of this view.

It can be said that the depiction of women as Umai in the Gokturk Period had been accomplished in several ways. One of them is with three horned crowns. In addition to this, Umai sometimes appears as a winged bird as it is thought to be associated with the important intermediary bird between the "lower" and "upper" worlds (Skobelev 2014:37).

Woman as a Protective Spirit in Artworks of the Gokturk Period

A set of female statues (Ögel 1984:169-170) that were recovered from the lands of Mongolia, Sayan Altai, Kazakhstan and the Tian Shan (Khudjakov et al. 2014:14) do not have an Umai or warrior character. However, they are depicted holding a bowl between their two hands at stomach or chest level (**III. 7a-b**). It is noteworthy that especially the breasts of the statues are indicated, and they are similar to the Kuman Kipchak statues in these aspects. Such statues probably represent either the deceased or the protective spirit of the deceased; in both cases, the holding of the vessels can be evaluated within the framework of "offering" and "spilling".

Perhaps in this case, a spilling ritual can be represented as shamans spill kumis from the vessels at their rituals. Thus, the soul of the deceased is protected from evil. Kızlasov, on the other hand, argues that the statues holding

vessels in this way represent the spirits participating in their funeral ceremonies. (1964:27-39). At this point, it should be noted that symbolically, a sculpture can express several situations and over time they were seen as cult of ancestors and became respectable elements (Çoruhlu 2000:98).

As the statues, most of the figurines of the Gokturk Period can be considered in a similar understanding, in other words, as objects of protection, belief in the other world and the representation of the deceased. The crescent shape on most of the Gokturk Period female figurines that are mostly from the front and in a static position take attention (Dvureçenskaya 2006:146-150). These kind of examples are mostly come from Uzbekistan. On a female figurine from Varaksha, the crescent at the level of the woman's chest is wrapped around the back of her head and the woman is holding the crescent with her hands (**III. 7c**) (Lutfiya-Guliamova 1980:79-80). In another example, the female figurine raises her right hand at chest level and again carries the crescent in the same hand with the ends pointing upwards (**III. 7d**). A female figure from Dal'verzin-Tepe is seen with a crescent on her crown and a sphere (possibly the sun) in the middle (**III. 7e**).

Esin mentions that during this period in Uzbekistan, the concepts of "sun" and the moon were common. In this context, the sun can be associated with men, namely Kagan. Therefore, we can think that the woman is also identified with the moon-crescent as we have seen above. Mostly, if we assume that sun rays represent the arrow heads and the bow represents the crescent we can find two unseperated parts like in the battle (2004:65-67). In addition to this we can say that the similarity between the crescent and uteris can be related with fertility, blessing, fruitfulness, mother earth etc. (Oktay 2014:22).

"Blessing" Scenes of Gokturk Period Art

As we mentioned above, depictions of Umai are also encountered in the scenes of "blessings". Kut/Blessing has three dictionary meanings: "Supreme power in state administration in terms of power, creativity and authority"; "Happiness" and "Mercy and blessing from a divine source" (TDK Güncel Sözlük, 2021). Barthold, on the other hand, expressed this word as receiving authority from God for state administration (2006:36-37). As we understand from Orhun Inscriptions, taking blessing is special for ruler and we can follow this tradition from art works of this period such as three horned figures that are most probably Umai. In this kind of scenes Umai generally represented as woman or look like woman.

Kudirge Rock is probably the first thing that comes to mind about receiving blessing. In the depiction here **(III. 8a)**, the first striking details are the

mask in front of the stage, which is thought to symbolize Tengri, and the "Umai" with her three-horned crown and fur-like caftan on the other side. Behind Umai is another figure wearing a similar cloth and earrings. Next to this, there is the bow and quiver left on the right side of the stage. On the other side of the scene are three horses with their riders kneeling. In particular, one of the horses has a mask. It is understood from the kneeling figures that the one above is a warrior because the arrow and quiver was left next to him. There is another three horned crowned and holding his/her masked horse figure that is bending knee across Umai for to show her/his respect (Esin 2006:324; Surazakov 1994:49). At the bottom of this group is the third kneeling figure. We can briefly state that it is not a coincidence that the figures on the right and left sides of the stage are placed opposite each other according to a certain order. In other words, the spiritual side on the right and the material side on the left are may be intended to be explained.

The meaning of the composition has led to various interpretations among researchers. The most plausible of them, is that "receiving a blessing" is practiced here; In other words, the person who is on her knees with the three-hormed crown, is perhaps the Umai who is embodied part of her in the material world or the leader who takes blessing from Umai. The fact that the horse he is holding has a mask gives an idea about his high rank. In addition, details such as the quiver and bow that were left on the ground in this scene are also present in the other blessing scenes, which we will mention below. Other commentary is obtained from Dluzhnevskaya and Kizlasov. These researchers mention that a shaman ceremony was probably held here (Dlujnevskaya 1974:232). In the scene where the ceremony for a deceased child (in the background on the right) is described and it is emphasized that the figure on the left kneeling and with the three horned crown is a shaman. In addition, Çoruhlu describes the figure on the right as a woman (Çoruhlu 2007:100).

Another related scene is depicted on the bone plate found in Suttuu-Bulak I, Kurgan no.54 (**Ill. 8b**). On one side of the plate, the battle scene, in which the Gokturk soldiers are also depicted take place and on the other side, the scene of the blessing. There is probably a rug or carpet on the floor in the composition that seems to take place in a yurt type tent. One of the two figures sitting cross-legged on the carpet is Umai, who is depicted as a woman according to her facial features with a three-horned headdress. In addition, Umai is considered larger than the other figure as a status indicator. Opposite Umai, there is a warrior, most likely the ruler, in a helmet with a plate that covers his head trough his shoulders. It seems that he is holding a serving plate or bowl in his hands.

A similar scene is seen on the belly of a male statue which was found in the Kogali settlement of Kazakhstan (**Ill. 8c**) (İbekeyeva 2015:332). This scene almost repeats the previous one. Again, there are two figures sitting on a floor in a yurt-type tent; on the right, there is Umai with her three horned head gear. But this time Umai is almost has the same dimensions as the figure that is situated across to her. Umai's outfit here is a rectangular dress rather than a caftan. The figure in front of her is dressed in a caftan and his long braided hair goes down from his waist. Again, he handed the bowl as holding for presentation purposes to Umai. The quiver and bow on the back of Umay, on the far right of the composition, reminds the example of Kudırge. However, some researchers describe this couple as husband and wife. In addition, on the statue where this scene is located, there are tamgas which point to the VIIIth century (Rogozhinskiy 2019:256).

There is also a scene from Biçiktu-Bom that is close to what we have just mentioned above (**Ill. 8d**) (İbekeyeva 2015:280). Again, there is Umai, who is sitting on a ground in a yurt-type tent, and has a three horned crown, and there is again probably a ruler opposite to her. The quiver and bow are on the right side of that figure this time. There is an ingle in the middle of the two figures, which is known as the center of the tent and an important cult for the Turks. In addition, on the outside of the tent, on the right side, the horse, which is thought to belong to the ruler, is tied. According to these details, this scene reminds of Kudırge Rock. Based on both these similarities and elements such as the ingle and the three horned head gear, we can evaluate the scene within the theme of "blessing".

As mentioned above, a certain iconographic integrity can be observed in the blessing scenes, which have a deep-rooted history in Turkish culture, and Umai who has a three-horned head gear, takes its place as a woman or similar to a woman. A coin (**Ill. 8e**) which was recovered from Tashkent, depicts a man and woman who are sitting cross-legged in a place. The man on the left, the khan, has long hair and is holding an object in his left hand as an offering to her (probably Umai). The female figure, on the other hand, has a three-horned head gear and her breasts and abdomen are prominent (Babayar 2007:69). This means that this woman is probably pregnant. Besides this probability, by these characteristics of her, a reference to Umai could to be made. So at first, we may see a family life but when we evaluate the details, this scene can be noticed again as a "blessing". In other words, the depictions of the three-horned head geared woman in such scenes, on the one hand, point to the Umai, that is related with the fertility and blessing, and the on the other hand, warrior characters and her roles in the political administration.

Under the headings that we have discussed above, it is possible to follow the information about the importance and place of women in the Gokturk Period (Taşağıl 2014:20-25, 380-385) in Turkish art in the following centuries. For example, the Seljuk Period produced important and diverse works of art in this sense (Tekin 2014:992-998). Especially, the images of warrior women, the together representations of khan and khatun of this period stand out (**Ill. 9a-b**).

Conclusion

As a result, we can say that the prestige, importance, power and respect that the women in the Gokturk period had in the society can be followed both from written sources such as the Orkhon Inscriptions and the Chinese Annuals, and from the works of art of this period. When we look at the works of art of the Gokturk Period, serious data can be obtained about how versatile women are. It has been possible to group the above mentioned data under the titles of Her "Place in the Family", "Political and Administrative Position", "Warrior", "Shaman", "Umai", "Guardian Spirit" and "Receiving/Giving Blessings". As can be seen, the women of the Gokturk Period had a strong place in every aspect of life, both materially and spiritually. Each of these titles is depicted in more or less unique material. For example, the place of women in politics and administration is most clearly seen on coins. The examples in which the portraits of Katun and Kagan are depicted together are valuable in this sense. On the other hand, stone sculptures or scenes carved on the rock reveal the versatility of women once again. In these depictions, we come across with the woman as a warrior, Umai, a wife, a protector and associated with receiving blessings. At this point, it should be mentioned that a depiction or figure that is related to our subject can contain more than one symbolic meaning.

When we look at all the works of art of the Gokturk Period in general, it is possible to state that the spiritual aspect of women, namely Umai, and in connection with this, the aspect of blessing are emphasized. Especially in the scenes of the blessing, some details such as yurt-type tent, carpet on the floor, Umai with three-horned crown take attention. But above all, in these scenes, as indicated in the inscriptions, the person who will rule the state is depicted many times by receiving a blessing from the woman that is Umai. As it can be understood from here, women in the Gokturk Period not only ensured the continuation of the generation, but also had an impact on the administration, security and continuity of the state, both materially and spiritually.

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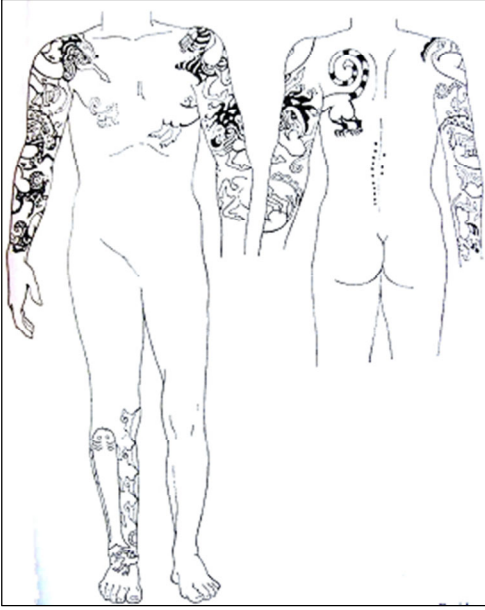
Ill. 1a: Tattooed Man, Pazyryk Burial (Oktay, 2013, 381)

Ill. 1b: Ukok Woman, (Oktay, 2013, 385)
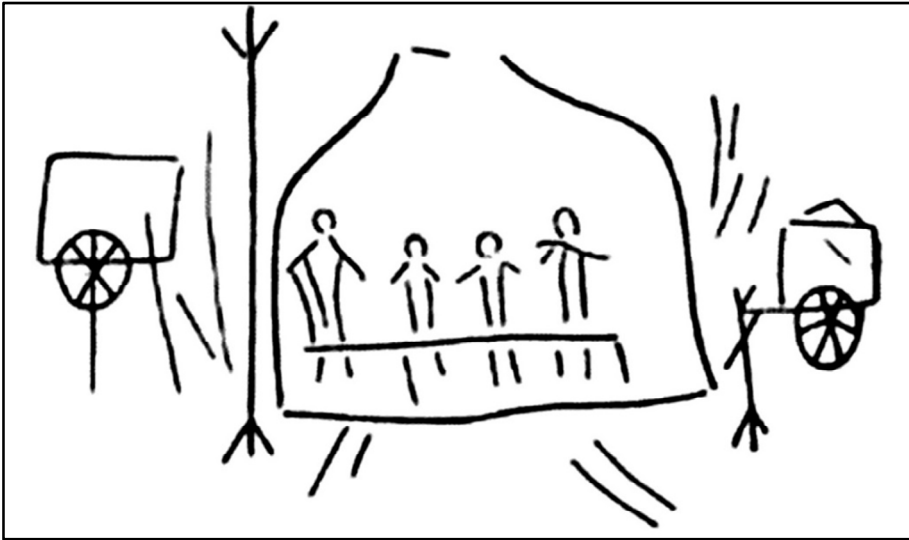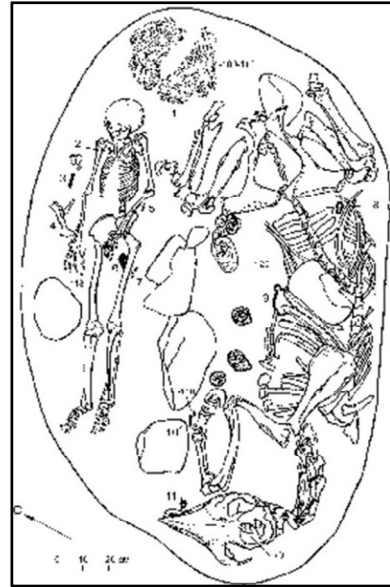

Ill. 2a: Manhay Mountain (Horoşih, 1951, tabl.71.9)

Ill. 2b: Kazakhstan,Merke,Suyındık, Kurgan 1. Statues of woman and man. (Dosimbaeva, 2013, 218)

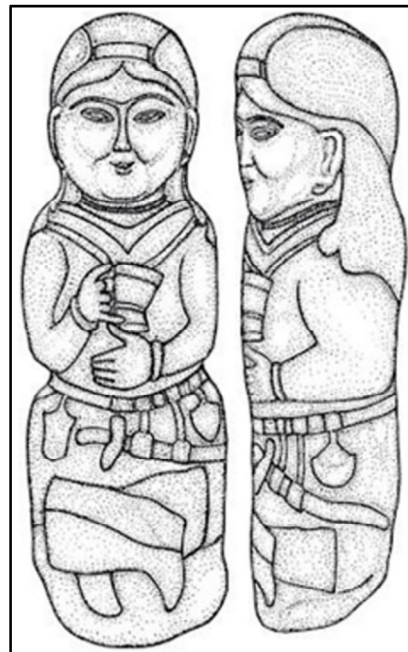Ill. 3: Kanka-Tepe (Tashkent), coim, copper, VII.th century, (Babayar, 2007,66).

Ill. 4a: Gokturk Period woman warrior (Hudyakov, 2017, 84).

Ill. 4b: Woman grave from Djolin III Graveyard (Kubarev, 2011, r. 2)

Ill. 4c: Woman statue from Krgyzistan Tuura-Suu (Aşık, 2013,165; Hudyakov vd., 2015, 113).

Ill. 4d: Man statue from Kazakhstan Jaysan (Dosimbaeva, 2013, 225).

Ill. 4e: Woman statue from Kazakhstan Jaysan (Dosimbaeva, 2013, r.9.4).

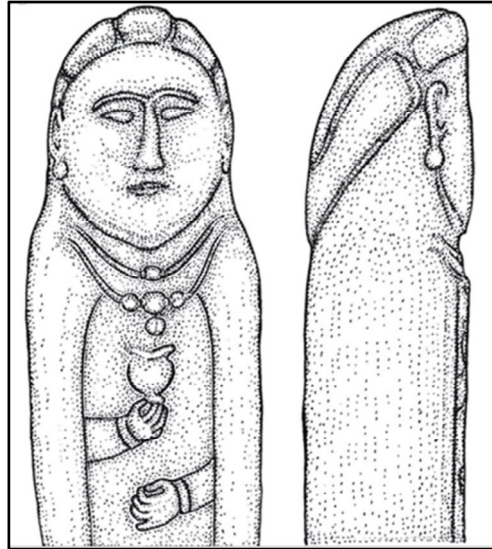Ill. 4f: Pencikent, fresco, woman and man riders (İbekeyeva, 2015, 291)

Ill. 4g: Pencikent, fresco (Belenitsky-Marşak, 1976, r.11).

Ill. 5a: Kazakhstan Musical Instruments Museum, statue holds probably a musical instrument, VII-VIII.th century.

Ill. 5b: Aulieata, woman statues holding probably musical instruments. (Bahtıbaev, 2020, suret 2).
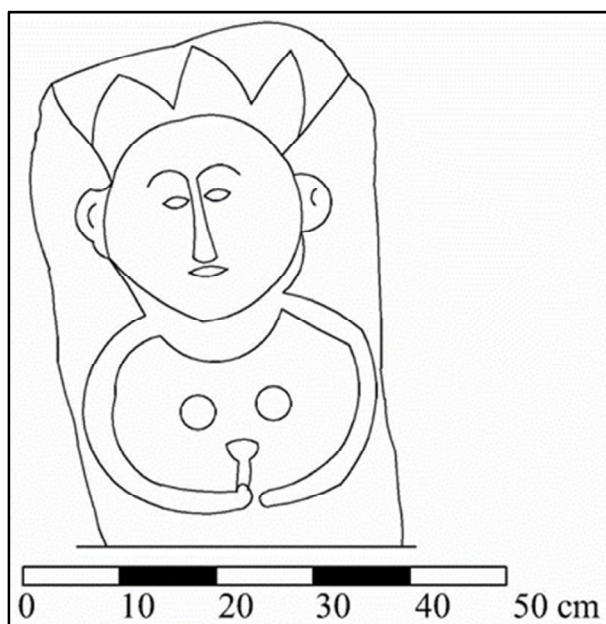

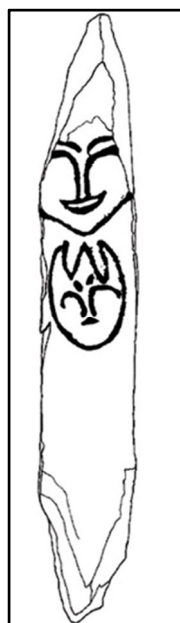Ill. 6a: Woman statue that probably represents Umai (Hudyakov et al., 2017, fig. 3,4).
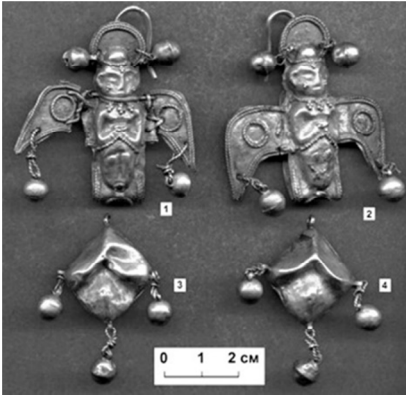
Ill. 6b-c: Krgyzistan Isık Gol and Kazakhstan Karatau, three horned woman statues
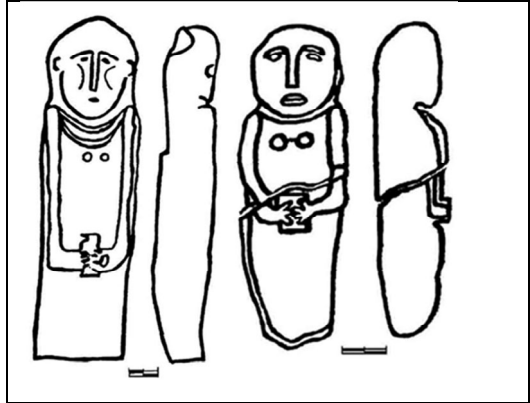(Kubarev, 2017, fig.6.1-2)

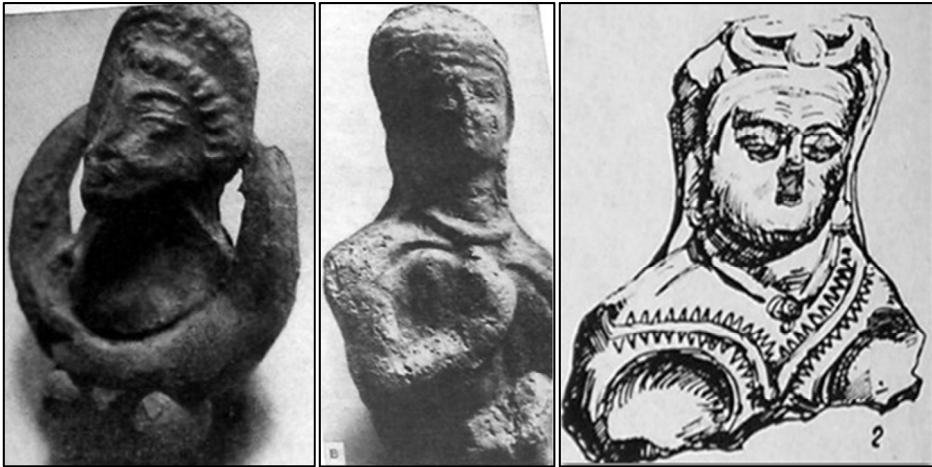Ill. 6d: Krgyzistan, woman statue. (Polat, 2019, çiz.3).

Ill. 6e: Apshiyakta I, stone
statue. (Kubarev, 2017,
fig.4).

Ill. 6f: Koybali, a pair of earrings (Skobelev, 2014, fig. 3)

Ill. 7a-b: Merke and Muizdi Kora 2, woman statues (Dosimbaeva, 2013, r.6.5; r.4.3).

Ill. 7c-e: Varaksha and Dal'verzin-Tepa, woman figurines, VI-VII.th century. (Oktay, 2014, Fig. 2a).

Ill. 8a: Kudirge Rock (Surazakov, 1994, r.1).
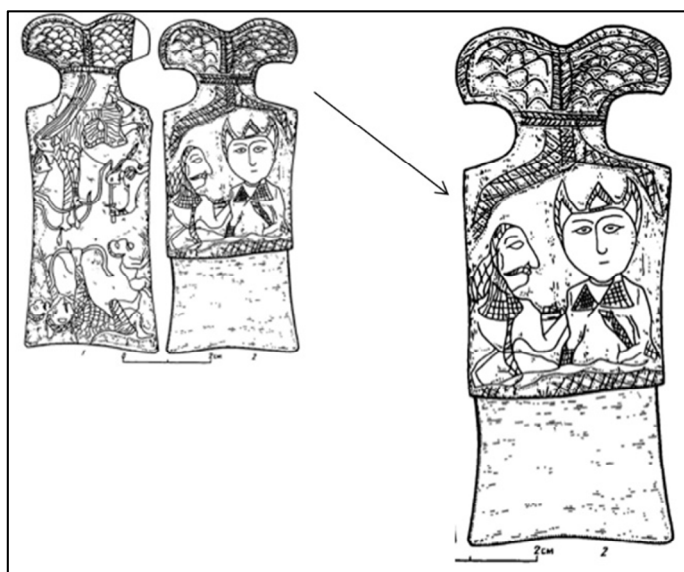
Ill. 8b: Sutuu-Bulak I, Kurgan no.54, bone plate. (Hudyakov vd., 1997, r.2).

Ill. 8c: Balkaş Boyu, Kazakhstan, stone statue (Rogozhinskiy, 2019, 256; İbekeyeva, 2015, Ill. 344).
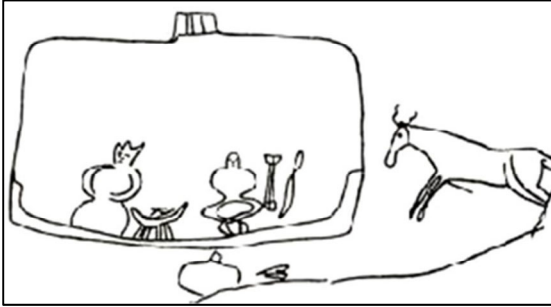
Ill. 8d: Biciktu-Bom (İbekeyeva, 2015, 280).

Ill. 8e: Tashkent, coin. (Babayar, 2007, kat.no.35).

Ill. 9a: Seljukid, plate, XII-XIII.th century (Tekin, 2014, foto.3).

Ill. 9b: Seljukid, woman warrior figurin (Tekin, 2014, foto.5).

The Personifications of Time and Space as Woman in Late Antiquity

FERDA BARUT-KEMİRTLEK

Personification is the anthropomorphic representation of any non-human thing. Natural phenomena (earth, sky, rivers), places (cities, countries), divisions of time (seasons, months, a lifetime), states of the body (health, sleep, death), emotions (love, envy, fear), and political concepts (victory, democracy, war) all appear in human, often female, form. Some have only fleeting incarnations, others become widely recognised figures, and others again seem to have become so firmly established as deities in the imagination of the community. Though often thought of as a feature of the Hellenistic period, personifications can be found in literature, art and cult from the archaic period onwards (Stafford and Herrin 2017:xix).

Within the scope of the present paper, Tyche as the personification of space and Seasons as the personifications of time are analyzed on the basis of the application of the feminine attributions to some of the very common subjects in Late Antique art. Tyche and in most of the examples, Seasons are depicted as woman in Late Antique art[1]. For these personifications the most interesting point is that the women figures have been chosen for the concepts which have connotations commonly attributed to the men like security, stability and durability. This situation raises a couple of questions about the place of the women in the society during Late Antiquity.

Rome and Byzantium were societies which relegated women to a secondary role and preferred that women should not hold power, at least not publicly (James 2017:298). But the women who are known to us from the formal literature of antiquity are mainly those who belonged to or associated with the wealthy or intellectually elite groups of society[2] (Pomeroy 1975:xi). Keeping in

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[1] There are some man-figured Seasons depictions also, especially in the earlier periods, like Seasons Sarcophagus (330–335 A.D., Dumbarton Oaks Collections) and Parabiago Patera (361-363 A.D., Milan Archaeological Museum). But the later examples of the Seasons' personifications are mostly woman-figured.

[2] For example, the near silence on the daily existence and routine activities of women in Byzantine historical texts has created a distorted view of the role and place of women in Byzantine society. Aristocratic women figure most prominently because they are more visible; the other prominent group consists of female saints, whose lives have been studied to a great extent. But both categories constitute the exception, rather than the norm. But there is little textual evidence for average Byzantine women who were involved with everyday domestic activities or who had more mundane professions. A much greater variety of source material is needed for a better

mind that the sources are inadequate and the commentary is delusive; in the literature and the art of the period, the image of women in ancient societies has two opposite and conceptions. The positive one accepts them as compassionate, pure and submissive. The negative one accepts them as weak, seducing, unstable and mutinous.

However, especially Tyche personifications as a woman in Late Antiquity art take a different stance apart from these two opposite sides. These depictions affirm the female figure, but they do this by going beyond the accepted gender codes, by the way of the characteristics of the female personifications which emphasize the power and the balance as in the examples of Tyche representations. When considered from this point of view, the gender of the personifications seems occurent and is not in accordance with the presupposition about women's place in ancient societies.

Writers of Late Antiquity to the end of Byzantium used personification as a favored rhetorical device. In art such devices were widely favored until sixth century. Based on literature, these figures of Classical or Hellenistic inspiration are found in floor mosaics and retained in manuscripts and other works made for Christian patrons. Some antique personifications such as Homonoia (Concord) were preserved only as inscriptions on marriage belts and rings, iconographically their role was assumed by Christ. On the other hand, pre-Christian concepts such as Tyche[3] survived essentially unchanged in form and meaning, in consular diptychs and manuscripts (MacCoull and Cutler 1991, 3:1634-1635).

Personifications in Late Antiquity art present a variety of iconographical characteristics. Some of them are depicted as male, some of as female. Sometimes they are accompanied by an inscription, in this case it is reliable and easy to identify them. But in most instances there is no inscription or they could not be preserved, if there is any. Their iconographical characteristics also make it difficult to identify them correctly in some certain cases. They may share some common features, and in the case of the absence of an inscription the exact

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understanding of the place and role of non-elite women in Byzantine society. Byzantine art is full of images of women, but they too offer very few details of the female perspective on everyday life. Representations of historically recognizable individuals are in most cases of upper-class women and empresses, and even these are rare (Kalavrezou, 2012:513). This argument is also valid for the the women of Antiquity in Roman provinces, as verified by Pomeroy 1975.

[3] There is an extensive use of the imagery of Good Fortune and Tyches, particularly in official art during Late Antiquity. They appear on consular diptychs throughout the fourth to sixth centuries, on monuments such as the fifth-century column of Arkadios in Constantinople, and in precious metals such as the figurines from the Esquiline Treasure. The intermingling of pagan and Christian motifs is an intrinsic feature of late antique art and personifications remained a feature of Byzantine Christian art throughout the period of the empire (James, 2017:299, 300).

definition of the personification would not be solid due to the common traits of their iconography. As in the case of Tyche depictions, bejewelled and crowned female figures may refer to elite or imperial women**⁴**, a goddess/deity or a personification.

The most frequently depicted personifications are earth, sky, rivers, and suchlike as natural phenomena; compassion, righteousness, joy, fortune, and suchlike as virtues, muses, graces; health, sleep, and suchlike as states of the body; love, envy, fear, and suchlike as emotions; seasons, months, zodiac, and suchlike as divisions of time; cities, countries, and suchlike as places and space. Generally speaking; virtues, muses and graces like Abundantia (Prosperity), Concordia (Harmony), Felicitas (Happiness), Pudicitia (Modesty) and many more are depicted as a female⁵ but the other kinds of personifications

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⁴ In the Roman world, eclecticism is manifest in art and religion. Thus, as in the Greek world, some attributes of Tyche, particularly the cornucopia and the mural crown, were shared among several other deities such as Ceres, Cybele/Magna Mater, and Fortuna. These attributes were subsequently borrowed by the empresses in their portraiture, particularly to suit elevating titles that they received during their lifetimes, such as Magna Mater, Mater Patriae, and Mater Castrorum. Although it is difficult to distinguish these different divinities and quasi-divinities from each other in the Roman visual arts, they are all endowed to some degree with the various capacities of the Hellenistic Tyche: guardian, savior, and bearer of fortune and fecundity. In the guise of such divinities, the capacities of Tyche were thus conferred on the empresses (Smith, 1994:99).

A group of images of women dating from the late Roman iperiod into the eighth and ninth centuries share a specific and similar kind of iconography. A female figure, almost invariably shown in bust form, wearing rich, elaborate jewellery, necklaces or collars, earrings and diadems is found in media as varied as textiles, bone, metal and mosaic. Several Coptic textiles dated to the fifth century represent similar bust female figures with diadems, earrings and elaborate jewellery around the neck, and figures with orbs and sceptres. Textiles continue to portray these female figures with their jewelled collars, earrings and other signifiers of wealth into the ninth century. Similar images are also found on late antique floor mosaics from Syria and North Africa. These female busts sometimes bear labels. These may be Ge ('Earth'), Fortuna, Ktisis ('Foundation'), the Hearth Rich in Blessings, Good Fortune. Where unlabelled, scholars have applied descriptions such as 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' or 'Nature Goddess', especially when the figure is associated with a cornucopia. The personifications of Earth, of Good Fortune, of Wealth-Bringing Woman were all apotropaic images invoking health and wealth and bringing good luck and protection. They are frequently compared to images of empresses. However, when unidentified, it may be impossible to be certain whether these are images of 'Good Fortune' or 'Wealth-Bringing Women' or images of empresses. Images of 'Earth' tend to hold cornucopiae; images of empresses do not. Rather, where shown with attributes, they tend to wield orbs and sceptres. Both of these objects feature in male imperial iconography. Both the globus cruciger and the sceptre are regularly found in a variety of media, including coins, in the hands of personifications, above all Tyches and Victories, and in the hands of angels, from the fourth century onwards. Thus globes and sceptres are treated as attributes wielded by the Good Fortune of the City, by Victory, and even by God's messengers. In this way, city personifications can also be seen as contributing to female imperial imagery, but in a different way from Fortuna or the 'Wealth-Bringing Woman". The city Tyche in her classical robes wears very different garments from Good Fortune or from the fifth-century empress, though tyches are portrayed with increasing amounts of jewellery, which have led to their comparison with images of empresses (James, 2017:295-298).

⁵ In Archaic and Classical art, personifications of abstract concepts usually do not possess specific attributes or physical characteristics, and are normally identified by means of their inscribed

are variable. This variety is generally in accordance with the gender qualities assumed about the ancient societies[6]. Among them, the female characters of city personifications on the basis of space and season personifications on the basis of time attribute a positive meaning to the women of Late Antiquity. In this context, Tyche personifications as a woman seem exceptional due to the above stated reasons, as a female image which implies an unusual authority and power according to the period. Some unidentified female images used for the objects related with trade associating the female figure with trust and insurance also imply the positive associations about women characteristics.[7]

Tyche is a comprehensive and complex concept which give reference to fate, fortune or chance according to the related context. As a symbol of prosperity and success, Tyche as a popular superstition was often connected with cities. The emperors were also considered to have their Tyche, the survival of the Roman concept of an individual's genius, as embodiment or special protector (Cutler 1991, 3:2131).

The city, the basic unit of civilized society for both the Greeks and the Romans, appears to emerge in the fourth century A.D. as a central image in the iconography of empire. The assemblies of Tyches would depict the late Roman state as a "commonwealth of self-governing cities" (Shelton 1979:29). Cities are

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names. The gender of the visual personification generally follows the gender of the Greek noun; in consequence, female figures predominate (Cohen, 1994:373). Because Greek and Latin tended to give a female gender to most human emotions, qualities, sensibilities, and sensations, the female character has a strong visual presence in the Greek and Roman Late Antique world. Female personifications of abstract notions have a lasting presence in the imperial art of Byzantium and can be seen until the late Middle Ages. In this way both language and art reinforce the connection of abstract qualities and positive characteristics with women, even when these virtues are being ascribed, as they usually are, to men (Kalavrezou 2012:522).

[6] In most of the cases, these gender qualities and/or the functions of the personifications may produce interwoven stories. For example, Eudaimonia appears as a personification in Classical Greek vase painting, closely connected to Aphrodite and Eros. The iconographic qualities of Eudaimonia are cited in variants of the Roman Felicitas and her alter ego, Fortuna, who were believed to govern a more pragmatic kind of love in which fertility was regarded as one road to happiness. When Felicitas, the Roman goddess who personified 'happiness', appeared in the arts in the middle of the second century B.C., she was iconographically related to Eudaimonia, but the symbolic significance of Felicitas was removed from the individual or private sphere and introduced to public space. Felicitas symbolised a kind of civic happiness which was connected to the welfare, prosperity and fertility of Rome. These personifications/goddesses functioned as visual expressions of the significance of love and reproduction in a good life (Prusac 2011:74, 75).

[7] Counterweights from the fourth-fifth century on survive in the form of busts of women wearing diadem, necklace, earrings. These figures are conventionally identified as empresses, though the iconography fits the 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' almost as well. Such a fusion of imagery would seem highly appropriate on objects used in trade and exchange. The link with goddesses and personifications stressed the power and almost magical significance of the weight and might also have served as a safeguard of validity. Significantly, during the Roman period, female images were also popular on counterweights, the goddess Athena/Minerva in particular being favoured, and tyches were common on flat weights (James 2017:302).

represented in four ways in the art of the Greeks and Romans: By the guardian deity, by eponymous hero or founder, by allegorical figure, by a Tyche or Fortuna (Gardner 1888:48). Starting from the Hellenistic period, the city personifications gain a basic character. Key for understanding Hellenistic conspect is connection of polis and city-state cult, or divinization of polis itself, detectable in Athens of Late Classical period (Novakova and Gucik 2014:242).

Like the major deities, many of the personifications were the recipients of cult, archeological evidence of which exists in shrines and dedications. Unlike the major deities, however, these minor divinities existed in a restricted sphere: possessing attributes but not histories or myths; interacting with gods, humans and other personifications in only the most limited fashion. Tyche was one of these powers. The earliest reference occurs in Hesiod, and the earliest known image was sculpted by Bupalus of Chios for the citizens of Smyrna in the sixth century B.C. as recorded by Pausanias in the second century A.D. Although the statue by Bupalus apparently represented the Tyche of the city, the association of Tyche with specific cities and single individuals was a later development of the Hellenistic period. Tyche was a divinity who governed the success or failure of human enterprises. Less powerful than Fate, the Greek Tyche was the Latin Fortuna, and it was in the world of the Roman Republic and Empire that her cult attracted its largest following. She was represented along with a host of other personifications as a mature female figure dressed in a long chiton and mantle; her conventional attributes were a ship's rudder, which rested on a wheel, and a cornucopia. The rudder and wheel allude in a neutral way to her power to direct and control events. The cornucopia, shared with such figures as Abundantia, Concordia and Felicitas, would indicate that this control was beneficial. Temples and altars to Tyche-Fortuna were erected in most major Mediterranean cities, often coexisting with cults of the Tyches of the individual cities themselves. The nature of the relationship between the more broadly defined Tyche-Fortuna and the Tyches whose charge was the welfare of individual cities is difficult to define. But generally it is accepted that city and personal Tyches as growing out of the worship of Tyche-Fortuna in the third, second and first centuries B.C. The images are distinct; as a rule, city Tyches did not inherit the rudder and wheel, nor did Tyche-Fortuna borrow the numerous geographical, historical and religious attributes which signaled specific cities. While no precise determination can be made, it seems significant that Tyche-Fortuna passed from the Roman coinage along with Sol, Hercules, Jupiter and other major deities in the course of the fourth century A.D. The independence of Tyche-Fortuna is suggested, in part, by the absence of the mural crown as a necessary attribute. And, conversely, the mural crowns

occasionally given representations of Aphrodite, Hera, Artemis and others would mark the goddesses in their aspects as guardians of specific cities, like Artemis of Ephesus. Local divinities in areas converted to Greco-Roman beliefs were understood as protectresses and merged with Tyche. Heirs to the cults and concepts of the Hellenistic age, the Romans preserved existing Tyches, drew on their associations and created new images with which they narrated their history and, in a sense, populated their territories (Shelton 1979:29-31). There is a large class of representations in late art of Tyche as the goddess of a city, who is in fact the embodiment and representation of the city, and is modified in different places to suit her to the situation, the character, and the inhabitants of each (Gardner 1888:48).

In the fourth century when the government began to certify the quality and value of silver and gold bullion, the official stamps, and with them certification, took the form of imperial Tyches. The first imperial Tyches begin in the mid-third century and become frequent in the fourth and fifth. The cities securely identified by inscription include Alexandria, Antioch, Arles, Carthage, Constantinople, London, Nicomedia, Ravenna, Rome, Siscia, Sirmium and Trier. The context is imperial; with few exceptions, the Tyches appear on objects associated either with high officials of the government or with the emperors themselves. (Shelton 1979:35).

Archaeological sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the modern states of Cyprus, Syria and Turkey, have yielded a rich supply of mosaic pavements dating to the fourth to sixth centuries A.D., a significant number of which feature personifications of abstract concepts (Leader-Newby 2017:231). Besides mosaics, Tyche sculptures/figurines and coins with Tyche depictions are also show a variety especially from the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. Tyche of Antioch (Stansbury-O'Donnell 1994:50, fig. 30; 54, fig. 31; 55, fig. 32; 56, fig. 33, 34), Tyche of Constantinople (Matheson 1994:26, fig. 10) (**Fig. 1**), Tyche of Palmyra (Matheson 1994:27, fig. 12) are just a few among others. The most known are the Tyches of Esquiline Treasure; namely Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria (Shelton 1981:86).

Although the concept of personifying the communal fate or fortune of a city originated much earlier -isolated references to civic Tychai had already appeared in the Archaic and Classical periods- Tyche's increasing popularity from the beginning of the Hellenistic age onward owed much to the markedly different role cities were then assuming in the Greek and Roman world. Tyche as a civic deity became widespread during the Hellenistic period that nearly every city had a Tyche representing and ruling its fate. In cities newly founded

as Alexander the Great conquered the East, Tyche clearly assumed a propagandistic as well as a religious role. A combination of numismatic, archaeological, and literary evidence indicates that Tyche's cult occupied a highly visible position in the public spaces devoted to the political and commercial life of an ancient city (Broucke 1994:35, 37, 38, 40).

Tyche's enormous and widespread popularity during Hellenistic and Roman times was caused by the seemingly irrational twists of fate to which individuals, communities, and entire lands were subjected. Her prominence as a civic deity in these later phases of Antiquity resulted from the fact that the populations of these cities were characterized by cultural diversity. Tyche as the city goddess, then, functioned as the point around which all citizens could rally; despite their different cultural backgrounds or religious beliefs, all had an interest in the communal fate of their city. As such, Tyche, the great protector of cities in Antiquity, belonged both to the realm of secular rite and to the religious sphere. It is precisely this aspect of Tyche that allowed also for her survival in the Christian cities of Late Antiquity[8] (Broucke 1994:44, fig. 29).

Besides Tyche depictions as the space-related female personifications; there are some numbers of Seasons depictions as the female descriptions of time-related personifications. Seasons personifications as symbols of the quarterly divisions of the year, like those of the months, were common as decorative motifs in Late Antique floor mosaics, on occasion they can be interpreted as elements in a cosmic scheme (Cutler 1991:1861). In some examples, the personifications of Seasons are depicted at the four corners of a round panel in which at the center some mythological figures like Orpheus are placed (Sezer 2015:123, 127-131).

The iconographical tradition of the Seasons is long and varied, and in the Roman period these figures could be depicted as either female or male. By the fifth century A.D., however, artists stopped producing images of male Seasons almost entirely, choosing instead to portray the figures exclusively as female. Although of pagan origin, these personifications were judged acceptable for inclusion in both Christian and Jewish decorative programs in Late Antiquity, and they appear in funerary art (notably sarcophagi) and, in church and

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[8] There is a small group of images of the Virgin Mary, almost all from Rome, which depict her as an empress with the diadem, jewels and elaborate robes which form a part of female imperial iconography from the fifth century on. These images have been interpreted in a political context. If, however, the links between female imperial iconography and Good Fortune are accepted, then it becomes possible to see them as images which also allude to Fortuna, invoking protection, prosperity and good luck for the city. Indeed, Constantinople in the sixth and seventh centuries found its symbol, its new Christian tyche, in the form of the Virgin (James, 2017:302, 303).

synagogue floor mosaics (Vermeule, Lattimore and Neuerburg 1973:56). The depiction of the personifications of the Seasons in the funerary art has been associated with various meanings: They may simply mean carrying the nature's blessings and the seasonal fruits of the soil to tombs. Furthermore, they were used as a symbol of the eternal cycle of time until the end of the Roman Empire (Sezer 2015:129; Thompson 2007:124).

Similar female busts of the Seasons appear in a number of mosaic pavements in Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, typically on the floors of churches. Other extant mosaics that depict the Seasons include pavements at Caesarea Maritima, El-Maqerqesh, Madaba, and Petra. While the Seasons are typically identifiable by their attributes (Autumn wearing her crown of leaves and fruit, Winter in her veil, Spring with her wreath of flowers, and Summer in her wreath of wheat) they are also usually labeled with their names in Greek, as at Deir es-Sleib (**Fig. 2**) in Syria. This kind of doubling of image and text served not only to identify the figures but also to exhibit the paideia (learnedness) of the patron (Vermeule, Lattimore and Neuerburg 1973:56).

In the art of the Late Antiquity harvesting is a motif that belongs to the iconography of the seasons. Representing either Autumn (grape-harvesting) or Winter (olive-picking) it appears in reliefs on sarcophagi, in mosaics and on wall paintings. These Late Antique representations of seasonal tasks in agriculture are rooted in the seasonal symbolism of Hellenistic and early Roman art. The classical seasonal iconography represents women, children or putti who personify each each of the seasons. In Late Antiquity, the personifications developed into or were supplemented by figurative scenes showing seasonal work taking place in the fields. There are examples from Roman catacomb paintings of Autumn being represented by bucolic scenes of putti gathering fruit into large baskets, whereas Winter is represented by putti standing on ladders, picking olives. In floor mosaics from Late Antique villas there are examples of more realistic scenes of this type. In these examples, ordinary agricultural workers frequently replace the winged putti, and the harvest is incorporated into a panorama of life around villa (Aavitsland 2012:249).

As a result, the personifications of time and space as woman are abundant in Late Antique art. Especially the ones related with the emotions are mostly female personifications. Tyche as the personification of space and Seasons as the personifications of time bear feminine attributions. Seasons personifications are in accordance with the feminine attributions of production and plenitude in a way, so they present a proper image of the Seasons' characteristics with the connotations of womens'. But, with reference to the

abundance of the related examples and the connotations of male power and prestige in the female form of Tyche; besides the "positive feminine characteristics" attributed to the women, it can be said that female personifications in Late Antiquity art affirm the female figure by using female personifications which emphasize the power and the balance. This situation evokes two questions: Is it completely true, for the women having a secondary value/function in the societies of Late Antiquity? Apart from our modern gender conception, was there a different perception of the representation of masculine and feminine characteristics in daily life and art? These are difficult questions to answer, due to the scarcity of the literary and archaeological evidence and the fragmentary structure of the existing ones. But the powerful image of Tyche as the protector of the cities implies at least there may be a different perception of the representation of feminine characteristics in art apart from the daily life of the people of antiquity and/or the assumptions about the women-visibility in public space of Late Antiquity may be in need of some further questioning and new hypothesis rather than the present models.

Fig. 1 Tyche of Constantinople, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Matheson, 1994:26, fig. 10)

Fig. 2 Autumn Personification, Deir es-Sleib (Donceel-Voûte, 1988:63, fig. 35)

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Brothels and Women Brothel Workers in the Late Ottoman Empire[1]

CİHAN ÖZGÜN

Prostitution is "a practice of engaging in relatively indiscriminate sexual activity" with distinctive features such as the *economic aspect* and the *unfamiliarity of its parties*. It is practiced "with someone who is not a spouse or a friend" and "in exchange for immediate payment in money or other valuables" where providers of this sexual service are diverse: "They may be female or male or transgender, and prostitution may entail heterosexual or homosexual activity, but historically most prostitutes have been women and most clients have been men"[2]. As O'Connell-Davidson (2007) wrote, it refers to;

> [T]he trade of sexual services for payment in cash or kind, and so to a form of social interaction that is simultaneously sexual and economic. (…) The female prostitute has long represented a troubling figure, disrupting what are traditionally deemed to be natural gender binaries (active/passive, public/private, etc.), and stigmatized as unnatural, immoral, and polluting. Yet prostitution is often simultaneously viewed as an inevitable feature of all human societies, for it is held to meet the supposedly powerful and biologically given sexual impulses of men.

Prostitution has been described as a "necessary evil" and considered to protect the virtue of "good" girls and women by "soaking up" excess male sexual urges which would otherwise lead to rape and marital breakdown (O'Connell-Davidson 2007). In some societies, prostitutes have been viewed as members of a recognized profession; in others they have been shunned, reviled, and punished with stoning, imprisonment, and death (Britannica 2022).

As it was also defined by Bozkurt (1996:211-214), prostitution means "extramarital sexual intercourse" as well as an unconscionable rude remark and behaviour, a great sin, all kinds of wickedness, atrocity and unchastity that are against good manners and moral codes, and religiously inhibited. It expresses engaging in sexual intercourse in especially exchange for monetary compensation. It is a sexual activity in exchange for money, with a person where the real names and identities are indefinite or disregarded (Özerdoğan et

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[2] Encyclopedia Britannica. 2022. "*Prostitution*" https://www.britannica.com/topic/prostitution (Last accessed February 19th, 2022)

al. 2006:2). From an etymologic perspective, it can be defined as the pornographic trade of the human body in every way. Prostitution is based on three essential principles: "*Trade (traffic), unsteady or random sexual intercourse (la promiscuité), emotional indifference (indifférence émotienelle)* respectively or together as a body (Dursun 2011:405- 406). According to the shariah and *Süleyman Kanunnamesi (Suleiman's Legal Code)* adultery is defined without any discriminating, for example prostitution, rape or pre-engagement sexual intercourse (Sert 2008:353). The author, however, underlines the impossibility of accepting having sex voluntarily, commercialization of sexuality, and forced sex against someone's consent in the same sense. Prostitution involves the objectification mostly of women as a sexual object, the lack of love in the sexual intercourse of men and women and a sexual relationship depended on materiality/money. The essence of this intercourse is that one of the parties gets pleasure and the other gets financial gain out of it (Açıkalın 2013:245-249).

Prostitution has a spatial dimension as all other social phenomena and is performed in diverse locations. As the main focus of this chapter, prostitution in the Ottoman world was performed in many indoor and outdoor places including hotels, boarding houses, coffee houses, and derelict buildings or in the woods, remote open, agricultural fields and gardens. Thus prostitution could take place both in central parts of cities but also at secluded and peripheral locations. *Brothels*, on the other hand, as specific places of prostitution were institutional, officially recognized and subjected to taxation. Only women could work in brothels whose profession was "serving for the sexual pleasures of men". In this chapter, I will focus on the characteristics of Ottoman brothels that could exists and run only under legal conditions that were well-defined by authorities and the situation of women who worked in these brothels.

Brothels in the Ottoman served as institutes where the government kept the female prostitutes under control. In addition to the legal control provided over the brothels and the women employed, it was also possible directly and promptly to monitor the sexually transmitted diseases, that could be expected to occur in these places. They were considered as public places; in the last quarter of the 19th century the government acknowledged prostitution as a profession and was collecting taxes from these places (Doğan 2019, 11, 157-159).

The number of brothels and prostitutes in the Ottoman world increased during the second half of the 19th century. There were two types of brothels, one for the Muslim men and the other for the non-Muslim men. There were many prostitutes from various ethnicities such as Polish, Russian, Romanian, French,

Italian and Greek as well as the ones born in Ottoman world. More than half of the women working in brothels were native to the Ottoman land and the rest of them were foreigners (Yetkin 2011:26). Although brothels were administrated as businesses in the Ottoman world, prostitution was also performed clandestinely among public, in the places far from the settlements, in desolate areas and in places out of the public eye (Açıkalın 2013, 246-250).

The bachelor rooms were residential units where the workers accommodated temporarily, mostly located in the vicinity of harbours and these were also highly convenient for prostitution (OSA. HAT., 21/1013, 29. Z. 1202). Desolate places such as inns, caravansaries, covered bazaars or various shops, taverns, coffee houses, gardens and cemeteries were preferred for the same activity (Altınay 1998:41; Üsküdar Court Records 2010, 207-208; OSA. C. ZB., 28/ 1355, 10. C. 1144; OSA. DH.MUİ., 69/ 33, 8. Ra. 1328; OSA. DH.İD., 89/2, 7.Ra.1329; OSA. HAT., 717/ 34212, 29. Z. 1244).

Where to Open a Brothel?: Allowed and Prohibited Locations

The places where two or more women stay together or in separate rooms or gather to engage in prostitution by appointment were named *umumhane*, meaning "brothel" (Mustafa Galib 1922:12). Brothels were not allowed to be opened in or near to the neighbourhoods where modest families lived (OSA. ZB., 600/ 97, 14. Ey. 1324). If perchance a brothel was opened in such a neighbourhood, local governments would evaluate the complaints regarding the issue and initiate the necessary procedures to relocate the brothel to another place on the grounds that it would corrupt the moral values of public and disturb the public by being loud (OSA. DH.KMS., 61/ 62, 7. Za. 1339; OSA. ZB., 73/ 55, 11. Ey. 1323).

That's why, in the Ottoman world, locations of brothels were mostly near to entertainment venues and far away from residential zones. To be able to inspect them, the state allowed brothels to be opened only in predetermined neighbourhoods and distant from residential zones. Due to its proximity to the harbour and entertainment life and remoteness from the residential areas of public, certain streets and neighbourhoods of Galata was home to brothels (Doğan 2019:132-133). Just in the beginning of second half of the 19th century, Galata was the neighbourhood where the very first brothel was open, as Kırlı (2010) wrote. Galata, a historic neighbourhood in Istanbul, lies on the northern shore of the Golden Horn in the Bosporus Strait. Galata and other districts such as Pera, Beyoğlu, Karaköy and Şişli were the neighbourhoods where most of the European and non-Muslim population lived and it was a neighbourhood where many of Istanbul's modern changes occurred in the 19th century (Göksoy 2019:30) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: *Location (above) and the view of Galata (below) with its original landmark, The Galata Tower built by the Genoese colony in 1348. As a separated neighbourhood across the old city, this part of Istanbul has historically been the focus of Roman cultural expansion and symbolized the Western modernisation in the late Ottoman Istanbul with its distinct cultural characteristics in aspect of lifestyle and architecture*

*(**Source**: Satellite image was cropped from Copernicus Sentinel-2, ESA - https://scihub.copernicus.eu/dhus/#/home (CC BY-SA 3.0 IGO) Photograph: © A.Savin, WikiCommons*

For the public peace and comfort, the central government demanded that the brothels in a district to be confined in a certain area and carry out their business; authorities did not consent them to be established dispersedly in various locations (OSA. DH.EUM.THR., 33/ 41, 7. Ca. 1328). On the other hand, neither the central government nor the local government by the Police Ordinance in effect would allow a brothel to be opened in the vicinity of the **schools** and the **cemeteries** as well as the **places of worship** regardless of being a mosque, a church or a synagogue. If a brothel was opened near such places, it would be immediately shut down (OSA. DH.İD., 65/ 7, 10. N. 1329). In the beginning of the year 1917, for instance, a demand for opening a brothel in Pulcu Agop Street in Hacıkadın neighbourhood of Samatya district in Istanbul was rejected because of the relative location reasons. The rejection of the demand regarding the 13-dwellings located along the aforementioned street to be changed into brothels was committed to the official government archive records as it follows:

> Samatya central police station, Hacı Kadın Mosque and burial ground, Catholic Church and a school were situated in the vicinity of Pulcu Agob street which was demanded to be turned into a brothel street. Furthermore, the area of Pulcu Agop street was densely populated by Muslims. Due to all these reasons, the central government did not deem it suitable that a brothel to be opened on this street (OSA. DH.EUM.3.Şb., 20/ 32, 11. Ca. 1335).

When the rapid occupation of Anatolia began after the World War I, the number of the foreign enemy soldiers also increased in Istanbul. In March of 1919, it was considered that a brothel to be opened in Makriköy - İstanbul, in Sakızağacı quarter, or across the French Church to meet the "needs" of the French soldiers. However, the Christian clergymen and priests objected a brothel to be opened at these aforementioned locations to maintain peace and security (OSA. DH.EUM.6.Şb., 50/ 32, 9. C. 1337).

Another example is from Kadıköy. About 30 Ottoman residents of Kadıköy -a district of Anatolian neighbourhood of Istanbul- wrote a petition of objection on December 2nd, 1919 and sent it to the ministry of home affairs the current period (the Ministry of Interior of today). In their petition, the residents of Duvardibi street in Kadıköy showed reaction against the decision of the Municipal Police (*zabıta*) allowing a brothel to be opened in their neighbourhood. According to the applicants, "the dwellers of Kadıköy were noble and modest" and "The Turkish and Christian families were living together in this district". It was also stated that the buildings in this district were wooden and adjacent to one another, and there was even a school in the vicinity of the

location where a brothel asked to be opened. This petition did not answer the purpose. In one of the official correspondences of the period, it was stated that the brothels which were opened on Duvardibi street in Kadıköy were established on an open field with sea view. In those correspondences, it was also claimed that if the brothels in the district were to be shut down as residents asked, the women working in those brothels would spread around the neighbourhoods close by and cause the public to raise more complaints (OSA. DH.EUM.AYŞ., 29/ 98, 14. R. 1338).
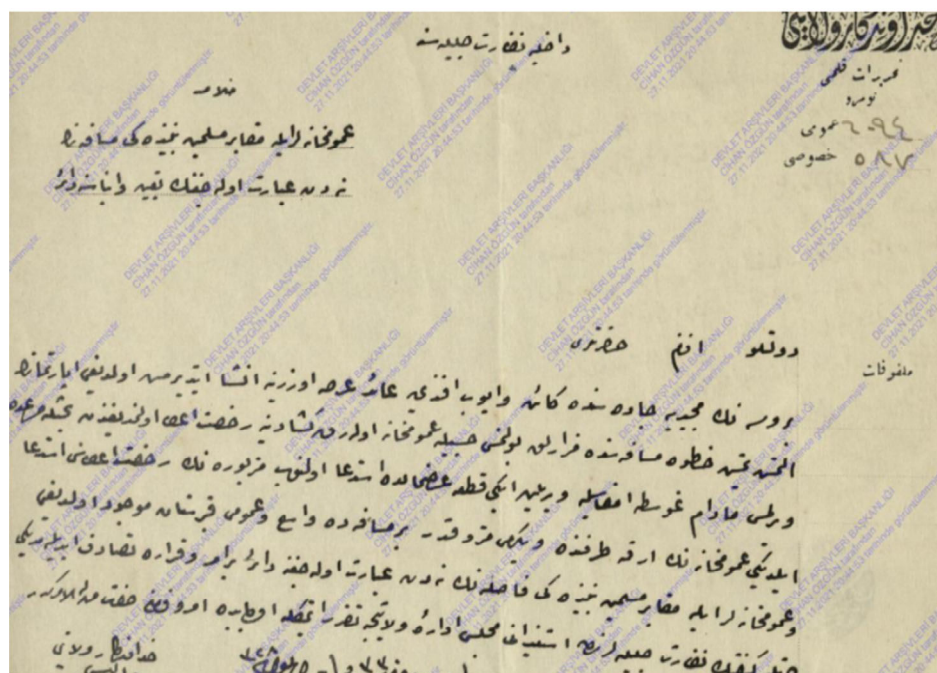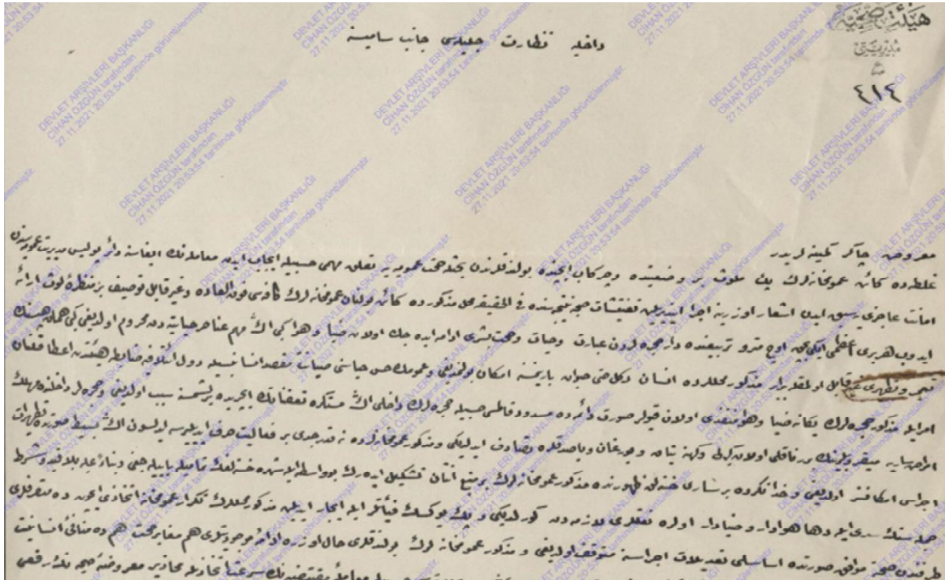

Document 1: An Ottoman archive record stating that the brothel that Madame Gasta demanded to be opened in Bursa was not allowed due to its proximity to a cemetery (BOA. DH.İD., 65/23, H.18.10.1330).

In the Ottoman world, almost every brothel was in a bad, dirty, and filthy condition and they were not in compliance with hygiene standards. In the correspondences of the period, the condition of the brothels was referred to as "bad beyond description". Moreover, the beds, blankets and pillows were considerably dirty and old, in fact, it was specified that no matter how much they were cleaned, it would not make the situation better (OSA. DH. İ.UM., 19/ 1, 28. R. 1340). The officials of the Ottoman Empire reported that some of the brothels were in conditions beyond repair; thus, they should have been shut down.

Inspections had shown that the brothels were divided into three categories as "convenient for accommodation", "requires repair for accommodation" and "inconvenient for accommodation". However, it was stated that almost every brothel was managed and checked in accordance with health conditions (OSA. DH. İ.UM., 19/ 1, 28. R. 1340).

Document 2: *An Ottoman archive record stating that the brothels which were situated in Galata were in dirty and filthy state and were not in compliance with hygiene conditions (BOA. DH.İ.UM., 19/1, H.28.4.1340).*

Legal Regulations and Management of the Brothels

The first detailed legal regulation specific to the brothels and prostitutes was made in 1910, and the duties and jurisdiction of the Municipal Police in this regard were transferred to the central police force. In addition to that, the first detailed legislation on brothels and prostitutes was published in 1915. This legislation limited the establishment of brothels only with the locations to be determined or approved by the police department. Accordingly, the municipal authorities that were responsible for the neighbourhood had to be notified about the location where a brothel to be opened. It was mandatory that the brothels have sufficient bathroom facilities both for women working there and the customers. Availability of a physical examination room for women became obligatory too. The person who wanted to open a brothel had to find a convenient location first and then submit a letter of application either to the Security General Directorate in Istanbul, or to the police chief higher in rank in

the countryside. Prohibition of opening a brothel next to or near to houses where modest families lived was still in effect. Prostitution was not allowed in the facilities such hotels or hostels where primary purpose was accommodation. When such a facility turned out to be a place for prostitution repeatedly with the implicit approval of its owner, necessary penal sanctions would be enforced (Yetkin 2011:28-37). If it was discovered that a hotel was facilitating prostitution repeatedly with the approval of the owner, necessary penal sanctions would be enforced regarding this hotel (Yetkin 2011:28- 37).

In 1912, the native or foreign dwellers in Istanbul filed a complaint concerning that a hotel known as "American Hotel" which was supposed to serve only for accommodation was facilitating prostitution consistently. The owner of this hotel was a French citizen. Due to the existing capitulations in the late Ottoman Empire, the municipality had difficulty in enforcing a penal sanction. Therefore, the responsibility to shut down the hotel was held by the French consulate. In the end, a raid was staged, the French consulate and municipality officers wrote down a report and wanted to shut down the hotel. However, when the owner of the hotel proved that he had an American passport, nothing could be done once again due to the capitulations[3] (Yakut et al. 2011:281).

The brothels were not supposed to face streets, their locations must not have allowed "disturbing scenes" to be viewed by public and let sounds to be emanated from the building. Nevertheless, it was not always possible to prevent prostitutes to lure potential clients through their windows and to keep on behaving in a way that causes disturbance among other inhabitants (Doğan 2019:161).

The minimum age for those who wanted to run a brothel was 25. The ones who were convicted of crimes such as murder, theft, counterfeiting, fraud, abetting prostitution of minor and women were prohibited from opening a brothel in 15 years after they served their sentence. Moreover, the ones who were former owners of a brothel which had already been shut down were not allowed to open another brothel before 3 years. The police department was entitled to give permission for a brothel after a thorough investigation whether all conditions were provided. To put it another way, getting a license for the brothel was depended on whether the conditions and requirements that were specified by the government were met. Following the death of a brothel owner, if his heir wanted to continue running the brothel, he had to apply to the police

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[3] "Capitulation" is the economic and social privileges granted by a state to other foreign states depending on an agreement. For further information, see. (Kütükoğlu 1998, 536-540).

directorate by submitting a petition and renew his registration (Mustafa Galib 1922, 7, 14-15).

Regarding age regulations, it was required to be at least at the age of 25 for males and 20 for females to work in a brothel as a servant, otherwise these man and women were immediately sacked from the brothel and the brothel received the punishment of being shut down for a day. Male employees were generally responsible for security, shopping and repair needs of brothels. No women under the age of 18 was permitted to work in the brothels regardless the consent of her family. Families of women under 20 had the right to get their daughters out of brothels. The families of the women under 20 who were working in the brothels were allowed to get them out of the brothel. The brothels which violated this law would receive a punishment of being shut down for a year (Mustafa Galib 1922:17). Boys under the age of 18 and the young men who had their student uniforms on were not allowed in the brothels. The brothels which violated this law were shut down for 15 days at first, for a month at second time, and for a year should the case repeated. Moreover, wanted people and people of interest were not allowed to hide in the brothels. In case that such people were recognized, and the owner of the brothel would fail to notify the police, the brothel was shut down for ten days at first, for a month at the second time, and should the case repeated it was shut down for one moth up to a year (Yetkin 2011:37,40).

According to Galip those who needed to relocate their brothels were mandated to notify the police directorate in written 15 days before moving; otherwise, they were given a penal sanction and the brothel that was relocated and opened for business would be shut down for one month up to one year. Medical examination of women by a physician was a must. An identity document called *hüviyet cüzdanı* was issued for those who are healthy, in good physical conditions. It was not possible for women to work officially without this document what would cause the brothel where she works for to be shut down for periods ranging from ten days to one year (Mustafa Galib 1922:16-17).

The prostitutes were not obliged to work in a brothel permanently, they had the right to leave the brothel, to register in another one if they were offered a higher payment (Doğan 2019:160). Therefore, they could not be indebted, forced to work in a brothel, "sold" to another one, and their belongings could not be detained. The brothels where the owners acted against this regulation were shut down for one to two years. Gambling and consumption of cannabis or hashish were forbidden in the brothels and the owners were held responsible of

such incidents. In case that gambling or consumption of weed was discovered, the place was shut down completely and indefinitely (Mustafa Galib 1922:18).

Serving alcohol to the customers in brothels was allowed on the condition that a permission or a license from the municipal police has been provided. The brothel buildings could have only one door. A brothel with doors more than one would be shut down for a week. The owners of the brothel and the women working there would never sit at the door or at the windowsills at the first floor of the brothels and call out to customers to lure them in. Shutters with a height of 70 cm had to be installed to the window frames of the windows at the first-floor rooms if they faced the street. The brothels failing to abide that were shut down for a week at first and for a month if repeated. It was also forbidden for the prostitutes to stroll around the street to find customers and to behave in a persistent way. Such behaviours could result in being banned from working in the brothels for a month at first, for three months at second time, and for a year if repeated. Playing instruments was allowed in the brothels; however, the police had the right to intervene immediately when the sound of the instruments, music and uproar disturbed the public (Mustafa Galib 1922:18- 20). It was required that the women in prostitution to be registered and subjected to medical examination to determine whether they carry any sexually transmitted disease. The women working in the brothels were also required to be examined once or several times in a week. It was required that their identity documents to be issued with a mark regarding that they were healthy, or they were recovered after treatment. Violation of this requirement resulted in being banned from working in a brothel. The brothels failing to abide that were shut down for a month at first and for a year if repeated (Yakut et al. 2011:289).

Identity documents were required to be visible on a wall of dating rooms in a way that the customers could see them. If a woman working in a brothel wanted to go out, she was required to carry her identity document with her at all costs (Mustafa Galib 1922:23). It was required that a telephone line was present where the costumers could easily reach. This was a precaution taken in case of a fire, a fight or other security issues to notify the fire station or the police station (Doğan 2019:162). A copy of the legislation in Turkish language, was required to be hanged in a frame   in the hall of the brothel where it could be noticed easily (Yakut et al. 2011:289).

Women and Life in Brothels

In the Ottoman world, the women working in the brothels or the women who were forced into prostitution faced many dangers such as threat, physical injury or murder. An official letter of 1849 found in the Ottoman archive records

indicates that there was a prostitute present with two boatmen who were conspiring to murder a priest in Kınalıada[4]. It was understood from the letter that her life safety was also at risk (OSA. A. MKT., 236/ 42, 29. Z. 1265). In another official record of 1859, there was mention of the abduction of a prostitute in Tavas district in Denizli by armed people and a gunfight that occurred afterwards (OSA. A. MKT.MVL., 102/ 61, 25. Ra. 1275).

At the beginning of the year 1887, an incident regarding the abduction of Angeliko's daughter Maria who was later procured for a brothel in Beyoğlu was reflected in the official records of the Ottoman Empire. Maria was 14 years old, and she was deceived and raped by someone named Yanko who was a tailor. Later, Yanko procured this girl called Maria for a brothel in Beyoğlu in exchange of 5 liras. It is not possible to find more details about this unpleasant incident in the official records of the period. However, the fact that Maria could not ask anyone's help at the time when she was raped and until she was procured for the brothel implies that she was intimidated or threatened with death (OSA. Y.PRK.ŞH., 2/ 61, 24. R. 1304).

There are many examples regarding that women who were prostituted or who were forced into prostitution in the Ottoman world were threatened with death. In the summer of 1908, for example, when drunk, Rıza Efendi, a military officer, disputed with Virjin from the Arabacı Sokak who made her living by prostitution and threatened her with death. When the incident was reported to the police, Rıza Efendi was arrested and sent to the courthouse (OSA. ZB., 313/ 71, 26. Ağ. 1324). Moreover, from time to time there were incidents where the soldiers serving in the Ottoman army visited brothels, drunken, and opened fire. In an official record of 1908, it was known that 8 to 10 soldiers of the Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery and Navy damaged the brothel run by Pervez on the Bülbül Deresi in Beyoğlu, and that they broke the windows of the brothel, and threatened its residents to burn it down (OSA. ZB., 357/ 37, 14. Ağ. 1324).

In another official record of the same year, it was stated that some of the land and navy soldiers strolled around Dolapdere and Kılburnu late at nights and vandalize brothels and broke their windows and doors (OSA. ZB., 357/ 106, 4. Tş. 1324).

All these incidents indicate that the brothels and the women working in the brothels were encountering great security risks. Moreover, there were also incidents where women were injured or killed. In 1899, Kahveci Rıza Efendi injured an Armenian citizen, Mığırdıç Karabet by his revolver in the brothel that

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[4] Kınalıada is one of the island of the archipelago of Istanbul, The Princes' Islands.

was managed by Madame Sinoro in Thesoloniki (OSA. DH.TMIK.M., 68/ 33, 27. Za.1316). There were also incidents of murders. A woman's corpse was discovered in a brothel in Beyoğlu; her body was pierced by a jackknife. Later it tuned out that she was married with children and modest which raised questions about what this woman was doing in a brothel in the first place (Doğan 2019:169).

A common security problem in the brothels was theft. In the month of July in 1908, in Bara neighbourhood of Thessaloniki, an Australian, Madame Adalafesya who was managing a brothel stole 10 piece of gold and 15 liras that belonged to Pirizrenli İstefanika who was working as a prostitute in the same brothel and the incident was submitted to the court **(**OSA. TFR.I..SL., 195/ 19465, 9. Ş. 1326). The women working in the brothels were also defenseless against the male customers who were mentally unstable some of whom had perverted sexual demands (Mustafa Galip 1922:39-40). Being deceived and forced into prostitution were also among unpleasant incidents that women experienced as they are documented in the Ottoman official records. For instance, at the beginning of the 20th century, three or four people had been deceiving the girls on the islands of Limni and İmroz with the promise that they would find jobs to them as servants, then taking them to Alexandria, America and Europe to force into prostitution (OSA. DH.MKT., 831/ 45, 1.1.1322). Another similar example can be seen in the Ottoman archive records of 1909. In the middle of the year 1900, "chaste, modest, and virgin Muslim girls" were deceived with marriage promise to wealthy men and kidnapped from Istanbul to Egypt and sold to the brothels in Cairo, Port Said and Alexandria. Upon these official records were studied, it is understood that some depraved men and women deceived Muslim girls with promises of marriage or employment with high salaries in the mansions of the wealthy. Apparently, these girls were deceived by a thought of quickly finding jobs in Egypt. Victims that were deceived with such promises became miserable, later they were secretly sold to the brothels and many of them were forced into prostitution. Upon the government officials in Egypt were informed about the situation, some of the girls were found and saved and not only those who deceived and forced the victims but also the owners of the brothels were captured and arrested (OSA. ZB., 603/ 84, 20. Ha. 1325).

Another official record from the mid-1909 indicates that some Jewish women from Russia and Romania were deceived and brought to the Ottoman land without their consent. They were procured for brothels in Istanbul. As it is understood from the official records of the regarding the period, "good hearted"

girls were, again, deceived with marriage promise in İstanbul. These desperate women had to prostitute themselves as they became miserable and had no other option (OSA. DH.EUM.THR., 1/ 34, 7. Ş. 1327). Another official government record of September, 1911 also indicates that a Muslim girl named Behice was deceived by a brothel owner in İskenderun and forced to work there (OSA. DH.MTV., 19/ 20, 20. N. 1329).

Conclusion

Brothels ensured prostitution to be brought under control in the Ottoman world. Moreover, the detection of the venereal diseases in these places and the treatment process of such diseases could be directly supervised. The locations where the brothels were to be established and be in service were determined by the local Ottoman governments. Brothels were not allowed to be opened in the vicinity of the schools or places of worship, or the settlements where families lived. It is understood that the conditions in almost every brothel was not in compliance with hygiene standards; the brothels were dirty and in need of repair. The management, the details of the working terms and conditions of brothels were defined by legislations. Age, education and economic factors and prostitution were closely related.

The official Ottoman government records regarding the studied period indicates that the women working in the brothels were facing various risks when they were working. In this respect, it is understood that in the Ottoman world, many women working in the brothels were desperate, and uneducated, deceived and forced into prostitution, and defenceless against tough conditions and serious risks. Prostitution in the Ottoman world was regulated like in Europe, by the state, confined to a specific area, thus making it more "controllable". As an outcome of the modernity, brothels occurred as spaces of otherness (Schick 2000:37), that could exist peripheral, invisible and in silence within the urban space.

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Tradeswomen in Ottoman Empire

ELİF CHARLOTTE NELSON

In the Ottoman Empire, women had a non-homogeneous structure as Muslim, non-Muslim, urban, peasant, or courtier. A standard 'Ottoman woman' cannot be mentioned in the Ottoman social structure, which differs according to centuries, regions and religious beliefs (Altındal 1994:5). The most important reason why the studies on the place of women in Ottoman society remained limited was because "the other" –men– wrote the history of women. That's why what we know about the past life of Ottoman women has been limited to what the other have told. Recently, studies on the social visibility of women in the context of Ottoman modernization have attracted attention and this study aims to reveal how visible women were in the economic life of Ottoman society.

Before delving into the subject, I believe that it is necessary to give a brief information about what it means to be a tradesman in the Ottoman social structure. The system of Ottoman Craftsman has a very unique structure. One of the oldest traditions in Anatolia, the ahi-order tradition, is the basis of tradesmanship in the Ottoman society. This tradition, which only Muslim tradesmen are subject to, is a closed system in itself. According to this tradition, someone who was trained only as an apprentice and journeyman could become a master if there was an empty shop. For this reason, tradesmen in the Ottoman Empire do not only represent a certain segment of the economy, but also represent a culture (For more information see Taner 2009).

In the light of the data collected, as far as it was reflected in the official records of the Ottoman government, women's contribution to economic life was limited. This limitation prevents calculating how much women contributed to economic life statistically. Ottoman society was based on a religious and traditional culture which pursued a traditional gender division of labour (Mahir-Metinsoy 2012:348). As the Ottoman Empire was not an industrial society, industrial labour was not needed as much. Therefore, there were no pressure for women to work outside of home (Mahir-Metinsoy 2012:327, also see Pamuk 2005). Exceptional examples of women being employed in industry were limited to places such as Izmir, where Europeans had industrial investments and needed workforce. (Image 1).

It would be correct to distinguish between rural life and urban life when determining the place of Ottoman women in economy since different cultures

lived harmoniously in the same society. As a matter of fact, women living in the countryside were involved in agricultural production as much as men, maybe even more intensely. However, it is understood that the place of women in economic life was limited in urban life. As an example of working together in the countryside, in order to operate the olive oil factories in Ayvalık[1], the factory owners needed work force of women who were collecting olives before. So the owners of the factory requested permission from the government to bring back those women from the place they were sent (BOA, MV. 208/98; BOA, DH.ŞFR 78/101; BOA, DH. ŞFR 78/102 July 7-14, 1917).

Image 1: Industry was an economic sector where Ottoman women could rarely participate as workers. Those employed by European factory owners were mostly in significant industrial centers such as Izmir.

Source: Ahmet Piriştina İzmir City Archive and the Museum (APİKAM)

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[1] *Ayvalık* is an Aegean coastal district of Modern Turkey today, having developed strong historical relations with the Greek island of Lesvos due to its geographical location. The town progressed rapidly from the mid-18th century. It was an exceptional vivid urban centre with a well-developed industrial and higher educational function in the Ottoman land despite its peripheral location. Olive production, a brisk trade life and fishery was important in Ayvalık's economy. Industrial facilities established by European investers were involved in olive oil, soap and wine production. Emergence of such facilities outside the big cities such as Istanul and Izmir, indicates the significance of Ayvalık. Population of Ayvalık already reached 30.000 by 1820 (Yorulmaz 2005, Timor 2004).

Information about tradeswomen –as actors of another sector of economy- in the Ottoman society is very limited. In the classical period, there were some women registered with tradesmen guilds (*gedik*), but these were the people who acquired this right through inheritance. Therefore, it cannot be said that they were active in terms of contribution to the economy. Gedik means a kind of trade concession. In the Gedik method, a certain amount of shops was determined for all kinds of tradesmen, no one else could sell what they sold, and no one else could process what they did. Gediks can be owned by one person as a single share, or shares can be shared. Since gediks could be inherited, many women were able to inherit them. In some cases, they could even be in the gedik market as entrepreneurs themselves (Erdem and Yiğit 2010:76). To give an example of this situation, it is understood from the records that a few women came together and sent 25 sacs of akçe (silver coin) to buy shares from the Hagia Sophia Hamam gedik (BOA, A.MKT.DV 76/98 December 15, 1854).

Unfortunatelly, we can obtain information about women who have gediks only from cases that have been the subject of complaints. For example, in Istanbul Balıkpazarı neighbourhood, a herbalist shop tenant named Papas seized the shop with the help of some people, saying that he was the owner of the herbalist shop. He even managed to get a copy of the gedik from the officer in charge of the street where the shop was located. But in reality this shop was owned by a woman named Serfiraz. Mrs. Serfiraz filed a complaint about this the takeover of her shop. As a result of this complaint the herbalist shop gedik and the next door tobacco shop gedik were combined as one and transferred under Mrs. Serfiraz's name (BOA, HAT 1490/9 February 2, 1805).

In 1853, it was reflected in the records that Fatma Hatun demanded a gedik on the grounds that she would have a flour mill built in her garden. Another example was Ahmet Ağa's wife, Fatma Hanım, rented a coffee shop which was a property of the Greek Church foundation, across Hane-i Kebir and took over the shop with its inventory (BOA, TS.MA.e 102/37 April 28, 1835). Although they were gedik owners, women who rented income-generating properties such as butchers, coal miners, grocers, bakeries, mills or Turkish baths were not considered as tradeswomen (Erdem-Yiğit 2010:76) because in the Ottoman Empire, chandlering (*Lonca sistem*) was an institution that was responsible for training apprentices and journeymen under the tradesman's guild organization and provides the raw materials needed by the tradesmen. Therefore, when women became the owners of gediks, they were not considered as tradeswomen since they did not actually operate these shops or could not train apprentices and journeymen.

Women who make candles from the fat of slaughtered animals was another example. It is known that there were female waxsmiths in Bursa who inherited the right to receive a share from the raw materials provided by the guilds and to be engaged in production. Although they were not welcomed by their male colleagues, it is understood that they did not face any prohibition. On the other hand, the situation in Istanbul was different. The wax and wax makers' guild saw women and female slaves who were not members of the guild and who produced candles in their homes by taking animal fat from the slaughterhouse as dangerous competitors (Faroqhi 2008:240).

A petition written in Istanbul in 1720 offers very important clues about women working on the "street" in Ottoman society. The wives of the blacksmiths living in Kasımpaşa feed their children with what they earn by collecting lamb pieces from the nearby slaughterhouses, cleaning them and selling them in the market. Trotters (*paçacı*) shopkeepers complained about this situation. However, as a result of the lawsuit, they were warned that the blacksmiths had the privilege of cleaning and selling trotters and that the trotters guild should not act against the old procedure. The low wages of blacksmiths probably required the financial contribution of their spouses (Faroqhi 2008:238).

Peddler/Bundler Women

In Ottoman society, if women worked outside the home, the work they can do was limited. It is understood that peddlers were either freed slaves or widowed women. As a matter of fact, Lucy Garnett, who visited Turkey at that time, mentions that former female slaves were selling goods on the streets due to poverty (Garnett 2009:492), since it was a common practice to free slaves after seven years of service (Aydın-Hamidullah 2002:242). Although the Ottoman state banned the slave trade in 1846, slaves were used for various purposes especially for agricultural labour thus trading continued for a long time. Around 1890 the state followed a certain program for freed slaves regarding their nutrition, shelter and livelihood, but It is understood that state had difficulty in finding funds and left this problem mostly to local governments. By encouraging them to get married, houses were built for married couples, land and agricultural tools were provided for their settlements. thus, it was aimed to provide workforce to the agricultural sector (Özgün 2012:327). However, this was not possible in a metropolis like Istanbul. Also, female slaves who could not marry needed to make a living. For example, the existence of *Dolmacı*/dolmamaker or *Susamcı*/sesamemaker (some sort of sweet made out of sesame) women in 19th century Istanbul is known. These women focused on selling their domesticly made products around bachelors (*bekâr odaları*) or

other crowded places such as weddings, parks, Turkish baths, bazaars etc. (Demirci 2021:51; Abdülaziz Bey p.321).

In addition to the women who actually sell on streets, there were also bundlers (*bohçacı*) who visit houses. The situation of them was different from women who sell on streets. Since there will be no male competition, bundle making was both a lucrative and safe/reliable profession for women (Faroqhi 2008:240). It was a job that any woman with sufficient capital and commercial ability could do. But of course there were definite rules in this field, as in all areas of the Ottoman social structure. Young and single women could not be bundlers. Only married women who have reached a certain age could be bundler. This difficult job required going from house to house and going to distant villages every day. These bundles were a gateway to the outside world, especially for women who could not go out of their homes or live in villages. Among the products that fit into the bundles were the exotic patterned silk fabrics of the East, English fabrics woven in factories, and fragrant cosmetic, beauty products or embroidery, lace, home textile.

One of the most important characteristics attributed to bundler women was that they took a role in communication between different households. In an age where there was no telephone and the literacy rate was low, these women were one of the most important means of communication because it was shameful for middle-class and wealthy women to shop at the market. Their needs were done by their husbands or servants. Other needs were met by the bundlers who came to their homes (Altındal 1994:50-51). Another perception about bundler women was that they were grifters. Although it did not apply to most of them, it was reflected in the records that some bundlers committed fraud. For example, a woman named Zarop, defrauded many people, men and women. She stole 35 sacs of silver coin (akçe) from Nikohi and Makrohi sisters, 8,500 kuruş from Zaring and 10,000 kuruş from Meryem (BOA, ZB 1/92 January 13, 1861). Another example was a peddler woman named Dilber stole 5.000 kuruş from a mansion (BOA, HR.MKT 590/55 October 7, 1867).

One of the problems faced by the bundler women who have to work to make a living was about security. In an incident reflected in the Ottoman archive documents, Bohçacı (Bundler) Rukiye was raped by people she knew on the village road she regularly went to sell. According to the statement she gave at the police station, her husband passed away 12 years ago and she started bundling to make a living because she had no one but her daughter. Last Monday, she was invited to a wedding in the village of Varna, where she had been going fort he past ten years to sell goods. Two young men whom she had

known their families before, offered to take her to the village by carriage. Unfortunately, she was raped by these young men. (BOA, MVL 1075/41 January 28, 1866)

Weavers

The place where women were associated with in the Ottoman society was the *house*. Therefore, the production space of the urban woman was inside the house. Muslim women's entrance into the work life was largely restricted by the conservative social norms or traditional social structures. Nevertheless, women's labour was especially exploited at home. Women's working at home through the putting out system was suitable to Ottoman society's general approach to the gendered division of labour and women's place in society. In some industries like silk spinning, weaving and carpet making, female laborers were employed through the putting out system. This system corresponded well with Ottoman society's view of female labour as supplemental (Mahir-Metinsoy 2012:328). Spinning, fabric weaving, embroidery and needlework were among the daily works of Ottoman women in domestic production. It can be thought that these productions were mostly aimed at meeting the need, but it is known that Ottoman women produced more than needed and sold these products. In the 17th century, almost half of the spinning looms in Bursa were owned or operated by women. Since the weaving looms were in the houses instead of in the shops reserved for this work, women were working as weavers (Faroqhi 2008:240). As seen in the industrial statistics prepared especially at the beginning of the 20th century, the ratio of female workers in cotton yarn manufacturing and cotton weaving is 50%. On the other hand, the ratio of female workers in raw silk production and silk weaving is 95% (Ökçün 1984:142-143; Makal 1997:193).

In the classical period of Ottoman commercial life, it is possible to talk about a production carried out by independent masters organized by traders, apart from guild production. For this purpose, it is understood that some merchants employed labor force from artisans who could not open their own shops or women who produce at home. Apart from this example in Bursa, there were also women who process mohair in Ankara (Faroqhi 2008:25; Demirci 2021:56-57). From the Classical period to the Tanzimat period, a significant part of the workers at home and small workshop-based weaving was women. Apart from weaving fabrics, carpets and rugs, there were also those who make a living by decorating home textiles and underwear. Needlework, lace embroidery, yarn production for embroidery and dyeing of these yarns also reflect women's labor (Demirci 2021:56).

At the beggining of the 19th century, English machine-made yarn started to underprice the Ottoman homespun yarn. However, Ottoman homespun yarn continued to be used until the end of the Ottoman Empire. It can be said that the reason for this was because rural households were slower to accept the imported goods. Much of the spinning industry rested in the hands of rural women who spun for their own needs and sold the surplus. Even though there were spinning looms at most of the homes, handspinning survived in part because some could not afford to purchase any yarn at any price. Also, many families did not give monetary value to the time women spent spinning, counting as net savings the sums not spent to purchase yarns (Quataert 1997:95-96).

Image 2: *An example of female labour force in carpet manufacturing*
Source: Ahmet Piriştina İzmir City Archive and the Museum (APİKAM)

It is understood that women working in the weaving sector were not considered artisians because they were not members of any guilds. Unforunately they were accused of causing unfair competition. Even though they owned a workshop or loom by inheritance, they were also pressured to transfer them to a man. While selling the goods they produce in the market,

they were accused of producing poor quality goods or being unqualified by the guilds. The fact that men complain so much actually gives the impression that the products produced by women were very high quality and uncompetitive (Demirci 2021:59-60). Another example of the success of women in the weaving industry was that most of the workers employed by the Hereke Factory[2] were also women.

To make lace and to handpaint cotton veils and headcloths, employed many Istanbul women and girls working at home, both full and part-time. In Aintab area, where local women used Belfast materials in lacemaking was directed by American missionaries. In 1911 the agent of an Irish firm employed several hundred Aintab-area girls and women to make linen handkerchiefs and lacework mostly for export to the United States (Quataert 1997:103-104).

Tailors

In Abdulhamid II era (1876-1909) as a result of the modernization of educational system, women began to receive vocational and technical education. Especially the art schools opened by the Armenian and Greek communities for girls helped non-Muslim women and girls to advance in the art of tailoring. Therefore, the tailoring profession was concentrated in the monopoly of non-Muslim women (Erdem and Yiğit 2010:147). One of the obstacles before the Muslim women who had long been secluded from public and working life was their lack of professional knowledge (Mahir-Metinsoy 2012:349).

Female tailors, who faced male competition and pressure in this sector, were accused of corrupting the morals of Muslim women. In a record kept in 1873 quoted that "women opening tailor shops have been increasing in some districts of Istanbul, some Muslim women recklessly go to these shops and engage in immoral acts, this must be stopped. Non-Muslim women should be able to open a tailor shop around Beyoğlu[3] but others must be closed." As the

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[2] *Hereke* is a coastal town of Kocaeli (Istanbul's eastward neigbouring province) located by the Izmit Gulf of the Marmara Sea. The town has a unique place in the industrial history of the Ottoman. Hereke Silk Weaving and Carpet Factory was established in 1843 and started production in 1845 under the name of *Hereke Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* to meet the upholstery and drapery needs of the newly built palaces. Jacquard looms and designers were brought from France for Hereke Factory, the most comprehensive factory established by the Ottoman Empire for silk weaving (Milli Saraylar 2022). Prothero (1920:95) wrote that there was also a well-conducted State school of carpet-making in Hereke and it was attended by many women and children, both Muslim and Christian.

[3] Historically known as *Pera*, the area where Beyoğlu is located was mostly inhabited by Ottoman Greeks, other Christians and the European residents in the Ottoman land. Beyoğlu district of Ottoman Istanbul was always a distinct place with its European architecture and social athmosphere (Südaş and Yakar 2020:227).

shops did not close, at the beginning of the 20th century, Muslim women started to open tailor shops as well (BOA, HR.MKT 808/27 October 29, 1873).

Nationalization, which made itself felt in every field at the beginning of the 20th century, also showed itself in the women's publications of the period. Among the newspaper articles that touched upon the problems of Muslim women, there were articles on why Muslim women did not take part in commercial life in Ottoman Istanbul. *The Ladies' Newspaper* (Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete) criticized the fact that Muslim women were dependent on "foreign" tailors. Therefore, they opened a tailor shop only for Muslim women. Although the manager of the tailor shop was a Muslim woman, artisian tailor was a non-Muslim woman named Mademoiselle Mary (Erdem-Yiğit 2010:147; also see Karakışla 2014).

In the beginning of the twentieth century, encouraging articles were written in the newspaper *İkdam*, regarding the possibility of Muslim women to enter into trade due to the nationalization movement that emerged in the Ottoman society. Thereupon, Sabiha Hanım opened an Islamic Tailoring Center in Şişli in 1901 (Erdem-Yiğit 2010:147-148). However, this tailor shop could not attract the attention of Muslim women because even Muslim women preferred to follow the latest parisian fashion. This situation has been the subject of criticism in the same newspaper, with the thought that it would discourage Muslim women who were both talented and had some capital (Karakışla 2014:45-74).

Conclusion

As a result, the lack of continuity in the data we have on how much women take part in economic life of Ottoman society is one of many examples of the invisibility of women in a historical aspect. The situation we encounter when we consult archival documents in order to determine the place of women in social life in Ottoman society is as follows: the existence of women is reflected in official records if and only if there is a lawsuit or a subject of complaint. In these documents, we see in every condition where women's labour was visible, there was a discourse of poverty. Also working women's visibility on streets and their work-related mobility depended on a peculiar reason; those were the women who had lost their breadwinner male figure in their families, especially the widow. Contrary to the expectations from socially acceptable Ottoman woman within normative gender roles, activities such as getting out of the domestic environment, being mobile, selling on the streets and wandering from house to house or village to village are only found appropriate for even more disadvantaged women, like former slaves or widows. These

women, who also faced male competition and pressure in every sector they entered, were forced to work to survive.

The structure of the Ottoman society, which prevented women from gaining professional occupation or experience, caused women not to be accepted as tradeswomen. The visible participation of women in the economic life could take place only after the massive losses in the First World War. After this period, women who started to work even in government offices turned to professional education and educated other women who formed the basis of the modern Turkish Republic emerged in the early 1920s.

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PERSPECTIVES IN GENDER STUDIES
SPACE-HISTORY-ART

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