SPACES OF MASCULINITIES:
BACHELOR ROOMS IN SÜLEYMANİYE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences.

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ABSTRACT

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This study attempts to understand the relational formation of masculine identites and masculine spaces in the construction and production of masculinities by looking at the notion of "bachelor" and the socio-spatial reflections of "bachelorship", a particular case of manliness in Turkish context, in the case of "bachelor rooms" in Süleymaniye district in Eminönü, Istanbul from the perspective of feminist geography. Neighborhoods gendered with bachelor rooms situated near the commercial heart of the big cities as a sociological and historical phenomenon in Turkish urban context have been christalized reflections of segregated heterosexual gender structure of the society being these neighborhoods the performative spaces of masculinities for centuries. This study also tries to relate the bachelor rooms with traditional single male migration from rural to urban. These neighborhoods provide space for the performance of different masculinities and they function for young provincial men as a kind of "rite of passage" for various kinds of social transitions. The knowledge of migration, of masculinities, and of space related to these transitions is accumulated in the homo-social spaces of the district and constantly recirculated through migrant bachelors among the local traditional masculinities. Masculinities of not only the immigrants from rural, but of urban space, including space bounded masculinities specific to the district have been categorized from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity concept and concluded that the construction of hegemonic type of masculinity with contestations and discourses through

performances, representations and the power relations influences the transformation of space and are influenced by these spaces of masculinities.

Keywords: Masculinities, Space, Migration, Feminist geography

ÖZ

ERKEKLİK MEKÂNLARI:
İSTANBUL, SÜLEYMANİYE'DE BEKÂR ODALARI

Kızılkan, Nurhayat

Yüksek Lisans, Kadın Çalışmaları

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Bu çalışma feminist coğrafyacıların bakış açıları ile "bekâr" nosyonu ve Türk toplumu bağlamında erkekliğin özel bir hali olan "bekârlığın" sosyo-mekânsal tezahürlerine bakmak suretiyle erkekliklerin üretimi ve inşasında erkeksi kimlikler ile erkeksi mekân/alanların karşılıklı olarak birbirini şekillendirmesini, Istanbul, Eminönü, Süleymaniye'de "bekâr odaları" üzerinden anlamaya çalışır. Büyük şehirlerin ticari kalbine yakın bir yerde kent bağlamında bir sosyolojik ve tarihsel fenomen olan "bekar odaları" ile cinsiyetlendirilmiş bulunan mahalleler, yüzyıllardır erkekliklerin tatbiki alanlarından biri olarak toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı olarak ayrışmış toplumun, heteroseksüel toplumsal cinsiyet yapısının kristalize olmuş tezahürleridir.

Bu çalışma aynı zamanda kırdan kente gerçekleşen geleneksel bekâr erkek göçü ile bekâr evlerini ilişkilendirmeye çalışır. Bu mahalleler farklı erkekliklerin deneyimlenmesine imkân veren bir alan sağlarlar ve özellikle taşradan gelen genç erkekler için farklı çeşitlerdeki toplumsal geçişleri yapabilecekleri bir çeşit "geçiş yolu" işlevi görürler. Bu geçişlerdeki göç, erkeklikler ve mekâna dair bilgi bölgedeki homo-sosyal mekânlarda biriktirilir ve yerel geleneksel erkeklikler arasındaki göçmen "bekârlar" yoluyla sürekli bir şekilde dolaşıma sokulur. Çalışma sadece kırdan gelen göçmenlerin değil, şehirden gelen, mekân-temelli bölgeye özgü erkeklikler dâhil, (tüm) erkeklik biçimlerini hegemonik erkeklik kavramı dâhilinde sınıflandırır ve birbirleriyle yarışan söylemlerle hegemonik erkekliğin inşası ve

tatbik edilme biçimleri, temsiliyet ve güç ilişkileri yoluyla mekânın değişmesine etki ettiği ve erkekliklerin de (erkekliklere ait) bu mekânlardan etkilendiği sonucuna varır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erkeklikler, Mekân, Göç, Feminist coğrafya

To My Family: Mahir, Şükran, Hasan, Türkan, Nuran Kızılkan

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explore the spaces of masculinities in general and the interrelationship between the space and "bachelorship" in particular, a specific case of manliness, in order to explore to what extent space influences the bachelors' masculinities and vice versa. I conducted a study in Süleymaniye district in Eminönü, İstanbul, where various kinds of men who are called "bachelors" are overpopulated and formed several residential areas of their own. Thus, this study is based on two main research questions: first "the ways in which masculinities are constructed in and through space" and second, "how particular places become gendered as masculine"? (Van Hoven, B and Hörschjelmann 2005:11).

"Bachelor Rooms/Houses" one of the spaces of masculinities in Turkey especially in big cities as a sociological phenomenon can be considered an ultimate reflection of a kind of manliness. Being "bachelor" in Turkish context has several dimensions such as economic relations, migration, gender and the most importantly space has not been investigated sufficiently from the date today.

This phenomenon as an important part of urban spaces in İstanbul is crystallized in Küçükpazar - Süleymaniye area in Eminönü district. Süleymaniye district is underpinned by the special conditions of the oldest district of Istanbul; Eminönü. Concentrated trade activities in Eminönü have continued for centuries. In this study I try to show how the socio-spatial conditions of Süleymaniye district intensely populated by single males has been determined by the conditions of Eminönü, and the specific masculinity form of this population namely "bachelorship" influenced by and constructed in and through the space.

Süleymaniye used for centuries by the merchants from provincial cities, who have come for trade periodically, or those who have come for seasonal work or thos

who have stayed temporarily for a period before a city-based settlement; appropriate to the purposes mentioned above the district has a special structure which allow provincial men for various transitions to urban space/new masculinities/adulthood. Throughout the study I tried to understand how the knowledge of migration, of masculinity and of space which for centuries, informed the bachelors who settled that in this particular district and allowed their transitions to different life trajectories.

I argue that the interrelationship of the space and various masculinities in the district plays a major role in the formation of a particular type of bachelorship. I also argue that in order to understand the type of bachelorship that I have observed in Süleymaniye district as a district phenomenon can not be full explored without taking into account and placing it into a theoretical framework of discussions about hegemonic masculinity.

1.1.   Setting the Question

The subject of this study consists of people living in the "bachelor rooms" in Istanbul. Sampling is formed by a group constituted by people who accommodate especially in "bachelor" rooms, Inns (Han), Lodgings, "Hotels" in Süleymaniye region in the district of Eminönü, and by those who live together with these people in the neighborhood, and also those who use or work in this district.

As a method, among the qualitative research methods, life history research (the biographical interpretative method) was used with open ended questions, interview techniques has been conducted (Alvesson, Skoldberg, 2000).

Persons who constitute the sample are not only single men who reside in the district, namely "bachelors", but the persons who serve these men as the tradesmen of the neighborhood, aged residents, "authorities"; such as muhtars[1] of the neighborhoods[2], families who stay in the district, owners of workshops/plants who do not want to move

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[1] Muhtar means reeve or headman of a neighborhood. Muhtarlık is the smallest administrative unit of local governments.
[2] Neighborhood means *mahalle* in Turkish

outside of the neighborhood as a result of the policies of local municipality and male and female students who use the district. As a technique, face-to-face interviews have been conducted with these people. In addition to many of in-depth, interviews, observations in several homo-social spaces in the district have also been conducted.

This study is based on my interest in gender, masculinity and a place: Istanbul as a melting pot throughout the centuries. Throughout my life I had already observed how masculinity was performed in some particular streets of different cities of Turkey such as İzmir, Ankara and a county called Ödemiş near İzmir. Locations of these streets are near the trade centers of the city or later industrial areas, gendering the particular streets of these cities just like in Süleymaniye case especially Küçükpazar part of it.

The field research was conducted in the autumn 2008, in Süleymaniye, Eminönü-İstanbul. However, my familiarity of the research site comes from another field research conducted in August, 2006[3] in which I attended as a researcher resulting in a report prepared for Istanbul Metropolitan Planning, an institution which works for the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. My previous familiarity enabled me to work through the formal and informal social networks I had there. My friendship with muhtars facilitated my access to the several types of men who stay in this district.

Before going into the details of the research, I would like to give a brief framework of this thesis. In social sciences, the subjectivity of the social scientist is an important issue as scientific knowledge, the qualitative data, produced by sociologist is actually based on his or her personal interpretations of what she/he encountered on the field. One of the crucial questions is whether gender of sociologist creates advantages or restrictions in data collection, or whether gender identity is similar to other variables like our age; marital status and personality which are also get involved to interpretation (see Arık, 2006). Ergun and Erdemir (forthcoming in 2010) discuss the issue from the insider/outsider statuses to negotiate their identities at various levels. They present a self-reflexive and comparative account of their fieldwork experiences to demonstrate how " factors such as cultural, social, and linguistic affinities, ideology and political

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[3] Vezir Danışmanlık (2006) *Social Analysis of Süleymaniye*. Unpublished Report prepared for İstanbul Metropolitan Planlama (İMP) established by İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

preferences along with age, gender, marital status, and profession, and the interplay of these identities were significant in shaping" their relations with their informants.

Related with the subjectivity of the sociologist as a variable in the production of scientific knowledge, the influence of 'black feminist thought' (Collins, 1990) for rethinking the assumptions of classic feminism has been important. Black feminism highlighted the issues of difference and diversity as well as the identities and subjectivities in 1980s (hooks 1982, Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983). Before the black feminism the absence or low level of the awareness among white feminists about the variations between different experiences of femininity regarding race, ethnicity, class and religion clearly demonstrate that to be in the same gender group does not automatically make women to understand different femininities or different women's experiences.

On the other hand, to be able to understand the interrelationship between gender and the space how they influence and transform each other, approaches of feminist geographers has been evaluated. Feminist geographers argued that to find their own "places" in Academia of Geography in which the voice of women is underestimated, they needed new methodological techniques to produce the geographical knowledge based on female experience. As indicated by Rose (1993), the feminist geographers opposed the masculine character of geography which is exhaustive, leaving no space for women to contribute to geographical knowledge. She argues that the neutrality is actually masculine and in the name of science the science of men has been taught. However, for feminist geographers knowledge can not be produced separately from women as the gender identity is relational that is to say masculinity depends on the femininity. McDowell (1997) has also argued that men should be incorporated into research in order to compare different gender identities and their experiences that are multiple and open to change. Butler (1990) by deconstructing the meaning of gender and showing its fluidity also said that gender, as an identity, changes according to time and place which feminist geography is based on.

Throughout the initial research the questions like whether gender of sociologist creates advantages or restrictions in data collection, whether gender identity is similar to

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other variables which are also get involved to interpretation, as a female sociologist whether being a woman is one of the variables or more than this, made me anxious. However, at last, I have decided that doing sociology of masculinity as a woman can create problems that can not be foreseen before the field study but this does not mean that I can not contribute to the gender literature.

In this framework, research design has been developed by ignoring the intervention of variables such as economic class and level of education. I have knowingly excluded poverty literature from the research to be able to emphasize the influence of masculinities in the production of gendered urban space.

1.2. The Fieldwork and the Study Design

Everybody around me, regardless of their gender, educational background, age and occupation, who heard about my research in this part of the city, has asked me whether I was afraid of being there. All have warned me to be very careful while I was carrying on my research. Starting with telling me about the news of violence they have heard on the media, they said I could be exposed to violence anywhere in Istanbul, let alone that specific district. These people have asked me whether I felt scared as a woman doing research there, though none of them resided at and most of them rarely visited these neighborhoods. Therefore, they defined that place as neighborhoods let alone women, where even men would hesitate to visit. All these warnings were to remind me of my gender, that I was a woman.

Even some colleagues when they learned that I was going to write a thesis on masculinity and the bachelor rooms in this specific district thought whether it would be possible to collect data from these neighborhoods without risking my security as a young woman. Having come across with these reactions at the very beginning of my research, I was not discouraged to go into the field as I thought I knew the field from my previous experience in 2006, which is mentioned in the part of "Today's Suleymaniye" in Chapter 3 and the male-only character of the many neighborhoods of the district had not make me anxious. However, as soon as I went to the field I realized that this attempt with a different objective would be rather different from the previous

research. I have come face to face with the fact that to be able to work on masculinity as a female researcher would not be easy. As I have expected men I came across in the field had an understanding of femininity coming from their life experiences and accordingly they adjusted their ways of representing their masculinity according to me, a female sociologist. However, I hoped to turn the disadvantages produced by my gender identity to advantages by acting in awareness. As I knew that men in the district can hesitate to share some issues with me, a female sociologist, but it is also possible that men can also hide or manipulate or exaggerate some information when they share some other issues with a male researcher for not to be critiqued by him, sharing the same gender identity. To support this idea, at this point we can get into details of some findings relating literature on loneliness as part of masculinity that I have observed among aged bachelors (I have called them as "confirmed bachelors") in Kucukpazar part of the district. According to Kaufmann, men's alienation results from their distance from women and their distance and isolation from other men (1994:150) According to Hearn(1987) masculinity is the result of the men's power and their alienation combine (cited in Kaufmann 1994:150) The distance from other men is accentuated, in many contemporary heterosexual men's cultures at least, by the emotional distance from other males that begins to develop in adolescence. Many of the institutions of male bonding - the clubs, sporting events, card games, lockerrooms, workplaces, professional and religious hierarchies- are a means to provide safety for isolated men who need to find ways to affirm themselves, find common ground with other men, and collectively exercise their power (Kaufmann 1994: 151). Such isolation means that each man can remain blind to his dialogue of self-doubt about making the masculine grade. In a strange sense, this isolation is key in preserving patriarchy (Kaufman 1994: 151).

One of the first things I have done in the field that I have asked muhtars to introduce me to the residents or owners of bachelor houses and Inns or owners/managers of coffeehouses. All of the muhtars have tried to help me to be able to approach to the different type of informants. However, three of the muhtars were hesitated to introduce me personally to the bachelors and they have just given some addresses of them or showed the way. Because of their bad experiences with the local administrators related with the procurement facilities of The Urban Transformation

Project they suspected about me at the beginning and they hesitated to introduce me to their voters. They didn't want to be responsible from my behavior and be accused by the residents. In addition to that the local election was approaching while I was there. All in all, I was temporary but they were stable as being one of "stables" which I will get into details in Chapter 5 and 6.

First of all I visited one of the coffeehouses two times and conducted semi-structured group interviews outside of the coffeehouses and observed the reactions of people in the coffeehouse. The first men who wait for jobs in coffeehouses that I interviewed tried to state their current economic difficulties and wanted help from the local administration through talking with me. I have realized entering into the coffeehouse with a muhtar or alone was two different experiences. These experiences have provided additional insight in terms of the perception of female presence in the coffeehouse, the most important type of homo-social place in the country.

In my second attempt, I conducted interviews in more isolated places like the office of the muhtar where I could develop a better contact with my interviewee. In these interviews, I could be more independent to direct any question that a man would not like to deal with in the publicity of the coffeehouse, in front of his friends.

Getting familiar with homo-social places I started to enter into the coffeehouses on my own and observed the meanings the reactions and attitudes towards a female researcher who is asking questions about the experience in the bachelor houses. I have often been considered as "journalist" because of the voice recorder. Though I have clearly defined my aim and position they have preferred seeing me as someone who can easily reach "administrators" to narrate their problems such as for bakery workers who stay in coffeehouses for job and living pensions have complained about foreign illegal workers who "steal" their jobs in bakeries. At the beginning of the field study I sometimes felt uneasy a bit such as when I visit a bachelor room I needed to mention that muhtar knew that I was in that place.

On the other hand I have always tried to find isolated and quite places to move away from my interviewee from curious gazes of his friends in crowded coffeehouses

and to be able to ask intimate questions but sometimes it was impossible. There were not much places except the tables in front of the coffeehouses to make an interview but most of the time it was impossible with many interruptions around with suspicious gazes not only because of my being an outsider but also a female sociologist.

During my research I have lost some data accidently in the office computer but as a result of this unfortunate delay, during the different seasons, in all weather conditions and at different times I had an opportunity to visit the district. For example, before and after the holidays I could watch the changing conversations among the bachelors. Such as though the holidays are the most important occasions to visit the family, instead of returning empty-handed, jobless bachelors have usually preferred to spend festivity time in the district. I have realized that how the expectations of family members influence bachelor's behavior. I had the opportunity to watch the differences between winter and summer; the expectations from certain periods and certain months and the changing population profile in different seasons in the district.

Through these interviews most of them in-depth, I obtained the important data that constitutes an important part of my findings. These different ways of interview and partial observations have allowed me to obtain a richer account of data.

I have conducted in-depth interviews more than thirty men who stay in the district in different categories including the in-depth interviews with muhtars, owner of bachelor rooms and pension administrators. I have also conducted several other interviews with women, students who attend Istanbul University to understand the district. I developed two typologies of men who stay in the district. I have used the metaphor, "Innkeeper and passenger" (Hancı and Yolcu) naming them with "stable" and "transients". First, I interviewed with elderly "bachelors" who live alone decades in their rooms. These men were mostly of older than 55 and they did not have any other options for staying in other districts of the city. It seemed that basically the central location and the low prices of the district were a matter of preference for them however there were other reasons. Then I interviewed young bachelors. The aim of this generational sampling was to understand why they prefer being in the district and what the generational differences are among aged and young bachelors. I have tried to understand why young bachelors

prefer to come to the region as they have many other options in different cities like Antalya, Izmir or options of staying in different district of İstanbul especially in the last decades.

In addition to the needy bachelors, I also interviewed with young men of relatively higher economic class from small towns in Anatolia to be able to understand their aim to leave home towns. I also interviewed with the administrators of Inns, muhtars, tradesman who serve bachelors in restaurants or package stores and a broker and I have obtained very valuable information from these informants. In general, I tried to give voice to as many men as possible who stay in the district about their life in these male-only buildings and the district. Additionally, I included the views of different women such as women who are the member of families which reside in the district and a few Turkish women who stay in bachelor rooms. I had informal conversations with them on the district and tried to understand their relationships with bachelor houses and bachelors. I also included the views of the women from abroad mostly Georgia and Turkmenistan who are the customers of some pensions. Women's perceptions of the gender of the district were also contributing as they are in line with the views that I had in designing the research. In addition to my observations during the interviews, the reactions of the people from my family, friends and colleagues also provided a broader understanding of the cultural significance of the district as a gendered, masculine district. It was quite interesting whenever I mention the subject and place of my research in a group in different circles, considerable number of people have mentioned that their fathers or grandfathers once stayed in the district as tradesman, worker etc. However, these narratives are kept in a secondary position, as the main purpose of the research is to listen to how men talk about being "bachelor" in the district. The case study that will be presented in the next chapters is constituted of these in-depth interviews with bachelors, some of whose age and occupation will be indicated.

After setting my research question, explaining my fieldwork experience and the study design, in the 2nd Chapter I have briefly reviewed literature on masculinity and space. I also touched upon migration. In Chapter 3 firstly in the part of "The Past" I have looked at the historical roots of bachelor rooms/houses relating to migration and

trying to locate them to the general historical structure. In addition one of the most influenced hegemonic masculinities of the country in Ottoman period being located in Süleymaniye district as an institution has been discussed. In this section I have tried to show how military and commerce influenced the socio-economic as well as the spatial structure of the district throughout the centuries. In the second part of the 3rd Chapter, "Today's Süleymaniye", I have looked at the socio-economic structure of contemporary Süleymaniye. Population profile of the district, the building stock which is used and continuously transformed by this profile, the new administrative policies of municipalities which are affected by "global vision", reflecting as "Urban Transformation Projects" but turning into space-sharing and conflict society are the main issues which have been elaborated.

Chapter 4, 5 and 6 are the findings of the field study of this thesis. In the 4th chapter I have attempted to depict "the bachelor" and "Bachelorship" a special case of manliness in Turkish context, relating it with space in the case of Süleymaniye district. Chapter 5 contains the findings related with "masculinities" which some of them are space-bound in the district. I elaborate these masculinities in gender hierarchy with various discussions based on space and masculinities mostly from the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity. And Chapter 6 demonstrates the categorization of major discourses used by these masculinities in the district and how they are negotiating with hegemonic masculinity. In Conclusion part I conclude with summarizing the findings of this thesis based on "bachelor" and "bachelorship", and the gendered spaces where bachelors live influencing them and influenced by them.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: MASCULINITIES AND SPACE

In this chapter I would like to discuss the theoretical basis on which I will analyze hegemonic masculinity in country general, and space based masculinities specific to the district through various ways and homo-sociality created not only in male-only places but almost in whole of the district as a particular space. Therefore, masculinities and space are the titles of theories that are going to be analyzed.

2.1 Masculinity Studies

Before going into to how masculinity studies have developed it is necessary to define gender as performance starting from the body. The relationship between sex and gender creates problem in the definition of the body. Theorists of the body usually approach to the body either in the essentialist or the constructionist way. Some early essentialist approaches with passive interpretations of the body developed by feminist theorists saw women as trapped within their bodies and understood gender inequality as a function of biological difference, perpetuating the idea of a "mind/body dualism". However for the constructionist approaches, bodies are "discursively produced", that is to say the body is a surface on which society "writes" its values, morals, and laws (Campbell et.al. 2006:185). Constructionists, drawing on Foucault, "argue that this "inscription" means that the material body reflects social power relations and that bodies are given social meaning through such expression of power" (Connell, 2000 cited from Campbell et.al. 2006:185). Recent researches have a view of body as a central part of the production, performance, and fluidity of gendered individuality itself (Gatens 1996, cited from Campbell et.al. 2006:186). In the same vein, Butler discusses "the naturalization" of certain characteristics in the performance of gender. According to her, "gender is not a series of costumes hung onto a "natural" body (Butler, 1990) but a "continuing performance between bodies and discourses" " (Brook 1999:14 cited

from Campbell et.al. 2006:185). Brook adds that these discourses "are not only those of gender but also of other cultural markers: ethnicity, age, race class, etc." Starting from Goffman'swork (1959) the social constructionists have already recognized that "the social behavior consists of a variable performance at different sites" (McDowell 1999:54). Goffman (1959) and Butler (1993) argue that gender is a performance that needs an audience, other players as well as the assistances in the stage. The performative dimension of gender argued by Judith Butler in Gender Trouble (1990) has been influential in feminist theory and queer theory by reversing the logic of notions of gender that regard biological basis of sex independent from social relations. Instead of saying that sex is the origin of gender; she argued that gender produces sex. Butler studied on the question of identity and its performance describing how subjects perform identities. In this anti-essentialist approach, gender is not a universal conception of who you are, rather it has a performative aspect, it is what you do at a particular place and specific time. Drawing from Foucault, Butler argues that gender identities are a performance, the "stylized repetition of acts" (1990:140) in contemporary industrial societies to enforce compulsory heterosexuality in which the sex/gender division constructs hetero-sexuality as a norm that excludes other sexual orientations as "unnatural" and deviant. The aim of this fabrication is the production of a coherent identity. To Butler, however, being female (or male) is not a 'natural fact' but 'a cultural performance' and ontological binary gender division, the construct of men and women enforces women's inferiority.

Halberstam (1998) suggests that Butler's (1990) contemporary theorizing on gender as performative has opened up ways of understanding gender categories. The emphasis on gender as performative has problematized the cultural formation of sex and the interconnections between sex and gender. As a result, Halberstam argues that we need to develop this idea and in particular disconnect masculinity from male bodies. Masculinity and femininty in this way should be understood as something that cannot simply be equated biological sex. The implication of this is that, at particular historical junctures, female bodies are able to take on and live out particular masculinities. Drawing upon a range of historical, archival and literary sources, Halberstam outlines a number of case studies. (Haywood, Mac an Ghaill, 2003:15) such as tomboys and

female masculinities. However, disconnecting masculinities from bodies, while keeping hold of a sociological notion of maleness is a challenging project.

> At the same time, such work enables us to consider the more problematical status of masculinity. Hearn (1996) points out that a diversity of masculinity /ies is a central facet of its limitations. By disconnecting masculinity from the body we are problematizing the suggested nature of power relations between men and women. However, an exploration of masculinities creates the possibilities for other forms of social power to constitute the body (Haywood, Mac an Ghaill, 2003:15-16)

On the other hand, in the role theory, men's and women's identities are copied through socialization as the prototype sex roles. However, attempts of biologist and psychologist in the role theory did not succeed to explain power relations that are imposed by existing socio-political orders. The "male role" theory was also criticized because of its association with biologically determined and normative explanations which define male and female roles in a complementary way. Connell (1995) argued that the sex-role theory explains action within a structure defined by biological difference that homogenizes two gender identities into two static categories and it fails to account for power relations. Van Hoven, B and Hörschjelmann argued that in the sex role theory the distinction between maleness and masculinity is ignored and "men can easily appear as victims of the process of socialization, leaving the question of responsibility and of the embodiment of power open to debate" (2005:7).

Masculinity Studies has developed on the basic ground that masculinity and femininity are relational constructs being in the same gender system. Masculinity studies throughout time in fighting male domination became a natural partner to feminist theory (Kegan, Gardiner; 2002). However at the beginning things were different. Gender theories have tried to explain why and how femininity was culturally constructed within a patriarchal system or masculine domination (de Beauvoir 1988) and in these efforts masculinity was always taken as the fixed or innate basis. At the beginning there was an opposition to study the privileged, seeing it with suspicion, in spite of the theorization of masculinity was nearly absent. However male studies argued that in different times and locations different masculinities were constructed, and used for legitimization therefore in the same gender system masculinity is also shaped, in

mutual relationships between gender identities which are more complex and multiple than an absolute male/female dichotomy. Bourke (1996) provides a summary of the ways in which masculinity has been approached: 1-Biological: what men are tied to biology and masculinity is a natural outcome of biology. 2-Socialization: masculinity is a product of socialization and those who are not "proper men" have not been properly rerared. 3-Psychoanalytical: male subjectivities are formed in sociohistorical and cultural contexts. 4-Discursive: masculinity in all its variety is the product of discourse and discursive regimes. 5-Feminist: patriarchy oppresses and damages women and also men themselves (Bourke 1996 cited in Beynon 2002:54). In the limited time and space of this thesis I introduce my selection from these varied approaches as being a feminist and someone who try to be a feminist geographer.

Kandiyoti (1994) draws attention to institutions which play role in the production of masculinities. Even though Kandiyoti (1994) privileges kinship and the family as institutions over the state and the army, and expected to use psychoanalytic theory, she has some "reservations about the ways in which the construction of gendered subjectivity is commonly addressed" in it. She finds "limited" "both its Lacanian and object-relations variants" to understand culturally specific forms of masculine (or feminine) subjectivity. To her, "it 'fixes' gender once and for all as a stable, developmental acquisition" and it cannot fully account for the possible effects of culturally specific types of structural disadvantage (Kandiyoti 1994:199-201). She finds "promising" to use Ortner's (1983) concept of "structural disadvantage" to understand how gender differences interact with other differences (age, class and ethnicity) to produce shifting subjectivities and more fluid constructions of gender. Giving an example of account of Arabo-Muslim male identity having the mother who is "enmeshed in the concrete gender asymmetries of a sex segregated, polygynous society" by Boudhiba (1985), Kandiyoti argues that "psychoanalysis alone cannot fully account for" and it is better to look at the intersection of specific structural disadvantages and their possible psychic representations (Kandiyoti 1994:201).

Research on men is not a new phenomenon it is as old as the modern science however research on men is not the same thing with masculinity studies which consider

men as gendered individuals. That is to say focusing on masculinity can be considered relatively recent. In the 1970s while the women's movement, the second wave of feminism, has gained momentum; men started to produce studies (Goldberg, 1976; Nichols, 1975) about men as being considered first studies of this separate area of research on men and masculinity (Coltrane 1994). Mostly confessional, therapeutic and ignorant of the power dimension of gender relation, this style of research on men continued through the 1980s and the 1990s (Coltrane, 1994, 41). Especially for Bly's study, Iron John (1990), as it was example of this tradition, namely mythopoetic men's movement, which hypothesize timeless natural differences between men and women, Coltrane and Hickman (1992) argue that though these authors often describe themselves as part of a progressive men's movement, their writing often looked like the anti woman rhetoric of reactionary men's rights activists by reasserting male identities in an essentialist, homogenizing way. Fortunately, a different group of men constituted by scholars and activists adopting a feminist perspective has focused on men's power over women in their early explorations of masculinity (Pleck 1977/1981, Sattel, 1976).Using insights from feminist theories, emphasizing diversity in masculinities, focusing on gay men, many scholars (Brod, 1987; Hearn &Morgan, 1990; Kaufman, 1987, 1993; Kimmel & Messner, 1989; Jackson, 1990; Messner, 1990; Seidler, 1989) have contributed to this new perspective developed in response to, and in support of the women's movement (Coltrane 1994). With these studies in different areas like psychology, sociology and then cultural studies; gender as a literature entered a new stage not being only about women and women's issues. Not only with the factors such as cultural, historical and geographical locations, but with the influence of feminism and gay movement the conception of a uniform masculinity has changed and many scholars have preferred to use 'masculinities' (Buchbinder 1994, Connell, 1995, Mac an Ghaill 1996). By not only investigating 'middle-class, white, urban, heterosexual, western men'; other factors such as class, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, culture etc. were integrated into the literature recognizing the variation among men and the need to consider gender and sexuality with these factors in the 1990s. These pro-feminist research done on men and masculinity have pulled men down from their gender-neutrality base, it also showed ways to analyze men's relationships to one another, that

is to say the homo-sociality in homo-social[4] groups, structured as military forces, finance sector, sport sector, police institution. It has also been recognized that social sciences have until then been male dominated spheres of activity. Moreover, even though science has been "done by men, about men and for men", it has also been accepted that male dominated system also control and limit individuality of men (Buchbinder, 1998 cited in Bilgin, 2004).

Anthropology also demonstrates that men have never shared the same understanding of masculinity in different cultures (Gilmore 1990, Cornwall & Lindisfarne 1994, Herdt 1994). Such as Gilmore (1990), presenting differing notions of masculinity in Western and non-Western cultures, from a cross-cultural point of view presented how and why the representations and connotations of being a man differ. Gilmore's experience (He collected data from the Mediterranean to the South Pacific, Central New Guinea, East and South Asia, Tahiti and Semai, the Amazon in Brazil to East Africa) as an anthropologist led him to believe that, men everywhere appeared to be preoccupied by anxieties. Gilmore didn't come to any conclusive answer what it means to be a man in different cultures around the world but he noted that in most societies manhood demands that men do three things: impregnate women, protect dependants and provide materially for both (Beynon 2002:62-3). Alternative sex-gender systems in Pacific, such as in Herdt's (1994) findings in Sambia culture (in order to be accepted as a 'man', "younger men gain their masculinity through ritualized homosexuality under the guardianship of older men" (Carrigan, Connell, Lee 2004: 154)) was found as "scandalous" (Connell (1995:32) because such kind of masculinity based on homosexual relationship is associated with femininity which is marginalized and subordinated in western culture.

2.1.1 Hegemonic Masculinity

One of the most used concepts in approaching the social construction of masculinities is the concept of hegemonic masculinity. It is originally attributed to Tim Carrigan et al (1985) and later developed by R.W. Connell who has been very creative

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[4] Bourdieu's (1980) concept of "homo-social" to state the legitimization and justification of behavior of genders by constituting groups excluding other in gendered binary system.

to integrate social science with feminist theory, queer theory, and psychoanalysis by challenging the hetero-normativity which is hegemonic, normativizing with hetero-social norms, social, political and cultural patterns (Connell, 1987, 1995). The theory of hegemonic masculinity has indicated that not only women are the subjects of oppression to hierarchy in power relations between femininity and masculinity; there are also hierarchical power relations among the "multiple masculinities" in which some are subordinate and some dominant as a result of the differences in ethnicity, race, class, sexual orientation, age and occupation. The masculinity here is not unitary or homogeneous, there are different and conflicting ways to be a man and one of these ways occupies a hegemonic position which is dominant but "always contestable" "in a given pattern of gender relations" (1995:76). That is called hegemonic masculinity which is considered "natural" and therefore legitimate. Each form of hegemonic masculinities operates in a specific social and historical context upon which the form and content of it is dependent. Because of its legitimacy as the most approved and privilege, it is relatively invisible. Connell explains this invisibility as follows:

> Most of the time, defense of the patriarchal order does not require an explicit masculinity politics. Given that heterosexual men socially selected for hegemonic masculinity run the corporations and the state, the routine maintenance of these institutions will normally do the job. This is the core of the collective project of hegemonic masculinity, and the reason why this project most of the time is not visible as a project. Most of the time masculinity need not be thematized at all. What is brought to attention is national security, or corporate profit, or family values, or true religion, or individual freedom, or international competitiveness, or economic efficiency, or the advance of science. Through the everyday working of institutions defended in such terms, the dominance of a particular kind of masculinity is achieved (Connell, 1995:213)

Hegemonic masculinity legitimizes itself by marginalizing other forms of masculinity, like Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994:3) has said that "hegemonic masculinities define successful ways of "being man", in so doing, they define other masculine styles as inadequate or inferior". Hegemonic masculinity should supposedly subordinate others, as the hegemonic power relations involve a range of masculinities whose interactions give power to some of them greater than others. However, they can not exist without each other as all these masculinities at the end support the value of male power which is patriarchy.

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Hegemony is "commonly used to describe the domination of one class, nation, or group of people over others. This Gramscian concept emphasize that domination has to be 'won' and sustained. It includes a notion complicity carried by those being dominated" (Haywood, Mac an Ghaill, 2003:153)

Connell (1987: 183) emphasizes that 'hegemonic masculinity' is always constructed in relation to three other types of masculinity. Complicit masculinity, derived from men's general advantage over women. Subordinate masculinity is the opposite of the hegemonic heterosexual ideal, linked to homosexuality and femininity. Homosexuality constitutes a term for the stigmatized and marginalized group of identities that do not integrate into the hetero-normative patriarchal ideology. And marginalized masculinity, which represents race and class based variations, such as Black, Asian and/or working-class masculinities. In Turkey there are several marginalized masculinities including some ethnic masculinities as well as the non-Muslim masculinities. Connell and Messerschmidt, argue that (2005:845) according to several research finding in a variety of countries, certain masculinities are more socially central, or more associated with authority and social power than others, with subordination process of non hegemonic masculinities. Features of socially dominant masculinities are cultural consent, discursive centrality, institutionalization, and de-legitimation of alternatives that is to say the marginalization. In the evaluation of masculinities Connell points to three key events: 1-The emergence of a domestic sphere for women and a public sphere for men, 2-The banning of homosexuality in medical terms and its criminalization in legal ones, accompanied by the equating of heterosexuality with acceptable (and respectable) manliness. 3-The expansion of industry in the 19th century and the development of a definition of masculinity based on manual labor, wage-earning capacity and 'breadwinning' capability (Beynon 2002:19). Marginalized or gay identities threaten the hegemonic relations by gaining acceptance and destroying the hetero-normative basis of sexuality and the changes in the socio-political orders transform the power resources and create the crisis of masculinity. However masculinity is not a coherent system that would collapse with crisis; it is rather a configuration of practice within a system of gender relations (Connell 1995: 84). Hegemony to some extent works by producing the exemplars of masculinity

symbols, such as professional sports stars, however "most men and boys do not fully achieve them", and therefore hegemonic masculinity is not the most common pattern in the everyday lives of boys and men. Change in gender relations is possible such as "a dominant pattern of masculinity was open to challenge—from women's resistance to patriarchy, and from men as bearers of alternative masculinities" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:845), as the circumstances in which masculinities were formed change over time. These changes bring out new strategies in gender relations and result in redefinitions of socially admired masculinity.

Connel argues that masculinity must be understood as an aspect of large-scale social structures and processes (1995:38). Masculinity's development in various empires prove that according to the different phases of these empires masculinities have changed interacting with the local masculinities after colonization, decolonization and throughout the modernization process. Connell demonstrates how the British gender system created hierarchy in masculinities among the different ethnic groups in India, putting English men, as the representatives of the civilization, at the top of this hierarchy. The male colonialist who met with local cultures has defined his hegemonic masculinity in relation to the local men, by marginalizing local men in various ways as feminine, inferior, fierce, brutish or uncivilized. Indeed, even today, "news" on news channels on local groups in ex-colonized countries, marginalizes local masculinities with similar re-created discourses based on western gender system. On the other hand as a continuation of these, the impact of globalization on the formation and enactment of local masculinities is important. Furthermore, in spite of the negative influences on local masculinities, "transnational business masculinity's" world hegemony has been an ideal hegemonic gender form which is difficult to challenge. Because this form of hegemonic masculinity suits up with neo-liberal ideology which is commonly considered to be economically inevitable and gender neutral and political and military regimes still regulate men in different institutions like the army and politics providing the continuation of hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 1998). According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) existing hegemonic masculinities can be analyzed empirically at three levels, local, regional and global. "Local" is constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically

found in ethnographic and life-history research. "Regional" is constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, and demographic research; and "global" is constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media. Global institutions pressure regional and local gender orders. Regional and local constructions of hegemonic masculinity are shaped by the articulation of these gender systems with global processes. Regional gender orders provide cultural materials adopted in global arenas and they also provide models of masculinity, "exemplary masculine models" that may influence the construction of gender relations and hegemonic masculinities at the local level (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). However this empirical approach is not a simple hierarchy of power as the extent of the determining power of the "global", and the resistance and the capacity of the "regional" is unknown. However, as a result of researches on global dynamics in gender, it is understood that "processes such as economic restructuring, long-distance migration, and the turbulence of "development" agendas have the power to reshape local patterns of masculinity and femininity" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 849).

Such an analytical framework that distinguishes local, regional, and global masculinities (and femininities) allows us to recognize the importance of place. Although local models of hegemonic masculinity may differ from each other, they usually overlap as a result of the interplay with society-wide gender dynamics and the commonalities in women's gender practices. Accordingly, as Connell and Messerschmidt argue local constructions of hegemonic masculinity, local plurality is compatible with singularity of hegemonic masculinity at the regional or society-wide level (Connell, Messerschmidt, 2005:849). Indeed, as I try to demonstrate in the findings chapters of this thesis (Chapters 5 and 6), Kurdish masculinity in urban space, one of the local models of hegemonic masculinity is compatible with regional hegemonic masculinity, "White Turkish Masculinity" as a result of some aspects such as the commonalities in women's gender practices.

Connell (1995) describes the hegemonic masculinity as a kind of complicated, historically shaped social practices which strengthen the maintenance of the patriarchal

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oppression of women and he argues that the evidence of diversity and transformation in masculinities provided by history and ethnography is needed. With life-history research we can discover "institutional transitions that reflect different hegemonic masculinities and also hold seeds of change" (Connel and Messerschmidt, 2005:853). According to Connel and Messerschmidt relationships with fathers are one expected focus of tension, children as well as adults have a capacity to deconstruct gender binaries and criticize hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, to be able to understand single male migration from rural to urban which continues for hundreds of years we have to look at "new men's history" (which is different than the existing men's "his-story") with its central theme that what is missing from the non-gendered history of men - the idea of masculinity (Connell, 1995:6). However in the Turkish context, approaches to masculinity are lacking in several social science disciplines, like history.

Connell gives several examples of historical studies of masculinity (1995:30) which focus on institutions in which cultural norms of manhood are embedded. One of these institutions is English private school which constructs respectable masculinities and responds to the gender and class strategies of the boy's families (Heward, 1988). The other examples are the practice of law in the 19th century USA (Grossberg, 1990), even larger institutions such as labor markets (Seccombe, 1986). Based on Seccombe's study, Connell argues that being a breadwinner which is accepted by the male role literature as the central part of being masculine is based on the male "breadwinner" wage which is a recent creation produced in the middle of the 19th century in Britain with the realignment of social forces such as trade unions.

According to Connell, definitions of masculinity are deeply enmeshed in the history of institutions and of economic structures and the changes in organized social relations (1995: 29-30). One of the example of those institutions, Connell gives, "the (Australian) family"(Gilding; 1991), which is composed of different relationships such as child-rearing, employment, sexual relations and the division of labor. These relationships that compose the family may change at different rhythms, with resulting tensions in masculinity and femininity. Another example is "the exemplary status of sport as a test of masculinity, which we now take for granted, is in no sense natural. It

was produced historically, and in this case we can see it produced deliberately as a political strategy" (1995: 29-30). Connell argues that "the production of a particular exemplary masculinity required political struggle, and it meant the defeat of historical alternatives. Thus, historical research on masculinity leads via institutions to questions of agency and social struggle (1995:30).

According to Van Hoven, B and Hörschjelmann (2005:12) "aggression and violence are often seen as the flip-side of stereotypical masculine identities". Taking social constructionist position they represent Lysaght's (2005) analysis arguing that "specific historical situations lead to the adoption of aggressive attitudes in order to assert one's masculinity, often in response to a perceived threat to the latter (Van Hoven, B and Hörschjelmann, 2005:12). Lysaght (2005) by using Connell's "hegemonic masculinity" concept and giving the historical development of a kind of "hegemonic ideal of defensive masculinity" analyzes the causes and consequences of young men's violent actions in Northern Ireland with a gendered lens.

As Lysaght discussed (2005:126), Connell draws attention to the effects of a global hegemonic masculinity embedded in the emergence of regional and global "protest" masculinities and sketches a marginalized working-class masculinity as "protest masculinity" (1995:109). According to Connell the majority of the men can not achieve the repressive ideal type of masculinity, namely hegemonic masculinity, but they are related to this ideal in complicit, subordinate and marginalized ways. Most of the men have no social power to be able to achieve the roles argued by patriarchal discourses. In Connell's categorization, in marginalized masculinities, because of compulsory heterosexuality, gay masculinities are the first among the marginalized groups who lack social power, and "protest masculinities" is the second group (Lysaght, 2005:126). Protest masculinities "pick up themes of hegemonic masculinity in the society at large but rework them in a context of poverty" (Connell 1995:114), as "a response to powerlessness, a claim to the gendered position of power, a pressured exaggeration of masculine conventions thereby making a claim to power where there are no real resources for power" (Connell 1995:111). Protest masculinity is a response to the circumstances in which they struggle, their cultural and economic marginality,

being unemployed or under-employed, having low level of education and being unskilled labor. As they receive a few of the resources, "their claims to any power from the hegemonic patriarchal dividend are "constantly negated" (ibid: 116)" (Lysaght, 2005:126). Connell constantly underlines the importance of groups demonstrating the collective characteristic of masculinity as a kind of the transporter of it. These groups which are not rewarded instead being marginalized by hegemonic constructions are isolated and distanced from their own communities through their actions of "protest" (Lysaght, 2005:127). Lysaght discusses "the willingness of Protestant men in Northern Ireland to step outside the boundaries of the law" or "to break the law" for the purpose of defending Protestant group interests of Northern Irish Protestant population in working-class urban districts (2005:129). "The masculine defense of community" is developed as a hegemonic ideal in these marginalized young male groups. This analysis can be used to consider for "the willingness" of children and young boys "to break the law" who protest by throwing stone to soldiers and police forces in some cities of South East region of Turkey where Kurdish ethnic struggle is continuing and time to time in some neighborhoods in the slum areas of İstanbul. Indeed, I have met a couple of young Kurdish boys in Süleymaniye who mentioned their previous sympathy to these kind of groups and this may be considered as an indication of hegemonic ideal. On the other hand, whether these groups are marginalized (or not) with their own community is unknown, to be able to understand it, more study on Kurdish bourgeoisie is needed. Additionally, "the masculine defense of community" can be an inspiration to define the discourses of the subordinated migrant Kurdish rural masculinity in metropolitan urban space, such as in Süleymaniye.

2.2 Studies on the Relationship between Space/Place and Gender

In Critique of Everyday Life (1991) Lefebvre argues that relations are reproduced through the everyday use of space. He argues that capitalism works through the capitalist relations; like individualism and commodification; which are determined by modes of production but we have to take into consideration the cultural aspects of daily life which are also determined by modes of production and capitalism works through with them. He also argues that the social relationship between individuals and

products can not be reduced to the study of relations of production as the imprint of capitalism on space which is formed by capitalist relations impresses/prints itself on the everyday life. That is to say the architecture of the cities reflects capitalist relations such as the formations of the neighborhoods with different use of space (leisure space or residential use of space) are products of our capitalist relations. According to Lefebvre, everyday life is a "residual, 'what is left over' after all distinct, superior, specialized structured activities have been singled out" (1991: 97) In Lefebvre's understanding, actors like companies, banks, financiers, government agencies are greatly emphasized (1996:10) as the power of capitalism can not be reduced to the power of the capital. In The Production of Space (1996:26) he argues that though space is a product, it has an active role in the mode of production, being "not just a built environment but a force of production and an object of consumption". Production of space is controlled by a class which also controls the reproduction of space and the social relations.

According Lefebvre, the spatial features of societies can be examined in terms of three key elements: The first is the spatial practices in societies; "the ways in which activities happened in space in particular societies". "The representations of space" is the way that space was portrayed or conceived, such as maps. "To Lefebvre, maps were an obvious illustration of this feature of space both in terms of the elements portrayed by maps and of the different types of maps, e.g. maps of the world, maps of cities, maps of transportation that could be created". Representational space referred to the symbolic or cultural constructions made in space. They represented the higher and more creative uses of symbols in space, including art and architecture and their message lead to alternative interpretations of their meanings (Orum, A.M.,Chen, X:2003).

Massey (1994) argues that space and place are important in the construction of gender relations and in struggles to change them.

> From the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit to straightforward exclusion by violence, spaces and places are not only themselves gendered but in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood. The limitation of women's mobility, in terms of both identity and space, has been in some cultural contexts a crucial means of subordination. Moreover the two things –the

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limitation on mobility in space, the attempted consignment/confinement to particular places on the one hand, and the limitation on identity on the other- have been crucially related (Massey, 1994:179).

Massey (1994:183) continuous as "the hegemonic spaces and places which we face today are not only products of forms of economic organization but reflect back at us also- and in the process reinforce- other characteristics of social relations, among them those of gender". To transform unequal relations of gender and sexuality which are materialized and lived spatially; to understand the connections between space, place and identity is necessary.

> "places are contested, fluid and uncertain. It is socio-spatial practices that define places and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion (Massey 1991; Smith 1993). Places are made through power relations which construct the rules which define boundaries. These boundaries are both social and spatial they define who belongs to a place and who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of the experience (Mc Dowell, 1998: 4).

Feminist geographers (McDowell 1998, Bondi 1990; Rose 1993; Blunt and Rose 1994; Laurie et al.1999) demonstrate how gender identities are lived and constructed in different cultural settings and argue that gender is constructed through spatial relations and geographical imaginations and space has been demonstrated to be gendered in many ways (2005:5, Van Hoven, B and Hörschjelmann, K.). Feminist geographers focused on "the extent of spatial variations in gender relations and in women's position across the globe; the distinctiveness of the relations and of the social construction of gendered identities in particular milieux or places; and the ways in which nature -its definition and social construction –is related gendered distinctions". The analysis has changed from the analysis of gender differences in spatial behavior and activity patterns towards a concern with the social constitution of gendered beings in particular places (McDowell 1993: 158-59). The public and private distinction and its influence on urban land use patterns in cities has been a major focus feminists interested in urban questions (McDowell 1993:165). Considerable number of studies that focus on women, gender relations and the city has been created and argued that for a large

number of different locations, many of them urban and most in the advanced industrial economies women have more spatially restricted lives than men. They are poorer, they travel less, if they are in the labor market they tend to live nearer to work and they perform most of the 'patching' work that is essential to bring together a wide range of urban facilities that often are separated in space but need to be temporally nearby (McDowell 1993:166). Feminist geographers documented the problems faced by women in urban areas who do not fit the conventional models of femininity; such as the housing problems of single women; women's fear in cities and the impact this has on their freedom to travel to and participate in different activities at different times of the day and how different groups of women affect and are affected by the structure, layout and governance of the built environment (McDowell 1993: 169-170). Indeed, many women facing these problems in urban areas of Turkey by feeling fears in some part of the city, such as some part of Süleymaniye, woman students of Istanbul University feel fear, on their way to the university buildings in their campus in the upper part of Süleymaniye, influencing their freedom to travel to these parts as well as their participation in different activities in the university campus at different times of the day, such as early in the morning or late in the night. Kirsten Nelson (1986) has shown that women make particular trade-offs related to their home location in relation to the spatial distribution of employment opportunities, but that employers also make decisions on the basis of the location of potential female workers (cited from McDowell 1993:171). For "bachelors" in Süleymaniye we see the same trade-offs related to their "home" location in relation to the spatial distribution of employment opportunities, namely heavily commercialized area Eminönü in the middle of a junction of trade ways. The location of potential (unqualified) workers for employers is important as the wage offered decrease when there are no transportation expenses. On the other hand there are studies of inner-city housing turnover and gentrification, where poorer tenants are being replaced by more affluent owners (Rose, 1989). Indeed, with Süleymaniye Rehabilitation Project "poor tenants" namely "bachelors" will be replaced with new comers from upper classes who would like to own/stay in a property which has a sea view, as a result of procurement facilities of local municipality which has a "vision of global city" as it is mentioned in Chapter 3, "Today's Süleymaniye".

On the other hand, though there are studies such as those of Özbay, 1999; Göle; 1997; Secor, 2001; Baykan, 2003; Arık, 2006; Mills, 2007; Alkan, 2006; related with the parameters of space, place and gender in the Turkish context, there is a noticeable lack in this field in our country. The nation state building process in Turkey provides women to be outside, to be in public space; however, it has not changed the primary role of women as mothers and wives. However, we can not think gender separately from the modernization and urbanization projects. As Mills states: "Gender studies are important because the discourses of Islamism and secularism, and modernity and tradition, which frame the socio-cultural tensions concerning national identity in Turkey, make the bodies and practices of Turkish women the site of debate." (Mills, 2007, p: 1). Constructed public/private space definitions can not explain developing countries situations, especially the countries like Turkey in which public and private space definition are blurred. In Mahalle and Gender article, Mills (2007), argues that mahalles (neighborhoods) actually are the extension of private family spaces by supporting women in their roles as wife and mother, they cause tension for women who occupy non-traditional gender roles. We need more studies relating gender and space to see "the linkages between space and gender to be multiple and shifting and the boundaries between private and public space fluid (Mills, 2007: 335). Similar to the findings of Mills, in this thesis I hopefully would like to demonstrate how gender creates multiple spaces in another mahalles of Istanbul.

On the other hand studies which problematize masculinity in the modern Turkish society are limited in number[5]. I would like to touch upon some of these studies. Demren (2001:35) in his thesis, argues that there is a "Turk" hegemonic masculinity which can be defined as man who is fond of "his horse(his car), his (cow) woman and his weapon", he is macho, his honor(chastity) is important, he "is man enough" to do something ("delikanlı"). He loves his country and the nation more than his life.

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[5] Kandiyoti, 1988 and 1994; Sirman, 1990; Onaran et al.,1998; Sinclair-Webb 2000; Selek 2008, and very recently Sancar, 2009 . There are also thesis such as Umut, 2007; Akis, 2006; Arık, 2006; Bilgin 2004; Demren 2001, 2008; Bozok 2005; Özbay, 2005; Samurçay, 2002; Sarı, 2004; Şen, 2005, Kuloğlu; 2005, Farımaz, 2006 and we can also mention the articles such as of Sökmen; Türker; Atay; K.Cengiz, U.U.Tol, Ö. Küçükural in Society and Science (2004),"Masculinity" volume.

Bozok (2005) elaborates how the socio-cultural construction of masculine identity by the discourse of mother and rituels of the transition to masculinity, such as circumcision, military duty and the marriage is realized in Turkish context. Bozok approaches the issue using an Lacanian (1994) perspective for the discourse of mother and he finds similarities with the explanations of Van Gennep (1960) for the rituels.

By a critical evaluation of men who are academically interested in struggling against patriarchy, Akis (2006) tries to understand how much extent pro-feminist men in the academia of Turkey which is an important development as a result of the influence of feminism over men are open to change their relation with patriarchy in order to confront it. Her main question is whether men would be true allies of feminism by following the change in men in terms of their attitudes towards patriarchy. Most men in her research group want to cooperate with feminists to confront patriarchy, however, Akis argues that it is difficult for men to change their relation with patriarchy because patriarchy provides men with institutionalized privileges.

According to Farımaz (2006) hegemonic masculinity was reconstructed within the hegemonic discourse of the 1980s namely the neo-liberal discourse and *Erkekçe* magazine had a great role in presenting admired masculine figures in relation to these discourses. She argues that in accordance with Gramsci's view concerning that hegemony is constructed through the "consent" instead of "coercion", some discourses such as "individualism", "sexual freedom", and "the identity politics" led to a significant, so called "transformation" in gender issues in 1980s. She argues that the press plays a great role in designating the ideals in constructing the "hegemonic masculinity" and *Erkekçe* was an important part of popular culture in 1980s as "persuasion" mechanism in creating the "consent".

Umut (2007) looking at the representations of masculinities in different decades of Turkish cinema, she argues that masculinity has been affected by the social, political, and economic conditions in Turkey as a proof of gender is a product of the macro-social and micro-social environment of the society. Umut argues that break as a result of awakening from the liberal dream of the 1990s with harsh economic conditions had severe influences on masculinity (Umut 2007:83).

Sinclair-Webb (2000) "looks at the social meanings of military service in Turkey in the context of the seventeen-year conflict in the Kurdish areas of the country"(2000:12). Indeed, "dominant culture strongly inflected by militaristic nationalism" (Sinclair-Webb, 2000:12) and we need more workings of hegemonic masculinity especially on these institutions like armies. Sinclair-Webb(2000) argues that the current context in Turkey "demonstrates that within such an environment the making of exemplary masculinity entails the subordination of men by other men, quite apart from the subordination of women (Sinclair-Webb, 2000:12) Recently, Selek, P. (2008) has collected military experiences of several men from different social backgrounds. According to Selek military service as an institution is "a laboratory of masculinity" being the obligatory station for every man in Turkey. The military experience in the military institution is an experience in which male gender identity is proven, defended and showed off using every occasion.

In these works, rites of passages in Turkish context like circumcision (sünnet), military duty and marriage; and different institutions which are actively used in the production of masculinities in Turkey such as family, army, academy has been studied. However there have been only a few studies about the relational formation of masculine identities and masculine spaces (Şentürk, 2005, 2009; Farımaz, 2006; Özbay, 2005; Arık, 2006; Alkan, 2009). However, even in the world the researches in this field have been conducted recently. Feminist and gender-oriented geographical work has been a lack of attention to the relational formation of masculine identities and masculine spaces. McDowell (2001:182) argues that "gender is not an attribute solely possessed by women… Geographers… relying too heavily on a singular masculinity, defined as the unchanging "One" against which multiple and contested femininities are constructed". Fortunately recent work has compensated this notable lacking (Bell, D. 2000; Bell, D. and Valentine, G. 1995; McDowell, 2003; Doreen Massey, 1994, H. Campbell and M. Bell, 2006) (McDowell (2003).

2.3 Combining Different Theoretical Approaches

Before going into the combination of different literatures; migration from the perspective of masculinity to demonstrate the results of the cash earned by splitting the moment and the place of wealth accumulation from it's the place of consumption; I

would like to open a discussion related with the subject of this thesis, particular kind of manliness, "bachelor" as a masculine identity by discussing Fung's article (1995). "Bachelor" as a gendered being or rather as a gendered masculine identity and "Bachelorship" as a special kind of manliness with the reflections on the space; i.e. influencing the space to transform it into a masculine space in Turkish context is nearly absent in gender-oriented geographical work as well as in the masculinity studies. In this respect, "bachelor societies" which is detailed in Fung's article (1995) might be discussed. Early Chinese immigrants to North America, seeking employment as miners and railroad builders, were male groups which were mainly single males or married males from southern China, separated from their spouse and children working in the mines in North America became known as "bachelor societies" in 1850s (Fung, 1995:294). Though Fung argues that " "bachelor" was a misnomer since many of these Chinese men were infact married", it can be argued that the usage of the term (even though knowing (migrant) male groups were mostly married men, to call them as "bachelor") in Turkish context shows similarity to the usage of it in the context of North America (from 1850s to World War II). Both usages in different socio-cultural contexts are similar to describe the actual situation being spatially (in this case by migration) separated from women, implying not only woman as sexual partner, but mainly family. Indeed, the (hostile) thoughts of Senator Jones of Nevada blaming Chinese men "because of their failure to fulfill the responsibilities of heterosexuality"(Fung, 1995:294), Fung gives us, provide some clues related with the usage of the term in North America in 1885; duties (or responsibilities)of heterosexual white man which occur by living with women whom he is responsible for; as well as the spatial conditions which Chinese "bachelors" lived;

> while my work enables me to support my wife and my children….[The Chinaman] has no wife and family. He performs none of these duties. Forty or fifty of his kind can live in a house no larger than mine" (Report of the Royal Commission, 1885:xv cited in Fung 1995:295).

With these contextual similarities and with its perceived meaning beyond the literal meaning of the term (independent from his marital position, the term implies he lives a

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life like a bachelor), it might be argued that the term "bachelor" might not be a "misnomer" like Fung argued.

Fung continues to argue that "the term "bachelor" is burdened with a multitude of connotations" by "white people". The most significant for him, "its anxious suppression of the possibility of sexual relations between men- while the word "bachelor" has often been used as a euphemism for homosexual men, the designation generally turns on a presumption of heterosexuality"(Fung,1995:294). Another connotation is the infantilisation of Chinese men into non-men and an endowing of these migrant males with the sexual threat (prostitution, predatory sexuality and so on) of men devoid of socially-sanctioned sexual release (Fung,1995:294).

Fung in his article, actually try to demonstrate how "freedom from heterosexual responsibilities" has been related with being Chinese and being gay man in North American heterosexual socio-cultural context by saying that

> there are many ways in which gay men confound notions of masculinity that bind maleness to particular roles and behaviors-responsibility is one of them. As Barbara Ehrenreich(1983:24) has written, homosexuality is seen as "the ultimate escapism from the male role of breadwinner"(Fung, 1995:292).

Freedom from heterosexual responsibilities was a principal charge against Chinese men living on North America until the late 1940s (Fung, 1995:293).

> Even today, when Chinese communities are no longer "bachelor societies" and Chinese men are no longer assumed to be bachelors, the figure of the Chinese man in contemporary North American mass culture still oscillates for the most part between an asexual wimpiness and a degenerate, sexual depravity, reflecting and reproducing this unstable Masculinity"(Fung, 1995:295-6).

Interestingly, I have reached similar findings in Süleymaniye case; the same blaming "escaping from (heterosexual) responsibilities" has been argued by "responsible" bachelors for "some irresponsible men" who "escape from their fathers" in Süleymaniye district. I have argued that these bachelors are "escaping from patriarchal structure".

In Fung's article we have seen how hegemonic masculinity marginalizes "different men" namely Chinese male migrants with using dominant hegemonic discourses in an

example from the history. On the other hand, Hibbins (2005) discusses the effects of migration on constructions of today's masculinities among Chinese skilled male migrants to Australia over the past 50 years. He found that these migrants showed the

> qualities of hegemonic masculinity in their households where traditional Chinese division of labor persisted. The markers of masculinity included: centrality of work and education; being a successful provider and protector; the accumulation of wealth and power. Unlike local [Australian] hegemonic variants of masculinity these males placed little emphasis on sport, sexual prowess and performance and alcohol consumption. There were no ambitions among this sample of males to model local variants of masculinities, however gay males in the sample while experiencing marginalization, racism and homophobic behaviour at the hands of local hegemonically masculine males, were more like the local dominant males in terms of an emphasis on sexual performance and preferences for well-muscled and fit bodies (Hibbins, 2005:167).

In Australia, the hegemonically dominant male imagining is bound up with the ANZAC legend, sport, media images and consumerism. Like Connell (1995:54) has said for Western mass culture, sport has become the leading definer of masculinity in Australia.

Related with the importance and centrality of family to the Chinese man and connectedness in hegemonic values of these migrants Hibbins argues

> Family values frequently implied the powerful status of men, the importance of the eldest son and a strict division of labor by gender. There were exceptions in those cases where the wealthiest child, irrespective of gender, was considered responsible for the well being of parents. This meant that the eldest son is not necessarily the one responsible for parents upon their retirement (Hibbins, 2005:174).

Similar to these findings, in Süleymaniye some bachelors mentioned that as they are the oldest sons, they are responsible for the well being of their parents. However, one bachelor as he was the youngest son but he was the wealthiest child and though he is "well off" the reason behind why his wife and children continue to stay in hometown was to look after them (as his parents didn't want to live in İstanbul). Fulfillment of these (heterosexual) responsibilities makes man "responsible man" which is detailed in Chapter 5. On the other hand, similar to Chinese migrants the pressure "to remain

employed" by kin and peer group is also valid for bachelors in Süleymaniye. Hibbins argues

> Males referred to the perceived responsibilities that males feel, particularly to be reliable providers and protectors. This felt responsibility is suggestive of the pressure male migrants experience from peers and kin to remain employed in the new cultural setting (Hibbins, 2005:174).

The socio-cultural context "in a bipolarized gender-role culture" with discursive marginalization mechanism by hegemonic masculinity in Australia experienced by new arrivals was a real challenge.

> In the case of sexuality, Asian American men are depicted as asexual. Moreover, in a bipolarized gender-role culture, asexuality is regarded as highly deviant, even more "deviant" than homosexuality" (Cheng, 1999:305 cited in Hibbins, 2005:171). This is another example of how hegemonic masculinity uses "difference" in such a way that dominance is retained" (Hibbins, 2005:171).

These findings related with sexuality which we can draw some similarities for our case of particular manliness, "bachelorship" in Süleymaniye; however some hegemonic masculinities in our case do not marginalize being asexual in Turkish context. Even living in celibacy rather than having relationship out of the wedlock is appreciated by the discourses of the religiously traditional hegemonic masculinity.

In respect to "flexible hours" argued by garbage collectors as well as many other bachelors in Süleymaniye, especially for those who are graduated from high school, and supposedly having "human capital", to sum; on why daily or weekly jobs like being construction workers or other several mostly informal jobs are preferred by some bachelors, I would like to give example from "day labor workers" in USA. Valenzuela (2000) argues that "day labor workers" are not entirely desperate or not at the bottom of the barrel of job seekers, being recently arrived. "Day labor workers" are very diverse regarding the family structure, recency of their arrival, tenure in work, and human capital. He argues that in the United States the relatively modest levels of human capital of day labor workers may be a viable alternative for some segment of the population. It allows numerous job opportunities for immigrants and low skill workers in general. He argues that this type of work pays higher than the minimum wages for other low skill

occupations in formal sector. On why day labor work is preferred he emphasizes that it offers a diversity of jobs and work experiences where you can learn and gain experience in different works, roofing, painting, landscaping in a week or a month which may provide prospects for future employment in formal sector within this trade market. Moreover it is flexible, you seek work when you want or need it. I have found similar findings in Süleymaniye. Some bachelors argued that they purposely choose daily or weekly jobs or jobs with time limit as they earn more money higher than the minimum wages for other low skill occupations in formal sector such as in textile.

Another context from India shows many similarities with the case in Süleymaniye. The finding related with Gulf migration in India (Osella and Osella (2000) shows that migration play a crucial role in movements along the male life-cycle. Gulf migration helps males to escape from unemployment and move away from payyanhood (young immature status, similar to young boy "bachelors") towards full adult status of a householder, a husband, father and a provider in Indian context. The first step is the accumulation and display of cash. Cash is an important sign of success and masculinity: man is someone with liquidity, not just assets. For some young men, the source of wealth has lesser important than the amount. "New", "gulf-earned", gained through running a blade, achieved by hard labour and saving or even via semi-legal means, is all good money. Illegal money is at least better than no money at all. This type of masculinity is similar for some stereotypes in Süleymaniye. In Turkish context, family members in some cases do not care how the money is earned. Such as the beggar I have interviewed has told that his wife knows how his husband earns money. The very young Hindus who are increasingly willing to make money in any way possible present a radical challenge to family and community insistence on the primacy of manam (dignity, status) and an orientation towards the symbolic capital of 'salaried government job'. However, similar to religiously traditional masculinity in Turkey such as the one in Mardin, in Christian communities in India, older men have usually longer-term mobility strategies, for them a man is expected to enjoy his wealth but not deplete it, and should continue to work as long as he can. Younger men dream of massive wealth are in between older generation's accumulative impulse and the dominant spending ethos. Accumulation of wealth and its display especially by young

men in prestige-enhancing spending activities go hand in hand. In Turkish case, the display of money by spending other than those who bachelor is responsible for cause to be categorized as "irresponsible" men. On the other hand, very similar to many cases in Süleymaniye, migration, by concealing the occupation, helps to maintain one's prestige, such as garbage collectors in Süleymaniye as migration enables a focus upon the cash earned by splitting the moment and the site of wealth accumulation from its consumption. In Indian context, those who are not playing these power games for local status or far worse lose are subject to feminization in the hierarchies of manliness. Cash itself carries the main function of male wealth: establishing a husband as household 'head' and providing tangible, visible support even in his absence; acting as 'placeholder' for the migrant male, asserting symbolic presence in his absence. Cash is a magical substance; like gold it has a gendered angle: as gold is especially associated with women, cash appears linked with men. This finding is also very similar in several regions in Turkey as in wedding ceremony groom is rewarded with money (cash), bride is rewarded with golden jewellery. Gulf migrants that can flaunt considerable amount of cash are commonly represented as hyper-masculine and this is maintained by behavior on returning trips home. Indeed, several bachelors have told that whether consciously or unconsciously by narrating İstanbul (a kind of performance of masculinity, it might be the only reward of them) in his hometown they have been attracting young boys to escape from home to come to Istanbul. Cash signifies the masculine status, reckons the worth of a man. A young man's value is calculated in monetary terms on the marriage market. On the other hand migration means of bridging a gap between payyanhood and manhood. The gulfan (similar to young "bachelor" in Turkish context) is a figure spanning this transitional period; he belongs to an intermediate category, not yet fully adult but with a central characteristic of adult maleness, money.

Cash defines whether gulfan is successful or failed. Consumer items brought and the expenditure at home articulate an idealized male life-cycle. Similar to "bachelors" in Süleymaniye, most gulfans begin their migration as young bachelors, leave village as immature youths (payyanmar). Visits home are opportunities to demonstrate not only financial, but also age and gender-related progress. The distance is also important for bachelors especially those from East and South East in Süleymaniye

context; as a result of geographical remoteness, not often visists make the bodily change/progress visible in their home town. Consumer goods accumulated in the parental home will eventually form part of the gulfan's own household on marriage. Displays of substantial cash reassures "onlookers" that he is becoming a man of means, with resources to support a wife and children; marriage usually follows the second or third home visit. Successful gulfan is defined by plenty of cash but failed gulfan is lack of sufficient cash to sustain conspicuous consumption and display of wealth. Similar to these findings, in Süleymaniye case most of the young bachelors before marriage prefer to display their money by consumer goods accumulated in the parental home. After marriage and having children such as garbage collectors who are mostly forestry villagers of Niğde Aksaray try to move from the village to the city in their region. Everybody knows that Gulf money neither limitless nor easy, as most of them work extremely hard, live in a harsh and difficult environment and save to the last Riyal. Gulfan is under pressure to demonstrate success through being jada (shiny, flashy) and cettu (sharp, fashionable) similar to some bachelors who wear suit when they come back his hometown. He has to fulfill his social obligations ("responsibilities") so people do not regard his migration as a failure, bringing shame upon him and his family. Breaching the obligations especially in satisfying the demands of close circle of direct kin causes loss of face and reputation, breakdown of relationships and social isolation. This also is similar findings with Süleymaniye case, if bachelors do not share his money such as spending it for women in "clubs" ("pavyon") with "irresponsible" manner, they are accused by their older male relatives, especially fathers, whom I have called it as "the pressure of hegemonic masculinity" and this harms his reputation in his hometown. In India, "gulfan" should behave when he is back in the village like a social person, utilize the wealth to fulfill obligations and promote the well-being of relatives. Those who fail to do so and continue to behave like self-interested, individualistic, immoral and anti-social, are kallanmar (thieves) towards their own people. This is also similar to the perception of "irresponsible" bachelors blamed by "responsible" stables in Süleymaniye case, using exactly the same word "thieve" by a "succeded bachelor" from South East.

As a result of migration a re-design of conservative or safe masculine strategies related with several aspects of life might be brought about. According to Broughton (2008), in the past twenty years the population of border cities in Mexico which endures economic and social dislocations as a result of neo-liberalism has exploded largely as a result of migration from poor, rural areas of southern Mexico. There is a rich literature that attempts to link specific gendered practices at the Mexico and USA border to broader political and economic forces (such as Salzinger 1997). However, in response to intense pressures to emigrate, poor men from rural Mexico not only make instrumental calculations about migration to the border; they negotiate masculine ideals and adopt strategic gendered practices in relation to the migration experience and the dynamic economic, social and cultural conditions of the border region. He elaborates how Mexican men adopt one or a hybrid of three fluid masculine stances— traditionalist, adventurer, and breadwinner—in response to migration pressures in neoliberal Mexico. He argues that it is "often left out of economic and social demographic studies of migration", however we have to make the analysis of "how migrants make sense of the migration experience and how their strategic responses to economic dislocation are shaped not just by instrumental calculation but also by a knotty set of gendered cultural considerations: prevailing normative expectations and standards, social roles and obligations, and shared understandings relating to family, work and place". He draws attention to the fact that "the entire migrant experience (i.e., migration strategies and decision making, the pathways and flows of migration, the process of adapting to social life where a migrant settles) is fundamentally shaped by gendered cultural considerations. He also argues that "an understanding of the social and cultural processes that under gird this robust migration adds essential insight to our understanding of gender at the border—an area increasingly composed of and shaped by migrants from the south".

On the other hand Monsutti (2007) elaborates the migration as apart of the Afghan social and cultural landscape focusing on the case of Hazara male migrants moving between the mountains of Central Afghanistan and the cities of Iran. This journey for many young men, Monsutti (2007:167) argues, is "the opportunity to broaden their social networks beyond narrow kinship and neighborhood ties. It may be

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conceived as a necessary stage in their existence, a rite of passage to adulthood and a step toward manhood". Their spatial and partially social separation from their families and homes contribute to cut the links with the period of childhood; and "their stay in Iran, during which they have to prove their capacity to face hardship and to save money while living among itinerant and temporary working teams, represents a period of liminality; at their return to their village of origin, they will be reincorporated as adult marriageable men, although they will keep commuting between Afghanistan and Iran for part of their life".

On the other hand when it is looked at the migration and gender identity there are also some migration studies on the changing power relations and division of labor in households where males have migrated prior to being joined by their families. Such as Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner (1994) argue that machismo of Mexican men was challenged by local hegemonic variants of masculinity in urban spaces. Moreover, during the absence of male spouses, wives of migrant Mexican men have developed decision making skills and again powerful position of Mexican men in Mexican families was challenged as a result of increase in women's status and power. Tam (1999) has also argued that roles and responsibilities were changing between husbands and wives in Chinese migrant families in Australia which their fathers return to China for business reasons as women made more decisions in the absence of husbands, resulted in "realignments of power and status" (Hibbins, 2005: 170). In Turkish context, Abadan-Unat (2002) argue that women who become "head of household" in villages in the absence of their husband start to play new roles and take greater part in the decision making process. Such as according to a research participated by Leyla Yenisey, in Yozgat, Boğazlıyan district in 1976 (Yenisey, 1976:363, cited in Abadan-Unat 2002: 172-3) wives of migrant men were so pleased having freedom in their action and behavior as a result of the absence of their husband, that they even didn't want much return of their husband. As they think that after their return, husbands would change the new division of labor which is achieved in their absence. I have also witnessed in Süleymaniye that several responsibilities of most of the "bachelors" in their home town have been performed by their wives and by doing these jobs mostly in public space women experience a more autonomous life. Therefore, as a result of

migration, not only men who migrate and are challenged by local hegemonic variants of masculinity in urban spaces, women also change and become powerful by experiencing new division of labor in home towns and new negotiations appear in the family which is an important institution in the production of masculinites.

All these studies show that there is a specific relationship between migrant labor and bachelorship as being a particular form of masculinity. Migration for work opens up new venues of life for men who carry on their lives as "single men" during the migration process which also bring about the problems like where to live and how to settle down in which residential areas which at the same will be seen appropriate to those "single men" who are designated in general as bachelors. I will discuss the different parameters of their situation in the next chapter by bringing into discussion Süleymaniye district in İstanbul which has hosted such a particular male labor zone for centuries and became known with those "bachelor rooms/houses" in the neighborhoods such as in Küçükpazar placed in Süleymaniye.

CHAPTER 3

SÜLEYMANİYE: PAST AND TODAY

In the first part of this chapter, "The Past", the history of bachelor rooms/houses in Ottoman period will be elaborated relating them to single male migration and commerce. We will also look at the Süleymaniye district in Eminönü to understand its spatial importance during centuries within general socio-economic structure of the city and the country. Further we will look at how and by whom the buildings of the district have been used in the 19th and the 20th centuries, and the masculine structure of the district will be discussed. In this part, also an important argument of this thesis will be discussed; Janissary Institution (Ocak[6]) establishment in Süleymaniye, Eminönü, as an institution creating an exemplary of hegemonic masculinities in the Ottoman Empire. We will see some parts of Süleymaniye district, which has been densely populated by men, either with military barracks and bachelor houses, throughout the centuries as a male dominant space.

The maleness created interwoven with commerce in Eminönü, as well as Süleymaniye that can be proven with various examples. The geography and the buildings of the district tell us the gendered relationships that were played out in the times they were build. The parts of history of Suleymaniye district are narrated from this perspective. In the second part of this chapter, "Today's Süleymaniye", demographic profile and building stock of Süleymaniye district will be studied. Firstly, specifically high percentage of the economically active adult male population of the district with respect to İstanbul and the country will be shown. Further the conditions of the existing building stock which are transformed by this population will be detailed to understand the living conditions of this population to be able to analyze some of the space-bound masculinities in following chapters. In addition, the spatial importance of

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[6] "Ocak" is still used to describe *institution* aspect of military in the usage of the term "asker ocağı" in contemporary Turkish.

the district creating different conflicting groups in the society recently by space-sharing and how this ongoing transformation of the district related to neo-liberal policies of the municipalities will be discussed.

3.1 The Past

The majority of the social and political developments regarding Istanbul in the history texts take place significantly in a specific region, Historical Peninsula, including Eminönü. Indeed, it is mostly what is meant by Istanbul is referring Eminönü, and vice versa. There are 33 districts in Istanbul and among them, only Eminönü's name is derived from trade (Yalçıntaş 2007:15). [7] The sea transportation through ports in Haliç (Golden Horn) and Yenikapı Bay and nearby harbor in Kadırga renders Eminonu important in trade. The dynamic flow of goods and people to Eminonu has contributed to the emergence of commercial centers such as Grand Bazaar, Inns area and Mahmutpaşa, and they continue to function (Eruzun 2007:35). Süleymaniye district with its 8 quarters (mahalles) had been a place where the elite circle resides in Ottomans' period, in Eminönü.

3.1.1 Bachelor Rooms and Bachelor Inns in İstanbul

Istanbul, similar to other economic and political capital-cities, has always attracted a large number of newcomers and migrants. As a necessary step in the social and political upward mobility was involving a passage through Istanbul in the time of Ottoman Empire, Istanbul has been comforting a considerable amount of migrant workers of various types and origins, providing a labor supply pool for unskilled or different kinds of non-guild work over the centuries (Behar, 2003:95). As the most of the wage laborers in Istanbul were single males, migrant bachelors were usually housed in rooms for single men or in special bachelors' hostels (bekar odaları) in central quarters. These quarters were situated near the commercial heart of the city with its hans or bedestens (inns) in where both artisans and tradesmen have performed their professions (Behar, 2003: 151). All these bachelor hostels were registered in the list of non-Istanbul residents ("yabancı defteri") (Duben, Behar, 1991:17.) However the

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[7] There used to be a Gümrük Eminliği (Directorate of Customs) in Eminönü in Ottomans' period, and thus the name of the district is known as Eminönü (Kuban, 1996:23)

migration process to capital city was not voluntary for all, but forcibly for some. The process of "devşirme" brought children from the provinces to Istanbul where they were trained as soldiers (Janissaries) or as servants for the Palace in the 15th and 16th centuries (Behar, 2003:95).

According to Behar (2003:96), there were both mass-migration and chain-migration toward Ottoman Istanbul in the 18th and 19th centuries. Ottoman governments have seen this migration flux as an uncontrolled and therefore politically sensitive issue and even a potential danger/threat to the security/political stability of the "protected" imperial capital. "Uprisings and various real or imaginary urban disorders (of a physical as well as of a moral sort) were often attributed to the presence of uncontrolled elements in the capital, and especially of groups of provincial and unsettled younger males who came seeking employment"(Behar, 2003:96). To control the flow of migrants, Ottoman authorities have taken often forceful measures to restrain the number of newcomers and intending to limit their residence possibilities.

> For instance, single migrant males were for centuries confined to live in special bachelor's quarters (bekarodaları) or bekar hanları) and their numbers and whereabouts were often the subject of official inquiries and reports. Strict regulations concerning the issue such as holding a sort of internal passport called mürur tezkeresi (certificate of passage) for those either permanently or temporarily moving in the territory of the empire were prevailed till the middle of the 19th century (Behar, 2003: 96).

However, the flow of migrants could not be disrupted or effectively controlled. There have been always migrants infiltrating in for work, income, and security. The population of Istanbul has grown more than twofold during 19th century (Behar, 2003: 96). Through the late 19th and early 20th centuries, massive numbers of ethnic Turks moved into the city from the collapsing Ottoman provinces in Europe and Asia[8]. Approximately 1,5 million Muslim refugees had left Balkan countries and settled in

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[8] The late 1870s and early 1880s, that is the period between the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-8 and the census 1885, witnessed the most intense flow and this was repeated again in 1908-9 and especially after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 (Karpat, 1985:75, cited in Duben and Behar, 1991:24).

Ottoman territories (Karpat, 1983:385-428, cited in Duben, Behar, 1991:24). In 19th century, Istanbul was the land of opportunity and refugees joining by tens of thousands of single men were seeking employment in this commercial and industrial entrepot. "Though many these transients (bekars) were registered in 1885 and again in 1907 [censuses] in their bekarodaları (bachelors' hostels), there were probably many more of them who escaped even the increasingly penetrating gaze of the Ottoman population authorities. We shall never know the full extent of their presence" (Duben, Behar, 1991:24)

On the other hand, the bachelor rooms were not totally separated from the quarters with its family residences. Duben and Behar (1991) agreeing with Ortaylı (1986) argue that "the most striking divisions in the residential patterns of 19th century Istanbul were those of ethnicity and religion, and not social class. The traditional mahalles of Istanbul, like those of other Islamic cities, were segmental structures if viewed within the total urban framework, and they resembled each other in their heterogeneous class composition". To sum, old mahalles in the past were very mixed in terms of social class and status (Ortaylı, 1986:29 cited in Duben and Behar, 1991:27). The middle class as well as the bachelors used to live with high government officials in the same quarter[9].

According to Foundation Certificates (Vakfiyeler), there were five types of housing in Ottoman traditional urban culture, except the palaces, waterside residences, villas and mansions belonging to upper classes (Doğan,2002,p.16 cited from Yüksel, 1992, s. 497-498): Menzil, hâne(dar, beyt, ev), yehudhâne, müteehhilin rooms and bachelor rooms. Except the last two, first three had functions as lodges, in today's understanding as houses. Müteehhilîn rooms were kind of pensions for married couples. Each room had a separate door, hall/anteroom, and toilet and shared the courtyard.

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[9] Such as in Kasab İlyas mahalle in Historical peninsula, "among the homeowners, the pashas and beys there were the porters (hammal) and pudding-makers (muhallebici) which are not clustered in separate parts of the neighborhood. In 1885, Kasab Ilyas mahalle among around 150 houses there were five *bekarodaları*. For instance in the mahalle of Şenlikdede in Beşiktaş, 833 inhabitants residing in 206 houses, there were seven bachelor rooms (*bekarodaları*). (Duben,Behar, 1991:30).

Today in single room system in Suleymaniye, we still observe couples/families living in rooms, like the Müteehhilîn rooms used by workers coming with their families from rural areas to Istanbul. Sakaoğlu, author of 'Bachelor Rooms' article in Encyclopedia of Istanbul, From Yesterday to Today (1994: 123), defines "bachelor rooms" of Istanbul as "bachelor rooms are the rooms and buildings, where single, married, old, or young, all types of men who are coming to Istanbul for all kinds of work accommodate by paying rent monthly or annually". According to Sakaoğlu (1994), considering the regulations, restrictions and prohibitions disposed by decrees and code of practices, and also the traditions of bachelors and bachelor rooms in Ottoman Empire; bachelor rooms, most probably, had existed also in Byzantine period. In Ottomans' period, artisans to work, prior to accommodation in bachelor rooms, should have guaranteed the surety of artisan guild. Those in today's service sector, to work as a carter, waterman, stableman, domestic helper etc. were dependant to their employers' surety ship to secure a place to accommodate.

According to Evliya Çelebi's Itinerary (Seyahatname), there used to be a Chief of Room in each bachelor room to keep them in discipline. He has stated one by one the names and whereabouts of the bachelor houses in different quarters of Historical Peninsula with hundreds of rooms where the thousands of men staying.

According to Sakaoğlu (1994), bachelor rooms were primitive shelters, and in each room bringing their own mattress many people could sleep at night. They were having no heating and bathing facilities, shared kitchen and toilette, and a well in the courtyard. Workmen coming from the same region or working in the same field were lodging together. In addition to these rooms, upper storey of almost all artisan shops and workshops in the bazaar were accommodating their employees. Bakeries, baths, mills and boat builders have constructed bachelor rooms for their own workers in addition to these upper storey rooms. (Sakaoğlu,1994:123). Today's bakery workers are still staying at bachelor rooms provided by bakeries, which we will see further in coming chapters.

Sultan's decree dated 1762 (Sakaoğlu,1994:123), gives us a detailed portrait of the conditions, which are very similar to today's dynamics in the transformation of the

space (detailed in Chapter 4),which might be called as the "bachelorization"of the area. At that time, following a fire hazard building owners after repairing their building rent them as bachelor rooms to get more income. "Bachelorship"of rural migrant male workers had such kind of influence on neighborhoods of Süleymaniye space. The decree indicates that the number of bachelor rooms is increasing following a fire hazard. Therefore, the decree warns Head of Architects (Mimarbaşı) to maintain the original architecture of damaged buildings by law, and reconstruction works must be controlled accordingly; that is to say these reconstructed buildings will have no additional structures that they could be used as bachelor room afterwards. The hegemonic masculinity here is embodied by the form of decree trying to stop the transformation of the ideal form of space.

In 16th and 17th centuries, bachelor rooms were under surveillance of the military police, Janissary commander (Yeniçeri ağası), hunts and guardsman (Sekbanbaşı). Similar to today, when a criminal incident like murder or burglary occurs these places were raided. In 18th century the janissary relation to bachelor rooms was raised as an issue, as the Janissaries were calling young people in these rooms in each time they commit a political action. The area has been used by them as a hideaway and as a base to organize militates. In this era, the degeneration of janissary association structure has initiated; they were no longer occupied solely with military service, they have started to occupy commercial activities and artisanship, and owned business places like coffeehouses, butcher etc. And like other business owners, they have added bachelor rooms to the upper storey and run these rooms without any permission. Some janissaries were involved with levying tribute on the tradesmen. In time, some janissaries or somewhat bachelors started to keep account book (esame) for collecting tax from tradesmen. All these have leaded to the abolition of janissary association through a kind of a civil war. Thousands of bachelors have been swept away to Izmit, Gelibolu, and their return was prohibited. The decree issued in1826, has set new regulations for bachelor rooms, prohibiting Kurdish and Albanian bachelors' coming to Istanbul, beholding arms in the rooms and construction of new bachelor rooms. Many bachelor rooms have been already destroyed, but remaining ones were allowed to be repaired. New regulation implied that each bachelor room had to have a chief of the room

(odabaşı) and an innkeeper (hancı), and bachelors had to stay only in the bachelor rooms in order (Sakaoglu, 1994:123).

There have been issued books for branch of activity such as "boatman book", "hammam workers book" etc. for the inspection and auditing attendances of bachelors in Istanbul. In these books, we could see some work activities are still ongoing today (Encyclopedia of Istanbul, From Yesterday to Today, Sakaoglu, 1994:124).

3.1.2 The Janissaries and Hegemonic Masculinity

The Janissaries, as an important example of a well developed organization and institution similar to the one emphasized by Connell (1995), will be examined further in this part of the thesis due to its overlapping history with the history of "bachelor rooms" in the same district, and to trace the spatial bound with hegemonic masculinity in Süleymaniye.

The Janissaries (literal translation "new soldiers")[10], established between 1362 and 1380, was the first standing army of Ottomans. The mansion of the Janissary Aga who would be considered as today's Chief of General Staff was in Suleymaniye (Ozcan, 1994 as cited in Ramazanoglu, 2003).

The strict rules of the janissary institution has started to change with Sultan Murat III, before him the entrance to the corps imposed certain strict requirements, soldiers were trained starting from very early ages as novices, and continued their life with the basis of "being on the state's service". As Sultan Murat III took some of the novices into the Janissary Corps as a reward, the system of unquestioning obedience has started to break down. Janissary Aga of the time had resigned in reply to this event. As there were no longer barriers for those with power getting recruited to Janissary Corps, the number of the janissaries increased rapidly in such a short time (Nuri Pasha, 1992:

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[10] At the beginning Janissaries were selected from the slaves captured during warfare. Then Ottoman state created a system, called as "devshirme system", the child-levy. According to Erdem (1997: 1-2) devshirme is "the employment of slaves". In this system, male children of the rural non-Muslim Christian populations of the Balkans were recruited and brought up as Muslims to enroll in the four royal institutions: the Palace, the Scribes, the Religious and the Military. Janissaries are those enrolled in the Janissary corps. The aim of the education in this system was to create absolute obedience and loyalty to the sultan.

1-2; Uzuncarsili, 1988a; Ozcan, 1994 as cited in Ramazanoglu, 2003). A considerable demand arose amongst young men from various communities of the Empire to join Novice Corps; they did not hesitate for the recruitment to employ ways such as bribery or interagency. Their urge can be explained by the training process in the Novice Corps, where some becomes paid soldiers, some has the chance to be selected from Novice Boys ("Acemi Oğlanları"), to be educated at the palace schools (Enderun) and then come to the governing positions. For example, Mimar Sinan, the architect of the Süleymaniye Mosque, has been levied and come to the district in 1513. After his apprenticeship as a "Novice Boy" ("Acemi oğlan"), he participated in many military campaigns as a janissary, and thereby he could see and examine the glorious constructions of ancient civilizations in Iran and Egypt, later on he had been appointed to higher positions where he could set forth his architectural intelligence. Novice Institution (Acemi Ocağı) in this sense was promising eminence. The over-demand to the institution was actually for entering the state system rather than for being a soldier of the Institution (Ocak). These eager young men were seeking social security, and janissaries can be affirmed as having a relatively high position of gender identity; therefore the janissaries can be posited as the "hegemonic masculinity" of the era, and symbols of ideal masculinity (Connell, 1995). The war was the leading activity in the first centuries of Ottoman state and the leading definer of masculinity of Ottoman culture must be the culture of army, to be raised by and being part of the army, Janissary Ocak as one of the most important institution in the production of masculinity. However, parallel to the changes in the rules and the structure of the institution, the perception of masculinity related to the Institution (Ocak) must have changed too. New men constituting the institution in the new era, and a new masculinity differing from the former will gain reputation, and a new hegemonic masculinity will occur in a different configuration (Connell, 1995). In short, male-groups other than janissaries will start to symbolize ideal masculinity.

The change in the recruitment caused numbers of soldiers to increase, but also lack of the discipline. With the system breaking down, the Corps had become a type of social security for those just moving into the city rather than meeting a military need. Young people coming from all corners of the empire to Istanbul had found themselves a

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circle of friends and a job in the Janissary Corps, as well as its identity (Kafadar, 1994 as cited in Ramazanoglu, 2003).

The migration tradition starting from these centuries from many communities of the Empire to the imperial capital, possibly explains how Eminonu and Suleymaniye have attracted them, and gained emphasis, it can be argued that their reputation might have been started to be transferred from one generation to another. These young boys selected among Christian communities were raised and trained in these districts, and they get used to their new responsibilities requiring life-long compliance to the state. In other words, the district was functioning as a twilight area arranged for the transformation processes from male childhood to grown up men and from provincials to residents of imperial capital; as a training center of professional education to acquire a professional life in hierarchical structures. The common characteristic of men coming to the district in the past and now is their early age at the time of arrival. Like in the past, many of them today are young men leaving their hometown for the first time, and their first arrival locus in the big city is the district. The migration tradition continues today with its own specific processes but identifying Istanbul with Eminonu starts upon their first arrival to Eminonu, therefore the area continues to accumulate the knowledge of ways in response to migration.

Janissaries were living in celibacy, or as a bachelor, they were not getting married until their retirement, as this was the principle of the institution. Yavuz Sultan Selim allowed the older Janissaries to get married. This permission has spread out in time and they have started to stay in their own houses, instead of barracks. This also means the increasing influence and responsibilities of another institution, the family in the production of the masculinity.

Increasing number of troops in the late 16th Century has been a burden to treasury. Artisans who have been recruited as janissary have enabled janissaries becoming artisans. Some simply have carried out artisanship and trade but some with extortion as it was not easy even for them to break the chain of monopolistic guilds. Apart from the member artisans of guilds they have formed a new social composition, a semi janissary semi artisan community, military and commerce side by side and have

introduced new concepts such as extortion and rowdiness. They have formed a subculture in Bektashi tekkes (dervish lodges), bachelor rooms, and coffeehouses (İlgürel, 1986; Kafadar,1994 as cited in Ramazanoğlu, 2003) where they were nested. All these homo-social places were interconnected with each other.

At the later periods, ulufe, the salary of military service had lost its meaning, and Janissary had become an honorary duty. The increased number of attendants had changed the social composition. Subject to socio-economic and socio-cultural evolutions, there have been changes in the political character of the janissary, and military commotions have gradually expanded to social revolts (Kafadar, 1994 as cited in Ramazanoğlu, 2003). Kafadar argues that Janissary revolts of the 16th century were linked to decreases in salary and booty; evaluates such political events as mutinies, reaction of a power holding salaried sector (Kafadar, 1994 as cited in Ramazanoglu, 2003). Kafadar emphasizes that the Janissaries constituted an important part in the urban life of Istanbul, as a social group but also they had a political identity and political power. According to Kafadar, the state-janissary conflict has its blasting point at the early 19th century. Janissaries were against reformist projects which aimed to re-build the central state authority, and restructure the power of the state, thereby the janissary represents and advocates the unprotected interests and traditions of social groups acting with them as if they were a kind of political party (as cited in Ramazanoğlu, 2003). The state harshly reacted and started to war against its own military forces and demolished the Janissary in 1826. Together with Janissary, the dervish order of Bektashi which was another institution in the production of masculinity of that era was also dissolved.

"Jannissary Rooms" was the common name of the Jannissary Barracks located in Süleymaniye district and each division had a barrack under the name of the "room". Each room was disciplined by the leader, who was the eldest, called as The Chief of Room (Odabaşı) and there was one Acemioğlanı who was responsible of preparing the food (Ramazanoğlu, 2003). An interesting resemblance to the bachelor rooms today, the responsible person of the rooms, who are mostly the eldest, are called as the Chief of Room. Providing shelters for thousands of soldiers and providing logistic support

including all subtasks for the Janissaries, all the homo-social institutions throughout centuries located in the district, it can be argued that Süleymaniye has been a historically male concentrated region.

3.1.3 Süleymaniye District in the 19th and 20th Centuries

The information on how and by whom the buildings in Süleymaniye used in the 19th century enables us to trace the continuity of the masculine structure of the region: After the abolishment of Janissary organization, the Ottoman equivalent institution of contemporary Turkish General Stuff (Genelkurmay Başkanlığı) was built and later transformed to Ministry of Defense (Bilecik, 2007). State institutions of finance were in Süleymaniye also. From the point of commerce, Süleymaniye was a significant region in the 19th century with the establishment of the commercial center, docks and ports. Entertainment was also centered in Vezneciler and Direklerarası, in southern part of Süleymaniye (Encyclopedia of İstanbul, From Yesterday to Today 1993). All structures of administrative functions, the military-administrative buildings, and barracks with thousand of soldiers and homo-social institutions such as ministries, financial institutions and religious institutions made male population concentrate in this region and turned it into a masculine zone.

The region had started to change at the dawn of the 20th century as the notables of the bureaucratic cadre had to leave the big mansions (konak) due to transformation of the regime and decreasing living standards. As a consequence to the rapid growth of production/manufacturing sector in the region, the population excessively increased and the big mansions had turned into attached row houses and manor houses (köşk) (Tuncer 2007). In the following period, the apartments had been built, existing duplex or triplex wooden houses had transformed into five or six floored buildings. Their functions had been changed and used as workshops for manufacturing. Influenced by Eminönü and Haliç, first petty commodity producers and then industrial plants had been established especially in the northern part of Suleymaniye (Tuncer 2007). The transportation system of Istanbul had been changed between 1938 and 1949; the first change was the opening of Ataturk Boulevard. The number of vehicles increased and certain transportation problems emerged, as a consequence new streets opened and existing ones had been

enlarged. Highroads opened in the northern, western and southern parts of the region. In 1960s, "The Bazaar of Dry-Goods Dealers" was built and it turned immediately to a place of manufacturing. Thus the pressure on housing area of Süleymaniye increased. Manufacturers and transporters started to damage the regional structure. Wooden houses were quickly demolished and turned into "concrete workplaces" (Alper 1987as cited in Tuncer 2007). In 1963-1993, continuous central development increased its pressure on the housing areas in Istanbul, particularly in Historical Peninsula where by this time not only production but also wholesaler shops were also located. Hence people in the housing areas are affected by the transformation of the central area and preferred new, and more prestigious housing areas, the region was left to the newcomers. However the housing areas started to deteriorate in due process (Tuncer 2007).

To sum, throughout the history of the Ottoman State from the time Istanbul was taken in 1453 by Ottomans to the end of the 19th century it can be said that what made this area masculine district in addition to the commerce was military activity. There were the buildings here where the military security of the state was administered. The military barracks, support instillations for the military personnel such as baths, guest houses and buildings for military training were all here making the area densely populated by men. The military concentration, the root cause of the enormously male population, in the area lasted for 350 years, until 1826, and then it gradually subsided bringing down the numbers of men in the area with it.

On the other hand the close location of Süleymaniye to commercial centers in Eminönü, enhances the effect of the commerce in the region. We can consider the commerce as the determinant power in the region, welcoming and even calling forth the migration. Through the centuries administrations wanted to limit the migration to this part of the city attracted by the intense commercial life. At times they were able to constrain the impact of this power on physical environment and profile of population (Ersoz, 2004). However at times they were incapable against the commercial push, at times purposely avoided to restrict or control the commerce (Ersoz, 2006:307). At times to overcome economical and social distresses, as an administrative policy, they condoned the commerce and manufacture using unqualified migrant workers coming

from undeveloped parts of the country; and ignored the over-usage of the historical region and exceeding determining effect of commerce on district life. In this section it was asserted that the argument of today's male-dominant culture of the district is space bound and is the continuation of this deep military and commercial culture.

3.2 Today's Süleymaniye

In this section, I will detail population profile of Süleymaniye and the building stock in which this population stay. I will try to depict how the district has continuously been transformed; influenced by several factors such as with the power of commerce resulting in a conflict society. I will also touch upon temporariness of the district.

3.2.1 Population Profile of Süleymaniye

In this part of the thesis, the current demographic profile of Süleymaniye district in comparison to Istanbul and Eminönü and the building stock used by this profile will be studied. A detailed study of the Küçükpazar part of Suleymaniye, will be carried out, as this area is a particular example of urban space with the "bachelor rooms and houses" clustered which is a particular type of accommodation at where the single male migrants have been accommodating 'temporarily', as part of the single male migration which is a continuing homosocial tradition in Turkey. The field of this thesis, Süleymaniye district, is composed of 8 neighborhoods (mahalle) which are Demirtaş, Hacı Kadın, Hoca Gıyasettin, Kalenderhane, Molla Hüsrev, Sarıdemir, Süleymaniye, and Yavuz Sinan[11].

When we look at the population increase in 1935-2000[12], the population of Turkey has reached from 16.157.450 to 67.803.927 with an increase of 4, 2 fold, whereas in Istanbul it has reached from 883.599 to 10.018.735 with an 11, 3 fold increase. The increase rate of the population in Istanbul is much higher than the overall rate of the country, which is not caused by the rate of birth, but by city's high

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[11] Please find Appendices A and B; air photo and map of Suleymaniye.

[12] As limited information from TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute) obtained about the 2007 Population Census based on "address based population registration system" which is different from the previous system, the 2000 data will be used for the comparison of our field Süleymaniye with Eminonu district and Istanbul.

immigration rate (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:7). For the Eminönü district population, however we do not see the same trend in the same period; there is first a gradual decrease which is then followed by a sudden decrease. The resident population of Eminönü has moved out starting from the 1970s, since there has been a significant increase in the commercial production and also in the number of the wholesale shops in Historical Peninsula. Another reason for the tendency to decrease of the population is relocation of the downtown of the city.

The male population has been always higher from female population in Eminonu (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:9). Meanwhile, the figures indicate the number of the residents who stay at night in Eminönü, according to local municipality the day population reaches to 2 million people.

In 1935, the population of Eminonu has constituted 11.4% of Istanbul's population, and this rate has gradually decreased in the following years. In 1960, the rate was 7.2%, and in 1990 it had a sharp falling trend of 1.1, and finally in 2000 falling to 0.6% of the total Istanbul population (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:10). The population profile in Suleymaniye district, except the increase in Hacıkadın (%53,2), populations in all neighborhoods have decreased in 1990-2000. Kalenderhane, Demirtas and Saridemir quarters had more than 50% decreases.

The census system of Turkey has been changed to "address based population registration system", and the new system has been introduced in 2007 census. However the updated numbers resulted from the recent census were difficult to compare with those of the previous one. For instance, in 2000, Eminonu had the population of 55.635 composed of 36.855 males, and 18.780 females where the females are almost the half of males. However, in 2007 census, the total population of Eminonu was 32.557 of which 17.485 are male, 15.072 are female. Male and female population is nearly half to half. It is indeed a difficult task to compare the population between 2000 and 2007. There are huge rates of decreases in Suleymaniye district, such as in Yavuz Sinan quarter we see a decrease from 1163 to 138 (Table 1). One of the reasons of this sharp drop in the quarters like Yavuz Sinan where "bachelors" intensively reside, can be explained by the

fact that mostly the "bachelors" consider themselves as temporary in the district, thus they might have preferred as being registered in their home towns.

Table 1: The amounts of population according to the neighborhoods in Süleymaniye in 1990-2000 and 2007

NAME OF NEIGHBORHOOD	1990	2000	2007
DEMIRTAS	2261	1010	404
HACI KADIN	965	1478	663
HOCA GIYASETTIN	5240	3386	2027
KALENDERHANE	1806	871	1135
MOLLAHÜSREV	2496	1844	1135
SARIDEMİR	105	47	Hidden
SÜLEYMANIYE	1116	941	522
YAVUZ SINAN	1269	1163	138

Source: for the years 1990 and 2000 source is Murat, Ersöz, Şener,(2006:12, in Table 4), and the year 2007, source is unpublished data obtained from TUIK. [13]

Elected headmen (muhtar) of Yavuz Sinan (Küçükpazar) quarter argued that the population of residing families is approximately equal to the results came out in 2007 census, namely 138 persons. Therefore it is probable that the "bachelors" in "bachelor rooms" and small pensions in the quarter were not reflected in these figures; most of them were possibly registered in hometown and/or they have ignored to fill the census forms.

When we look at the distribution of the population according to ages and sexuality, in 1990-2000, we see an increase rate in the adult population in 25-64 age

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[13] According to the Population Services Law 5490, the results of census 2007, the population of quarters 10 and less than 10 should not be revealed as it is considered as "hidden"

groups in country general, from 40,6 % to 44%, in Istanbul general, from 45.3% to 48% and in Eminonu from 47,2% to 52,1% which is the highest (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:22, in Table 1). The rate of the male population in 15-24 age groups is 21.2% in Istanbul, 20,7% in country general and in Eminonu with 32,5% is the highest in 2000 census. This result can be explained by the increasing number of the young "bachelors" and male students living in the dormitories. The rate of 0-14 age groups is also significant, where in Eminonu is the lowest. If we consider 15-24 age group as economically active adults, ratio of the male inhabitants in 15-64 age group to total male population is excessively high in Eminonu district with 84.7%, where the rate of country general is only %64,4 in 2000 (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:22, in Table 1). According to the results of 2000 Census, below 15-age group does not exist in the intensive commercial neighborhoods of Eminonu (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:23). The share of the 15-64 ages in the total population is more than 70% in Eminonu. Among the neighborhoods in Suleymaniye district this rate is 74,5% in Sarıdemir, Hocagıyasettin 79,9, Hacıkadın 80%, Demirtaş 81%, Süleymaniye 81,8%, MollaHüsrev 85,8%, Kalenderhane 87,8% and 91,2% in Yavuz Sinan neighborhood (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:24). The rate of over-65 age group in Eminönü is under 10%. This rate in our field of study is the highest in Sarıdemir with 10,6%, where the lowest in Kalenderhane with 1,4%, where the student dormitories are located.((Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:25). Therefore we can conclude that, in Eminonu the economically active adult percentage is the highest in the country.

In 2000, the ratio of male is 50,7% and female is 49,3% in Turkey general, whereas in Eminonu these percentages are 66,2 % and 33,8% respectively (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:28). When we look at the gender rates of the population respect to age, in 1990-2000 we notice an increasing tendency in 25-64 age groups of the female population reaching to 49% in Istanbul general in 2000. However, in Eminonu, the male population is the highest with 66,2% with respect to overall Istanbul and Turkey (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:29, Table 2). Up to 1955, the female population in Eminonu was 43% to 45% and after it fell below 40%. In 2000, the rate is even lower, 33.8% (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:28). To conclude the discussion here, when the demographic

profile of Eminonu is studied respect to sex, the male population constitutes the majority of the total population, in some neighborhoods the ratio is over 90%.

Table 2: The amounts of population in our field of study according to the neighborhoods and sexuality in 2000

NAME OF LOCATION	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	MALE%	FEMALE%
Total	10740	8405	2335	78	22
DEMİRTAŞ	1010	830	180	82	18
HACIKADIN	1478	1114	364	75	25
HOCAGIYASETTİN	3386	2671	715	79	21
KALENDERHANE	871	482	389	55	45
MOLLAHÜSREV	1844	1535	309	83	17
SARIDEMİR	47	43	4	91	9
SÜLEYMANİYE	941	660	281	70	30
YAVUZ SİNAN	1163	1070	93	92	8

Source: TUIK

When we look at the distribution of the populations respect to sex in our field of study, we see from the Table 2 that the male population, in Suleymaniye general, constitutes the 78% of total population whereas the female population constitutes only the 22%. All quarters, except Kalenderhane, have the male population ratio over 70%. In Yavuz Sinan (known as Küçükpazar) and Sarıdemir, the male population ratio is over 90%. In Sarıdemir we see the female population is nearly none with only 4 women (Table 2).

Eminonu, including Suleymaniye, faces with high rate of immigration and migration for various reasons is needed. We notice that the majority of Eminonu inhabitant population were born (%81,5) out of Istanbul, when the distribution of

population respect to the place of birth figures of 2000 Census are studied. When we look at the distribution of the population of Eminönü respect to which region of Turkey that they come from, though the Eastern (16,4 %) and the Southeastern (9,2%) Anatolia provinces have important shares with a total of 25,6 %, the majority is constituted with those who were born in the Interior Anatolia Region with 19,2%. Residents who were born in Black Sea region is 7,9%, and Mediterranean region 2,5%. Economically developed regions like Western Anatolia (1,3%), Marmara and Trakya (1,6%), Aegean(1,9%) have the smallest rate. When we look further at Suleymaniye, we see that the rate of the residents who were born in Interior Anatolia region is 41,3% in Süleymaniye general, whereas in some quarters are as follows : 54,3% in Demirtas, , 32,6% in Yavuzsinan, 32,2% in Hacıkadın, 31,4% in Hocagıyasettin, 29,7% in Mollahüsrev, 25,9% in Kalenderhane. Interestingly we see that the 38,3% of Sarıdemir neighborhood is from Black Sea region (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:38).

Only the 18,5% of residents in Eminönü were born in Istanbul. In some quarters this rate is more than 30%, where in some others is less than 5%. The rates of the population in Suleymaniye district who were born in Istanbul are: 23,3% in Hacıkadın, 21,3 % in Sarıdemir, 15% Süleymaniye, 14% in Kalenderhane, 13,1% in Hocagıyasettin 10,3% in Mollahüsrev, 9,2% in Demirtaş, 7,1% in Yavuzsinan (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:31-37). In Eminonu, we also notice the residents who were born in abroad as well (19,2 %). The rate is more than 65% in some quarters, in some others is less than 3%. The rates of those born in abroad in Suleymaniye district are as follows; Hocagıyasettin 10,2%, Yavuzsinan 7,7%, Kalenderhane 7,6%, Mollahüsrev 6,1%, Hacıkadın 6,1%, Süleymaniye 4,7%, Demirtaş 4,2% (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:37-38).

When we look at the dependency rate of the population in Eminonu, the children under 15 and the elderly over 65 in the total population are lower in Eminonu compared to country and Istanbul general resulting in lower dependency rate in Eminonu respectively. In 1990-2000, total dependency rate in Turkey general, decreased from 64,7% to 55,1%, in Istanbul from 50,5% to 45%, and Eminonu from 32% to 22,9% (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:40).

In line with the population increase in Turkey, the number of household has increased; however, the average household size has decreased. In 1990-2000, the household number in the country increased by 34,7% in Istanbul by 53,2%, but in Eminönü decreased by 40,6% (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:44). When the household size is considered we see the highest rate of 14,1% for households with only 1 person in Eminönü, in compare to Istanbul (6,3%), and Turkey (5,3%) in 2000 census (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:44).

When we look at the allocation of population (older than 6 and 6+) according to literacy level, we see that the proportion of the illiterate is decreasing in Eminonu like in both Istanbul and country general. However, the proportion of illiterate is higher in Eminonu respect to Istanbul. The ratio of illiterate dropped to 12,7% from 32,5% in 1980-2000 in Turkey, in Istanbul from 16,5% to 6,6%, and from 17,5 % to 8% in Eminonu (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:47). 2000 figures show that the majority of Eminonu has a lower rate respect to country general, but a higher rate than the Istanbul general. In Suleymaniye district, overall illiteracy rate is 11% whereas in Hocagıyasettin quarter is 13,1%. Other quarters are Hacıkadın with 9,4%, Demirtaş, 8,4%, MollaHüsrev 7,9%, Yavuz Sinan 7,8%, Sarıdemir 4,3%, Kalenderhane 3,7%. (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:48). It is significant to note that the illiteracy rate is much higher in women respect to men, just like the rest of the total population in country general. However the ratio of illiterate for both men and women is higher in Eminonu respect to Istanbul, placing the population in a more disadvantaged position (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:52). When we look at the share of literate respect to sex, we see in 2000 women constitute a 45,7 % of the literate population in country general, 42,2 % in Istanbul general, and 30,8 % in Eminonu (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:47). The reason of lower ratio in Eminonu could be explained by the dominance of the male population. 38.6% of the total literate population of Eminonu is constituted by primary school graduates. In our field of study, Yavuzsinan where the bachelor houses are located intensively, the ratio of primary school graduates is the highest with 64,4 % (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:58). The 11,8% of the literate population in Eminonu is the secondary school graduates. In our field of the study this rate is lower respect to Eminonu. In 1980-2000, the rate of high-school graduates has increased from 7.5% to

15.3% in country general, from 11.4% to 17.5% in Istanbul and from 11.3% to 23.3 in Eminonu. However, in Süleymaniye these rates are very low, such as 9,4% in Hocagıyasettin and 8,6% in Demirtaş. Interestingly in Kalenderhane this rate is 41,9% (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:58), which could be explained by the student dormitories located near to Istanbul University. In Eminonu the 12,3% of the total literate population is university graduates, however, in some quarters of Süleymaniye district, this rate is below 5% (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:65).

3.2.2 The Conflict Society

Istanbul underwent a period of intensive urbanization along with the process of industrialization in Turkey starting from 1950s. With the opening of Vatan Street in 1950s, Historical Peninsula experienced a transformation with the migration to the commercial/industrial area and out migration of the upper class to much exclusive areas like Beşiktaş, Nisantasi. In this period, gradually Eminönü has become a commercial center. "The old families" in the district started to leave resulting in a decrease in registered residing population constituted by families, as well as increase in unregistered "bachelors"; economically active adult male population. The number of the workplaces, small plants, workshops has increased. Intensifying commercial life led to the accumulation of industrial facilities like jewelry, metal kitchenware, confection and textile. As a result of the negligence of the governments and local authorities the historical texture of the Historical Peninsula has been destructed. In 1980s Eminönü was a location for the industrial plants, and a retail trade center for the lower income groups (2006, Vezir Consultancy Report). In 2000, an interesting conflict occurred between Municipality of Eminönü and the peddlers, namely "bachelors" who were confined with some streets of the district to work by the municipality. This conflict helps to portray the reflections of another urban transformation that Eminönü was going through in line with the transformation of Istanbul and respectively Historical Peninsula which have begun to have a new appearance with a consideration of a "global city vision" of the local administrations influenced by neo-liberal approaches. Süleymaniye which is declared officially as a renewal area became one of the first areas to see the influences of these policy changes. Süleymaniye Rehabilitation Project is the first stage

of the rehabilitation program[14] of the municipality in Historical Peninsula (Er, 2007:24). The ultimate goal of the project is to see Süleymaniye district in the form of an old Ottoman/Turkish neighborhood in compliance with the original form as well as the repopulation of the district as residential area (Ismet, 2007). This means that the existing population of the district who use and reside in it, constituted by artisans, tradesmen and residents (mostly "bachelors") will be required to move other part of the city. On the other hand, under the pressure of the "2010 Cultural Capital City of the Europe" project which has started in 2000, the aim of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Eminönü Municipality in implementing such policies is declared as "to stop the great destruction caused by the workshops and plants" (as well as the "bachelor rooms/houses") on the historical texture of Historical Peninsula. Indeed, if we take the example of jewelers; they have small workshops in the historical buildings and inns around Grand Bazaar, and since their production requires chemical processes, the cyanuric acid usage for instance, they inevitably destroy the environment and infrastructure. The waste materials and especially the chemicals of such industries are heavily damaging the uncovered Byzantium architectural findings which are waiting funds for archaeological excavation. For many who are interested in the protection of the historical and cultural values of the next "cultural capital city of Europe" in 2010, it is "a shame" not to be able to protect these values.

Lately, several small workshops/plants are in due process of partial removal, because by not extending the production permit period, local municipality has been forcing the manufacturers to move out. Municipalities also provides financial support in addition to forceful means such as the allocation of soft loans to the guilds so that they can move out from the region and even in some extend the flat money to compensate their loss – compensation of their absence from "the established market" – to be used in renting new workshops in organized industrial areas outside the city. Eminönü is a well known place not only by tourists but also wholesale traders from Turkey and from the neighboring countries, especially the ex-Soviet Union countries. Guilds are afraid of loosing their customers when they move out from "the market", therefore, they try to

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[14] The second stage covers Grand Bazaar (Arcade). Third stage includes the area extending from Yenikapı to Cankurtaran in Eminönü district in Historical Peninsula.

extend their stay in the region as much as possible. As a result of the efforts or pressures of Municipality, however, textile, apparel and confection industry have been moving to other districts[15]. In line with these changes, some of groups of "bachelors" such as shoemakers, textile workers, etc constituting residing population profile of the region are also moving out, and some of the bachelors change their sectors.

However it is not easy to change the commercial structure of the district. Every industry has its own reasoning for being located close to Eminönü and as a consequence the demands from local administration to give their consent to move out are different. The resistance of the organized guilds to the policies is worth to mention. Elections of the chambers of guilds are between those saying "the small workshops should go" and those with "they should not". Currently the ones that express their opinions with "they should not" are in the management of the guild foundations. Though there is enormous pressure from the municipalities, they hesitate to move other districts as they are convinced that the "established market" is in Eminönü, as they put it their words this is a "historical reality" and "nobody can change it". Today, the evacuation of the inns around Grand Bazaar used by jewelry artisans is still ongoing. These inns following the completion of their restoration are planned to be used for different services to attract more tourists. Thus the jewelry producers do not want to miss the opportunity and insist to stay to benefit from the location of these inns and express themselves as they would like to remain as a part of this new formation (Özgür, 2007:26) [16].

The urban transformation projects of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality including Suleymaniye Rehabilitation Project which we are going through has a multi-actor character. However it is actually the environment or the geography itself is determining the process in the structure of transformation rather than the actors, that is to say that the coastal areas owned by upper class since the establishment of Istanbul

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[15] Çağlayan, Bayrampaşa, Esenler. Shoemakers in Gedikpaşa have been moving to Ikitelli Organized Industrial Region (Radikal newspaper, 2005).

[16] The municipality's pressures (such as small workshops have been sealed by Municipality and artisans and craftsman move to other districts) is resulted in jewelry and gold-smithereens establishing a cooperative and building "City of Jewelry" ("Kuyumcukent") outside of Eminönü (Özgür, 2007:26). The occupancy rate in the new premises has reached around 50% (Özgür, 2007:27). However, as tradesman could not survive in these new regions they have started to come back to the district, consequently the remaining tradesman of the guilds present in the region are hesitant to move out for good.

and now the coastal areas are again reserved for the use of upper class. Rehabilitation projects of the municipality with the influence of "global city vision" has been creating a conflict between upper and lower classes on the environment. This might be called as space sharing, creating a conflict society in the district. Suleymaniye, similar to the other demolition areas[17], has been an object of this conflict. In this respect I argue that masculinities in gender hierarchy are constructed through spatial relations and space is gendered in many ways in Süleymaniye. For instance I argue that procurement facilities of municipalities i.e. intervene of administrative classes to spatial structure of the district, aiming to transform the district as "residential area", targets upper class "families" who want house with sea view, however as a result of the general socio-spatial structure of the whole district "families" do not want to move to the district therefore a few buildings restored by the municipality have been empty for a long time with old buildings and ruins side by side. This scene demonstrates one of the reflections of the failure of neo-liberal policies adopted by municipalities. Upper class "families" do not prefer to stay where bachelors live, a space which has been continuously gendered as masculine space for decades embedded into the unconsciousness of the city. Male members of families are also reluctant to get into a spatial relationship with rural local masculinities. The image of the district as temporary space makes these potential property owners hesitant. Indeed, the heavily commercialized Eminönü, an urban space based on trade; with massive presence of people of day time (2 millions of people during the day, whether for visiting or working purposes, however the night population is only 32.557 people) is a place mostly to visit and to trade, (and afterwards leave) thus it is considered as a temporary space. Millions of tourists from every part of the world and all regions of Turkey are visiting Eminonu as it is hosting several historical buildings as well as historical bazaars. As a place to trade, it attracts wholesalers and retailers as well as the workers not only from the country but also from the neighboring countries. And as a place to stay, it is still considered as a temporary place. A place to be temporarily, for tourists to

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[17] Starting from 19th cc. features of demolished areas have appeared in some areas in Istanbul such as Fener, Balat, Hasköy, Samatya, Karagümrük, Sulukule, Sulumanastır, Edirnekapı and Haseki. In 20th cc. Zeyrek, Süleymaniye, Kumkapı, Gedikpaşa, Tarlabaşı, Beyoğlu and Cihangir have been added to these "demolition areas"(Çağlayandereli, 2005).

stay for short time in hotels or hostels, for students to stay during their education time in the dormitories, and for "bachelors" to stay for an unknown but expectedly temporary time in "bachelor rooms/houses" and Inn. Temporariness of the district influences the treatment of the district by its users. That is to say, because the district will be temporarily used, users are treating the district within the limits of this short term relationship. And the socio-spatial structure of the district, -not only the social networks, service providers; but the space; the neighborhoods and the building stock- is constantly formed within the limits of this temporary relationship. Therefore the involvement of these groups of transient people; tourists, students and bachelors; in the above mentioned conflict in the district is limited.

3.2.3 The Building Stock

The building stock of Suleymaniye region has been re-formed by the heavy commerce in Eminonu especially in Mercan, Tahtakale, and Grand Bazaar. Therefore, to understand the field, structuring or namely commercial and industrial restructuring is an important factor ought to be explained, as well as the "pushing and pulling" factors to understand deeper why some people preferred to leave the region and why some others are destined to be there. The absence of some facilities in the buildings, such as the absence of a garage in the residential units for instance, has meant as an absence of comfort for the middle-upper classes the in 2000s; therefore, it is necessary to look at the features of building stock[18] of the field Suleymaniye to understand it pulls toward and pushes away who.

Eminonu, as a part of expanding Istanbul, is one of the smaller districts in terms of number of buildings and residential people. Eminonu only has the 1.6% of the total buildings of Istanbul, but when we look further on the activity type of the buildings we see that one of every five buildings in Eminonu is used for commercial activities, showing the district's importance as a commercial centre. 15% of the buildings in

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[18] In the years 1965, 1970, 1984, and 2000 the number of the buildings was counted by the State Statistical Institute to have certain estimations related to the building stocks, and the condition of these stocks.

Eminonu is located in Suleymaniye district (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:183). The dominant type of buildings in the district is those used for trade activities with 67, 7% (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:184, in Table 1). 80.8 % of the residential buildings in Eminonu are mostly located in 8 quarters including Hoca Gıyasettin (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:185-187 in Table 3).

To classify buildings according to the date of completion is also necessary to understand the region. Building stocks in Istanbul and in general Turkey consist of recently constructed buildings. However, Eminonu as the oldest settlement place displays a very different situation where the building stocks are older respect to country and Istanbul buildings. One third of the buildings in Eminonu were completed before 1929. In Suleymaniye, half of the quarters with more than one fourth of their building stocks build before 1929. (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:189-190 in Table 4-5).

Buildings in Eminonu in general are better than the country and İstanbul in general except the features as natural gas system and garage (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:199 in Table 15). Especially the absence of garage can be explained by the completion date of the buildings before 1960s. When the infrastructure is considered to understand the quality and the comfort of the buildings in our field of study, there are differences among the quarters, however we often notice the absence of different infrastructure systems. Some examples are only the half of the buildings has piped water systems in Sarıdemir quarter, where in Yavuz Sinan quarter this percentage is 73, 5%. The hot water system is usually absent except Suleymaniye quarter where male student dormitories of foundations are located (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:201). Overall the mostly used heating system is stove with more than 70% usage in most of the quarters. Usage of traditional types of heating combustible/fuel is still common. Electricity, LPG usage is also considerably common in usage (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:202).

Two major earthquakes in 1999 hitting Marmara Region, and partially Istanbul, have rendered important the physical conditions of the building stocks. Although the buildings are in better condition in Istanbul respect to country, in Eminonu the buildings in needs of radical renewal and ruins are more than in country and Istanbul general. One

of every ten buildings in Eminonu is hazardous for its residents. In Süleymaniye district, more than 10% of the buildings are ruins and planned to be demolished in Molla Hüsrev and Yavuz Sinan quarters. (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:204-205).

In 1990-2002, 93,1% of the buildings which are given license in country are residential, where in Eminonu 71,6% are commercial (Murat, Ersöz, Şener. 2006). On the other hand no license for industrial buildings have been issued in Eminönü in 1990-2002 period (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:206). Among the commercial buildings in 2002, the ratio of hotel, motel and pension category is 10% at country level and in Eminonu the rate is higher, one of every four commercial buildings given license certificate and half of the buildings given certificate of occupation are in this category (Murat, Ersöz, Şener, 2006:221). Considering the above portrayed picture we can summarize the pulling and pushing factors exist in the region. With respect to the commerce, different sectors in Eminonu demanding more space to be in "the market" ("piyasa") accelerated the transformation of the residential streets and areas like Süleymaniye, whereas the property owners have found profitable to rent their properties as commercial buildings as shops/warehouse or motels/pensions. With respect to the quality of the buildings, their being old, needing renewal and not offering much comfort for a middle class family are pulling and pushing factors. Moreover the location is not considered suitable for families as it is close to the business area which is almost deserted in night whereas the same location is convenient for workers as they are willing stay close to their workplaces in Eminonu and pay as less as possible for the accommodation. The cheap rooms and pensions enable them save money but also from the less transportation expenses. Since the structure of Eminonu has been established already, the commercial buildings given license were not new; that is to say they were not built for commercial purposes. The modifications in the buildings have made possible acquire license for commercial use of the buildings for the property owners (or commissioners for the bachelor houses) in 1990-2002. The construction work is restricted in the area, and it seems like it has been effective in the residential estates. Property owners changing the utility purposes of the buildings, and respectively local administration for giving such licenses in this period have played a significant role in transformation of the region from residential to commercial area.

3.2.4 Household Field Research

In 2007, "Household Field Research" by Fatih Özbay (2007), was carried out in 3 surrounding quarters of Külliye of Süleymaniye Mosque, Süleymaniye, Demirtaş and Molla Hüsrev which are considered in this research, looking for the traces of the poverty in the district. A survey conducted in 44 households and the priority was given to the characteristics of new urban identities, social and economic profile, attitudes toward the region, behaviors and expectations. Among the 44 household head, about 70% is migrated from three regions; Eastern Anatolia (27,3%), South Eastern Anatolia (22,7%), and Black Sea (18,2%) which is parallel with the regional migration data in the country general. Cumulatively 75% of the population appears whether with no or low educational background. Low level or lack of education implies lack of qualification and low income. Moreover if we keep in mind that the research was carried out with household heads who are most likely male, and considering the male population of Turkey is more educated than the female population, it could be estimated that the educational level of the adult female population of the region is even lower than this portrait.

Table 3: Income Distribution of the Participants (Source:Özbay(2007))

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
0–380 YTL	8	**18,2**	18,2
381–750 YTL	14	**31,8**	50,0
751–999 YTL	9	**20,5**	**70,5**
1000–1499 YTL	7	15,9	86,4
1500 YTL and above	3	6,8	93,2
No answer	3	6,8	100,0
Total	44	100,0	

When we look at the income distribution of the participants, 70,5% of them was below 1000 TL income of which the 50% had an income of either minimum wage or a bit more. This economical demonstration indicates clearly a consequential urban poverty due to the perpetual unemployment, employment in informal sector, and weakness or absence of social security mechanisms.

When we analyze the participants' from the social security view, 15,9% is under Social security institution for artisans and craftsmen (Bağkur), 40,9% is under Social Insurance Institution (SSK), 4,5% is under State Retirement Fund (Emekli Sandığı)[19]. 20,5 % of the participants had no social security. The rate of green card (health card for uninsured) holders is considerably high, 18,2%. It is remarkable to realize that the households having no social security or green card holders, are constituting the 38, 7 % of total population. This rate is almost equal to mass of people indicated their profession as "self-employed". The participants indicated their discomfort caused by the workshops and business places (38,7%). Therefore in a way we can make such a conclusion that they hold the same opinion with local municipality which tries to "clear" the region by Suleymaniye Rehabilitation Project. One of the options to choose was "should be totally demolished and re-built with wooden low-storey houses" was selected by 20,5%. According to Özbay, the rate of the participants who has expressed no opinion (18,2%) reflects a kind of disinterestedness to the living surroundings and alienation to the city.

The majority of the families do not find Süleymaniye as an appropriate place for family life with 45,5%, "not good not bad" got 25%, "comfortable and peaceful place" with 18,2%. Region's being very economical with low rent fees and its location being geographically central make families still live in the region due to the exigencies.

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[19] All these different institutions have been collected under one single institution, Social Security Institution in 2006. However collected data covers the details of ex-social security system.

45,5 % of participants indicated that there are fights or struggle in the region. Özbay argues that the existence of shops, workshops and bachelor rooms and its central location in the city makes the region to become an arena of fights or violence.

Looking from the perspective of social attitude, behaviors, and expectations, opinions of participants on solving the problems of the region are as follows;

15,9% of the participants, related with the problems in the region that they are experiencing, have chosen the answer "not expecting a solution from anyone, because they can not be solved". Özbay argues that this answer shows the individuals' hopeless point of view about social life. According to Özbay, this result indicates the individualizing and weakening affect of urban life on social assistance and solidarity. Most of the participants have migrated from rural areas to the city, the ratio, as expected, is high, 86,4%. Those who stated that they have not migrated (13,6%), some has mentioned in face to face meetings, although their birth place is Istanbul, their family elders have migrated. According to Özbay, first reasons to migrate are economic. Hence it can be concluded that the migration from rural to urban areas is due to the economic reasons, as expected. In Özbay's research, the post-migration changes in life standards of households are analyzed. The rate of those expressing their condition as "better" is 34,1%, "much better" is 2,3% with a total of 36,4%. However, "having no change" with 27,3% in their situation or expressing "worse" with 11,4% or "worse by far" with 2,3% and those who are indecisive "no opinion", constitutes a total of 63,6 %. The relationship of the participants with their relatives has been affected by urban living conditions. Though the relatives of the migrated people have also migrated, frequency of inter-relative meeting is at a very low rate. Families tend to live in a closed/secluded life in the big city with the weakened solidarity.

When the participants have been asked if they would ever recommend Istanbul to other people, nearly half of the respondents 47,7% answered "no". If those who would recommend "partially" and those with "no answer" are added, we can conclude that for the most of the respondents Istanbul is not a place to be recommended to migrate. By these indicators, we can understand that there is frustration related with needs not met as expected, and the adaptation to urban life. The 34,1 % of the

participants consider of going back to home town, whereas the 54,4 % do not. Together with those with "no answer" with 11,4%, assuming that they are indecisive about going back, the total rate of participants will not go back is higher. Ultimately despite the poverty and difficult conditions, number of people thinking to go back is less. According to Ozbay expectations and hopes arouse from urban life to find opportunities could be an important factor for not going back.

As a conclusion, according to Ozbay; those residing in the neighborhood mostly had migrated from rural to urban mainly due to economical reasons. Despite their life could not be improved after the migration, yet they still think not to go back. The educational level of the habitants is low causing lack of qualifications thereby their income level decreases. When income level of the household is very low, consequently the quality of living standard is low, respectively affecting many aspects of social life of these households. The region is very central, but it is abandoned therefore the rent fees are very low. This seems like being the main reason for them to settle in the region. Özbay argues that because of the limited numbers of families in compare to the other regions, thievery, pick pocketing and quarrel/fight type of events do exist in the region. On the other hand the frequency for meeting with relatives and neighbors is very low. It could be understood that the effects of the difficult conditions of urban life on an individual appears with weakness in the social relations. In this sense the individuals are getting lonelier, alienate to urban and to life; and appears difficulties with adaptation to city and urbanization. There is an approval for accepting the region as a place to experience poverty, but still the region is a point of attraction due to economical conditions and its location. In this chapter, the conditions of the buildings called as the bachelor rooms/houses and its residents "bachelors" have been elaborated with demographic data as well as the district, Süleymaniye where they are situated locating all of them in a general country wide context (even reaching European context with the aim of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipalities' projects to become "cultural capital of Europe" in 2010) with spatial and socio-economic analysis. Hegemonic masculinities of today will be elaborated in the next chapters but in this chapter one of the exemplary of hegemonic masculinities which once was one of the most influential of the country, located as an institution in the district was also be explored. In the next chapter the

notion of "bachelor" and the features of "bachelorship" as special case of manliness in Turkey, will be explored by focusing its space-based existence with spatial dynamics in urban space influencing the formation of masculine neighborhoods in the case of Süleymaniye.

CHAPTER 4

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SPACE IN "BACHELOR"'S LIFE

In this chapter the relationship between space and "bachelorship" and significance of the space in "bachelor's" life will be studied in Süleymaniye case in Eminönü, İstanbul to demonstrate in general how "bachelorship", as a special case of manliness in Turkey, is space bound in Turkish context. It starts with how to be perceived to be a young single in the general urban context of contemporary Turkey. It will try to understand what the differences between to be a young urban single in modern context and to be a "bachelor" who lives in "bachelor room/house" used in a traditional cultural context with several connotations. Pushing and pulling factors for "bachelors" created in urban context will also be elaborated. In Süleymaniye case, to be able to understand the accumulation of "bachelors" in the district especially Küçükpazar, the importance of the geographical location of Eminönü and Süleymaniye locating them into a general socio-economic structure, from the perspective of "bachelors" will be emphasized. Street vending, as an economic activity which has been common among bachelors in Süleymaniye, will be detailed to understand its influences on the spatial transformation and the population structure of the district. The dynamic in the transformation of Süleymaniye district; (when bachelor houses come in a street, families start to move out) will also be explored. Then the relationship between "bachelor" and space will be detailed in Süleymaniye context especially giving the details of places of accommodation, outdoor spaces and workplaces of this district. Formation of tradesmen as a result of this accommodation sector for "bachelors" located in the district, like coffeehouses not only for sociability but functioning for some male dominated sectors will also be detailed. In addition, "bachelors" will be compared with students, including their different sociability. The image of Süleymaniye district, especially Küçükpazar, depicted by the comments of representatives of several groups will also be included.

4.1. To Become Bachelor in the Contemporary Turkey

"Bachelor" generally implies the male bachelor rather than the female bachelor in Turkish social context. Indeed, in spatial context "bachelor" is mostly used related to being male bachelor. Whatever the reason, regardless of their marriage status; all men who live in a place by excluding women are perceived and named as "bachelor". In this context, whether married or unmarried, all men are considered as "bachelor". For instance married men who are away from their spouses, and living alone for a certain period, such as summer vacation, might be called as "summer bachelor".

Understanding its place context, a "bachelor house" is not always an exact house, if more than one man lives in a place regardless of their marriage status; this makes the place a "bachelor house". Bachelor houses can be compared with the most common homo-social place in Turkey; coffeehouses. As Arık has said that, "it is not men who go to coffeehouse, but men come together and make the coffeehouse" (Arık, 2006:59). In the same vein, men come together in a house and make the house a bachelor house.[20]

Leaving home and to live alone has never been an ordinary and common pattern among young people in Turkish society regardless of their class, status and rural or urban background following their attained age of majority as in modern Western societies. Until the 1980s in Turkey, not only the young women, but almost all the young men could have only left their parent house for good through marriage. However, there have been also some other valid excuses for leaving home besides getting married; these are often to attend a school, or to find a job in a different, preferably bigger city. To leave home and start to live in another place in the same city where the parents of these young people also live, still has been considered commonly as an extraordinary circumstance.

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[20] There are many idioms in Turkish for being in the "bachelor" position. Such as "to live a bachelor life" (bekar hayatı sürmek) is used for both to live without considering the marital bond and willingly or unwillingly to live away from his spouse in a different space.

On the other hand, although seeking and finding a job in another city could be commonly considered as an excuse for single young men both from urban and rural, but this can never be an excuse to leave hometown alone for single young women especially whose education level is low. Women's working outside of the house is commonly subject to approval of fathers and husbands or in general male members of the family. In Turkish case, if the whole family has migrated from province to metropolis, only a small amount of women with low educational level, mostly young and not married yet can have such "permission" under certain circumstances, to go outside of home and work, mostly until their marriage. As it would be seen also in the findings of chapter 6, especially men from lower socio-economic classes in traditional life are against women's working outside the house. The girls with higher education employed in white collar jobs like teacher, lawyer etc. are the exceptions; otherwise, women's working is generally considered as if the male members of the family make woman work, especially as an unskilled labor. Men especially from lower socio-economic classes consider it as the inadequacy/deficiency of the husband. Men whose spouses are working in low skilled jobs have been criticized and humiliated by other men, saying "he makes his wife work" that is to say that the husband enforces his wife to work outside the house and he is lack of one of the most emphasized qualities of a "man" as it will be seen in the findings of Chapter 5 and 6.

Furthermore to live alone in the cities for women students is still considered as unsafe and girls are protected through additional safety measures taken by sharing their place with other girls. The university graduate young women are still considered to be safeguarded and parents prefer to live with them. However to move to the cities to find job for young women with high level education[21] which constitutes only small part of whole youth, is more acceptable compared to the last decades.

Until the recent decades (and still), living with parents is a common attitude except moving from their hometown for a job mostly to a metropolis. This is not only current for the young people with low educational level, spending a traditional life, but also for

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[21] According to 2000 Census only %5,4 of the population (25 years of age and over) is women who have higher education, i.e. university graduates, in Turkey (Source: www.tuik.gov.tr).

the most of the university graduate young people of the middle or upper classes of urban modern section of the society.

In contemporary Turkish culture "bachelors" (in plural) implies migrated uneducated male workers employed in blue collar jobs, rather than single urban educated male employed in white collar jobs or single male students. Therefore, "bachelors" from lower socio-economical classes, employed in unskilled, manual, in general blue-collar jobs, mostly migrated from rural to urban; especially from small towns and villages that live in the same place make the place a "bachelor house".

4.2 Interrelationship between Spatial Dynamics and Bachelors' Presence

There are many historical sources providing the acknowledgement of the big cities like Konya, Izmir, Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul (Karpat 2003, Encyclopaedia of İstanbul From Yesterday to Today (Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi), 1994) had always attracted migrants from other parts of the empire throughout the Ottoman period. In the modern period starting from the end of the 19th century until today, metropolises like Izmir, Bursa, and substantially Istanbul had a continuing attraction for migrants from Anatolia. Because of the unemployment in their hometowns bachelors have been coming to Istanbul. Starting from the 1950s, the first industrial and urban development in the modern period, Süleymaniye has been one of the attracting regions for many migrants as it is close to the heavily commercialized area, Eminönü, and Grand bazaar. As a result of the effect of pulling factors like urbanization, industrialization, education and job opportunities for low skilled labor source and pushing factors like unemployment, inefficiency in agriculture and lack of educational facilities in the rural areas, mostly young males have left their hometowns and started to live by themselves in big cities. In this migration process, the general pattern that has been followed usually was that the young males have moved firstly to the cities and a couple of years later, the female members have also moved to join them Pulling and pushing factors also work in some districts respect to other districts of the city (Abadan-Unat, 2002). Once stay in a neighborhood, bachelors (male) creates a dynamic by forming its own pulling and pushing factors affecting the socio-economic and demographic profile in districts like in Süleymaniye. That is to say, some

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neighborhoods are pushing the male bachelors to certain neighborhoods, like some areas in the Historical Peninsula; on the other hand Historical peninsula including Süleymaniye pulls bachelors. One of the primary pushing factors is to find a dwelling as a male bachelor is much more difficult in other neighborhoods. This is mostly due to the dissent of the families in residential areas so that the landlords are hesitant to have the "bachelors" as tenant.

"Bachelor" is considered in a different way from "student" by people including landlords, though they both imply young people. To rent the flat to the "student" is more acceptable than renting it to the "bachelor". As a word "student" implies "refined" male and it is considered lesser threatening for families, to be more precise, young female members of the families.

The maintenance of the building is another consideration from the perspective of how these people would maintain the flat during their stay. This preference implies a hierarchy. The "family" is better than the "student" and the "student" is better than the "bachelor". "Family" implies the stability and security. Accordingly "bachelor" implies temporality and insecurity.

Consequently, most of the time, landlords tend to refuse "bachelors" and prefer renting their flats to the families. Renting the flat to "bachelors" is acceptable only if it is worthy financially. They may demand more than the current renting rate from "bachelors" to make their decision clear and reasonable as a compensation of their loss both in terms of the maintenance of the building and the possible deprivation of their status in front of the other residents.

Pushed by other regions bachelors have preferred staying in some neighborhoods in the Historical Peninsula including Süleymaniye. There is a couple of pulling factors for this. Firstly, in Süleymaniye, they can easily find cheap accommodation in room system unlikely to the other districts of Istanbul. By room system, namely renting each room separately; or pension system, landlords earn more money than renting the whole flat/building to one family. One of the muhktars, who lives in the district with his family, has said: "telling the truth, the landlords or pension

owners have made this a source…if you look at them, they live in somewhere (prestigious)…this is their source, like a factory, I mean, their banks, their source of income". Secondly, the properties, especially after being affirmed by the public authorities as "historical buildings", are neglected by the owners as a result of the strict maintenance measures of the "protected area". Families do not prefer to rent these neglected, dated, wooden houses; they find more suitable, "for family" flats in better condition near to the region with same price. So the owners prefer also to rent their houses to bachelors as by room system they can make more money.

Disregarding the existing houses of the bachelors in the district there are still some tenant families which reside in the district in these dated wooden houses stay there because they pay very small amount of money.

Some very old properties which are abandoned by the owners because of the high restoration expenses are occupied by bachelors or some very poor migrant families mostly from South East region of the country. Some tumbledown properties are demanded by garbage and paper collectors to use them as depots; and they offer a rent more than their worth and landlords accept it. Under these circumstances and existing conditions to rent houses to bachelors from the property owners' perspective is more reasonable in Süleymaniye.

Other factors like the resistance and the reactions of "families" against "bachelors" are rather limited in Süleymaniye, as the district in the late history "become known with bachelor houses". Residents who reside near to bachelor houses mostly said that they are used to the existence of bachelor rooms/houses/pensions as "this area is known with this phenomenon". This means that the dominant factor in the district is the bachelors not the families.

The owners of the houses in the neighborhoods, which have residential areas mostly for families, commonly avoid renting their flat to bachelors or tend to make renting difficult/complicated for bachelors and therefore exclude bachelors as residents from the neighborhood, contributing the pushing factors. Or at least, landlords when they rent their houses to bachelors put some restrictions or warn them about the quality

of their visitors or their attitude towards the female members of the resident families, so that they are conditionally not excluded. On the other hand when we look at the districts like Süleymaniye, we see that they are welcoming "bachelors". It is related to the fact that renting the existing dated building stock to them is more profitable. And also these regions are also gradually formed based on the needs of bachelors in every respect. To survive in the city, bachelors also need to stay there. Not solely for the availability of the cheap accommodation through the room renting system, but bachelors prefers Süleymaniye for its being in the walking distance to the heavily commercial area in Eminönü. And the demand for cheap labor in this area is the most important pulling factor. Since hundreds of years, Istanbul the big city, and in particular Eminönü region of it, many networks of the workforce were present in the homosocial places like coffeehouses. They have always been a target for both the large numbers of unskilled rural migrants seeking employment in various informal sectors, and capital owners seeking extensive local market and cheap labor source.

4.2.1 Importance of the Geographical Location of Eminönü and Süleymaniye

One of the important characteristics of the district is its location. As it is in the Historical Peninsula, one can reach there from every part of the city by using all means of the public transport. One can also walk to Mercan, Tahtakale and Kapalıçarşı, the parts of the Eminönü that are composing the heavily commercialized areas. This area of the city is offering many opportunities to unqualified, low skilled people to find jobs. They prefer to stay in Süleymaniye, as their place and work place is very close to each other, in walking distance. They can save transportation expenses by walking. Many interviewees in the field study have mentioned how they walk to their job in surrounding areas such as Karaköy, Fatih, and Balat. One of the Georgian women called it as the "morning sport". Saving money is the key factor to understand why bachelors prefer to stay in Süleymaniye. They pay less for the accommodation and other expenses and therefore saving money and send it to their families is easier than living in other districts. Trade and migration culture has been transferred from generation to generation especially among male members of families who deal with trade in province or of

villages who once sent their members to Istanbul to work. New generation young males are grown up with such stories in these towns and villages. They found their role models among their village people those came and stayed in "hotels" and "bachelor rooms" in Eminönü. According to many interviews the most prevailing advice given to low skilled migrant from province is "when you arrive to Istanbul, get off in Topkapı take the minibuses to Eminönü". One important factor to be considered on coming to the district is that to go back their hometown without a success is nearly impossible. There is at least, the possibility of becoming a street vendor in the crowded streets of Mercan and Tahtakale in Eminönü. These places are popular not only to tradesmen from all over the country but to the tourists as well. Street vending was a real option for bachelors before the ban of street vending by local municipality and still is in some extend for selling and buying goods from the wholesalers in trade center such as plastic kitchen equipment, sponge etc. They are loading them on a push card, and going to sell them in surrounding regions in the walking distance. This fact has also created that the push card manufacturers to be located in the region as part of the formation of the tradesmen in accordance with the needs of the bachelors. There is also another option for bachelors and the foreign unskilled labour coming from Armenia, Turkmenistan, and Georgia, to survive in the city, which is collecting waste primarily paper, plastic and metal.

The paper collectors continuously clean up the remaining of these visitors, activities and small industries (such as metallic, wooden, plastic, and paper waste) in the region. Paper collectors are not only collecting paper from several regions around Eminönü, they also collect plastic bottles and metallic pieces. They categorize these items in the depots, and then sell to the garbage traders. These items are no longer considered as "garbage", but essentially counted as the "cash" in the garbage. In fact, Eminönü Municipality has made a tender for collecting the garbage of the region. However, the successful bidder firm is currently in dispute with the municipality and discussing to terminate the contract. The contract price does not allow the contractor to make any profit due to the garbage collectors' leaving no "cash" in the garbage of the region. When the contractor started trying to fulfill the job of collecting garbage in the region, garbage collectors promptly adapted their system to the contractor's, and started

to collect the garbage before the workers of the firm start to work, very early in the morning or they collect all night long. This never ending competition to collect the garbage has led the contractor to the dilemma of whether to terminate the contract or put more pressure on the municipality to close down the depots of the garbage collectors. Clearing away the depots actually suites the organizational objectives of the local municipality; this income generating garbage collection contract is in one hand and the Urban Transformation Project of the Metropolitan Municipality is on the other hand. To "clean" the region from paper collectors in particular and bachelors in general is in line with the Urban Transformation Project. As mentioned previously, according to the project, the population profile of the region is projected to be changed from bachelors to the families by keeping a small number of bachelor houses, pensions and "hotels" only in Küçükpazar neighborhood.

4.2.2 When Bachelors Come in, Families Go Out

Several interviewees, who are mostly the old and elderly residents and ex-residents of the region's different neighborhoods, in their 60s, have mentioned a kind of dynamic throughout decades. In this dynamic, when bachelors houses and workshops of several industries such as textile, metal tableware production etc. have entered into a district especially in the upper sections of Süleymaniye region, ex-residents of Süleymaniye except Küçükpazar part, interviewees have preferred to call them as "old families"; have been disturbed and gradually moved to other prestigious neighborhoods like Kadıköy, Beşiktaş, Nişantaşı, Levent, Etiler by leaving the district to the bachelors. This has happened in each district more or less in the same way. One of the muhtars (headman), at his 40s, who was born there and still is a resident, have explained why a few "old families" still reside in the district, have said that they have not "given up struggling" (with bachelor rooms) and "not escaped". However, they have also had no other choice, but stay, without a sufficient economic power to move.

According to these interviewees, most of those who out migrated from Süleymaniye were part of the bureaucratic cadre and people from middle and upper classes; including politicians and tradesman of Grand Bazaar region. To demonstrate the prestige level of the district, old resident interviewees have given several names of ex-property owners

and neighbors, the people from upper classes, celebrities and politicians, for example Mevhibe İnönü, father of ex-prime minister Tansu Çiller or actors like Eşref Kolçak and Kemal Sunal etc. In these commentaries we can clearly see the categories as "old residents" and "new residents". New residents, (bachelors are not considered as resident, just as "transient" or "passing"), are migrated families particularly from Kastamonu starting from 1950s and from Eastern and South Eastern regions started from the middle of the 1990s.

Headman of Kalenderhane quarter in the upper part of the Süleymaniye district, born in 1967, and since then has been living in the same quarter, has uttered how bachelor houses have spread to the all parts of the district which were "normally" in Küçükpazar.

> In 1970s, the bachelor house had come to our quarter … There were 2 or 3 bachelor houses. There was a bachelor house opposite of our house for instance… At the beginning we were puzzled... I mean we could not understand what was happening... Then we had to get used to them… They have acted in that certain 'style', not to disturb anyone… not opening the windows.... curtains closed all the time… curtains are closed tightly…not making so much noise to outside… in summer time…something like not sitting outside so much even in summer's heat... At the beginning, in 1970s, they had such case.... Afterward, after 1980s, they've got used to the area living here in.......they have adopted here... This is "our place" like attitude...We've fallen into the second grade... we know we have fallen to that second degree (they became the real owners NK) they have started to be the real owners... how did that happen really? When most of the families have run away... They have found that situation…just found themselves in that position... they said like this place is ours... Then it became something like a virus, like a cancer… has entered from that point… and as the virus grow apace…the system… this disaster happen to here like this… little by little… this area has died like this…families are run away…

4.3 Places of Accommodation

4.3.1 Bachelor Rooms/Houses

First of all throughout this thesis bachelor rooms and houses are used interchangeably. Throughout the history the usage of the "bachelor rooms" and "bachelor Inns" have been observed. However today we also observe the usage of "bachelor houses".

Single room renting system is a very common practice in Süleymaniye, similar to some other neighborhoods in Historical Peninsula. The aforementioned dynamic, the increasing demand for accommodation, had encouraged the conversion of the majority of the mansion houses (big buildings with several rooms, accommodated by upper middle class families in the past) into bachelor house or pensions. Each room was designated for independent use of "bachelors". However, in most cases more than one resident stay in each room. Mostly they are akin to each other or fellow townsman sharing the same room, and they share the toilet and bathroom with other residents in the building. By age, the number of the room mates decreases. Aged bachelors whom I named them as "confirmed bachelors" mostly do not share their rooms; the room is not considered as temporary anymore, as long as the bachelors become "stable", it becomes a "home".

4.3.2 Bachelor Inns

Another type of the accommodation for bachelors is called as "Bachelor Inns[22]" ("bekar hanları"), they are like big pensions. In both systems, the owner of the Inn or the house collects the rent weekly or monthly from each resident. Or the owner, if does not like to deal with the entire business, rents the whole Inn to one single tenant, someone who is capable of renting each room to bachelors, collecting weekly or monthly rents and keeping the system in order. This tenant is called as "Oda Başı", or "Han Kahyası" ("Head of the Inn"), who is in general an ex-bachelor. Male family members or kindred of Head of the Inns are always present at the Inn at any time. Their system works like in touristic accommodation sector; they share the rotating shift work among themselves, and when necessary they sleep in the Inn, to keep the Inns twenty-four hours fully operational. Inns are mostly operated by the families which also operate other service shops like coffeehouses or local convenience stores called as "Bakkal", in the ground floor of the Inn. They are also operational until late at night, some Bakkals are open until 01:00 or 02:00 am, to provide the needs of their regular customers, such as paper collectors who collect paper at night, commies and waiters who come back to

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[22] Han means exactly hotel. During Ottoman period a complex of shops, offices, depots, manufacturers were also called "han". "Yolcu Hanı" is han for travellers, Hotel. Bekar Hanı is han for bachelor travellers. Ticaret hanı is han for commerce.

Inn at that time. The Head of the Inn, mostly prefers to work in the late afternoon shift, the busiest shift until the late hours, to deal with the problems of the Inn as bachelors finish up working and come back to "home" in the evening. During the normal working hours, the Inns and pensions are relatively quiet, except Küçükpazar which is always rouse.

4.3.3 Pensions and "Hotels"

Among the resident people in the district, existing bachelor rooms and Inns are considered as part of the "traditional" culture, which is expected that they will eventually get vanished through development. In this context, a bachelor room shared by many people, including the "bachelor" is considered as a part of an older "traditional" culture which is associated with low economical status, non-westernized cultural values, and life style. However pension owners try to put a different image to their business. Like one of the pension owners, who has corrected me, by saying "this is not a bachelor room, this is pension". Under the pressure of the local municipality, some owners have changed the status of their buildings as pensions. Pensions are responsible legally to report police the ID information of their guests every night. So that taxation of their profit become regular and the police know "who stays where".

As some bachelor houses and bachelor inns transformed into pensions, different features of the communal life in these, such as cooking in the rooms and eating together inside, have started to phase out. Cooking inside is not allowed in some pensions or it's simply because there is not enough space, as the rooms are fully occupied by berths. This results in finding food services outside. As a consequence of these, formations of tradesman adapted their food services to the new customers' need, offering fixed menus with several dishes at very low prices. This can be considered as a different of stage of living together, a more individual level, different from ex-bachelors who were almost living like a family. This individual life in pensions is a new development for the district. As the aforementioned interviewee have noted that the ex-residents of bachelor houses were living in a more communal life with their kindred, family members, and townsmen, having more like a family life which was more acceptable for the "old residents" of the region.

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The bachelor rooms and pensions in the district are closely associated with non-presence of women. Though there is limited number of women in few pensions, the presence of these women is not considered similar to the presence of women in cafés which is associated with modernization and economic advancement. As it will be discussed in Chapter 6, socializing with both sexes is considered as the indicator of development and higher level of education in the society. However, in this case, pensions with foreign women workers are not considered as indicators of development. Women's staying in pensions is a new phenomenon in the district, consequent to the demand for the past few years and few rooms are spared for them in pensions. It is still considered by male bachelors, a pension, or a bachelor house, is 'not a place for women'. Staying in a pension, except for staying in a bachelor room, is the cheapest way to accommodate in Istanbul. Therefore if a woman stays in a pension, presumably she must be "desperate".

4.3.4 Paper and Garbage Depots

Paper and garbage collectors in the district are mostly from forest villages of Aksaray, Niğde, in Middle Anatolia. They live in mostly within their depot together with collected material mostly paper, plastics, pet bottles and metal cans. They separate a space in depot for living with necessary furniture such as beds, chairs, tables and other necessities for cooking, and they use the left of the place to accumulate the materials in separate sections. Their life in the depot is rather a communal life; 10-15 people, mostly members of the same family, kindred, and townsmen are living together. In one of the depots which I have visited, I have observed that there were 14 beds, however they said there are 25 people all from the same village. However they have told me, not all the beds are occupied; as some were at hometown at the time. That's how it works; some of the garbage collectors go back to hometown time to time while the others are working. As they come back, the remaining goes back to hometown for a while. This is also a practice to control the families in their hometowns in turns. Overall it is possible to observe that they are having a family and kinship solidarity.

They pay monthly a small amount of money as a rent to their depot operator who is also a kindred or townsman; and had come to earn his living by collecting paper decades ago.

One of these depot operators that I have interviewed who came to the region, 5 years ago, does not like much collecting waste as he likes the most register works. The depot operators' occupation is mostly the paying the rent of the whole depot to the owner of the property, and registering the amount of the waste brought by his fellow men, paying their monthly earnings by deducting their monthly rental fee, and selling the whole collected material to the recycling industry.

The depot operators also functions as somewhat like a loan agency; if someone from the depot wants to get married or building a house in the city center of Aksaray, Niğde, he gets a loan from the boss, and pays back by working. Most of the ultimate goal of young paper collectors after marrying is to have a house in the center of Aksaray or their cities where their village is located, as it is a sign of success. Indeed, three villages have moved to Aksaray where paper collectors I have interviewed came from. Especially if he has children they prefer to move to town by renting a flat as they can have better access to educational facilities. One of the workers, in the depot that I have visited, has just finished paying back his loan to depot operator, his fellow townsman, by working for a couple of years that he had it for his wedding and furniture requested by his spouse and her family as a part of wedding tradition. However, his wife and child are living still with his parents as they have not had yet their own house. The never used furniture stocked in a room calls attention to how conspicuous consumption, in their hometown makes people, namely men, to act in irrational manner, and this consumption which is done for the visibility of the power of the groom was criticized by his fellows at the depot.

4.4 Living as a Bachelor

Neglected wooden buildings of the region is used as bachelor rooms, accommodated by several people living in small room divisions. However buildings of

Inns and pensions are mostly concrete. Residents are coming in the region, mostly through their kindred or fellow townsmen, from various parts of the country.

Most of the bachelor rooms are similar to each other, small in size, enabling space only for sleeping and cooking, and the circumstances are usually very bad. Toilets that are shared by many people in many rooms are serving also as bathrooms. "Bachelors" carry hot water boiled in their rooms to toilet to take a shower. Laundering and ironing needs are met by laundries and tailors in the district. Mostly more than one person sometimes reaching six even eight roommates use the room for sleeping and eating. Rooms are small like cells, beds are side by side. The clothes, towels etc. are hanged on the strips between the walls. The roommates are not only people sharing the same room for necessity, they are most of the time is chosen carefully. Not everyone accepted to the room to share the rent, for the sake of saving money. Room members are rather like members of a family as there is a similar hierarchy to the one between children and parents in a family structure. Such as if one of the room-mates is late at night others call him and ask where he is. Bachelors mostly cook for all roommates and share the expenses to save money. In crowded groups such as among the garbage collectors small groups like 2-3 persons get together and shares the food expenses. These groups can be observed in the convenience stores in the evenings while they are choosing their food together. Meal is prepared in one saucepan and usually served on newspapers laid on the floor when everybody is back in at night. To put separate plates for each person might be considered as luxury. Dining in when everybody is back is not only significant for sharing expenses, but also for maintaining a similar order to a family.

Most of the bachelors work six days a week and on Sundays usually they don't work Sundays, they dress carefully, get together with bachelors of other rooms, and gather in coffeehouses or in a room which has TV. One of the important leisure activities is to watch football matches broadcasted by paid TV channels at coffeehouses. Bachelors do not sit regularly in the coffeehouses except on Sundays or if there is a very important football match. Because most of the time they are tired as after working in long hours outside they also work in the room by cooking, washing the dishes etc. They work both in and out of their "bachelor" room similar to the situation of many working women in

the world. In Sundays, if not with watching football matches, they spend their days off with drinking tea or beer in their rooms maybe singing gloomy folk songs together by pouring out their grief to each other. Aiming to save money as most as possible limits the leisure activities of bachelors and most of the time they prefer going to places in walking distance. However for some young bachelors the distance is relative such as a couple of interviewees have mentioned that they go to Taksim on foot.

Paper and garbage collectors are mostly the peasants from villages of mountains of Niğde, Aksaray in Middle Anatolian region who work in a team and live in a community in a separated part of the same paper and garbage depots. Group members in the same depot mostly are relatives and/or from the same village. According to one depot owner there is "at least one thousand men" from their region, Aksaray who are doing this job. However, there are also other bachelors from different regions, Tokat, Erzurum, Kars and Diyarbakir even from local people; Istanbul, garbage collectors I have interviewed mentioned also people from Armenia, Turkmenistan and Romania. People who do this job individually, time to time collect paper and plastic pets and sell them to the depots for their livelihood. If the price of the paper increases, as a result of the increasing demand from the recycling factories, more paper collector can be seen in the streets. Even the dustmen of the local municipality time to time collect paper informally and sell to the depots to make additional income. If the paper and garbage collecting can be considered as part of a private recycling sector we can consider Aksaray and Niğde where most of the depot owner came from has invested this sector more than other cities. According to paper collectors the first entrepreneurs in this field were from Tokat region 20 years ago however now they have shifted to another field to invest, (leaving the job to the people from Aksaray) as the second phase; they became the producer of plastic raw material by recycling the pet bottles collected from garbage. One of the latest information which has been given to me by a depot owner who started the job ten years ago with a kind of proud that one of the first garbage collectors who are from the same place from Aksaray have won tender of recycling of local municipality.

Among paper collectors who live in paper depots mostly the owner of the depot is accepted as the person in charge or head of the community. As the owner of the depot is

the most experienced one regarding the job and the city, in general older than others and receives respect from the others as most of the time he is the elder brother, an uncle or the fellow townsman. There is generational continuation in the job such as I have interviewed three generations, grandfather (53 years old), father (in his 30s) and son (age 16) who work in the same depot.

Paper and garbage is separated and categorized by the owner of the depot by keeping records in a book for each collector. Paper and other items put in a specific place, all piled up, and then they are sold to bigger depots or recycling factories. According to the organization and division of work, bachelors collect paper and garbage from different regions around Süleymaniye, all day and night long. The owner of the depot arranges the trucks to carry them to bigger depots. He also pays the rent of the depot and/or room that they live together, pay money for the necessary expenses of the building and give pocket money to each room member. Including the depot owner in every couple of months they visit their families at hometowns. This flexibility is very important as bachelors prefer to be free to be able to visit the family at home towns. Paper collectors start to work from very early times in the mornings until late at night like 10 or 11 pm struggling with very hard conditions. With pushcarts or trolleys, all the day in very risky and unhealthy conditions they work. They sort or categorize all the paper collected all day at downstairs of their rooms or in the depot before the entrance door, put into sacks to keep ready for selling. One of the reason to sleep in the depots with paper blocks to keep watch against robbery. Everybody put their sign on their pushcarts to keep it saved from others. Almost all paper collectors state that they do their job under very harsh conditions as they have no other alternatives as they are obliged to do it. "In desperation" one of them said that "nobody wants to do it".

On the other hand there are also bachelors, some more than one decade has been doing the paper collecting and this became a life style for them. Their ages are around over 40 and earn livelihood from garbage by collecting paper which became a kind of life style, a stable job, not a temporary one. Therefore living in a room for long years makes the room more a stable place than temporary, and the room is a space having memories like home. The room is usually full with several things including pushcart for not being stolen and things from the garbage evaluated or "recycled" in these rooms.

Collectors are not only finding paper and pet bottles from the garbage they also find various kind of items which is actually not garbage. To buy these items there are also some men time to time visit the depots and buy these items to sell them in the bazaars.

4.5 Formation of Tradesman in the District

Not only the houses are formed according to the needs and demands of bachelor customers in these neighborhoods, also small scale retailers adapt their business accordingly. There are "hamams" (baths) only for male, male barbers, dry-cleaners, ironing pressers. Many bachelors come to the region for street vending, but there are already some street venders selling underwear, second hand shoes, trousers, shirts and second hand TVs whose customers are bachelors. Street venders wait for the bachelors by exhibiting their goods on the pavement, especially in the late afternoons and weekends as at these times are not in the working hours of municipal police. Food sold in small restaurants and buffets or convenience store) are usually in pieces for only one person. Food is mostly in form of "ekmek arası" (bread in), a kind of sandwich[23], ready to eat and most importantly, considerably cheaper than in other neighborhoods. Residents who are fed up with eating this kind of "dry" food, they can have "juicy" food or "food in saucepan" ("tencere yemeği") in small restaurants, though these are more expensive than "bread in" ("ekmek arası"). However, these are also considerably cheaper from other neighborhoods in Istanbul. To meet the needs of the students, some shops around the buildings of İstanbul University, little shops for photocopying, stationery, and internet cafes, cafes.

"Cheapness of the region" is often mentioned as the feature of the region. Cheap accommodation and cheap food have made the district as convenient to live for bachelors. As one of the interviewees has said that "some people encourages us to this life style"

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[23] The weight of one loaf of bread is standard in all over the city by the municipality. Things like meatball, chicken or fish are put in a half of loaf like a sandwich.. This form is actually common in all over the city. This is called as "(meat/chicken) döner in bread", "meatball in bread", and "fish in bread", (ekmek arası döner, köfte, balık). Something in half loaf set a kind of standard that one can buy in every part of the city therefore one can compare the price, like the price of hamburger in global context.

4.5.1 Coffeehouses and Male Dominated Sectors

One of the important parts of the tradesmen in the region is coffeehouses. Before going into the details of the importance of the coffeehouses in the district I would like to give historical accounts on coffeehouses in Turkish context. According to Arık (2006) coffeehouses in Turkey have always been sites for sociability and organization of occupational groups. "In the Ottoman period there were various forms of coffeehouses in which people belonging to specific labor groups and crafts would gather and form an informal set of social networks for the betterment of their businesses under a feeling of solidarity and collective identity" (Hattox 1988 cited from Arık (2006: 10)). According to Arık, (citing from Yaşar (2003)), numerous occupational profiles, several professions from artisans, shopkeepers and merchants have created informal set of social networks in the coffeehouses of Istanbul in the early 19th century. "The existences of these people who are involved with commercial activities signify that such coffeehouses functioned as professional clubs and as meeting places for people from various occupations" (Yasar 2003: 71 cited from Arık (2006:10)). Yaşar (2003) has given another example for occupational organizations as the coffeehouses which were run by military corps namely Janissaries who are located in the district for centuries; for their extra trade and commercial activities which is indeed directly related with the coverage of this thesis:

> Janissaries had their own coffeehouses that were distinguished according to their particular official emblems. These coffeehouses were also under strict state surveillance because they were the organization headquarters for janissary revolts until they were abolished in 1826" (Arik(2006:10).

Today, specific labor groups and crafts in the district have still been gathering and forming informal set of social networks under a feeling of solidarity and collective identity in coffeehouses of the district.

When it is looked at the male crowd in the district, in addition to the unskilled workers, there are lots of qualified workers such as bakers or sailors. Jobs in the informal sector; such as street venders and porters are executed in this quarter and

therefore these people must reside permanently nearby. However other workers such as workers of construction, but especially for the workers of bakery and shipping sector, the district is temporary residence while looking for jobs. Both of these sectors include male-only jobs and exclude women. Another common feature of the two sectors is that the worker stays in bachelor rooms during the periods when they expect to find jobs. As they find a job they board to the ship or they move to the dorm room of the bakery. In both sectors, workers are socially excluded, only male workers can carry out the work for long periods in covered areas.

Expert bakers, unqualified bakery workers, sailor, shipping workers, and anybody who seeks jobs in these sectors meet and look for a job while frequenting in specific coffeehouses. There are also coffeehouses especially frequented by the people from certain towns of Anatolia. For example, there are different coffeehouses where people from Kastamonu and Diyarbakır frequent. Being homo-social places, coffeehouses seem to welcome all men, yet situation is not that simple. The strangers among the folks of a certain coffeehouse are easily noticed. Especially coffeehouses where the regular customers are migrants, whether bachelors or families, from East and Southeast, the attitude toward strangers is cold and distant. Fellow countrymen from a certain town or city prefer to live in same bachelor houses, rooms, inns, pensions, and coffeehouses near to these places, fulfill the socialization and solidarity need of these people; these places are where social networks organized for bachelors.

These coffeehouses, in the middle of the social nets, are places where all information is gathered and spread, many important matters involving socio-economical structure are dealt with. The owners of these coffee shops act as mediators as these functions are done. Information on new coming bachelors gathered from their original region or town, is evaluated in these coffeehouses, to adjust their behaviors toward the bachelor. There are men living in the quarter called as "trustee", or "consignee" (emanetçi) that bachelors entrust him some goods to take them to their hometown, and while they return they bring some items to the bachelors from their families, food such as pickles, grape molasses, and some desserts etc. to be sold to the tradesmen in the city. Some bachelors (such as bakery workers, jobless at the moment because of the abundance of

unskilled workers from Georgia and Turkmenistan in the region) who seek jobs for long time but find none, who have been also in the region for long time and can still stay "on trust". As a result of their long stay in bachelor houses, they have decent relationship with shop owners or landlords. Coffeehouse owners, shop owners or landlords write their expenses, so they can stay, eat, drink tea "on trust". As these tenants are "old acquaintance" and they will come back to this quarter again in future season to rent a room and seek work in the coffeehouse. Sometimes they even lend money to bachelors so they can go back to their hometown for a while, as a sign of the solidarity, based on trust that we may observe in the district.

Coffeehouse owners also work like an employment agency. The information on who seek jobs, which workers accumulated there, is disseminated from coffeehouses. Therefore there are still employment brokers (simsar) sitting in these coffeehouses, but today not as many as there used to be. Employers who were seeking workers such as porters or construction workers often were coming to these coffeehouses in the quarter. This long way back historically structured employing model in the region, following the technological developments becoming widespread, like mobile phones, has started to change, particularly for shipping sector. Information on the qualifications of the workers, the ships that they will work, the working conditions in the ship are now available through internet, mobile phones etc. In the late 1990s, internet and mobile phones became widespread in Turkey. These developments enabled employers or simsars finding employees regardless of their location in the country, they can reach them any moment by mobile phones. By this advancement of the communication technology, staying in bachelor rooms in Küçükpazar is no longer needed to find a job for the expectant workers. The sailors and shipping workers now finding jobs through mobile phones; just go to the port where the ship is anchored and start their new jobs on board.

Despite this last decade's technology advancement effect on traditional employment model, for the first time job seeking workers, it is still essential to go to the quarter to get acquainted with the existing sector networks before starting their profession. For example, due to the formal and legal structure of shipping sector, they

must have a particular ID card for shipping, or they need to learn some processes related to their specific jobs, and they have to acquire the professional know- how. And most importantly they visit the quarter to introduce themselves to these employment brokers who still carry on their business in Business Inns (İş Hanı) in the district. These places in the district as a reflection of continuing Inn (Han) tradition in Turkey are used for multiple purposes differently from the commercial building or office blocks in modern context in other districts. Although, the structure of sailing employment sector has been considerably affected by these developments in Süleymaniye and Küçükpazar neighborhoods, starting from the late 1990s, and especially the last 5 years as mobile phones become purchasable for lower income consumers, it has not been entirely altered. It is still possible to observe sailors, shipping workers who stay in bachelor rooms or sit and wait at coffeehouses for a job, though their numbers are noticeably decreased. During the working hours, whether they live in the region or coming from other cities, it is also possible to see them continuing their visits sailing/shipping agencies in the district. Thus the male population of the region is still high and this situation maintains the masculine image of the district. In sum, after all these technological developments, changing structure of the employment in this sector, although there is no evidence of forceful necessity, or no requisite reason, it seems like the sailing sector workers or ex-workers they like to hang out in these quarters, get socialized. I have interviewed some retired sailors who have no intention to seek a job, however they still come to these quarters to visit their peer groups, or as they say "they just like this neighborhood".

4.6 Bachelors and Students in the Neighborhood

Single male population in Süleymaniye region can actually be considered in two general separate groups: students and bachelors. There are student dormitories (some are founded by religious foundations, mostly for male students[24]), especially in Kalenderhane and Vefa, near to Süleymaniye Mosque. If it is considered the male

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[24] There are only two dormitories for girls in the region. One isVezneciler Girl's Dormitories which is run by the state the other one is a small private dormitory in Vefa neighborhood close to the University. However girls who stay in Vezneciler Girl's Dormitories with 900 bed capacity rarely visit quarters of Suleymaniye, they rather prefer to use a bus station close to their building for transport.

residents of these bachelor houses as "rough"; residents of dormitories can be considered as more "refined" and "quiet" male. Though there are 200 students even in one dormitory in his quarter one of the muhktars has mentioned "the difference of manners". He added that "there is limited entrance and exit times in the night, there are facilities which delay them such as study rooms, internet, Tv saloon. He suppose that students are also "chosen from students who study heavy subjects like medicine or Law or Political Sciences as they have no time for leisure activities always studying, you can not see one single student out. They only go to his school and come back to his dormitory room and study. Even in weekends they can not be seen. "

One can observe the members of these two different male groups in especially summer and autumn afternoons and weekends to compare how the residents of these buildings walk and hang around in the streets of different part of the district. Manner and behavior of these two different groups are rather different from each other.

4.6.1 Comparison of Bachelors with Students

At the outset of my research, I carried out a general comparison survey between the bachelors, and the students of the same age. Students in my survey are from Vefa High School and Istanbul University, and living in the "foundation dormitories" in the area. This survey that I have executed is consisted of the interviews with same age students and bachelors, and dormitory administrators. The outcome of this survey has revealed some similarities and differences. For instance, the life in Süleymaniye for bachelors is insecure/uncertain and full of ambiguity, and therefore involves hopelessness, whereas it is more settled/definite/secure and holds hope for a future for the students. However, there is anxiety for both. The anxiety for the bachelors is mainly about survival in the city, whereas for the students, it is for the future. For the students income is limited but at least it's fixed, whereas the bachelors have irregular income. The main goal of the students is to graduate from school and eventually reach a new stage in life. But the only goal of the bachelors is to save money while enduring the harsh living conditions. This single aim consumes the bachelor's whole time and leaves no time for achieving any personal goal or possible personal development. Saving money actually fulfills the heavy responsibility that the bachelors are going under that is

to be the good provider(s) for their family. Some bachelors are responsible for their siblings' educational expenses, studying back in hometown; some are responsible for taking care of their families, parents and siblings, or wives and children. Sending money to those at back home is their major role and the core reason to survive and endure. Instead the main responsibility of the students is to study and graduate. Students in foundation dormitories are isolated, but bachelors are socially excluded. The economic poverty of the students is temporary, but the poverty of the bachelors is perpetual, maybe even permanent.

4.6.2 Different Sociabilities in "Coffeehouses" and "Cafés"

Both groups use the same shops to buy goods and services but they usually sit in different cafés to drink soft drinks and get socialized. Bachelors mostly sit in "kahvehane" ("coffeehouse"), shortly "kahve" or "çayhane" ("teahouse"), both referring the same usage, the "only men" cafes in Turkish context. However, male students mostly do not prefer to sit in coffeehouses. Their preference is not only because of their consideration of their social status that they do not belong there, is also because they can sit together with their female friends in "cafes", as in Turkish context sitting in coffeehouses for a woman is not considered as "suitable".

In Turkey, as meeting points there are many alternatives in cities for mixed usage of both men and women, for example "pastahane"s ("patisseries") to chat. However, "kahve" or coffeehouses where only soft drinks sold in cheapest prices as a special place, reserved only for the usage of men are widespread in all over the country, even the smallest village has at least one coffeehouse. However, following the economic development after 1980s in the country, the increasing number of women in schools and jobs created a need for more mixed places in the cities, especially around the university campuses, new type of mixed coffeehouses or teahouses have emerged. An English word with its original pronunciation "cafe" started to be used for these mixed coffeehouses. Similar to men clubs, however, coffeehouses which belong to men remained still widespread in all over the country. Coffeehouses, or shortly "Kahves" are not only the places for spending free time, playing games, cards and socializing with other men; but some of them, in some neighborhoods like Süleymaniye, functions as a

place for solidarity, meeting with people from the same part of the country or like an employment agency for some sectors like bakery and sailing.

Women do not attempt to sit in kahves. In some regions of the country, women do not even pass by "kahve" and prefer to change their route for "not to be misunderstood". When women pass by kahve, mostly they do not have a look at kahve and men sitting there (see Arık 2006). Men also are not willing to change the state and function of these places. Indeed, during this study, a couple of times I have used coffeehouses for interviews and as I entered into some "kahves", I have always felt like I have disturbed the men inside. I believe that it was related with being a woman, my gender identity, rather than being an outsider. They felt more comfortable without women in their isolated, sacred place. The requirement to change their behavior because of the existence of a woman made them uncomfortable.

In sum, in the region cafes are different for each group. Students prefer to sit more in cleanly and tidy places, "cafes", to drink soft drinks, study, wait and meet their friends. However, bachelors prefer to sit in traditional coffeehouses, "kahves", to drink the cheapest tea and coffee with other males who are alike.

4.6.3 Reflections of Hegemonic Masculinity on Space

It has commonly been said that social development occurs dictated from top to the bottom and with the support of the upper classes in Turkey. It is the upper classes internalize at most the ideology of the state. Thus they are the groups that realize the change goes down from top to the bottom within the modernization project of the nation state. In this perspective, homo-social places like coffeehouses are considered traditional and expected to change by the progress in society (Arık, 2006). Socialization in mixed places is considered as a sign of progress and higher education level. The places where people can sit in mixed groups are peculiar to upper classes. Segregated behavior and segregated spaces among genders are mostly associated with lower classes rather than upper classes. Indeed, interviewees have implied that the mixed spaces, the cafés for example, are for upper classes. Historically exclusively men frequenting coffeehouses, as homo-social places, are for lower classes. Therefore upper classes

distinguish themselves by frequenting the mixed spaces and not going to coffeehouses. Such manhood is idealized in Turkey's society. Therefore it can be considered an example of a "hegemonic masculinity".

If we take into account that the cafés has become widespread since 1980s, if it is not for elder men but for younger generation; frequenting to or hanging out in coffeehouses could be a reason for humiliation for a young man from upper classes. Because it is considered that hanging out in a coffeehouse could have effect on him adopting the performative masculinity of lower classes which are considered inappropriate by his class. Such upper class men must frequent fancier and more expensive cafés in quarters where upper classes live.

In the district the segregation among genders which has been associated with the uneducated lower classes not only in the form of bachelor houses explicitly appears in all forms. For instance "there is family hall inside" signs at the entrance of few "good" restaurants exist in the district to attract women customers. In Turkey, especially in the province, there are segregated dining areas reserved for mixed groups as "family hall" in restaurants and patisseries. Male groups or men coming alone are not allowed to sit in these areas. By the above mentioned notice it is implied that not only man-talk but also performative masculinity entertainments are not allowed in this place even there are no women at the moment.

This notice is also similar to the saying: "there is a family here" used by men when a women enter a homo-social environment to warn other men who keep doing man-talk. It is a saying in masculine jargon in order to adjust men's behaviors when a woman comes in a male condensed place. In Turkish society, in such contexts the word "family" does not only refer the presence of a real family, but implies the presence of a woman. However this woman is a woman in the classification of respectable woman; that is to say "bad" words are not allowed to express on her.

In the region there is no sign of warning for the customers in the cafés nearby the university where there are a few coffeehouses but shops and cafes which target the students. But in a café close to the section where the bachelor houses are, there is a

notice saying "reserved only for families and students". This notice is implying that this place excludes "bachelors". Even though they are at the same age with the students, the men in the classification as "the bachelors" are excluded. This notice is a sort of warning to the bachelors to tell "you are not welcome here" or "we don't want you here". By writing this warning, owner of the café emphasizes a certain type of behavior, namely, a kind of performative masculinity is not welcome. In addition we can even argue that this warning makes a kind of discrimination implying lower classes. This notice also implies that it has been also expected from the bachelors at least to perform within the frame attributed "to be student", that is to say the ideal, expected masculinity, namely hegemonic masculinity, is to perform like male students.

4.7 How Others Look at the Bachelors? Avoiding Bachelor Houses

Although the ex-residences of the district were from middle and upper middle class, now they live in popular, central and prestigious neighborhoods of the city, in the districts like Levent, Etiler, Nisantasi, Kadikoy etc.,as "the center" has moved to these districts, the existing image of the district is not the district to live in or visit. Even, for the majority of the people in Istanbul, Süleymaniye does not stand as a district's name, but a mosque's name. Süleymaniye district is considered as a place to pass by coincidence. It is not a place to visit; on the contrary it is a place to be avoided, a "back street".. Living in Suleymaniye for a long time has not been a status symbol like staying in Nisantasi or Etiler. In spite of its magnificent significance in the history, majority of contemporary citizens of Istanbul can not even locate Süleymaniye's whereabouts on İstanbul map.

Most of the interviewees said that until the last couple of years security was a big problem in the district (this subject will be also elaborated in Chapter 6) although things have slightly changed in a positive way (such as with more lighting in the streets), still, when night comes, some part of the district is considered insecure, "dangerous, not only for women, but even for men". A few of the interviewees have mentioned that until a couple of years ago male members of families, fathers and brothers, used to wait at the bus stop, at dark hours in winter evenings, to take young women who work or study in other parts of the city, safely home. As indicated by

several women I interviewed and also according to my own experiences, safety seems to be less problematic nowadays but the district with some streets densely populated with men in homo-social places bring limitations to the mobility of the women in public domain, as the male-only character of many homo-social places foremost the bachelor houses does not only affect the masculine behavior inside, but also controls the gender of the street in many streets of Süleymaniye. Some streets but especially Küçükpazar part of Süleymaniye district which is heavily gendered by intense homosocial places as part of the city which men would warn female relatives especially sister, wife and daughter "not to pass by" Küçükpazar. Statements of many women show that the practice of living in bachelor rooms is not only gendered in terms of identities of the users but it also genders the life on these streets and the whole district.

As became clear from most of the interviews I conducted with men who stay in these rooms and several women, with whom I talked about bachelor houses and my observations in these streets there has always been discomfort for a women to walk in Kucukpazar streets which is similar to the general phenomenon of 'passing by the coffeehouse' in Turkey. One of the reasons of the situation is the gender asymmetry in the public space. The male-only character of many homo-social places in the district and the male-gaze that watches over the whole streets from these places mostly from bachelor rooms, coffeehouses, bars, male barbers etc. create a kind of stress on women who passes by. Therefore many local women change their way and spend more time. Such as women who make shopping from Eminonu prefer walking by the main road to go to Fatih instead of using the shortest way through Kucukpazar district and spend more time. In the same vein, female university student interviewees gave similar accounts.

We can look at the district from the perspective of two types of women: women who use the district ("passing by") and women who live in the district.

Young women students of Istanbul University who use "the back door" of the campus have a specific street as "a safe route" which they find "more secure" for walking to the bus station particularly in dark hours in the evening or early in the morning. They also prefer the long way as it is "more secure" to go to some buildings of the university in

the middle of the district outside of the campus. The campus door opening to Suleymaniye district is called by the students as "the back door" which is interesting as a symbolic reflection of the image of the district in the mind of students. Indeed the University student's preference to use the other door of the university and campus is like someone who turns his/her back to Suleymaniye. Administrator of a private dormitory for girls in the area has mentioned that, "the streets other than this one known to be "a secure street", are not recommended for girls, even in the day time". When a girl walks in these streets on Sundays, the off day for bachelors, she will most probably be whistled at. Whistling, singing, harassing, or making a pass at a woman can be considered "normal" within the bachelor living area. In fact, in the beginning of my visits to the district during weekends, "bachelors" whistled and made a pass at me a couple of times as well, by saying "she must have missed her way". However, the district is different for women during the working hours, when bachelors are at work. Workers of workshops and wholesale business tradesmen in their shops do not exhibit such behavior.

On the other hand, the activities of the female members of families who live in the district especially streets with bachelor houses are adapted to the existence of bachelors especially evenings and Sundays. However, interviewed women who live on the same street with bachelor houses have various responses. Some of the woman interviewees have said that they have no complaints regarding the bachelors as the bachelors are always busy at work during the day and even the nights; and most of the time the bachelors are engaged with their own problems and do not disturb the families. Husbands of these women however might be thinking differently. Some of the women have mentioned that though they think the bachelors are quiet and harmless, husbands might get disturbed from the presence of the bachelors around and therefore it should be the women who must be extra careful with their behavior.

These tenant families which seem not to be disturbed by bachelor houses can be considered bound to the district. Not only their male members of these families can easily find jobs in the informal sector in the district, mostly as street venders, but they also from time to time receive donations in kind like coal or financial support for the

education of their children from the local municipality. In fact the assistance of the municipality, especially the financial support, has attracted many new comers from all over the country starting from 1994. After local elections in 2004 with the new mayor, local municipality's policies have changed and it has finished some aid facilities and limited the amount of the existing aids. On the other hand, some of the residents who live in the old buildings of the district do not pay any rent, to be more precise they are "occupants". Therefore it can be said that to be able to justify their stay in the district they make lesser complaints in comparison to the complaints of the "old residents of the district" or "local people" who often make complaints about bachelors. However, the reason behind more complaints about bachelors from "local people" who are mostly tradesman and artisans is that they do not only compare the existing physical conditions of the district as a space with the old days, they also compare the manners of bachelors in the past and today which I will mention in Chapter 5 and 6.

Before concluding this chapter I would like to draw attention to the Mills's analysis (2007) in which she argues that single woman can find accomodation in mahalle of Kuzguncuk neighborhood in İstanbul however she does not emphasize that single woman are considered under the category of "family" therefore they can find accomodation as a result of their gender identity rather than their class. On the other hand bachelor groups who are relatives, such as father and his sons or cousins is likely to be considered under the name of "family" as one of the headman has said that "the attitude and manner of the bachelors in 1970s were different than today as they were families (male members of a family) or they were acting like a family". On the other hand, as long as a woman relative stay in the same flat with a bachelor group, group can be considered under the family category.

In conclusion, several streets in the region especially Kucukpazar part of it with bachelor houses and pensions especially in the nights with several men chatting and hanging around the corners of the streets, eating meals in restaurants, playing cards and watching TV together in several coffeehouses is considered as "not appropriate" for women to pass by especially in the nights for decades even centuries as I have indicated in Chapter 3.1:"The Past". Therefore these streets as masculine spaces "well known

with this feature" are more than physical settings involving culturally indexed meaning embedded into the local culture (de Certau 1984).

Before going into details of masculinities contested in the region to conclude this chapter, I will quote one of the "confirmed bachelors" on why "bachelors" prefer staying in the district:

Every people is welcome to Küçükpazar….let's say Levent region or Bebek region .....from here one can not go and stay there….both because it is expensive and the atmosphere is different.. ....but here people of all sorts can stay here...people from different cities such as Sivas, Kayseri, Malatya, Siirt, all sorts of people from different parts. but regions there are certain types of people, elite people...this region can accept everybody…..people come here willy-nilly ….. This neighborhood (Küçükpazar) or Vefa…..they can not accommodate in Üsküdar, Kadıköy or Beşiktaş..I mean they can not take in/accept them...he is obliged to stay here...they can not keep up with there...of course you feel comfortable here…..as you are in the same thing...let's say you go out in Beşiktaş and sit somewhere… with whom will you speak??...let's say in Beşiktaş you went to a coffee with whom will you chat?? You know nobody there...but here is not like that...but here there are people until 11pm or 12pm you can find someone to pour out your grief here...(you mean you can find friend not to feel the loneliness NK) sure..

CHAPTER 5

MASCULINITIES IN SÜLEYMANIYE

In this chapter firstly masculinities exist in Turkey will be studied locating them in the general structure of the country from the perspective of "hegemonic masculinity" concept. Then single male migration which is continuing for hundreds of years -as it has been shown as single male migrants/workers in the history of bachelor rooms/houses in Chapter3, "the Past" section - will be elaborated as a phase and part of becoming an adult man in the rural masculinities in Anatolia. Aspects which cause the bachelorship of rural men will be discussed and the spatial role of the district with various types of masculinities enacting in many homo-social places, in the transition of the "bachelors" will also be detailed. Then a metaphoric space-based categorization of the male population in the district, as "Inn keepers" and "passengers" will be made –based on the spatial circumstances of men in the district- in addition to them two categories based on "the responsibility" made by the bachelor's themselves, as well as other space bounded categories, specific to the district will also be included.

5.1. The masculinities in Turkey from the perspective of "Hegemonic Masculinity"

To be able to articulate "bachelors" with the masculinities in country general, it is necessary to demonstrate the location of bachelorship, as a special case of manliness, in Turkish society in general, in the case of Süleymaniye in particular, in the general construction of masculinities in the country. To portray a general "hegemonic masculinity" in Turkey we can start with an example from American masculinity. Goffman in 1963 describes how American male look out upon the world from what perspective. An American male is

> A young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual, Protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight and height, and a recent record in sports…Any male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself…as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior (p.128).

In this portrait we clearly see a kind of masculinity performed by men who hold power sets a standard or an ideal. There is no single manhood in Turkey that defines all men in Turkey, instead several masculinities performed by men from different classes/ethnic groups/faiths/regions who hold power set some standards or ideals. However, similar to the above mentioned example we can attempt a general depiction of Turkish male as "young, married, urban, born in Western part of the country that is ethnically considered "Turk", heterosexual, been circumcised, completed military duty, secular, Sunni father of university graduate, fully employed, of good complexion, weight and height". To explain the argument we may use "Turkish manhood" to describe the specific hegemonic version of masculinity in Turkey, as I call "White Turkish Manhood" in which normative group of attitudes, traits, and behaviors that became the standard against which all "other" masculinities are measured and against which individual men measure the success of their gender accomplishments.

All nation states support sameness and deal with difference to reach a unifying viewpoint for national identity. For guaranteeing Turkish national identity, especially with the help of the obligatory military service of all men in Turkey, the abstract identity of Turkish manhood as an ideal has been created (Sinclair-Webb, 2000; Selek, 2008). However "Turkish manhood's" identification with national unity has worked historically to restrict "others" from achieving full right. "The other" as a theoretical concept can be used in masculinity studies as Connell (2005:4-30) has argued that masculinity can be negatively constructed by the production of "the other". Like du Pisani (2004:161) said that "in contrast to "the self" within the context of the dominant or hegemonic form of masculinity, the "other" may include categories such as women, homosexuals, effeminate men, and men from other races, ethnic groups, social classes, ideological orientations, and religions".

Hegemonic masculinities are legitimized by the marginalization of other forms of masculinity; such as masculinities of different social classes, ethnicities, sexualities, ages or abilities. The traditional rural masculinity might be given as one of the examples of the "other" masculinities in Turkey, preserving its conservative tendency until 1980s, threatened by the modern hegemonic masculinity of the urban secular elite who controls

the political regime and the business life in urban. Therefore, "bachelors" who are the representatives of traditional rural masculinity might be considered as the one of the examples of "the other".

Other important examples of "the other" masculinities in Turkey are non-Muslim men, such as Armenian men, men from ethnic groups, especially Kurdish men.

Respectively when we look at the field of the study, some tradesman and artisans who have been doing the same job in the same shops since several decades; they consider themselves as the "owner of the region" and the representatives of "old times". They have always mentioned the good old days and complained about the existing profiles of migrants from different part of the country and from abroad, mostly the neighboring countries like Romania, Moldovia, Georgia, Turkmenistan, even from South Asia, accusing them to cause the existing situation of the region. In addition they have emphasized the negative attributes in essentialist way with Kurdishness, regarding them lazy, opportunist, primitive and uncivilized about the migrants from East and Southeast, both as single male and family associating. One woman among the old residents in the region, similar to the sayings of shop owners, after she complained much about the migrants from "East", she surprisingly realized by laughing "I am also from East but we were not like these new comers". This reactionary rejection may show the class differences among the people from the same region, as the new ones are mostly from villages. Shop owner's comments and accusations adopting the perspective of mainstream media also cover the Kurdish male comparing the features of Kurdish manhood from the perspective of hegemonic "White Turkish Manhood" which sets the norms and ideals. According to Kimmel (1993:29) sexism, racism and homophobia are the factors which constitute and strengthen the hegemonic masculinity. These factors take on a task of discursive mechanisms which transform hegemonic masculinity from a normative case to normal situation. Associating negative attributes to Kurdishness, ethnic discrimination by discursive mechanisms become a factor to strengthen the hegemonic masculinity of "White Turkish Manhood".

As a result of above mentioned accusations, some "patriot" Kurdish men who distinguish themselves from ordinary Kurds, I spoke with were in a position refusing

such kind of manhood which humiliates, exerts violence and power on (Kurdish) women. In the meantime, they were actually marginalizing ordinary Kurds as part of the traditional rural masculinity being part of the feudal structure in Kurdish society "supported by Kurdish bourgeoisie and the state". It was clear from their words how they were disturbed by these accusations by the main stream media. To them the main stream media confirming the prejudices mostly created by nationalists and state ideology exerts pressure on Kurdishness by using the gender issues among Kurdish people. According to them media's main aim is not to help to ameliorate the gender problems of Kurdish people but to become part of the political pressures and insult Kurdish people. Their reactionary manhood can be named as "Defensive Kurdish Manhood". These examples are similar to what Connell (1987) argued that there are masculinities as some subordinate and some dominant exist as a result of the differences in ethnicity, race, class, sexual orientation, age and occupation and this form and content of hegemonic masculinity operates in and depends on this specific social and historical context exist in the district and the country.

5.2 Gendered View on Migration

To examine gender and migration in Turkey, it is essential to understand the strong pushes and pulls that emerge from political and economic forces. Recently we can mention neoliberal agrarian reforms which accelerate rural-to-urban movement in Turkey during the past decade. In European Union accession process, a set of policy changes have opened Turkey's protected agricultural sector to agribusiness. These developments have influenced many small and medium-sized farmers across the country consequently, squeezed rural economies and intensified existing push factors out of rural areas. On the other hand ethnic conflict in South East of Turkey throughout the recent decades has also enormously influenced the rural to urban migration (Kurban, et.al, 2006). We do explain with these developments some part of the current migration to big cities however to be able to understand single male migration from rural to urban which continues for hundreds of years we have to look at a gendered history of men (Connell, 1995:6) as I have mentioned in theoretical discussions. Unfortunately, in our country, not only in history, approaches to masculinity are lacking in several social

science disciplines. However, as Connell said that we need the evidence of diversity and transformation in masculinities provided by historical and ethnographical researches. Connell argues that historical research on masculinity leads via institutions to questions of agency and social struggle (Connell, 1995:30).

Becoming part of the same cultural system in the country, the bachelor rooms/Inns as place and men as actors have been used together for centuries. As an almost exclusively men's place, neighborhoods with bachelor rooms and bachelor Inns have been an important part of the urban economical and social life. To be able to understand how masculinity is described in relation to the migration as a tradition and practice and how hegemonic masculinity which is constructed and contested via migration influences the urban and rural life through this practice it is essential to discuss the gender structure. In this attempt, I will follow Butler's approach in which gender is not a universal conception of who you think you are, rather, having a performative aspect; it is what you do at a particular place and in a specific time. Thus, being male is not a 'natural fact', but 'a cultural performance' (1990) and "the materiality of sex is constructed through a ritualized repetition of norms" (1993 p:x)

For the single male practice of migrating to cities, such as Izmir, Bursa, Edirne but especially to Istanbul for hundreds of years (Karpat 2003) it can be argued that this homo-social tradition has some kind of significance in the cultural construction of masculinities in the rural part of Turkey. This tradition, but especially the male-only character of it in the lives of rural men, (not only the journey but the struggle to survive in the city accommodating in Inns and bachelor houses) is important and constitutes the most important parts of the whole migration stories which continuously construct masculinities for the new generations in rural part of the country. It can be argued that single male migration is based on gendered notions that come from the established cultural codes of femininity and masculinity. In the same vein, Connell (1995) calls gender as organized in symbolic practices that may continue much longer than the individual life.

As a result of several interviews and my observation in the region, I have concluded that Like Monsutti said (2007:182) that migration might not be a break but a

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crucial stage in the life cycle of some young "bachelors", as a "a rite of passage to adulthood" (Van Gennep, 1960) through which a man proves his masculinity (Monsutti, 2007:167). Similar to what Monsutti said, single male migration, moving to the cities, especially for young male "bachelors" can be considered as a way to gain their personal autonomy. On the other hand for their families, the single male migration is a survival and coping strategy under difficult economic conditions. Families by giving the mobility to young male members of the family they spread risks.

For most of the young male "bachelor", migration to cities and live in bachelor rooms might be considered a socially necessary stage, in these men's lives, during which they had to prove that they were able to survive in the city in hard conditions. In some aspects it is similar to military service, as one of the interviewee has said that as he lived in bachelor room he didn't suffer much in his military service. Young bachelors have to demonstrate the qualities expected from a potential family head by surviving in the city. Working in hardship, learning new responsibilities without cutting the relationships with his family and to accumulate the money needed for many reasons such as to fulfill the expenses of marriage are some of these qualities. Migration from country to city as single man might be a way for young bachelors to build their adulthood and masculinity and to become recognized in the steps of becoming a full man. These qualities are the qualities constructed as ideal hegemonic gender form culturally arranged in this particular specific time and conditions; therefore it can be considered an example of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995).

On the other hand, as a result of single male migration from rural to urban, the absence of men especially young men in villages or small towns bring important social, cultural, and economic changes concerning the division of labor by gender and generation. To examine gender and migration in Turkey, it is essential to understand gender in which masculinity and femininity are relational. The life and the economy is mostly based on traditionally gendered division of responsibilities in villages and small towns where "bachelors" come from. Men are responsible from the main agricultural work and relations with the public sphere. Especially young men as the more mobile members of the families migrate for work, sometimes for several years. Rural women

who stay behind at home tend to move less but after the migration of men start to play a much more crucial role in the family economy and strategies than they used to. Staying behind in the village or home town while men are absent, they gradually become responsible from traditionally male tasks and gain power (Monsutti 2007, Abadan-Unat 2002:166). On the other hand Kandiyoti (1994) draws attention to the constructions of masculinity in male/female interactions in family, gendered relations, giving a particular example; male child's move from the position of child to the position of man, when adult men are away from the household like "bachelors". In other words when young males are the sole male in the house, (in the absence of his older brother and father), boys could play at being "the uncontested master of the house", which Kandiyoti suspects to be quiet widespread in Turkey. This situational display of masculinity of male child is celebrated by adult women by playing along with and spoiling him. However, when men returned home, the situation changes, being not yet old enough to take part in the masculine world, he comes back to the female domain where he is still part of it and of low status (Kandiyoti, 1994: 206). All these changes as a result of migration constitute a ground where the roles of the men and the women, the roles of the youth and the elderly, are renegotiated. Therefore single male migration with its important impacts upon the social life of the rural part of the country functions like a transporter of social change.

5.3. Different Aspects of Bachelorship

There are several economical and socio-spatial reasons which force rural men to live a bachelor's life by migration in Süleymaniye district.

Seasonal reasons create two sided migration throughout the year. Firstly, some bachelors, who work during the winter in the city, when the summer came, come back to their villages to gather the crops. Even for those who have rural background, live with their families in the city, if some parts of their families stay in the village they go back their villages and help their relatives. To be able to survive in Istanbul not to pay excess food expenses as a life strategy to help and get some food support from the rural is important. However, bachelors who work in the unqualified positions by leaving work in the summers make them unstable worker from the eye of the owner of the

workplace. Such as in restaurants only the stable employee, after working a period as a bellboy/commis becomes waiter. To be stable is also important to get social insurance especially in the case of working as unskilled labor in the labor market. According to a restaurant owner, "to invest a staff is time and money". According to bachelors if the shop owners feel that a staff will leave when the summer comes, they pay less. Therefore bargaining power of bachelors is lesser than someone who stays all the year in the city. Indeed, in a country that unemployment rate is high, the bargaining power of all unqualified workers are very weak. However, there is another side of the issue. Many bachelors deliberately choose jobs with daily wages to be able to visit their families in their home towns. In addition the daily wages in some jobs like construction worker is higher than several stable jobs like textile for unskilled labor.

Secondly, again when the summer come, another seasonal migration is observed but the direction from and age is different. Interviews with bellboys show that starting from early ages, like 14-15, boys who attend school in their hometowns, during their school vacation in summer time, are likely to leave their hometowns/cities to work and experience a city like Antalya, Adana or in coastal towns but especially Istanbul. They work to support their limited family budget by compensating their own expenses of education for the next semester as there is no opportunity to find job in their own cities. While most of these "bachelors" who are "responsible man" come to the region for his family lived in economic hardship, to overcome the economic difficulties suffered by his family as a result of the forcing of circumstances, there is another aspect of bachelorship, at the age of puberty, even if just limited number, whose motivation is to have an "adventure". One interviewee (age 34) who has abandoned his school and come to the region at the age of 14 has explained his motivation to come to the region in this way:

> Bachelor: First, it sounded like an adventure. When I was in the hometown, before I knew what Istanbul would have been, how the conditions are, what I did, I was wondering, for example the school, I quitted and I came.
> Bakkal and Inn Keeper: What now? Do you regret that you have come?
>
> Bachelor: I regret of course!

(First time you came, you came because, you have looked at "ağbi"s (literally means older brothers, but it is not necessarily used for biological brother) in your neighborhood that goes to Istanbul and comes back and you were fascinated and thought "wow I got to see it" that's how you came? NK) yes… (Or you were forced to look after the household etc.? NK) for livelihood, nothing has been asked at home. I mean my elder brother has been working here or in hometown, nobody ever asked me to come here to work, to make money. (They did not ask, but yourself aspired to NK) my father's intention was getting me educated…We were attending school (ha! adolescence…you say… it was destined, but it was also your choice? NK) yes sure! (Voice of another bachelor: ignorance ....) You know there is a saying, I wish I come to the world again (I wish I were born again). (Is that so? NK) I wish I were a child once again! (Maybe you would have still come?) Maybe I would. Maybe I would have been doing something else. To come, I would come anyway. (Lot of people, because of the economic conditions have been forced to, I mean NK) At the moment, for instance I have to willingly or not. But what I am saying is at that time it was not necessary at all.

Bachelors who live a" bachelor life" in the district, when visit their home towns in migration-sending areas of the country by talking about the district, constitute an example for the new generation, namely boys. The name and use of the region in this way from generation to generation among men has been transferring. With the words of the above mentioned bachelor whose motivation is "adventure", it can be summarized as follows.

I remember that when we were small kids as (as dialogs) "inns of these bachelors have been sealed up". In Küçükpazar (at that time) of course it was crowded then (of course you were giving ear to things which were said by uncles etc? NK) one is coming (from Istanbul), our uncles, when we were small kids, going to the school times, they were mentioning the names of "Vefa" or "Küçükpazar" (in İstanbul) as they were saying, "they have closed down bachelor inns", "they do not let anyone in" etc.(Which year this was? NK) 1984 or so, I was born in 1975. (You mean when you were a kid, things that spoken around you about the life in here, you were giving an ear to, listening to those dialogs? NK) of course as a kid when people talk about something, as most of us do, one will not forget easily that (in addition when fathers talk, as they are father and adult, you know, "these are important people", "let me hear what they talk about" in childhood they get affected by them NK) kids are very much affected, those talks remain in the head more.

Reasons to live a bachelor's life for some young bachelors I have interviewed were not always "economic difficulties" to be solved as "responsible men". As I have expected, for some cases crisis of patriarchal structure has been the main reason to live as "bachelor". One of the young interviewees (age 17) from East has mentioned that he left home at the age of 12 as he was suffering from his father's mal treatment. He came from Antalya where he spent his past 4-5 years there by doing car-washing. It was obvious from his proud that he felt like he was grown up when he migrated. He knew that he started to be considered especially by his mother as a man. Mother's attitude to consider the migrated son as an adult man confirms or intensifies this feeling and makes the situation irreversible. He never became a boy again. Interviewee wants to finish high-school but he finds himself too old to attend the school. Another example is a young "barkeeper" who "escaped" from his father who compelled the boy to attend a boarding school in their region. He escaped with a couple of friends who some of them sold wedding rings of his mother to make travelling money. I will give more examples in below sections related with father factor and "to escape" for not being criticized by him which is mentioned as one of the main reasons to be away from their home town.

There are also some bachelors who left his job in the month of Ramadan and go to their home towns. These workers because they "can not get a kick out of Ramadan if they are away from their families" or "they can not find pleasure spending Ramadan in Istanbul" return to their home towns. They actually do not want to fast and work at the same time. For them Ramadan is an occasion to go home and rest…Like a mirror image, there are men from province also do not want to spend Ramadan at their home town then come to the district. If they stay at home they feel that they are obliged to fast. Even if they do not fast, they do not like eating hidden in social environment of their home town. One of the important factors in this flight is also the pressure of the father in the patriarchal structure. By the way, this exchange of men in the month of Ramadan is a sign of how men in the province have seen the district; a free zone.

5.4. The district: Passage, Transition or Liminality

The district can be described as a transition zone unique to men, is serving to three kinds of transitions for men:

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1-the transition from adolescent youth to adult masculinity

2-the transition from rural life to urban life

3-the transition from the local masculinity of which the man was born into to one of the masculinities in the region

Süleymaniye district and particularly Küçükpazar part of it is the first location for "bachelors" to meet with the first examples of things that they will switch into for the first time. However, the consideration of Küçükpazar as a transition zone is loosening, since 2001, with the economic crisis has occurred, because the new comers are experiencing a very long transition process, or before they move into the city to live, in the middle of this transition, goes back to their homeland. The existing job opportunities are no longer enable them save money, as they come for, so that they can endure this constraining life for a couple of years. Current jobs, also with the possibility reducing of such jobs effects of the Urban Renewal Project, are mostly "save the day" jobs. Years are passing, they are aging, but the achievements and aging are not bringing the uprising prestige and status as expected. By moving to the city they leave their rural life and transit to the life in the district, but if the urban life as it is generally considered with respect to its relation to the civilization, yet they haven't move to the urban life, as their life in the district can not be really defined as urban. On the other hand, the transition from a kind of masculinity to another is easier than the other two transitions, as there are hundreds of examples of transitions from the masculinity that they were born into, to the several other masculinities that exist in the district. However, whether this new adopted masculinity is abiding, or which of the masculinity discourses are remaining can vary. "Bachelor", when comes together with his family again in hometown, is aware of that he will encounter the obligations of the masculinity that he left behind, he knows that he will be considered accordingly. Fearing that he might fail in meeting the expectations of this masculinity in hometown has created on his family; such cases that he may be excluded, all these fears make him to get involved more with this new masculinity type that he starts to get acquainted. The more that he gets worried of the expectations that he perceives from those that he left behind, the more he finds it difficult to imagine going back home.

For all of the three transitions, the most important determinant factor is men's established social and economic relations with those left behind. In the past, the relations with hometown were very limited due to the lack of the communication means, but today maintaining the relations is easier through mobile phones, even for some bachelors internet, they clearly shorten not only the distances in between but also transmitting time of the updated news on the bachelor's transition. However "news" related with these different types of transitions are shared to different persons in the home town. Such as while in peer groups sexuality might be shared, earnings and circumstances related with their accommodation and achievements of work is shared with family members.

One of the bachelors said "one member of every family is in Istanbul, this makes the news on Istanbul is the most interesting news to all Turkey". Having a member (male) in the city is a hope for possible up-ward mobility for families, thus the transition (from rural to urban life) is something desirable. However, at the same time it's fearful for parents or elderly back in hometown, because of this well-known yet unknown Istanbul could render other transitions such as those to the unwanted masculinities in the "irresponsible man" category, or the worst of all like the masculinities studied by Özbay (2005). Therefore news coming from mobile phone could be relieving or stressing for both sides. Overall the role of the migration as a transporter of social change has been accelerated through the communication means.

5.5 Categorization of male population in Süleymaniye

This thesis try to understand over the bachelor rooms/houses, the formation and the construction of masculinities in Süleymaniye. As it is discussed in Chapter 4, bachelorship as a particular state of manliness is "place bound" in Turkish urban context in general and in particular Süleymaniye district especially Küçükpazar part is one of the embodied examples of this fact. In this district we can observe one particular form of the social and spatial reflections of place-bound bachelorship.

In this section a space based categorization of male population in Süleymaniye will be made to understand the production of specific masculinities linked with this

particular social context. The male population constituting high percentages of the whole population of the neighborhoods in the district can be spatially categorized in two main groups: stables and transients. In order to define these groups, "innkeeper and passenger" metaphor[25] can also be used. Specifically Küçükpazar and Vefa sites of the district can be assumed as a big Inn, and people coming to these sites, staying for some time and then leaving are passengers. In this metaphor, taking into account the flow of people in the region, we can call the stables, who can economically survive in the district for a long time, as "innkeepers".

5.5.1 Stables ("Inn Keepers")

The most powerful, the best stables in this group are specifically the "old tradesmen" trading especially in their own properties in the district and "old property owners" living in the district, who were born and/or spend most of their life in the district. However within this group, there are also stables different than these stables, I have called them as "succeeded bachelors", and "confirmed bachelors".

Part of the stables are transients who have succeeded in changing their socio-economical status in time and started trading in accordance with the district's function as a male ghetto. These persons whom we can call as "succeeded transients" or "succeeded bachelors" have realized a transition in terms of the above mentioned all three means. Therefore, they are the most important witnesses on whom we can see the effects of the district. "Succeeded bachelors" mostly had come to the district in tender age e.g. after finishing primary school, after succeeding in jobs that are appropriate to the contexture in the district they had taken responsibility to take care of and to protect younger male relatives who were sent from the hometown. We can also add muhtars (headpersons) of neighborhoods, who are civil administration officers, to the successful bachelors. Except female headperson and one other male headperson the rest of the six headpersons have all come to the district in order to work in their tender ages. Currently, besides being a headperson, they own businesses such as cafes, male barbershops, tekel (buvettes selling alcohol) dealers, internet cafes, confectioners,

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[25] Innkeeper is to world, passenger is to human beings to depict the temporariness of the world as a space in Turkish context.

restaurants, and scouring sponge manufacturers and they personally run these businesses. Again, another civil administration officer, police are not perused under this category since they change frequently although they are "authority" like headpersons. Property owners such as owners of lodgings, namely bachelor rooms/houses and hotels and pensions literally and allegorically have "innkeeper" attribute. Moreover, people who have served for many years in lodgings, hotels and pensions can also be perused under "innkeeper" category.

Stables are the ones that keep an eye on the district to live within certain line of values. Stables not only serve their customers being close to commercialized area they also serve the bachelors who come to the district by means of owning businesses and shops in the district. Sharing information among each other, stables sometimes try to intervene with accommodation of unwelcome persons in the district. Most of the time stables do not interfere with the men who take shelter in the district in order to maintain their vice comfortably. Stables, within each other, decide on what is acceptable and what is not from the district specific rules and sometimes they intervene with the situation in this circulating flood of people. For example, although it is forbidden they may not intervene with gambling for money in certain coffeehouses, but it has been observed that they establish cooperation against bachelor's rooms/houses residents with ill-will. For example, a headperson is explaining his own situation as follows:

> All in all, you are a local authority with no authority. So you take your own measures in accordance with your judgments. If you think some people that they are not having a decent life, you can put a distance in your extent. Let's say maybe you tell to the shopkeepers, tradesman, that guy looks like someone incorrect, so watch out your relations to him. A warning…That's what I'm doing, warning.

Another stable owns one of the rare pensions located close to Suleymaniye Mosque in Vefa where also foreign women stay. After telling the things he had done in order to protect his women customers from women procurers coming to his lodging, this stable had told the criterion determining his behavior towards especially women customers as follows:

You know, I have 4 kids, now I think like, as I never want anything bad would happen to my own children, they (bachelors) also must have parents, so I don't want anything bad would happen to them also. (Would you have thought in same way if would not have had any child? Is child something that makes people different? NK) Absolutely! For example before having children, I mean when I was single, my life was more comfortable. (Your view about women was different then, before you get married? or after you get married? or… do you have a daughter? NK) Yes, I have a daughter... (After your daughter, is it different than before, how that affects or does it have any effect? NK) Definitely there is a difference, how? When you are single, even when you're looking at a little girl, one thinks how! Because devil! But now looking at myself, she was like at the age of my daughter, what a big mistake I was going to make! Because how a single scratch on one nail of my child is enough, if I can, I flatten down this world…as a father… children sometimes… really stop some bad things, they stop you really. (so a parent having a daughter is more humanistic than a parent having a son, from this point of view? NK) for me yes so, in my opinion it's so because at the moment I have a 11-12 years old daughter. (At girlhood, and she's growing…NK) at the moment, I would not exchange one of her single hair to the entire world. (So having a daughter is a different feeling.. having a son is another… NK) For sure…When I ask my wife "Where is the boy?" She answers "he's out playing", oh that's OK. "Where's my girl?" it's totally different.... (From outside, another voice: affection to daughter, a father is fonder of daughter) A daughter is really something. Well children are your children there is no way that you can differentiate them, they are equally your won children, but in the end how boys are fonder of mothers, and girls to fathers, just like that, I mean it's something else.

5.5.1.1 "Succeeded bachelors"

The significance of the bachelor room in the traditional rural masculinity as well as the city culture lies in the continuity of this style of accommodation and cultural meanings attached to it as a masculine space. Thus, staying in bachelor rooms and later go on to the next stage, jumping to the city has a particular significance among the codes of 'being a succeeded man' in rural context as it means that he succeeded to survive in the city. It is similar to the importance of military service as a kind of milestone in the life of a man in the society of Turkey. For young "bachelor", migrating from rural to the city and staying in "bachelor rooms" is considered a kind of period which makes him 'man'. Many young man from Anatolia bears all hard even painful

conditions, endures all pains to be able to make money for his aim and/or to support his family. I have found some of these succeeded "bachelors" in the district as the owners of small shops or bachelor houses becoming part of the "stables". Stepping from the position of tenants to the property owners in the district were making them proud. They were proud that they worked so hard, but at the end they got what they deserved. Such as one of the owners of pensions from Malatya, in his 40s, working in the district more than 25 years said that "16 hours everyday I have worked for years". He has "succeeded" by managing to own a pension in the district and reunion with his family in the city.

According to some "succeeded bachelors", every era has created its own "jobs" related with mostly trade, such as when the wholesale market hall was in Unkapanı, some bachelors used to make arse or basket. Then later changing in every decade they start to make chest or box then later plastic package materials. One of the interviewee in his 80s who used to stay in basket workshops in his teenage years is now still working in district doing baskets though his customers are now rather limited. He is one of the "succeeded bachelors" and also is uncle of one of the muhtars who is also one of the "succeeded bachelors", in his 50s, who came to the district to work as an apprentice in a barber shop in his early teenage years. Both of them stay in other neighborhoods with their families close to the district. To see men, "succeeded bachelors" from the same family but different generations in the district is not uncommon, as those younger are sent to the old one to be protected when he is one of transients yet.

On the other hand "the succeeded" bachelors in between 40-50 ages, I have interviewed were aware that it was not only their determination and hard working have made them to be succeed, the economical conditions in "their time" were different than today. There were job opportunities for everybody who would like to work then. However things are different today as a result of the policies of the municipality like many "bachelors complained that "the street vending was finished by the municipality". Local municipality has made workshops move to other districts by not expanding their working license. In addition, there is excessive labor supply more than the labor

demand with people from neighboring countries such as recently Georgia, Turkmenistan, and Armenia.

Succeeded bachelors who are in their middle ages now compares the last two decades and argues that daily earnings in Istanbul were constantly decreasing throughout the last couple of the years. Therefore for instance the gap between the earnings in textile sector such as in Malatya in the East and Istanbul are narrowing thus there became no need to migrate to Istanbul" said one of muhtars who is also an ex-bachelor born in Malatya. "To live in Malatya is cheaper than in Istanbul if you earn more-or-less with the same wage level in Istanbul to live in Malatya is more reasonable."

5.5.1.2 "Confirmed bachelors"

In this classification the place of males over 55, "confirmed bachelors", starting from their youths who have stayed in bachelor pads, rooms, lodgings, and hotels for many decades in the district is ambiguous. These people have come to the district as one of the transients, however due to lack of objective have spent many years in the district because of the attractiveness of the life as a single male in the district and at this period, connections with their family have loosened or have passed the age of marriage hesitating to get married, and afterwards they have become estranged from the life outside the district and have not wanted to get outside the district. "Confirmed bachelors" stand at a point where they can compare the transients and socio-economical status of the district that have changed over time as good as the stables some of whom are "succeeded bachelors" within this period. As a result of living together with other stables for decades, as all stables have a close relationship, ("law" as they call ("hukukumuz var")), however these relationships do not change their being perceived as "bachelor" since they lead a lonely life in the bachelor rooms, without the solidarity networks implied by family. As they get older, they become in need of protection by other stables and they are different from the other stables since they take the district as a haven rather than prefer to stay in the district. They are not judged and they are comforted in this male ghetto where they havened inside more as they get older. They have a critical role in the continuation of this structure as they are the most important

customer of trade directed towards bachelors in the district. Being different from both other transients and stables, they are one of the most important actors of the male ghetto in the district.

One of the things that separate confirmed bachelors living in the district for many years from other stables is their being distant from a mixed life meant by "family life" for many years. Most of them live without going outside the district or going outside for very few times. This circumstance causes an alienation feeling on them. However, mostly they prefer solitude because solitude is a manly value on the other side. The condition of one of the confirmed bachelors who have been interviewed can be an example for typology: the interviewee is used for errands by the tradesmen in the district, for example taking a payment manually himself or doing things such as paying electricity-water bills. He is living on small payments that he is taking from the tradesmen. Like many other confirmed bachelors, he has "a law" with the tradesmen because he is residing in the district for years and he has also a law with the landlord because of being an old tenant. This person was on his tender ages when he first came to the district, attempted to marry a girl from his village, however presumably marriage did not realize because at that time he had not completed his military service yet. He mentioned that he caught a cold one after the other in the district while he was very young resulting in staying hospital for a long time. As a result of his health problems, he couldn't complete his military service. In colloquial speech, he "was off" or he was "rotten"("çürük") having a "certificate of disability for discharge" (çürük raporu). In Turkey military service is one of the most important levels upon manhood (Bozok, 2005, Selek 2008). To be able to get married and find stable job is postponed after the military service completed (Sinclair-Webb 2000).

"Confirmed bachelors" do not think to come back to their hometown where they feel alienated as the district for them is a place where they belong to. After spending so many years in the city they know that they will get face to face with a renegotiation in their hometown. They prefer being in the district as it is "comfortable". For those who spent years in bachelor rooms in the city, bachelor room does not symbolize a temporary place and living in a bachelor room is not a period of liminality. They feel

belong to the city after having lived for long years in Istanbul, though they actually do not live in the city. They know that they will face a situation which they already know in their hometown that is very different than the one in the city in which they have lived for years. They feel alienated and also do not want to be faced with a shock going back to their hometown. Because they also know while they are away, generational and gender relations have been renegotiated making their hometown different places than what they had known in the past.

According to one of the muhtars, confirmed bachelors can survive in the district doing many informal jobs like street vending or "at least they can collect garbage in the district or they can beg" as the district gives the possibility to survive in this way. However "they can not find an aura to live in other districts such as in Florya".

I had interviewed with five of the confirmed bachelors who live in decades in the district, and found out that all of them are familiar for many people in the district with friendship and trust in their relationship with trades' folk in commercial zone coming from sharing the same district and atmosphere for decades. One of them works like office boy for artisans, the other is always around in commercial zone as street vendors selling healing herbs and one of them is working as bootblack. None of them have social security. The muhtar of Küçükpazar who has been in charge more than 25 years in this position has mentioned that one of the elderly bachelors had died in his room and he has recently sent one of these types of residents to almshouse for elderly (Darülaceze) by preparing the necessary bureaucratic applications. He has made such comment on the existence of these elderly person in the district; as a typology; "formerly to be able to accommodate outside of the Küçükpazar was very rare, a bare chance for bachelors….they prefer being lost in the district …or being isolated…maybe he has an enemy…maybe he wants not to be known…or maybe he wants to hide his location..". One of the elderly interviewees also helped by another resident in the district by helping him to obtain "green card" which is given to the people in need to get health service for free. When we look at their stories, one of them was a sailor who "couldn't find opportunity to get married", the other one is obsessed with his not doing military service which might be a clue for why he didn't get married. Other two spent

their life with doing jobs in the district like selling meatballs to other bachelors. They argued that when they were young their earnings were "more than enough for everything" but they spend it in the district with" friends". But now it is obvious that their earnings are so limited that they can only walk to other areas when they have to and they can not even go to far neighborhoods out of the district by public transport. "Spending money" and its display especially by young men in prestige-enhancing spending activities is a way of claiming power. However, as I will discuss in the next section, "being frugal"(tutumlu olmak) is the most emphasized feature of being "responsible" man and that is why these aged "confirmed bachelors" are teasingly blamed time to time for not having this feature during their youth by other "responsible" relatively young "stables".

Socialization of confirmed bachelor is limited with other men in the district. The most importantly they live in a chosen alienation and self isolation. Though their relatives such as brothers and sisters keep asking their conditions and recommend them to live with them but they prefer being in the district, arguing that they "do not want to disturb" their relatives as "everybody has constituted their own family". One of them said that he didn't visit his brothers in the same city more than two years. Another one describes his loneliness as "to look at the walls". However, loneliness can be considered as part of masculinity and not a negative thing. On the other hand the district like an institution provide safety for isolated men who need to find ways to affirm themselves, find common ground with other men. All never get married except one who tried once to get married for one year resulting divorce as he "didn't understand before marriage she was mentally ill". All of the five old bachelors I have spoken have mentioned that they didn't understand how all these years have passed in the district as their life is always the same, eating, drinking, spending time by chatting and playing games with friends in coffeehouses with other bachelors.

All these confirmed bachelors obviously do not want to share their weaknesses with their relatives. Witnessing of his weakness is harmful for his manhood. Not to be seen as weak, similar to the idiom "men do not cry" in Turkish, in this understanding of masculinity in which even asking help to find the way in traffic is considered weakness,

they try not to ask help from their closest relatives. In addition in the district their masculinity is constantly legitimized among other confirmed bachelors however when they re-communicate with his relatives, they likely judge their situation as confirmed bachelor for not starting a family in the past. Therefore they prefer muteness being silent by not talking about his emotions and loneliness which is also part of the masculinity by trying to solve their problems alone (Heilieger, A and Engelfried C.1995).

According to Kaufmann (1994) men's alienation is men's ignorance of their own emotions, feelings, needs, and potential for human connection and nurturence. Men's alienation also results from their distance from women and their distance and isolation from other men (Kaufmann, 1994:150) Men might have buddies, palls, workmates, and friends, but they seldom have the level of complete trust and intimacy enjoyed by many women. Men's experience of friendship is limited by the reduced empathy that becomes the masculine norm (Kaufmann, 1994: 150). This isolation also is key in preserving patriarchy: To a greater or lesser extent it increases the possibility that all men end up colluding with patriarchy – in all its diverse myths and realities- because their own doubts and sense of confusion remain buried" (Kaufman 1994: 151). Heilieger/Engelfried (1995:75-78 cited from Onur and Koyuncu 2004:38) argue that one of the particularities is muteness in their socialization model in the constitution of masculinity that man can not talk about his emotions and himself. Connected with muteness, loneliness or singleness is another particularity of the constitutiton of masculinity. According to this feature men think that they have to solve their problems alone, as loneliness, free from femininty is considered as a positive value. This feature is mixed with the fear of being abandoned.

5.5.2 Transients ("Passengers")

"Transients" stay in all places good for shelter in these neighborhoods for short or sometimes long time periods, however they are not residents; they are bachelors using these neighborhoods temporarily. With plans to settle down in the city in the future, some of the "transients" live in the district for several years and then go to other districts in the city. Some of them are men who do not intend to bring their family to the

city. They use the district only when they are unemployed or they are in need of money, that is to say, they come to the district and wait for jobs. Most of the men coming to the district come due to reasons beyond their control because of scarce job opportunities in their hometowns and because of poverty. At the same time they have a person "to hold their hands", that is to say, they are the ones who come using the opportunities of social networks, fellow citizenship, and propinquity. Apart from that, especially in recent years there are people who come to the city alone and without any social support, relying on communication possibilities.

According to the most of the interviewees (both stables and transients) in the district, an important part of the population of bachelors (transients) in the district are narrated as "responsible men" who come to the district with aims and plans to fulfill their responsibilities. As a result of interviews, it is understood that the most important responsibility of a man is to provide living of the people he is "responsible for", that is to say, for bachelors, "man is the one who sends home money". "Responsible for" implies mostly family, however it is not all the time it is family, it might include other people like relatives, friends etc. "Responsible men" are the ones who emphasize their socio-economic conditions which limit them as responsible householder with requirements and duties. Those who are in district with the aim to look after their families as "responsible men" emphasize that there are also 'irresponsible man' who "doesn't know his responsibility" or without feelings of responsibility to restrain themselves. On the other hand, from the perspective of these "irresponsible men", man is someone free. They emphasize their lack of restrictions more than the other men. Sounded similar to these categories, in Greek, Loizos (1994, 66-81) demonstrated the contrast between the 'domesticated' masculinity of the responsible householder and that of the 'free-spirited' men whose 'domain' is the coffee-shop in Greek context similar to Turkish one. According to Loizos, 'coffee-shop' "is a more informally and weakly instituted domain than those created by the church and the military'. In the coffee-shop domain, a form of masculinity is enacted by 'men of spirit'. "In their discourses on being male, they emphasize the notion of the autonomous man, who does not spend his spirit in calculation… if (he is) married, he is certainly not domesticated". On the other hand, 'domesticated men' cannot stay at home, but their participation in coffee-shop

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and tavern is a much more measured affair. They do not emphasize their autonomy, but stress their constrained condition as responsible householders with obligations to support women and children (Loizos, 1994.77). It might be argued that similar typologies exist especially in western coastal towns of Turkey where the "responsible men" cannot stay at home, but their participation in the homo-social places like coffee-shop and tavern is much more careful. However we cannot generalize this type to the whole country such as one of the young interviewee from Mardin has narrated that some elderly men in Mardin called coffeehouses as "haram" (forbidden acts/things/spaces/bodies according to Islam) and reject to sit in such places. I have also met with two middle age men in the district among stables, originally from Adıyaman and Mardin, ("succeeded bachelors" who owns "tekel" shop (in which alcoholic drinks are sold, which is distinguished from buvettes)) who undermine and critique going to the coffeehouses. On the other hand, Kandiyoti (1994) argues that "the free, unfettered masculinity enacted in the coffee-shop may have a compensatory value for those who, due to economic circumstances, fall short in the fulfillment of their breadwinner roles"(Kandiyoti, 1994:209). Coffeehouse as the most common homo-social space is certainly used by men in Turkish context as an excuse to be able to be away from the house as well as for several other purposes (Arık, 2006). However, in Süleymaniye district we may argue that there are also other place-bound masculinities in the category of "irresponsible men", determined by the spatial features of the district as well as the 'free-spirited' or 'the free, unfettered' masculinities. This subject will be detailed in the next sections.

Therefore, we can argue that masculinity enacted with freedom perspective, namely "irresponsible men" (named by responsible men), is conflicting with the masculinity enacted by "responsible men". A coffeehouse administrator in the district has said as follows:

> If a person looks after his own family, that person serves a purpose... But if that person doesn't look after his own household, even if that person would become Reis-i cumhur (old usage of President of the Republic, contemporary usage: Cumhurbaşkanı) it comes only harm from him, comes no good... If not beneficial for family, not in life time would be beneficial for you...Good for nothing, not even to one's self; they are whether *thieves* or scum.

Similar to Indian, "gulfan, a "responsible" bachelor, should behave when he is back in his hometown as a social person, make use of his money to fulfill obligations and promote the well-being of his relatives. Those who fail to do so and continue to behave like self-interested, individualistic, immoral and anti-social, are "thieves" towards their own people.

In this group with aims/plans (not only for themselves but for the ones they are responsible for), men having permanently settling down in the city as a final aim, especially young men, in their first visit to the city coming to the district for a single time and after living in the district for a certain time period, realize the above mentioned transitions and bring their family to the city and settle down. Although having an income sufficient to afford to live in another district, saving money seizing the cheap accommodation opportunities is one of the most extensive reasons among young bachelors. Making self sacrifices by living in bad conditions, bachelors, who have come for 3-4 years in order to save money, for example until their siblings finish school or get married, do also have a certain aim/plan. For example, one of the interviewees who is at his late 20s, working in a security firm and protecting a shopping mall has explained the reason for his living with his brother in an small room in straits although they have constant income and they are in good condition with respect to district average as to save from accommodation expenses in order to assure their younger siblings who stayed in their hometown have education.

Bachelors who are coming to the district at certain time periods are also in the category of "responsible men" with aims/plans. They benefit from the work networks providing manpower to some industries, especially in Kucukpazar neighborhood; bakery and shipping industries[26], and they lodge in bachelor rooms/houses during job

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[26] In the district there are both Turkish citizens and foreign country citizens who are waiting for a job placement in some sectors. Brokers making money out of placing these people to jobs, for example brokers who find jobs for people from Turkmenistan can be accounted as both in transients and in semi-stables category. These people go around the city visiting each bakery, give their phones to employers, and if they find a job for a worker they take money from him.

placement period. Also, at certain time periods, for example National Lottery ticket sellers come to Istanbul from their hometowns and return back after the sales are over.

A group with the category of "responsible men" with aims/plans is composed of youngsters who have come for apprenticeship saying "I will have a profession". According to a headperson, for example, especially until a few years ago, before textile industry's moving out of the district there were people coming to the district saying "I will be an outfitter/a machine operator/a quality controller". Using the knowledge they had had gathered from their previous local environments, these people were coming with the aim/ plan of becoming an apprentice, having certain plans in garment industry.

Within the group of "responsible men" with aims/plans, another group those who have come to the district as married, and they say "I have to bare these hard conditions in order to provide my family with better conditions". These plans vary from "to pay the debts", "to wed his children" to "to finish the construction of the house in hometown". A pension owner has explained "hard conditions" as there are such people, "instead of having two dishes of stew, having the day only with two eggs and a half loaf of bread…saving some money to send to their home, family, children, etc.".

However, it is possible to mention that in the rural population "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen, 1934: 89) is spread where the good living conditions provided for the family have risen over the years with the effect of television[27]. According to common understanding, it is "men's job" ("responsibility") at all ages, and hence the family of the man, to provide these standards. Especially young men are affected by these standards when they are getting married and they try to save the money to meet the expectations. I have met with some young men from the villages of Niğde-Aksaray who mentioned such examples of this type of consumption, buying furniture in wedding and never using them afterwards, or a washing machine although water system connection to the households do not exist in their village.

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[27] Abadan-Unat (2002:176) argues that "conspicuous consumption" in rural families which sent family members to Europe such as Germany, is widespread such as sophisticated electrical gadgetries (though there is no electricity in their village) is bought and demonstrated in "guest room" (or "salon").

Men without aims/plans who have been made to have aims by getting forced into marriage are also within this "responsible men" group. That is to say, "irresponsible men" are tried to be made "responsible" by their families by means of marriage. However the consequences of this come out as "bachelors" "running" to the district without any aims/plans, virtually taking shelter in the district. The reason for that is the man who is not able to bear the responsibility coming with the marriage without his own consent despite he has kids after some time. This man is not able to bear the pressure from his family that he was born into and especially from his father, and without any reason he comes to the district, lives for a while and returns back. The headperson has given an example for the men like these as follows:

> Of course, I know someone like that, in my youth... He stays here a week or 10 days; at times when he doesn't find a job... You give him 3-5 liras… 6 months later, he is here again... He ran away from his father again … We ("responsible" stables) advise him, "Work here, or there in the village" He even had a regular job that he found, with SSK (former name of SGK, The Social Security Institution) and all. He was working in a halvah workshop in Tahtakale. If he'd have gone to his wife at certain times, today I see his wife, had come, working as a dishwasher in a restaurant. If he'd have born the responsibility that his wife bears…Woman is executing head of the household, I mean… Woman endeavor more than man, you know… When the weather is very nice, you see him here, sit and ask for tea. If 88-year-old Uncle Şeref is still polishing shoes, man at 50 you are, why can you sit?

In this example, it is possible to see the situation of the man who has been tried to adopt certain manhood patterns with father hegemony and the stress caused by the task of "earning home's keep" which has been understood to be the most important task in manhood and hence when the woman does it then eyes are turned to man as a pressure mechanism. Various examples are given about father factor/pressure in the upbringing period and sending home money as a duty of being a "responsible man".

According to holders of this opinion, some men are "irresponsible" as they "can't" bear responsibilities, as a result of lacking the quality of being responsible and there are also some other men "think of only themselves".

> There are men like that, rambling fecklessly… I don't know…They just can't…shoulder the responsibility to take care of children, household… and to some, it's hard, you don't where and when your evening ends and your morning

starts….If a man starts to work like that he forgets everything…hometown…everybody… he thinks of himself only…no one but himself…

On the other hand, some men without aim/plans can also be accounted within "responsible men" category. These people were subject to events/things that pushed them aside from their hometowns and for this reason they experienced fractures in their relationship with their hometowns. For example a lodging resident, a textile foreman from Urfa at his 30s who "could not stay" in his hometown after losing his wife and twin children in a traffic accident can be given as an example for this. For example his family had said to this person that they were going to distribute the almost new furniture of the house where he was living with his wife and children. Interviewee thought that they were doing this for him "not to feel sorrow", however he found out that they were doing this for his elder brother who was engaged and planning to move into his house because his brother had given all furniture of the interviewee to the junk dealer and in return he had taken new furniture to that house in order to use when he got married. In addition, he felt that as he was out from inside the home by getting married he was seen as "guest" in his parent's home.

I am not comfortable doing anything as I want(in his parent's home)… this was bothering me, this and everyday going to cemetery, everyday going there, coming back, go and come again ,everyday, this put me in depression, and I walked off, came here…In Istanbul you can get something from everything. I mean there is hope...Hope is not only from the financial aspects.

In some explanations of bachelors like this one, not just for economical reasons, there are also other reasons, which can be summarized as "İstanbul factor" as an attractive city with many aspects play an important role in the settlement decisions of many bachelors.

When the men in the transient group without aims/plans economically or socially are analyzed, some of them are motivated by having an adventure as it has been also mentioned in section 5.3; "Different aspects/sources of Bachelorship" of this chapter. As it came forward in the interviews conducted with "confirmed bachelors", some of them had come to the city "running away" at very early ages. In the interviews

conducted in the district, young men without economical problems, who have been sent to the city by their families in order for them "not to get bored and run way", to "ramble" for some time, are also observed. For example, what is observed on an interviewee who is going to a private teaching institution in order to get prepared for the university entrance exam and again on another interviewee who has come to Istanbul because he got "bored" of the sales job in his father's shoe store in his hometown is that parents coddle their sons. These young men who are not even 20 yet have mentioned that their elder sisters did not get a chance to have education but "things are changing" and their younger sisters are luckier. An 18 year old high school graduate young man (in "responsible men" category), who has come to Istanbul for the first time only for summer time and working as a pageboy, has explained his reason for coming while he was working in the shoemaker shop of his father in Bismil as follows:

> I was so bored ... to see the same people, always same life, always to work from home, from work to home ... I go back there in August, here (in Istanbul) you can't stay without working, if you don't have money nobody looks at your face..."

This young man, who has mentioned that fathers having lower pressure "in order for boys not to run away (to city)", has explained this situation as follows:

> Girls are more hard-working than the boys... Because, males have their head in the clouds. As girls stay at home, they do not do much, just work.... (Boys) go to the game room, coffeehouses. Just look at the 14-15 year-old child, he goes to the coffeehouse. Nobody tells them not to... Even their fathers say nothing, if they say something they might run away… They come to Istanbul or they go to other places. Just like that… Everyone already has a fancy for…like I need to come to the West… Whatever in the West they think there is! We saw it, you know, nothing...

Obviously, "İstanbul factor" for this case has not worked.

The thing which is most sought for and found by "bachelors" who came from rural areas to this district where the men who survive be earning money legally such as by collecting papers and wastes, being pitchman, porter, steward, or pageboy, doing jobs without social security and/or doing informal jobs and the men whose means of

surviving is not known intersect here is solidarity [28]. Fellow citizens coming from the same hometown commend their relatives to each other. Inns accept acquaintances coming from the same hometown; people share rooms with others "morals of whom they trust". This solidarity provides safety feeling on one side, but on the other side it causes again a control mechanism to take place… An inn owner from Van, a city in East Turkey who has been administering a Bachelor's Inn for 25 years in the district has explained that he accepts "old men" in his place, "guys who have been known for 10 year 20 year", he gives room to stay only to "selected people". However, he felt uncomfortable from the word that he used and corrected his words as "rather than selected, I choose people that I know of…". As he knows "their fathers" or "elderly" , he "looks after" their sons too,

> When they (youngsters) stay by themselves, they are more like uninhibited and wild, "feeling their oats"... You know "Valley of The Wolves" [29] no? So they learn how to live with wolves (in Istanbul) (they feel like in emancipation? NK) they have nobody to avert them, you know, if they don't have anybody elderly around, prevent them from certain things, what would they do? Would act like the way he wants, but when they (elderly) are around, at time when he does something wrong, they would restrain them, or forewarn, if they have someone wise around... (It's difficult to send a child to the big city, isn't it? NK) of course.

Bachelors coming from rural areas and waiting for jobs for long periods do not want to return back to village even if they are unemployed for a very long time since they anticipate the condition that unemployment will put them into in the village because "in the village you cannot stay without working". That is to say, they rather stay unemployed in the district than in the village.

People coming from certain regions of the country stay at certain lodgings and this way they do not cut off communication with their hometown and they start to feel a tiny bit of safety. Propinquities coming from the same village find place for newcomers

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There are several informal solidarity networks in the region as well as the formal ones such as "Province of Adıyaman, Gerger district, Nakışlı Village Solidarity Association"

[29] A television series, a record-breaking hit for four seasons, about the adventures of an elite Turkish intelligence officer and his fellow friends, having lots of fans especially among the young men. The Supreme Board of Radio and Television (RTUK) after receiving complaints about the violence in the series had prevented the broadcast of the new episodes of the last season. It is also criticized as that is fueling the nationalistic feelings and increasing the violence among youngsters.

in their rooms or they help them to move in a room that is close to theirs and they keep an eye on each other. Although they do not know each other, bachelors coming from the same city start a warm relationship and build trust by talking about their acquaintances although they are not close. "Bachelors" waiting for jobs in unemployment and poverty in coffeehouses share their distress with each other and stick together in all issues. For example owner of the coffeehouse does not charge for tea. Owner of the Bachelor's Inn "covers up" for several nights or does not say anything when the rent is late. Coffeehouse keepers lend traveling money to many bachelors. "Trustees" from hometowns of bachelors come to the coffeehouses and for a small fee they take the "trusts" from bachelors and load them to their trucks to take them back to their families in the village. When they get back from the village they carry supplies or products. They travel back and forth between the two regions and deliver "trusts" to their owners.

Some bachelors earn as much as their daily expenses and they do not exert themselves for more. The condition of confirmed bachelors is criticized since they do not have social security despite their old age, they do not have a family thus do not raise children, and their being distant to the home land and detached from their family. For example those confirmed bachelors who earn money just enough for the day by selling herbs or painting shoes are considered in "the responsible men" category and this receives appreciation as they are still able to make money but also criticism as they only "save the day" (günü kurtarıyorlar) earning little just enough for the daily food and just saying "thanks God" for that. They are "responsible", but at the same time irresponsible by not thinking the future and the circumstances like "when he looses his strength to work", "to lie on the bed", "not able to go to toilet", by "living lonely", "not even having a roommate" etc.

Some of young boys interviewed have come to visit their relatives living in the bachelor's rooms/houses in the region. These young men who are looking for an Istanbul they see in soap operas at least have a story to tell when they get back despite their disappointment. Some of these young men also have the opportunity to go "rambling" not only in Istanbul but also in other cities such as for example Antalya, Bodrum, or Izmir. As their length of stay gets longer in these places and their money

reserved for this is drained, they lengthen their stay in these cities by having some temporary jobs such as being a pageboy. However they are called back after some time and obliged to make a decision they set their choices. Young men in this group stay in the city if they find a good job by chance, but most of the time they go back. A bachelor have told about the situation of young men rambling and getting back this way as follows: "If the economic condition of the family is good, he rambles for 1 month and becomes a regular when he gets back". However, the reason for some young men "without aims" to come to the city is that they have serious compliance problems with their family; especially with their father or they are sons of a parted family. Therefore, disconnection from family ties is one of the important reasons. If absolute disconnection from family is not realized after the adventures he lives after coming to the city, there is a chance to get back. For example, one of the lodging customers, who have come to Istanbul at his tender ages by bus with very small amount of money he had because of his father's will to have him educated, had to call and get in contact with his family whom he had not been showing concerns for many years on a reason such as military service. Since he was "awol" at his early 20s, he had come to Istanbul from Bodrum where he had avoided Military Police and he was getting on being a "bartender". He quit that job he was working in an entertainment place in Laleli region of Istanbul for the fear that the police would stigmatize his identity papers (as pimp). He came to search for jobs in the restaurants in the districts close to Suleymaniye district. In this example it is important that young men do not prefer being "pimp". However with the distress he has fallen into, he is obliged to get in contact with his family in order to serve in the military but he does not want to get back without earning money to buy presents for his family and he is not able to get back to his hometown since he does not have money at that time although he had earned a lot in the past. Following the interview, lodging owner's comments between the lines on this interviewee, who had left the lodging for searching for jobs after the conversation, was that; this young man was greasing the palms of foreign women.

Men without responsibility and aims/plans have a chance to get shelter in the district without being judged by their relatives and without getting offended by others for his "low" life. These men living without a certain aim generally act fecklessly

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without thinking the consequences of their actions. A headperson gave one of the example of behaviors of "feckless bachelors" as someone having "arranged marriage" with a foreign woman from "ex-East Block" to make money. When this bachelor came back to their hometown with this money, his father wanted him to get married someone from his village, as he knows his son is single. However when they went to the civil registration office, there found out his son is already married...

> Then of course he says to his son "Go and clean this mess,". He comes back, where is that woman here? It's an arranged marriage, how now to find her, get divorced, to contact her? Of course, this is really inconvenience for him and his family... Acting without considering what they will face with in long-term, only saving the day, caring only for the day's expense, money, not bothering about afterwards…or when they still have a clean record, let's say he has nothing, there he takes an ATM card... makes shopping... but does not pay it… and he does not even think this will come back to him as another trouble. I mean, he buys a mobile, and it is an invoiced sale, etc… and he does not pay.

In "the irresponsible men" category, there are also other types of masculinities, most of them subordinate, as space-bound masculinities specific to the district. Some of them are outcast because of their family was involved in crime, and they fear that they will get back into the same environment in case they return back. For example a resident of the neighborhood who is living on the benches in the parks in summer, earning money by selling water in plastic bottles, taking care of cats in the commons, and living in a bachelor's pad if he finds money by the help of the acquaintances in winter, who is involved in many crimes in the past with his elder brothers inducement and imprisoned explains his reason for not going back to his hometown Izmir and living in a park near a mosque in the neighborhood as he will start back his bad habits and his fear to commit a crime. He mentioned that his talks with the Muslim preacher in the mosque are doing good for him and he is afraid that he is going to do something bad if he returns back home because of his hatred against his elder brother. Moreover, nobody is criticizing his life in the park in this male ghetto.

Some of "the irresponsible men" are gamblers, alcohol addicts, quarrelsome people who have been imprisoned from time to time and it is not clear on what they are earning their lives. Some of the men in this category are detached from their families

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and came to the district when they were kids and they fell into bad habits such as gamble, drinks, and weed. A head person told an example for this type as follows:

> There are people there who are not having a life style in line with ours, drifted apart. …A person who has lived in this neighborhood for years, but someone who, you know, not really lives properly, let's say alcoholic all the time, plus a bawler, well eh, time to time, he goes to jail and so forth... It was when he's got out of jail… He lingers on; somehow, I don't know really what he was doing for living, he lives on. When he was out of jail, I saw him, he looked like to me that he had counted days or something; I mean he looked really bad…. Became emaciated, you think like he would not live long, for a week or 10 days only. He stays at the hotel, in general… Madam he is sick… There should be a green card[30] for him, as he has no social security. At that time, he gave me some numbers to call, "call this number", "such number" etc. In his family, he must have some people, financially in very good conditions; they did not look after him really… I called the numbers he gave me, from the pay phone from here, you know, they did not much attend to, effectually. As he had not called them when he was healthy, and today they established a regular life, they are not interested in taking him back into their own life. Afterward, a cousin of him might be the son of his father's brother, he came and talked to one of the restaurants, saying "he can come here and eat, and I will come here to pay whatever he eats weekly", and went to the hotel, he can stay here, that he will pay 8 TL, 10 TL whatever the cost. So they think like he stays where he stays, do not come to bother us.

These men who are in the category of "irresponsible men" without aims/plans, disconnected from their families, generally do not find courage to return back to their families because they assume they will not be accepted or "claimed" when they want to reconnect, by their family after long years having passed, are also in this group. As they grow older some of them do not have a family to return back. Some of these men do not have warm relationship and occasionally get in contact with their families and some others cease to continue their relationship intentionally. Men who do not ask for help from their family no matter how bad conditions he gets in are also included in this group. They are sort of confined to the district. Some of them took shelter in the district while they were running away from other types of confinements, such as father's hegemony, however after some time this shelter was transformed into another confinement. Some of them continue to stay in the district despite the fact that their condition gets worse as months/years go by. Furthermore, this manly neighborhood

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[30] Green card system, established in 1992, funded by Turkish Government, giving free access to health care for people earning less than a minimum wage defined by law.

does not have residents who are going to criticize this type of people or offend them because of this life they lead. For example, one of the headpersons tells this type of men as follows:

> Came here as a child aparted from the family. He had all sorts of adventures here. Has beaten, and was beaten, shot, and was shot, he had bad habits like gambling. Then he's got sick or like he becomes incapable of working you know, and then does not find the courage to go back to his family. "You are no longer self-sufficient, you definitely need the support of someone knows you, return to your village!", then he goes like "No abi (similar to abla, used for calling a male with respect)" he says, "Since such and such years we did not ask how they were doing"; he feels such a thing in himself, you know. Outside of that mosque he sleeps every night on the ground wrapped with blanket, maybe this person has no money in his pocket to stay at the hotels, does not have three meals for a day, he has only one meal. Does not really tell his problems to anyone... (He's in a neighborhood where nobody criticizes him, nobody offends him? NK) of course this is such a place. I see him every night on my way to home, he does not give me a response, and I do not give him a response. For this neighborhood it is accepted as usual. The municipality takes them under protection, but it's a temporary measurement, some dies by freezing... people... somewhat an obscure corner you may find... if it's raining what are you going to do? Then, for example, will seek refuge in a derelict building, preferably from the top doesn't get the rain down, or under a bridge or a bus stop... (Except that, some who has somewhat an income will continue to live... NK) some lingers on continues to live here.

Some space-bound masculinities specific to the district, such as men getting on semi-illegal for instance beggars, men earning their life on gambling or providing a means to gambling though some men might consider them as "responsible man" as long as they send money to their family or to the people who they are "responsible for", their place is ambiguous in this categorization. We can listen to the examples of these from a headperson, that is to say, a stable and "responsible man" resident of the neighborhood:

> There was a time in this region that there were some people who were earning their lives by exchanging the money of beggars (Gets a commission from that? NK) I mean, yes... xxx province has a district, all of the villages of this place they were all together swarming into Istanbul in every Ramadan. They were like coming out of the same cookie-cutter, hirsute, holding a stick, hair mixed with beard. When the banks were not widespread, long time ago, they were depositing their money to the hotel in which they were sleeping. Before they go, they were taking it back. In these days for instance I see some of them in Ramadan in the bank, they deposit the day's gain to their bank accounts. They

must have depositing to those banks having branches in their hometown. Sometimes you see that it comes out such and such beggar had that much of fortune etc. If municipal police of Metropolitan Municipality pick them, then it's a crime. Some people, though they don't need, are taking it up a profession, and begging.

In one of the interviews conducted to represent people whose "income is nondescript" in transient category, the interviewee was a beggar and both his legs were cut off on knees and he was walking in this condition. This interviewee had mentioned that he was a "dorm boy" when interviewing another person and he said that he was raised in a government orphanage and after losing his legs in a train accident at the age of 13, he "was pushed into being a beggar by the government" because the government would not provide him with a job that he wanted. However he ceased conversation because he did not like that it was getting to issues that he would not want to talk about. He quit jobs that were provided him by the government for his being a "dorm boy" because of low income or because he could not get along with the employers. He told about his visit to President Gül in order to explain his condition but the President said "what can I do". In his family living in Ankara, only his wife knows about his condition, however his kids are unaware of the situation and he lives in Istanbul in order for them not to learn about it. He occasionally visits his family. His kids think that he is a coffeehouse keeper in the district. He had started "beggary job" in Ankara, and he came to Istanbul with "the friends" he made there and he is continuing to do it. His being a beggar does not harm his manhood as long as his kids do not know about it, however, it is understood that it hurts his "father" identity. Following this interview conducted after it got dark a tradesman caught up with me outside the district and warned me on the issue that "I should not have pity for these people" and fled away to the district back without giving an opportunity to communicate. Stables in the district are living on the edge of perseverance towards some part of the transients. It is not clear how some of part of the residents of bachelors' rooms get on in the district. Beggars are not included among these people. A headperson had told the situation as there is "the criminal potential" "as a result of the general structure of this neighborhood". He said that though in the past, he was "insistent", to able to distinguish the criminals in coffeehouses in Küçükpazar, "nowadays" he doesn't assert that much. He argued that

now even headpersons don't know "who is dealing with what". In the old times, however, people knew "who is coming in and going out" as in old times the trickiest person ever in the neighborhood, was the lotto man (tombalacı) shaking the sack of tombala. Even the lotto men, were known by the people in which corner they were standing, or in certain distances in which coffeehouses they were hanging out. Those of today's are different, "coming and going". He added that "you can't ask bachelors normally what their job is, or what they do for living. If you ask you may get reaction".

According to a person, who is one of the men of a many-sibling family from Siirt and operating a pension with his male siblings, which is located in Molla Husrev neighborhood on the upper parts of Suleymaniye district outside of Kucukpazar neighborhood, "there are people from every part of the world" as his customers. Some of them are working, "trustworthy", but some of them are not. He argued that there are human traffickers who illegally send immigrants out of the country, even the people dealing with organ trafficking. He has also witnessed that some foreigners who "has nothing" can have "fortune" by stealing. Not only semi-illegal these illegal "jobs" are also "known" by some stables. However most of the time they only "feel" it but "can't prove" it, therefore stables only warn each other.

Then a new category of men appears they are neither "responsible man" nor irresponsible man", they are weed dealers, prostitution purveyors and men committing crime provided by the suitable conditions of high daily population of Eminönü. The district harbors people "who are prone to wrongdoing" and people prone to crime waiting for "others to make a mistake". In other words, the district hosts people who are mentally and socially susceptible to deceiving and others present in the district to find people to deceive in the human circulation among bachelor's rooms/houses and lodging places in the district.

Moreover, there are differences in terms of access to knowledge between the young who can use computer, internet, and mobile phone and the older that are at or above middle age and cannot use technology and types of deceiving and getting deceived vary. A headperson has given an example as follows:

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For example, it has been several months now, I noticed that an ATM card came to a person, to someone nonsane. Then I said to myself he is not capable of using that card. I checked the address on the envelope, was not convincing either. Then I left a message for him at where he stays. He came to me; Reprovingly I said: "To whom you gave your ID? Hayati!" He gave me a name, such and such person. I checked this person, and found out that he was sleeping here in one of the bachelor rooms. And he had internet connected to his room. Well now, we have someone here getting internet connected to his room, if a person has that much of financial possibilities he would not stay in a bachelor room, would he? Then this person must be after some monkey business, as he had internet connected to such a place. When he noticed I was dwelling upon him, he left this place. I was at the front of Musa's place (Musa is another muhtar), and saw two persons were passing by, that person and another person next to him. Well thinking that he was not seeing me, I wagged my finger at him, and I asked: "Musa do you know this person that is going?" Because I needed to ask him. When I was just wagging my finger, pointing him to Musa, person next to him turned his face back and looked at us. He came to our office at the very evening of that day. He said: "Muhtar Abi, you, you pointed at me, showing me to someone today", and I said "Yes, true." "But I showed you to our muhtar friend Musa, I had to ask because the friends of yours that you are hanging with are requesting application certificate for ID cards from me, as I don't have any registration of them I have to know who they are". Well then he goes like "Father, such places like here are not places for us." "I gave someone some amount of money as he comes I will leave this place", cutting a dash…Then he said this is on me, let me get lost he said and then he disappeared. I don't see him since then. (Then he really had a computer? NK) they might have using stolen computers too. Then Telecom, mostly, I don't know…It must have been sufficient enough just to have ID information for them to connect internet. His friend for example, let's say is cunning as a fox, through the friendship they could be persuaded to do wrong things.

One of the pension owners of a big lodging for 180 persons, which is located in the upper side of the district, which is one of the very few lodgings where woman, mostly Georgian, can stay and "which is known from outside with this feature", has told that how so called "representatives of the firms", who look for unqualified workers to work for elderly care, or as house cleaner, charwoman, gardener etc come to his pension. One of these "representatives" was interested in new comers, especially young girls who don't speak Turkish. He gave detailed account how he dealt with or rather

combat with these people with "bad intention", as he "has also kids" and "has conscience".

> now I have here 200 customers from Georgia, well actually if a place is a good place to stay they advise to each other, you know. I mean most of the people stay here are working people, those that backsliders do not come here. They can understand that this is a place for family. Or like you, they can understand the vicious people. Well I have ladies here time to time that I give them to work. I mean I help them. For example just now happened to my friend, trafficker (simsar) came to his place. They introduce themselves as the business owner, company owner… We see such people; we see all kinds of people here. Then you understand their bad intention there, you know. ..if your real intention is to get her passport too, then it's obvious that you have other intentions.

> Well then these are our principles, with these principles we don't give girls outside. And definitely we don't sell women. If you want workers, give me your card, I check your office, your house, and everything. I will bring ladies, any number you tell me, if you ask 5, I have 20 here. But I don't sell broad here. Well then, so long! We send them nicely away. Or in any language they would understand. …Once I was at the front door, I coincidentally witnessed to two of our customers are talking to a stranger. When I asked who you are, she said "well nobody, I'm looking for lady workers". Women worker etc, but how dare you think you have the permission in front of my door, from whom you get workers. When someone goes to a business place they talk first with the property owner, possession owner. "Well, I know such and such person" Forget such and such person, I am the owner now, I am the authority here. Whatever you need, you tell me, and I help you !

Another example is as follows: one of the confirmed bachelors of age 75 living in the district on painting shoes and who is a nervous and short-tempered had withdrawn all of his savings of 15 thousand Turkish liras was carrying all this money inside the pocket of his jacket. A snatcher noticed this and deceived him saying that something was spilt on his jacket causing him to take the jacket off and then the snatcher fled away taking the jacket with him. Eminönü, commercial as well as masculine space close to the district hosts mostly male transients (bachelors) not only coming from the country but also coming from all over the world and this crowd of people attracts criminals not only from the country but also from foreign countries since it makes it easier to commit a crime.

On the other hand bachelors from rural space going through transformation in this masculine urban district are more deceivable. That is to say, they are can "do wrong of be forced to do wrong" mentally and socially. For example an adolescent young man is new at all experiences that he is going to practice in coffeehouses or any homo-social place that he will go for his very first manhood experiences and he does not know how to construe the different behaviors that he is confronted with taking into account the developing and changing range of values. He knows more or less what it is to be an adult man in his hometown however his knowledge on manhood in this place that he has just come is very little. For example, he runs into people who use cocaine, purvey women, gamble and provide others with means to gamble, do beggary, and do all other kinds of jobs in these homo-social places. For example while he has an understanding of manhood such as it is humiliating to "purvey women", that is to say, "to be a pimp"; he can come across groups of men who do not worry about it at all. He can see that having such a manhood understanding is possible. The possibility of his being deceived is higher if he has come to the region alone and he is not protected by his fellow citizens or he is going to a different coffeehouse in order not to be judged by his elders. Men who came there before him had already set the rules, changed them occasionally and mastered in playing the game by its rules. For a young man who does not know the rules yet, the authority in the coffeehouse is not only the rule setters but also the majority following the rules. This majority is generally the transients who could be regarded as of type "people with nondescript income" in "stables within transients" who know the city well. Young bachelors coming from the rural areas are prone to get deceived as soon as they enter such homo-social societies. Other members of the homo-social society condoning this deceit take it as a part of existing manhood negotiations and regard deceit as a test for the new comer and may not get involved. Even if they are warned beforehand almost all of the bachelors who at the same time start to get mixed with the city life have a deceit story happened to them when they were rambling in the city. In the urbanization stories of men of rural origins there are many stories of losing money on deceitful games. Although all these deceit stories are in the past they have a traumatic impact since they happened at the first arrival. However, being deceived may

be harming the manhood. Maybe that is why some crimes are not communicated to the law enforcement units.

In the "irresponsible men" category there are some men whose sole reason to reside in the district is to maintain their bad habits without being judged. A headperson tells about the path taken by a man who accommodated in a neighborhood with gambling addict.

> For some, as a bad habit, he gained gambling as a vice. Let's say there is gambling den in the neighborhood, and he has less money. They call it game to the whole play. Let's say a game; if a hand is 10 lira, and game is 50, then this is not a place for him. So he won't go there. Let's assume that he won such an unpredictable amount of money, which he was not calculating. Then he goes to those places where a game is 50 liras, wherever it is, could be in Beyoglu, Tarlabasi, Tepebasi, wherever. Because he's prone to that way.

In addition to this, there are also men who spread these bad habits and get on abusing people with these habits. In some places in the district, there are "people waiting for bachelors to do wrong". Categorization of this kind of space-bound masculinities of the district is difficult in some situations. Homo-social places that these kinds of bachelors who deal with semi-illegal or illegal "jobs" attend are look like similar to (but actually not) ordinary type of homo-social places and we cannot describe them as "free sprit men" anymore like Loizos (1994) described. A headperson has given an example as follows:

> At times, let's say in this neighborhood in some coffeehouses, you simply can't sit there. You should not. When you sit there, surely, absolutely…Little by little from every corner…in some way or another…you're debauched. There sitting the people want you to stray for example. Let's say the coffeehouse next to us or in general the coffeehouses on this street. For example, now, let's say, I saw someone here, to whom I helped once to get aid from Metropolis (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality), when he was ill. In a coffeehouse, when I saw that person, to whom I have assisted to get aid, I have crossed him out with red pencil. Why then I crossed him out? In that coffeehouse that I saw, nobody plays a game just to pass time or for a tea. Well then he must have a gambling addict, if he is in that coffeehouse. You have helped him to get 200-300 TL as an aid, eventually enabled him to get. When he was ill, he was in a different position, and when he's healthy in another. Let's assume he's healthy again, and

he gets used to get that aid, no? He would like to get that 200 again, which he was getting when he was ill. As I have told him, I know, my brother, I know that in that coffeehouse that you hang out, the game is nor for just a cup of tea. I mean nobody plays a game at that hangout for tea. I know this. Therefore, it is not possible that I can help you. It was how I closed to the door to him.

In this case, the muhtar who is one of the stables as a succeeded bachelor, decides on who is going to be supported as an authority that has spent his years there and has accrued knowledge about the profile of the residents in the district. These headpersons become a real authority for confirmed bachelors who become destitute as they get older because jobs like arranging in-kind or financial aid from local administration or solving health problems and realizing green card procedures, being more intense than any other district, are one of the most important activity areas of the headpersons in this district. Moreover, since asking for the least help is an indicator of manhood, asking for help and doing help relationships should be built delicately. That is why, one of the aggressive phrases towards manhood in the district is used by tradesmen in the region as part of hegemonic masculinity on Kurd men's, who are living with their families in low-rent old buildings under bad conditions withal close to bachelor's rooms/houses, sending their wives instead of themselves to request relief from Municipality Charity.

Regarding the bachelors who had gained bad habits on the idea that the one who is consuming the most alcohol or who is most resistant to alcohol is the most superior man, a headperson, a "succeeded bachelor" is explaining the differences of drinking between himself, a "responsible man" and some bachelors in the district who are drinking as follows:

> I have been drinking all my life time. But how I drunk, I am in Istanbul since 40 years, maybe only 40 times that I have drunk. I never drunk like, deciding that tonight I am going to booze-up, get alcohol. But if I have ever been in such places where there is such a situation, a double or two, because I had to accommodate myself, to behoove to that society. And I, a double or two, always get a quantity that I can control myself for example, but this is always in a chatty atmosphere, or in an amount that would not give you any harm, (but these) every night as if they have to, they drink every night. They drink or gamble, as if gambling is obligatory. These when they earn some money, first thing they do,

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you see those kiosks (tekel büfe: selling tobacco and alcohol) right, there are plenty of them in this neighborhood. Let's say if he goes to a restaurant, he will pay a 100 TL instead of 50 TL, it will cost a lot to him. Then what does he do. He buys 5 cans of beer, 10 cans of beer, buys also nuts and everything. For example in a restaurant with everything goes well together, you know, that costs. For him the problem solved, he's got what he needed, the alcohol. Whereas drinking's requirements, you know, in a chatty atmosphere, friendly conversations, in an atmosphere where everyone can have a word, and this can happen only in a restaurant.

This man with bad habits enjoys reaching to the utmost point in his habit, and racing. He may find himself in a hard situation by consuming to show-off. For example spending the money he has won gambling or by other means that day, he drinks, spends limitlessly in entertainment places and gambles limitlessly. For some of them, this performance of masculinity is like the exaggeration of conspicuous consumption of "responsible" bachelors who usually consume at their home towns, however his spectators and gazes are different. He would like to be appreciated (and to be granted as male) by their (male) peer group who have the same ambition. He plays another sort of gamble by using up all his money.

If he earns plenty of money, that is not enough for him. He goes to night clubs (pavyon: an entertainment place for men only offering cheap entertainment and catering) in Beyoglu, for example a lady that works there. She comes to his table, if normally what it's written on his bill let's say 10 lira, they charge him 30. 10 lira bill turned to ne 30 liras. Maybe he had a double or not. The lady that he calls to his table, that's her earning. He drinks or gambles till that he finds no where to stay or leaves no money left that much he spends. And then he comes on my way, in the evening when I go back to my house: "Father, I have no money for the hotel, would you give me 10 TL? "Father, would you give me 5 TL, I need to eat". Whereas he earns that much money that day, I know it, but he spent them all because of his addicts. If he drinks tea at the coffeehouse he will ask write it down, he will tell " Abi, I will pay tomorrow" or he was somehow trusted in his neighborhood he makes bakkal write down his account, and then he will pay when's going to have some.

In this chapter some of the varous masculinities contested in the country wide, as well as the hegemonic ones which is mostly invisible have identified and in the next chapter it will be elaborated how all these masculinities especially various rural and

urban masculinities as well as the space-based particular masculinities specific to this district, where they can be enacted with difficulty in other spaces contest with discourses. It will also be discussed as the space and masculinities might be relational. While masculinities might form the space, making them gendered spaces on the other hand (urban public) space can also change the masculinities maintaining some masculine spaces, like institutions which work in the production of masculinities for decades even centuries.

CHAPTER 6

CONTESTATION AND CHANGE

In this chapter firstly how masculinities have been negotiated and re-produced by different discourses in the district will be discussed. The relational reproduction of space bound masculinities which continously contest with eachother in homo-social places of the district will be emphasized. Different reflections of the changes as a result of the structure of the district as free zone for men will also be demonstrated.

6.1 Gendered View on Main Discourses Used in the Region

There are mainly four discourses used in the region. These are based on some categorizations done by all the residents/users of the district including the bachelors'. These discourses are mainly "citizens of Turkish Republic and others", "Kurdish people and others", discourse which is related with the procurement facilities of the Municipality (space-sharing), and discourse related with the ex-bachelors who became "succeeded bachelors".

Citizens of Turkish Republic and others; is a discourse occasionally sounding almost racist. These expressions come forward when talking about foreign workers who "steal jobs" of Turkish citizens by working without social security and for very low fees, such as "foreigners" causing bakery workers to lose their jobs; people coming from Turkmenistan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Romania, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Ukraine and workers from South East Asia etc. Workers coming from foreign countries run away in case of a police raid since they do not have work permits and a manpower supply agreeing with anything and any condition is more attractive for the employer than Turkish workers who expect to have insurance. One of the most frequently used arguments here is that not protecting them by having strict controls in all businesses, bakeries in the first place, and not providing jobs, government pushes them towards crime. "Are we supposed to steal" question is frequently asked. The policies of the

municipality have changed several things in the region as many bachelors have complained such as restrictions on the street vending, not giving license to workshops in addition to excessive labor supply from Georgia, Turkmenistan, and Armenia who are ready to accept poor working conditions. Thus "bosses" reduce the daily price by only suggesting 15- 20 TL for fulltime daily work in the workshops in the neighbors nearby the region and foreign workers accept even this low price besides they do not ask socialinsurance. "Bachelors" complain about the ignorance of the police arguing that policemen deliberately condone the existence of foreign workers as a result of the policies of existing central government who try to do "new openings" with neighboring countries. To bachelors, "a government firstly cares their own citizens", "all foreign workers as well as Natashas[31] send money to their countries and this is bad for the economy of our country". "The other" here becomes all foreign workers, non Turkish citizens who compete for the same jobs. Masculinity and femininity of foreign workers are negatively constructed by the production of "the other". In this sense the "other" includes categories such as "foreign women" implying women from ex-communist countries whose sexual behavior questionable and dubious and men from other races and religions whose masculinity are strange and different than the local masculinities. We might approach to this alliance from Connell's perspective; the unequal power relations between men even 'in the same cultural or institutional setting', are the key to understand how hegemonic masculinities are produced. He draws attention to "the relations between the different kinds of masculinities: relations of alliance, dominance, and subordination. These relationships are constructed through practices that exclude and include, that intimidate, exploit, and so on" (Connell, 1995:29).

One of the stables who sell alcoholic drinks has mentioned one of his customers; and the the role of media, used as tool of hegemonic masculinity, in the creation of the other:

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[31] A term given to the foreign prostitutes from ex-Soviet countries in Turkish context. On the other hand in practice "Natasha" term has been used for every women from these countries as Turkish manhood constructs an image about all these women as potential "Natashas" who can get into sexual relationship easily especially in 1990s.

When it is said that they (women) were from Ukraine, people approach them with suspiciously, prejudiced behavior, biased...actually she is an excellent person...Press, media engage society to those issues…For example I have learnt the meaning of "Natasha" from the newspaper.

Since there is not a more humiliating thing for an unemployed bachelor than going back home empty-handed, that is to say, the manliest thing that makes a man a man is his coming home with money or providing for the home, they do not prefer going back home without finding a job. Many bachelors continue to stay in bachelor's inns even if they spend money and get in debt despite there are no jobs rather than going to hometown and waiting for the market to get better because being "idle", staying at home in day time brings about the danger of man's becoming effeminate. A "bachelor" visiting this district "to wait for job" for decades since 1968, has summarized his life and the condition he is in considering "foreigners" as follows:

> If not for these foreigners, you could find a job. Now and then you work a little...I have been here since 3-5 months… I have a debt from before too...I am separated from my children... I can not send any money...(bosses) accustomed Turkmenistanian he does dough and cooks and everything...Livestock is not worth money any more, in the East, what one can do? I came here in 1968... At times, I was staying for 2-3 years.. But now I am married and I even have grandchildren but these people here are always here... I am working for 3-4 months, I am earning my livelihood. I come again when I need it…here mostly single people...Guy has no secure job, how can he get married? He can not maintain, I mean he can't look after himself, how is he going to look after "wife"... I can not earn money...You work for 1 month, then for 3 months you are unemployed...He can not maintain, that's for sure...How will he get married?... Not everybody could do this job…At 4 o'clock (afternoons) he comes to his house (from bakery) as he has to sleep a bit…because he goes on working at night ...no social security...working times is indefinite..You can not stay in the village by doing nothing...

Same worker had been in the unions before 1980.

> In 1986, as members of trade union, we have marched, but then we have retreated. (Bakery) do not apply 8 working hours, employers fire workers. Those days, we used to go to bakeries makes bread at night or on Sundays… Bakeries which make workers work, we were going with bats to smash down power switches. We had such days…We were supporting the trade union...

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As a result of de-politization they have gone through, this worker and other workers who have told me about their condition objected the idea of "collecting the signatures of 30 people here and walking" of a Kurd worker saying that they do not want to get in the list of police and get marked.

In another example one of the interviewees who is an bakery foreman in his 40s, time to time come from a city from East to the district to "wait for job", was thinking that "certainly a job opportunity will appear" as Feast of Sacrifice (Kurban Bayramı) was getting closer, bakeries would seek employees because of the festival (Bayram) and was waiting with hope. This bachelor, who usually preferred not to work in festivals when he had money, was not thinking about visiting his family because he was not able to buy festival presents (bayram hediyesi). During the course of the study, he waited for jobs in the same coffeehouse and did not return to his hometown although he got into debt. In the interviews, it was very important to be a citizen of Turkish Republic for bachelors who were being in these difficult conditions waiting for jobs for months in the district. This interviewee and several other bakery workers complained about government's attitude that said "two governments, one nation" rather than local administration about the illegal workers who came from old "iron curtain" countries within the last decade but from Turkmenistan within the last couple of years and took job opportunities of bakery workers. They believed that the government should give an order to Ministry of Internal Affairs to increase constabulary controls and not to condone if the illegal workers were noticed. The reactionary nationalist attitude towards foreigners was interesting while especially Kurds said that the issue "concerned everybody" and since "everybody served in the military" a country should first protect its own citizens. One of the most important codes of exemplary masculine identity is to complete the military service duties in Turkey. It makes ethnic differences unimportant to claim power "paying the debt to his homeland" and accordingly being part of "the citizen of Turkish Republic" against those foreigners who do not "perform national service". With these practices and discourses of everyday life by most of the population in the district, the status-quo that is to say hegemonic masculinity is re-established. One part of these discourses is the barrack-room friendship which is always shared among

male groups. Employing men who fall into the draft evader (asker kaçağı) category is also something to be hesitant. Like Sinclair-Webb argued that,

> In these two senses military service becomes a rite of passage to manhood: most of the time a man is not accepted as a permanent employee, and is therefore unlikely to find a means of becoming economically independent of his family, and in addition may not be regarded as fit to be a marriage partner unless he has passed through military service (2000; 74).

Within this discourse women were mentioned in several ways: for example, bakery workers are not pleased with the existence of women. In Turkey bakery is an industry where only men work and workers live together man-to-man close to bakery even in the bakery with accommodation opportunities provided by the employer because of the work schedule starting midnight. By this way, it is appropriate for "bachelors", who come to city from time to time in order to save money when needed, to live without accommodation expenses. One of the bakery workers who was waiting for job has told about the "inappropriate"("bize uymayan") behavior of "foreigners" from Turkmenistan who took the jobs in the bakeries as follows:

> In that bakery, there are 5 foreigners at the moment. They come with their wives. Even the wives come to bakery, to dorm room...Employer turns a blind eye to this...How such thing can happen??!! In all these lunchrooms, restaurants the whole Turkmenistan are here… All of their wives are here too....in all these workshops...One day I wanted to go to bed.. There were three broad here...(in the bakery). This may not be happening??!!

Sleeping space segregated from the working space exclusively for the usage of male bakery workers are used by "wives" of the workers from Türkmenistan and this is "inappropriate".

In addition, despite it is known that women who stay in some pensions located in the upper side of the district work in "normal job", when talking about foreign women, "foreign women getting on prostitution" are brought up and it is claimed that these women "harmed our country" by transferring the money they earned to their home countries. Some of them have told their experiences, being a construction worker in Russia and how "Russians do not allow the money which excess the amount when you

enter into their country" and how Turkey is not acting in the same way against "those foreigners".

Regarding the illegal workers coming from old iron curtain countries in the last decade but from Turkmenistan in the last couple of years and taking job opportunities out of bakers' hands, in the course of bakers' request for help from me in order for the government to increase the controls on this issue in the bakeries, it was interesting that bakery workers had a reactionary nationalist attitude against foreigners while they were saying that this issue concerns "everyone", Kurd or Turk, without any discrimination and "a country was supposed to protect its own citizens".

Moreover, it was obvious that bachelors' labeling Roman citizens, who were staying altogether in the whole bachelors' inn and had come from Romania as a family and collecting money by conducting music, as "polite beggars" made them more honorable and more men as they are earning their lives by "working".

The second major discourse is related with migrant rural Kurdish people: Kurdish people and others. Statements bonding others excluding Kurds are widespread among the people especially among "the stables" who mostly are property owners in the district. In the district, some Kurdish families from the rural stay in some houses paying very little amount of money as rent or without paying any rent occupying the empty historical houses in the district left by their owners. These families are accused of being "opportunists" with similar statements with these statements of one of "the stables": "they have not recently migrated and they are not new comers, even they have started to buy houses in other districts of the city, for example in Esenler.. but they continue to stay in this district as they benefit from the existing conditions of the district (implying hopefully (socio-spatial) conditions will change soon by the transformation project)…because of cheap living costs in the district, social welfare and aids provided by ex-local administrative policies..". Some "stables" think that having "a free (free of charge, at no cost) life" ("bedava yaşam") in the district by illegal electricity usage ("kaçak elektrik") and by not paying taxes, "males of them" doing street vending, "these Kurdish people" deserve their accusations. However, Kurdish male workers who stay in bachelor rooms/houses are considered differently though several of them also do street

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vending. Because, bachelors pay for their accommodation. But there are other more important reasons, like the upward mobility (by buying a house) achieved by Kurdish families in a relatively short time in the city. In addition, consumption of the bachelors is not visible at the district or in the same space where they earn money, like buying a house, or furniture etc. that is to say they earn in the district but they consume in a different space, in their hometown. Similar to Osella and Osella (2000) said that, migration splits the moment and the site of wealth accumulation from its consumption. Moreover, migration conceals the occupation, not only informal jobs of most bachelors, such as the job of garbage collectors, and helps to maintain one's prestige that is to say bachelor still have prestige in his hometown irrespective of what he is doing in the city. Bachelors manage to do this by this production and consumption split of the space.

On the other hand, Kurds try to survive by sticking together in terms of language on a wide range from the ones who knows Turkish extremely well to the others who does not know Turkish at all. Sense of belonging or belonging to religious groups, or regional belonging can be useful as part of the survival strategy in the city, if it works people (men) stick to it. Kurdish identity might create problems sometimes among the nationalist stables however it can also be useful sometimes for some bachelors to turn into advantage.

Some of the discourses among Kurds that are used in the civil side of "the illegal terror organization" (PKK), for example "patriots" locution, were adopted by some Kurds living in the district. According to "patriots" some of the immigrant Kurds, have gone off the rails is because they were "derailed by the system". Along the research, in general, men from groups of immigrant from East and Southeast have mentioned families' coming apart and moral corruption as a result of immigration. Most of the reaction is caused by boys starting to "use pills" and girls "changing their way of dressing". In the last two years, the people who had come earlier were bewildered with the arrival of farmers', who owned large areas of soil but could not get crops, and persons', who were dealing with animal breeding, to the city because of the draught in East and Southeast.

They have complained about not being able to find a job as a relative or a fellow citizen for these persons who had borrowed large sums in order to process soil however came to Istanbul to work in order to pay their debts when could not get crops and finally these people lost their family, the only thing that was left, in the city. What is explained by the keywords of boys' "excuse me, going to Tarlabasi" ("afedersin Tarlabaşına gidiyorlar"), "going to Beyoglu" can in fact be translated as boy's going off the rails and entering a "bad path". (Findings of Özbay (2005) related with the new types of masculinities, namely "rentboys" enacted in these districts have revealed that but my informants did not want to get into the details with me, a female sociologist.) Change in clothes of girls was accepted as a sign for this. It was implied that while in the past newcomers were listening to their elders' words, now "because of mobile phones" new generation gets out of the impact area of elders and going off the rails has got easier. Talks about Kurds in this way were annoying them mostly because young persons' were getting enmeshed in this situation. In Kucukpazar, one of the annoyances for tradesmen, and some residents who have a disapproving attitude towards Kurds, in other words stables was Kurds' becoming property owners in Süleymaniye or other districts such as Esenler and Bayrampaşa by getting help, by getting "green card" (health card for uninsured people in Turkey) "easily", saving under low living conditions and saving money in this way. Achievements of Kurdish people who have bought other properties in the district after reaching a certain income by opening shops in their properties which were bought while prices were low and before Suleymaniye Urban Transformation Project was mentioned, transforming their properties into bachelor's inns, and make "good money" was rousing unfairness feelings on the stables who have been in the district for long years and see themselves as Istanbul citizens and feeling themselves as having more rights on Süleymaniye. It is interesting that the statement "sending wives for (social) aids" for Kurds is frequently observed while expressing these feelings of them.

Before going into next section I would like to discuss the identities and the masculinities exist in the district from the perspective of the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity tracing the relational formation of identities and spaces. Küçükpazar as a kind of ghetto in which mostly rural several masculinities most of

them non-hegemonic at the regional level from all over the country contest with each other influencing the whole Süleymaniye district can be studied by locating it into the general framework of the concept of hegemonic masculinity. We can start with the gender hierarchy or the hierarchy of masculinities. According to Connell, research findings in different socio-cultural contexts have proved that certain masculinities are more socially central, or more associated with authority and social power, than others (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:845). First of all I argue that similar to what Connell has said that the hierarchy of masculinities in Turkish context is a pattern of hegemony, not a pattern of simple domination based on force. In this framework, "White Turkish Masculinity" is one of the most socially dominant masculinities with the characteristics such as cultural consent, discursive centrality, institutionalization, and de-legitimization of alternatives that is to say the marginalization. However, this kind of hegemonic masculinity which most men and boys such as those in Süleymaniye do not fully achieve it, is not the most common pattern in the everyday lives of boys and men like Connell described that. According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:845) change in gender relations is possible such as "a dominant pattern of masculinity was open to challenge—from women's resistance to patriarchy, and from men as bearers of alternative masculinities". Connell and Messerschmidt emphasize the agency of subordinated and marginalized groups often conditioned by their specific location in the relations among masculinities. "Protest masculinity" (Poynting, Noble, and Tabar 2003) is a pattern of masculinity constructed in local working-class settings, sometimes among ethnically marginalized men (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:846). Protest masculinity "embodies the claim to power typical of regional hegemonic masculinities in Western countries, but which lacks the economic resources and institutional authority that supports the regional and global patterns" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:847). Connell and Messerschmidt argue that the durability or survivability of non-hegemonic patterns of masculinity can be considered as the responses to race/ethnic marginalization, physical disability, class inequality, or stigmatized sexuality. On the other hand, the incorporation of non-hegemonic masculinities into a functioning gender order may be crucial to achieve hegemony instead of active oppression in the form of discredit or violence of these masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:847). As

a result of the gendered analysis of discourses among the bachelors in the region related with "being the citizen of Turkish Republic, (emphasized by the completion of military duty)" we may argue that all non-hegemonic masculinities (including the Kurdish (rural) masculinities) have been incorporated into the functioning existing gender order.

However, Connell argues that both incorporation and oppression of non-hegemonic masculinities can take place together in practice. Indeed we can argue that non hegemonic masculinities such as contemporary position of Kurdish masculinities in the urban context are both incorporated and oppressed. In fact, we have seen many exemplary of local Kurdish hegemonic masculinities exist at the regional level with power like landowners, parliament members in political domain or such as writers, singers, actors in cultural domain as a sign of this incorporation. On the other hand Kurdish masculinity with local practices such as "töre" killings is condemned by the discursive centrality in a process of marginalization.

Connell draws attention to the practices of women in the construction of gender among men, in addition to the activities of men. In this respect Connell emphasize the importance of life-history research to be able to understand how "women are central in many of the processes constructing masculinities—as mothers; as schoolmates; as girlfriends, sexual partners, and wives; as workers in the gender division of labor; and so forth". (life-history method were used in this thesis and the importance of the practices of women in the life of the bachelors tried to be discovered.) I can argue that women figures both those who live in the home town of the bachelors, (mostly the female members of their families who deal with responsibilities of bachelors in their absence in the home town, who expect money needed for several reasons and gifts bought for women members of their families when bachelors visit their home town especially in the holidays of festivities, mothers who take care of the family of bachelors by visiting them, sisters and daughters who are more dedicated and successful than boys at school, or new generation "girls" from their village such as from Niğde-Aksaray as demanding prospective brides) or in the city (such as the girl who sell bread in bakery, textile workers women, women as dishwasher or foreign women in the region) are central in the process of constructing masculinities of bachelors.

When we look at the geography of masculinities Connell mentions the interplay of specific local masculine practices that have regional significance and also the interplay between regional and local hegemonic masculinities. Through the interplay of these practices which are constructed by singers, actors, sportsperson and politicians hegemonic masculinity is represented at the regional level. The essence of these practices changes over time and across societies. However, regional hegemonic masculinity, such as "Turkish Masculinity" providing a cultural framework, forms "a society-wide sense of masculine reality" that may become visible in daily practices and interactions and it functions as available material to be actualized, altered, or challenged through these practices in the cultural sphere in a variety of different local conditions. Therefore, practice at the local level constructs hegemonic masculine models at the regional level, which in turn affect other local settings (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:849).

I would like to discuss also the spatial perception of to what extent you are Kurd. Kurds who rose up in western cities of Turkey is considered as "assimilated Kurt" by some "Kurds". In this perspective, wealthy "Kurds" in the home town are still "Kurds" but middle class or upper middle class, wealthy Kurds who grown up in the city are considered "assimilated", considering some features related with being Kurt are disappeared or absent. That is to say to be grown up in the city, an urban space, becoming something related with class, is changing the perception of ethnic status of Kurds. Kurds in these circumstances prefer not talking about their ethnic identity and behave without emphasizing their Kurdishness among heterogeneous groups in the urban public space. Indeed, some of them actually hide their ethnic identity in public space such as among Turkish nationalist. Similar to what one of my friend's nephew who doesn't speak Kurdish has said that "I am Turk at school, Kurd at home". This spatial separation of identity made by a small kid; indicates that how being a Kurd is not prestigious or preferable, thus especially the Kurdish men who moves earlier to urban prefer being not to be considered as a "Kurd". Therefore we may argue that in urban public space being new and old in the city may influence the preference and demonstration of ethnic identity. In this respect being grown up in the city make some Kurdish men old in the city, being them closer to or part of the ideal hegemonic

masculinity; White Turkish Manhood. We may also add that Kurdish men switching their identity they have preferred such as among Kurdish people they prefer being Kurd however among heterogeneous groups they prefer being "Turk". With this behavior among heterogeneous groups they serve for White Turkish Manhood.

The third discourse is related with the procurement facilities of the Municipality. The Urban Transformation Project; an output of "global vision", a neo-liberal policy though it is in the stand-still period now, has created two antagonistic groups in the district. The first group is those who are against Urban Transformation Project, constituted by those who benefit from the accommodation sector in the district, however not bachelors but those who earn money by renting/operating/occupying the buildings. The other group is those who are in favor of the project constituted by mostly property owners who do not benefit from the existing building/situation, "old tradesmen" and some "old families" who still stay in the district. That hopeful for the future of the district group passionately await for municipality to take the consequent steps to "clean" the district from industrial buildings, small workshops and plants, and they are hopeful that it follows that the cleaning the district will include the bachelor houses/rooms in the upper parts of Süleymaniye, meaning also that several pensions would be forced to be closed down. The nostalgia freshened in the district, remembering when bachelor houses were only in Küçükpazar neigborhood; "nice" place with "good families", why not it could be again a place/space like in the old days. The hope for the future represents the hope that "good families" from upper classes would buy the restored houses. The pension owners, who are actually to be considered as other stables, and most of them are "succeeded bachelors" at the same time, foreseen also this is going to really happen. In their narrations, they often mentioned the disinterested manner of the municipal authorities to maintain the services to the part of the district where the pensions are located. Although the pension owners fulfill the necessary procedures for requesting the services of local municipality to be brought to their streets such as the street lightening, however they argue the municipality are deliberately not giving services to them. Thus, for them this is an evidence of that the municipality has a plan to make the district a "family area"; and in their discourse this is expressed with "they do not want bachelor rooms/houses here". In this vein, they also

try to differentiate themselves from the unwanted bachelor-rooms/ houses, as one pension owner was telling to me "we are not bachelor room, we are pensions, but they do not understand". What they are hopeful for the future of the district though is that the district can become "a touristic place" like Sultanahmet, and their pensions can guest customers from different countries who would pay more for the rooms. As it is mentioned before, one of the pulling factors for bachelors to stay in the district was the cheap accommodation. So the pension owners calculate a hopeful future for the district in which customers pay more than 6 TL per night, and restoration works will bring more qualitative customer, as they put it, respect to their current customers the "quality is low". The pension owners who are "succeeded bachelors" in accommodation sector, making a successful upward mobility, their position in this "space-sharing" struggle is significant. They fear that the successful outcomes of their coping strategies for long term mobility is about to collapse now they are in a new stage, they have to survive and keep existing position, status and power with newly adapted strategies. They successfully came out from negotiation with the hegemonic masculinity, and they now occupy a place in the hierarchies of the masculinities and actually own a space.

Regarding the old families part, some were criticized by the other old family members that they have accelerated the process of pensionization or bachelorization of the district; by selling their properties to the first buyer "escaped from" the district instead of staying and "struggling with them". And some of the "old families" who recently sold their properties to the local municipality are now regretful of selling their properties, as the urban transformation is giving hope to other owners that it will enhance the values of the properties. They feel like that they have been victimized by procurement policies of the municipality. However for some of the "old families" which voluntarily or reluctantly continue to stay in the district they feel that it is time to collect the rewards of their patient and struggle.

The fourth discourse is related with the ex-bachelors who became "succeeded bachelors" as the models of masculinities often given among bachelors in Süleymaniye. For instance the most used example is ex-Mayor of Eminönü district (an ex-bachelor who grown up in district living with his father in the same bachelor room), as well as

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"prominent" wholesalers or "very rich" textile businessmen, store producers etc. giving the hope that someday each bachelor have a chance for upward mobility. In addition among street vendors, "such and such businessmen, having experienced street vending have been successful", "all businessmen start trade with street vending" and "street vending is the first step of becoming businessmen" kind of discourses are meaningful to understand how bachelors construct their identity. Prominent men's names who once stayed in bachelor rooms/houses locate an important place in these discourses. Garbage collectors also define what they do with these words; "this is a sector". Migration, by concealing the occupation, helps to maintain their local prestige, "by splitting the moment and the site of wealth accumulation from its consumption"(Osella and Osella, 2000). Their perception by the urban people are not interesting that it is thought as long as they earn money they assure that their local status will not be subject to feminization in the hierarchies of manliness. As visible consumption like the clothes of his wife or furniture like those in advertisements in TV in his absence symbolizes him (Osella and Osella, 2000).

6.2 Homo-sociality

At the beginning of the field study especially in coffeehouses I have felt that I was disturbing the bachelors who get used to be in the male only environment which is comfortable with its homo-social atmosphere. Soon, I realized that intervening in a homo-social place like coffeehouses results in a crisis, and a conflict of the power emerges.

The men I interviewed explained themselves through segregated social worlds of men and women in the way that their place is in the public space and women's place is in the domestic sphere that is constituted of the family members, kin, friends and neighbors. In this segregated life understanding, migration to city, waiting for the job in coffeehouses and living in bachelor houses and pensions, men do all these activities within the basic dichotomy of public and private in which women are associated to reproductive domesticity but men are defined within the public space (Kandiyoti, 1994, Arık, 2006). In the district he accommodates in segregated places, most of the case he works in segregatedjobs and experiences segregated sociability.Segregated sociability is

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everywhere indeed when a "bachelor" visits his home town one of the first things will be to visit the main street of his hometown with coffeehouses to see and to be seen by other men in the public space in the same kind of segregated sociability.

According to Spain (1992) "throughout history and across cultures, architectural and geographic spatial arrengements have reinforced status differences between women and men... Women and men are spatially segregated in ways that reduce women's access to knowledge and thereby reinforce women's lower status relative to men's. "Gendered spaces" separate women from knowledge used by men to produce and reproduce power and privilige."(Spain, 1992:3). Indeed, in this thesis I tried to reach some serious clues of how knowledge of migration in rural part of Turkey has been accumulated in these "gendered spaces" namely homosocial places used exclusively by men in all over the country seperating women from this particular knowledge. Thus this is one of the important points to be elaborated in the future studies to demonstrate more details of it. On the other hand some neighborhoods of the urban, especially those which are near the commercial heart of the cities like those in Süleymaniye district especially Küçükpazar part of it, with particular spatial arrangements are also socially created gendered spaces reducing access of women. However, to think the verse of the situation is possible like Massey; "it is not just that the spatial is socially constructed; the social is spatially constructed too"(Massey 1984:6 cited in Spain,1992:4). She argues that "initial status differences between women and men create certain types of gendered spaces and that institutionalized spatial segregation then reinforces prevailing male advantages"(Spain, 1992:6). Therefore existing gender order with the distinction of public and private spheres and institutionalized spatial segregation creates the basics for homo-social places where men socialize together. In especially Kucukpazar part of Suleymaniye district not only with bachelor houses and pensions, but with coffeehouses, beerhouses, betting agencies, hammams[32], barbers, restaurants and buffets, complete street especially in summer time with chairs outside of the buildings; the space in which homo-social world is created expands and even covers the whole

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[32] Kandiyoti(1994:204) argues that hammam "in the past, it was a specifically urban phenomenon, which presupposed a degree of wealth and development of specialized public facilities which were absent in the pre-modern architecture of private households". However, in this context hammams exist as a result of the absence of these facilities in bachelor houses.

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street. We can even say that in almost entire Kucukpazar men live in a homo-social world. As young rural men, indeed not only young ones, all new comers confront with other versions of their local masculinities which are constructed as subordinate male in this all-male contexts involving hierarchies of power, we can consider how they find themselves relatively powerless in the world of contested masculinities.

In this homosocial world we can observe different kind of discourses some of them hegemonic, some of them subordinate contesting and challenging each other. Male solidarity, sharing similar "responsibilities", similar hard life conditions in informal jobs, working for small amounts of money without any social security and the same interests like football which is emphasized by Connell(1995) as an institution of hegemonic masculinity. Discourses and experiences related with sexuality (which they didn't share with me, of course) is the most intimate sharing of bachelors especially among peer groups. However, it is understood that in several places in the district they are pleased being in a legitimized structure within which men can live and socialize with other men without anxiety of living with women (remember "there is family" understanding) who make men control their behavior and or without fear of being stigmatized as homosexual within the hegemonic discourse of heterosexual masculinity.

6.2.1 Contestation of Different Masculinities in Different Homo-social Places

Local, regional, hegemonic, subordinate masculinities find embodiment through practices in the way of life in the district; such as the practices in the place of "authorities" like muhtars, or in the shops of stables, in the Inns, in bachelor rooms, the practices in coffeehouses, practices in mostly informal jobs exercised in the streets of the district, with contested contribution of different men not only from different regions of the country but from different countries. These practices include power negotiated through codes of behavior in cultural settings of this district.

However, streets of Süleymaniye are not only paced by the residents of bachelor rooms and pensions but other men from other regions who would like to join this masculine atmosphere come to the district. Evening activity of the region in several

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corners create different opportunities as male sociability. Different male groups gather in different coffeehouses to chat. Relatives of some "celebrities" such as "father of arabesk music[33] singer x" known by the attendants of the coffeehouses or other homo-social places are shared with proud. These "hector" visitors of the district are obviously attracted to the district for the possibilities of socialization with men, namely homo-sociality. One of the owners of these coffeehouses who were migrated from an Eastern city and considering himself as "new" in the district have proudly mentioned the "history" of the district that "hoods" in "the old times"(Ottoman period) always emerged from this district.

There is no necessity to act in a refined manner in the district. Bachelors with a tendency to fulfill the requirements of the place try to adopt themselves by learning the codes. They can share whatever they like without being worried as the topics like financial difficulties, politics and football except topics related with the women they care. Not only in the bachelor rooms but every homo-social place one needs to watch his words and manners of talking about women in accordance with the rules of male sociability. To talk about the woman who is a relative or a friend of the other men in this homo-social environment can be dangerous by risking the relationships. Power is negotiated in the space of male-only sociability within the rules (Arık, 2006). Indeed as I have mentioned before related with "girl who work in bakery" if one warn other workers not to gossip about or not to insult a specific woman this means that one who warns would be a kin or someone who care her romantically. Otherwise most of the time nobody cares the warnings and rumors continue being some part of entertainment in man talk in homo-social environment.

When men get together they try to control and standardize their masculinities with humiliation related with other gender identities except "men". Every practices not only practices in the room, practices in other homo-social places are important in the production of masculinities. Many discourses in all homo-social places but especially those related with being a real man, demonstrated by the exclusion of "other" gender

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[33] A kind of popular music has become widespread in 1970s, associated with slum dwellers mostly reflecting the unfrustrations of lower classes including migrated people from rural expressing their feelings and experiences in city.

identities such as jokes influence especially younger "bachelors". The bodily and verbally reflections of the experience obtained from different forms of informal jobs from street vending, to national lottery selling, or "jobs" from begging to "woman procurer" are observed and shared in these places. All masculinities enacted in the district contest with each other and when power is claimed by young bachelor, especially in the cases for humiliation, masculinity becomes a defense against the perceived threat of humiliation in the eyes of other men (Kimmel, 2004:193).

It is believed that men talk about their sexuality freely in homo-social places. Indeed in the district especially in peer groups talking sexuality may prove one's masculinity and power. However this might not be valid for every case. Fellow townsmen networks in these Inns make "bachelors" behave in accordance with their local values of his home town at least on the surface. Indeed, some "stables" such as some Keepers of the Inns in which mostly stay bachelors who are from the same cities acts like a representative of "father" and these kinds of stables most of the time are the determinants of the rules of this homo-social place. Therefore talking sexuality openly or experiences in some "bad habits" such as gambling can be risky for the reputation of the "son", as news might be transmitted to the "fathers" in home towns. Thus young peer groups share this kind of experience among the group. However, this attitude might be different in pensions. Although pensions have some long-term customers, some of their customers are short-term customers who are mostly new bachelors who come individually from different cities to look for job around the trade centers of Eminonu. Some of them later jump to more suitable places in the district. Pensions also accept women customers in separated rooms but couples must proof that they are married. As I have once witnessed that to stay with "girlfriend" is not allowed. Similar to Inn keepers it is actually dependent on pension keeper which kind of customers he will accept. While inn keepers are in the middle of the networks of townsmen and is someone who are avoided to be seen and heard and sometimes acting as the keeper of the values as well, (namely the values of local and/or regional hegemonic masculinity) however, pension keeper is not in a position like Inn keeper and can not function as value keeper. Therefore, pensions like many homo-social places are the places where talking sexuality openly is a way of proving one's masculinity and power. Narratives

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related with sexuality exaggerated or not, works like a status marker getting credit of other men as sexuality is one of the ways of claiming for power. By the statements of the some interviewees from Siirt who are the owners and director of one pension we can argue that for the middle age bachelors the practice of "going to Aksaray or Laleli" which is a district nearby with many restaurants which give entertainment service for men from Anatolia with their "girl friend" and all practices conducted in those places through which a man claims the strength of his masculinity. However, two men with age differences from the same family can not go to the same place of entertainment as it violates a certain form of hierarchy within the patriarchal regulations by causing a conflict between the masculinities of two men. However, for some other interviewees who are also migrants from the "East" and pension keepers of these men also stated that "to go to Aksaray-Laleli" and to say this with proud instead of being ashamed is itself unacceptable in their (religiously traditional masculine) place and accordingly is not appropriate in their understanding of (religiously traditional hegemonic) masculinity.

6.3 Bachelor Rooms as Resistance to Hegemonic Gender Structure

Migrations for economic reasons might bring about a re-invention of conservative masculine strategies, ideals and practices related with several domains. Hegemonic masculinity theory which "embodied the currently most honored way of being a man" allows more than one hegemonic masculinity could exist, therefore like Connell argues "older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832, 833).

Groups are formed among "transients" mostly according to peer groups and to values based on where they come from. Fellow townsman groups usually prefer to stay in the same Inns, however those who come to the city individually or those whose ties with the groups are weaker prefer pensions. Being from the same hometown initially means that values are more or less the same and therefore for being room mates, initial decision related with values are determined by being from the same hometown. Fellow townsman groups often live together, for example, most of the people who deals with collecting garbage from the forest villages of Aksaray-Niğde stay in the paper garbage depot together and those who come from Eastern provinces prefer to live in the same

Inns. Inns (Hanlar) are different from pensions which have more heterogeneous clients. Some Inns may not accept customers who do not meet with these values. For example in this regard Küçükpazar region may be more flexible, however especially in the upper part of the Süleymaniye area many Inns, pensions do not allow to drink alcoholic drinks within the building and even to carry a bottle of the alcoholic drinks into the building is not welcome. Therefore, people who drink bring their drinks covertly to their room inside the pension without being seen especially by the Inn keeper and they have to be quiet when they are drinking. A Monopoly Reseller (Tekel Bayisi) in the region, who is one of the "succeeded bachelors" came from Malatya 20 years ago, selling alcohol for years, has said that in Anatolia in general alcohol is consumed outside of the home (by male). To buy alcohol and drink at home (private space) is considered something specific to the city's modern high-classes. He argues that even if they settled in the city, buying behavior of these settlers, and consumption type, including himself, has not changed; alcohol is not something to be consumed at home,(the consumption of it should be done in a space other than the home space) as this consuming behavior is still considered as "shame" (for a man) he said. He also explained that he continues not drinking alcohol at home as he thinks to drink "at home" (implying in front of children and women) is "not nice". He also added that even to keep alcoholic drink in the refrigerator of household is "not nice". Therefore, if the principle to drink outside of the home is continuing in the district we may argue that some owners/operators of these Inns and pensions have some standards as a space similar to living in home in the hometowns of bachelors.

A young bachelor who moves to the Inn where his fellow townsmen live continues to live mostly with the values of his home town in a space where a control mechanism works. In other words, coming from the same home towns, some of the stables who have the same values with his customers though most Inn Keepers have moved to the city with his family and as a result of his transition certain values of him has already changed, that is to say they have created toleration being changed; they still have an important function as an authority with this control mechanism in negotiating masculinities. This is the male gaze not only on women also look at men to grant their manhood starting from the childhood. For example, an Inn Keeper who is from Van, in

East, operating an Inn in the region for 25 years, has described his position in the following way.

> .. (Is he crowing like "I went to the pavyon in Laleli, I ate and drink"? NK) Such things do no good to us (it is not suitable for us).... even if there are such things they would not tell me... (Ha! They are ashamed NK) they feel shy or beware about it…At least for God's sake; these kids have respect for... (perhaps they may show off among the peer.. do not do it in front of you NK) when I go closer to them there is no sound... there are those types too, for instance some pour the tea (in his Bakkal (small market), tea is served), 3-4 of them together are talking, I approach, stand close to listen to and I say "talk", but they go like "But Ziya Bey!" (Ha! Young guys NK). Sometimes I approach to listen to them, as I approach they are in silence. So I'm wondering When I approach to them, 4 to 5 people they are silenced... "why do not you talk, my son?", "Ziya Ağbi you're here" ... so well ... they have respect that's why... .As I told you before, I know the fathers of these... that's why…they are more respectful to me...

In puberty one of the reasons among the reasons of those who are"running away" in puberty is the theme of freedom. One of the garbage collector, in his middle ages, from Aksaray, coming of young boys to Istanbul as soon as the primary school has finished in his village at the age of 13-14, has stated as follows:

> Why? Here (he) is free! No family!! When he (works) goes out (for collecting garbage) smoke a cigarette showily... (Ha! He is smoking NK) Hah! That's why they run and come here or why else... They neither can smoke nor can find the money (to buy cigarette) in the village (that money gives him happiness for a period NK) Hah! (He feels as if he is free NK) yes then he is free ....he get used to it here…

The conversation with the boys over the age of 14 who smoke and socialize in front of paper depots before going out to collect the paper on the street was like this

> (Can you smoke in the village in front of your mother and father? NK) (Some are blushed, talks and laughs together at the same time) someone slightly older than the group, in his 16-17 ages: "No Abla, they are all afraid of their mothers and fathers"… (Well then, as you send money to home, your mothers have more respects for you? NK) Telling the truth, yes it is so.

For very young bachelors to come to the bachelor rooms means that he is a kind of boy old enough to earn money in the steps of being men. He follows the rules

determined by hierarchy established by older men mostly relatives. It is most of the time something not to feel proud but to work in hardship is a necessary to be able to survive and for these young boys the aim is to support their families. However responsibility bringing respect makes them older and mature than they are. Therefore it is also a liminality as they are in somewhere in between boy and men. They are more than a boy being mature enough and "man" enough by earning money and supporting his family.

The "run away" to the city of the previous generation with examples is passed down to the new generation without willingly… Even if "elderly" want to get them "educated", "coming out of the school" boys take an example by their elders, and come to Istanbul. A 25-year-old paper collector from the Central Anatolia Region Niğde-Aksaray, who has a one-month baby boy, does not dream so much about the future of the baby, but he wants to "get him educated in the future", and this is what he tells about the dynamic in his hometown that makes the migration process continue...

> ... (So you do not have any dream for the child's school life yet? NK) Even if we would had, they run away... One asks "Will you study?" when he finishes the secondary school (completing the primary education, 8 years in total) he says "I will not" and goes to Istanbul. If he would have said "I will" he (father) would have sent him to school, even to the high school. But he doesn't go (How the decision is made, not to attend? NK) They emulate to their elders, so they come to Istanbul. As they come to Istanbul, they dress such suits. I finished the secondary school and I came here because I took pains (did anyone tell you to go to the school) yes (But you say: "I did not listen to them" So why? For example... NK) I do not know was it emulation or addiction…Istanbul! (For curiosity? NK) we came for curiosity (How could you see? TV Series?(soap operas) NK) we have seen it from TV series…Our elders were coming from Istanbul to hometown…When they come back, they wear such dresses… you envy…he tell what he saw, here it is such, there it is like that… you emulate… (That elder coming, as if he's coming from somewhere of the space☺ NK) exactly ☺ ☺ (An important ağbi came and told you such and such stories ☺ NK) yes exactly (other ağbis told you, now you became an ağbi, when you go and you to other small children NK) tells same things, whoever goes… Now I say to them "do not go, study", but they do not listen to you ... (so you are saying the same thing happens... NK) the same thing happens.

Again, another paper collector from the Central Anatolia Region has explained in the same way:

> They are affected...they emulate...they don't understand… they run away from the school, they don't go the school…emulation…you see us like this, but when they go to the village, you can not recognize them abla, they dress brand new, sparklingly clean (well to that children if you say "come up and stay here just for a day, if you can" NK) if they come here they would never go back.

Adolescent youth, whatever the reason that they come for, "running away" with youthful excitement, or compulsorily because of the economical conditions or for having adventures, same stories have been told always on their way to become an adult man. A construction worker from East Anatolia Region confirmed this information, by expressing the following words:

> .. (so when they start to send money home ... respect towards them is increasing at home isn't it? NK) heh ☺ right...of course..not with us, but there are those kinds behaving that way…for instance a guy buys cigarettes…he doesn't smoke when he's with us…but he locks the door and behind the door he smokes, there are those kinds... (in the village everyone checks on him…so he feels more freedom? NK) Of course, absolutely (One more thing, for instance you return to village with your best clothes, the child looks at you and thinks "wow, such and such uncle came from Istanbul" NK) ☺ yes you are right there are those types here… You should become whoever you are, but everybody sees things differently... Everybody is shaving, beard and hair are gone, goes there, and "son of such and such man came from such and such place" (now everyone is coming to Istanbul, they should not be fascinated that much, no? NK) of course talking for myself, I am not fascinated, but when we go, small kids, children are coming (around us), who didn't come to Istanbul yet. We try to tell the reality by telling this and that, as much as we can. Okay the metropolis is advantageous, but full of suffering, unjustness too….metropolitan… is not like our village…is easily grinding the people.

The district is a kind of zone of transition for young men who came to work but yet not migrated. A collector tells us the transition in the district as follows:

This is an adaptation area…(adaptation to) outside…to get used to spend money…such as he is doing a table…he will buy material, so he put aside the money for the expenses…when he makes living here he put money aside accordingly ….I mean it is like a test (examination) something like that ..... He is growing up….child is rising up from the ranks… here to live and work in a foreign land…

Another interviewee has expressed the alterations that are experienced in the region in this way:

When he is with me, with his father, with his elder brother, he was not smoking before..now while he is crossing his leg (meaning sitting comfortably, an inappropriate behaviour for youngsters with their elderly present), he smokes cigarette. And also hear what he says to me, (by the way) in our hometown among the children of uncles, (there is an age hierarchy) younger ones call the elder ones as "uncle"… Now let's say he goes like " uncle, give me a lighter " he says .. if I say "no" his heart will be broken…(could this child behave in the same way in hometown? NK) No, absolutely not!!! (he is doing it here… NK) He does here! Actually when I, we go to hometown, he is changing with a 94 degree .. I mean I tell him "what had happened to you that you became like this?(you have changed)"..he says "well I'm like this", he says "Never mind!"….. He understands well that if he does a wrong move there, something…someone, my uncle or my father or uncle's son, definitely will say something like…"be smart.. don't misbehave…" He knows it because of that fear.

As a result of the economic conditions in the city becoming more and more difficult, those that could not dare to bring their family, those that "could not move the house" or others like, for example, those as the youngest boy having the task of taking care of the old mother and father who are back in town, and do not want to migrate to the city, live in a threshold life (liminality) between the village and the city. Bachelors prefer deliberatively the short-term and informal jobs, despite the disadvantages, to be able to visit their families, in this threshold life. "Unable to move home", neither can return to the hometown nor can settle down in the city, the "threshold bachelors", by their choice take the jobs like construction work where they could work on project basis, or sailing worker when the sailing is over they are free, or bakery, such as daily or

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weekly wage paid jobs or paper collecting or street vender where they can adjust their working time by themselves. If they do not plan moving to the city, they prefer consciously not to have continuity requiring works, such as textile labour, considering these jobs would prevent them to have long-term visits to the family.

There are some answers gathered from the restaurant keeping business about the very limited capability of unqualified workers to negotiate in the labor market. They come from rural areas for short periods, it is known by employers that they would like to go to the village, to harvest the crop in the summer for example. However, determinant here is the bachelors' attitude as they want to visit the family as long as required, in other words the jobs that are preferred by bachelors are due to their not settling down in the city status. It has been stated that young workers who are more interested in what they "hold in their hands" prefers most the uninsured daily waged works bring more income than the permanent jobs with insurance. In summary not having a permanent job, is not related only with being unqualified but at the same time it is a choice. Moreover, as a result of many people who have a settled life in the city, do not prefer project based or seasonal jobs, their negotiating capacity is not that limited as I expected at the beginning of my research. In the labor market, the daily wage of these type of employments are not that low, even brings a higher revenue than permanent jobs. A young construction worker coming from East Anatolia Region has explained as follows:

> (as you are not permanent worker from the perspective of the employer, your bargaining power is low isn't it? NK) it is high! (How so? Guy (boss) says "he will teach you, but after he teaches he will leave the job?" NK) ııh weekly or daily wages working on something such and such jobs (it is not heard)painting of the shoes etc. that it is doing that .... (deliberately) they are doing these jobs…they do not work in a job with insurance, those kinds of jobs..a few of them …those from the West…... their numbers are very few though.. They are not like us………..when they find a job he looks at the job it is a good job ... you know a permanent job..he gets along well with them getting into a dialogue….he brings his home here…he doesn't do like us..we, people from East, we are unable to break very quickly …that's why we always fall behind.

To sum, we may conclude that paper collecting as an informal job, enable them earn their living with more income than permanent jobs. But the income is not only reason why they prefer doing it. The flexible working hours as they arrange, and the chances that they have to visit their family as long as they want, are also significant criteria fort hem to choose doing this job. A paper collector has explained:

> what he means Abla, he wanted to say "if I have a job with insurance in my home town what I am doing here" he said… If he finds such kind of job what they pay him in our home town (Niğde)Aksaray..all we do the same job… I am also married..they will pay only 500 million… how 500 million is suffice?…150 million is my rent.. plus 100 million for cigarettes makes 250 …household expenditure per month is 300 million.. 500 million per month…I mean I even can not earn living for my family …not much money left in my pocket in a month….that's why here somewhat we make money here.. more or less….in addition when you start a job there you should constantly go to the job ... (e it is normal to go to work constantly NK) well we are going to go but it isn't adequate for us...let's say you leave the job you go another job…you go constructing jobs…(you earn here at least 1 billion, or 800 or something? NK) it is so.... 700 - 800, it will make 300 I mean…though it went-came (expenses of travel to home town) it is the same thing….nothing left in the hand.

A 34 years old interviewee, whose family live in Adıyaman, and who have a selling and buying job with insurance and works in a market, one of the few luckily insured people in the district has told the followings:

> I am constantly here, but they (his bosses) are well-intentioned man, for instance I am leaving the job in summer at least 1,5 months I am not here, (I don't stand here). In spite of my actual paid vacation is 15 days. It is unpaid leave though...never mind...however when I come again (you continue to work NK) so it means that I am earning money for them, giving something to these guys, otherwise they give my sack they do not accept me again.

6.3.1 Changes in Physical Appearance

Before I started the field study, in my job circle, I have had a chat with some young people from Eastern and Southeastern part of the country who conduct survey in the field studies and learnt from them that they are not only worried about their accent but they are also worried about their appearances and accordingly made some changes

in their appearances. By these changes like to grow beard like rock stars, wear earrings and black "Metallica style" t-shirts and accessorizes, they think they do "not to draw attention" and "look normal" while they take surveys in public, in plazas of the city. Besides, an economist who holds a PhD, also emigrated from the East and admitted that he grew sideburns to avoid people being questioned owing to his origin as he is asked the question where he is originally from during his presentations in different industrial regions in Turkey. In the previous research study in Suleymaniye in 2006, I observed that the young men who worked in the workshops such as textile, silverware, bakeries or patisseries producing bread and pastry, which do not need much communication with the people working there, tried to get adjusted to environment without making many changes in their appearances. However, for male migrants who work in the fields which need communications with public, as waiters, bartenders, marketing men etc. there were clues that they have undergone a period of physical changing. Indeed, some of the interviewees said that that some young men grow beard with the style of goatee rather than the traditional beards and wear ear rings to look like urban westerners as they get used to to the city life and their contact with urban people increase to adjust themselves to the urban lifestyle.

Homosocial places, bachelor rooms and pensions are the first places for bachelors to get introduced their lifes in the city. And the physical reflection of multi-dimensional changes this lifestyle bring might start with the first haircut and shave at the local barber's, while other changes in their physical appearance starts when they moved from this place to settle down in other districts. For example, a 37- year-old - interviewee from a city in Eastern part of the country said he does not consider as appropriate for the the young man from rural Anatolia to make changes in their appearances so as to find girl friends or to be liked by their "sweethearts". He says "a man" should not change himself "to adjust the environment", "a man" should be "as he is" and should be accepted as he is. He said he never tried to change his physical appearences but "new generation" was not like his generation.

Another interesting information to add this subject is that some of the foreign women who stay in pensions from the countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, Moldovia,

Ukhrania, Georgia and Turkmenistan make changes in their physical appearance like dye their hair dark colours and I saw one of them she wears head scarve to adjust themselves to gender of the host country so as "not to be disturbed" and not to be considered in the category of "Natasha" to avoid the risk of "misunderstandings". Indeed one pension owner have given examples of these "misunderstandings" by mentioning on how he deals with some men who pretend as if the agent or owner of human resources companies who look for especially "young women" to protect his women customers from being cheated.

From this example we can also conclude that this district is the arena of masculinities who migrated here from different parts of Anatolia even different countries with different physical appearences as they undergo a period of processes whereby they contest their masculinities.

6.3.2 Changes in Values

The codes of behavior are also modified by the migration practice and experiences in the public body of the region. One of the important factors to analyze these changes is the age factor. For young "bachelors" while they quickly get older, things also quickly change; their posture, their way of drinking tea, smoking cigarettes and pacing back and forth in the streets in particular manner. They try to be more masculine by talking tough validating that they grown up. Like Kimmel said that "our efforts to maintain a manly front cover everything we do. What we wear. How we talk. How we walk. What we eat. Every mannerism, every movement contains a coded gender language" (Kimmel, 2004:189-190).

On the other hand there are many examples of masculinities around to imitate in the region. However such as garbage collectors who are mostly relatives and friends from the same regions or fellow townsmen networks in many Inns are more closed to be influenced by other masculinities. They live far away from their home towns in different space but act with their local values in their mind. Their behaviors according to these values are controlled mostly by their older relatives and sometimes by "the stables" especially those who came from the same city previously. However men who

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live in pensions or in bachelor rooms are relatively away from the control mechanism of their fellow townsmen have more freedom. But at the same time this freedom makes them more open and vulnerable to be harmed by the threats of the "big city". The most frequent saying in the region is "this is Istanbul!" and this can be complemented with two different ways: "so be careful!", "so it is normal". This warning which is interestingly used in several contexts by even foreign workers mostly implies several threats in "the big city". One of the interviewee has explained how young people can be a subject of "Istanbul" as a space.

> You know… the guy lost his family…. like a train got off the track..... What happens when the train derailed? It is overthrown...... father died.... or problems have emerged.... or the child was expelled from home ...any expectation in that child's life...he has nobody to turn to (no one will control him NK) no one… if I was not here…... this is my brother (he shows his younger brother in the room), for example, came to Istanbul.. And he does not know anyone ... I would say ..... for example .... Establish a dialogue with bad friends….. enters into trouble ..... (Are there any trouble? NK) I mean let's say that ... (do you have? NK) No, but you get! When you pace you get ! Human finds what to call!... then going to the trouble, but I am here he does not go anywhere… I say that don't go out ! …don't lounge around... sit at home .... Do not let the pain in your head .... this is Istanbul .... There are all kinds of trouble and accident here ....

However "this is Istanbul" is also used for justifying many behaviors which is considered wrong in their home towns. Istanbul is a factor making the behavior more acceptable. This semantic shift is the beginning of the value change. Obviously one step further of this border does not make the bachelor more urbanize but pave the way to make the image of the region more associated with the crime. Different values in different spaces, hometown and Istanbul, a kind of schizophrenic life can be possible for some men.

6.4 Violence or Security in the District

According to experienced, middle aged "bachelors" who have experience in Taksim or Tarlabaşı districts which are considered as "dirty" with "all sorts of people", in compare to Taksim and Tarlabaşı another feature of the district is "cleanliness" and "quietness" for "bachelors" whose aim is to accumulate the most while to spend the

least. Especially young "bachelors" who are "new", considered naive are recommended not to hang around in these districts by the bachelors who are experienced in the city having several memories how they have been cheated being "new" in the big city. On the other hand in pensions in addition to the local masculinities from different parts of rural towns, masculinities that can be considered marginal exist side by side. Such as one of the young interviewee (age 17) who is relatively new in the district, has mentioned how he fought with foreign drug users who use historical prayer room (mescid) near the pension to use drug. He was facing a drug user for the first time in his life. However, with the way of telling this story to other men in the group interview he was claiming power. To Kimmel violence is often the single most evident marker of manhood. Rather it is the willingness to fight, the desire to fight" (2004:189-190).

When relationship of transient and stable men in the district with crime is analyzed, thoughts about district's being a fearsome and insecure place are various. In recent years with the pressures from Ministry of Finance and Law Enforcement Agency for bachelor's rooms/houses to work in a lodging status, establishing pension have increased. It is compulsory to share the identity information of people staying at pension with security authorities in the district. As a result of procurement facilities some houses were left locked, however most of the times these locks are broken and the homes are invaded, that is to say they are used as bachelor room, paper warehouse or "by thinner adicts"(tinerciler). This circumstance makes some streets in the district to look deserted. Thus, the perception about district's being unsecure and fearsome is still valid. While stables who have lodging in the district want the district to have a conformation similar to Sultanahmet hotels district, it is claimed that planning on to develop the district as a residential area the Municipality is intentionally not fixing the lamp posts in the district or not bringing natural gas connections on purpose. While Ex-bachelors, who had come from East and Southeast Anatolia and who want their investments in the district to gain value, try to clear the district's name and change the perception of it and claim that the district does not have as much crime as it is assumed, on the other hand there is one crime case that is mentioned by each interviewee spontaneously. These incidents are crimes such as a dead body killed and left in a derelict building in the district, cases of stabbing, store robberies, forestalling, snatching cameras, sexual abuse, and fights.

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However, illegal gambling is not accepted as a crime. Also invading derelict buildings and living in them, burning wooden buildings for money, administering parking lots in opened places are not perceived as crime. Crime perception of some stables must have been changed maybe because of living in the district for many years. For example, many interviewees mentioned snatching cases and warned me about its being not good to go to certain streets of the city at certain times because of the people living in those streets. What is interesting about this is its being mentioned that my chances of getting robbed are higher because I am not a resident of the district. Also it is understood that many crimes are not communicated with the law enforcements. Although it is communicated, law enforcements do not take necessary action even with sound evidence against the criminals and that cause the residents of the district to blame police. For example, a pitchman who was snatched in the upper side of the region saw his snatcher drinking tea with police in a law enforcement building located close but outside the district where he happen to visit by chance. His warnings were not considered although he warned the police. One of the headpersons has talked about the law enforcement unit located in Kucukpazar, in the lower side of the district close to the sea where male population is very high as follows:

> There was once this commissar (police superintendent) has come, has swaggered, showed off. Because, you know, we as reeves, when the chief of police station is changed, actually chieves were changed frequently, go to give them a "hayırlı olsun" (meaning congrats or good luck with it in Turkish context) visit... We as reeves related to public order, you know…we tell them, our commander let us tell you that we have such and such problems in the neighborhood, we have such thing here and such there, I mean, for taking extra precautions, we give them all information. Then one day we see him at such an ill-advised place, let's say we think that as Chief of Police station he should not even say hello to such people, we see him there . Then we realize that in our meeting whatever he said it was all lie. This is also that kind of person, if you know what I mean. But we also saw such people that are taking our cautions seriously, and doing their job excellently, devoted really. (It's interesting to see the security officers that are making acquaintanceship with the people that their actual duty is to claw hold them of, NK) The biggest example of that is Susurluk (Known widely as Susurluk scandal, in 1996, in this town called as Susurluk, a fatal car accident caused the death of a former chief of police, an internationally wanted gang leader, a former beauty queen, and a parliament deputy, who still was in the same car, severely injured. This accident has been used widely as the

symbol of the close link between politcs, organized crime and bureaucracy, in Turkish it reffered as derin devlet (literal translation"deep state"))

It may not be based solely on a relationship of self-interest that the police having undesired relations with criminals despite they are warned on several dates mentioned by an interviewee and this headperson. It could be said that manly side of engaging in violence and conducting crime is intersecting the criminal and again one of the manliest jobs, security person at some point and enhancing the reciprocal respect.

Criminal behavior is gendered. Compared to women men are more often the victims of violent crimes like assault and robbery. Connell argues that masculinity is something that has to be made, and criminal behavior is one of the means for its making. A great deal of crime makes sense only when it is seen as a resource for the making of gender, and in most cases, that means it is a strategy of masculinity (Connell 1995).

In *Masculinities and Crime,* James Messerschmidt states, "When men enter a setting, they undertake social practices that demonstrate they are "manly". The only way other can judge their "essential nature" as men is through their behavior and appearance... For many men, crime may serve as a suitable resource for "doing gender" – for separating them from all that is feminine" (Messerschmidt 1993:84). The crucial word here is the resources for accomplishing masculinity. If the resources of masculinity are not available men may choose criminal social practices by performing male role constructing a suitable masculinity. Therefore crimes are committed by men to realize their masculinity. Indeed, one of the interviewee who is doing street vending in the district has mentioned that he several times has witnessed especially in Küçükpazar neighborhood, "young child" who do purse snatching believing that doing it shows his "bravery", "heroic deed". On the other hand, according to muhtar of Küçükpazar, who is one of the most experienced persons about the district, "things are changing", crime profile of the district is also changing. He has mentioned that "formerly even the burglar of a neighborhood was apparent…if there is a burglary policemen goes and finds him (in his space)..but now it is unknown (we can not distinguish) even the burglar".

6.5. Men's ıntimacy: Homophobia

When we look at the different cultural patterns in men's relationship with other men such as American men are more intimate in their relationships with women than in their friendships with other men. The role of homophobia is important in this picture (McGill 1985). However, patterns in men's relationships with other men are culturally variable. Studies on men's intimacy in different cultural patterns such as during Vietnam war, Doyle (1995) showed that behavior like holding hands while talking together, symbolizing friendship in Vietnamese culture among Vietnamese men, these kind of behaviors were perceived as homosexuality by American men. As these forms of affection are uncommon even absent in the Western countries. Similar to Vietnam in Turkey, open expression of friendship such as open displays of affection between men kissing checks, gentle hug and touch are common. In this respect Kandiyoti (1994: 209) draws attention to the forms of male nurturance and altruism, arguing that men may receive the solace from their peers and the nature of their interactions is rather different in segregated societies like in the Middle East where "spectacle of male groups of varying ages and sizes strolling together, sitting at coffee-shop tables and shop fronts eating and drinking together is one of the most striking and visible features of urban space" (Kandiyoti, 1994:209). In this context,

> Single-sex groups (both male and female) engage in a great deal of expressive behavior, such as dancing and singing and indulging in physical displays of affection, including hugging and putting arms around shoulders, without being labeled as homosexuals. Expectations of nurturance from male peers may mandate enormous tolerance of all kinds of minor infraction and misbehavior which involve letting one's guard down, such as getting drunk and maudlin, making of fool of oneself and being carried home by one's mates (Kandiyoti 1994: 209)

In Küçükpazar it is not unusual to see especially young men while they are hanging on talking with their friends walk arm in arm or arms over the shoulder. An old interviewee said that in the past newcomer migrants from provincial regions used to walk hand in hand for not being lost in the crowded city. Not only migrants from provincial areas, I remember my father once has said that urban men used to pose for the cameras hand in hand or arm in arm to reflect the deepness of their friendship in the

1960s. For the case of Küçükpazar, we can certainly argue that there is a kind of solace culture accumulated in homosocial places of the neighborhood like Kandiyoti argues above, where men find other men to receive solace whenever need.

On the other hand, there are rich sources on homosocial and homosexual masculinities to exhibit "the ambiguities of gender and male homoerotic desire" in the history of sexualities in Ottoman and contemporary Turkey (Kandiyoti, 1994:210). However, homosexual masculinities in the district are not visible like the open displays of these kind masculinities in Tarlabaşı or part of Taksim where single male migrants also accommodate in the last decades (see Özbay (2005)). Most probably because of my gender identity, as female sociologist, I have not reached any answers like the existence of homosexual masculinities in the district however, one of the bachelors from South East has mentioned how his family has been questioning him why he does not want to get married though he has reached his 30 is meaningful in this context.

Before concluding this part, one of the most notable observations that I had the chance to obtain in the district was observing a person whom I thought was a "woman" who was very tall with a very short hair cut and who had a manly dress, enacting performative masculinity, was sitting in one of the coffeehouses in Küçükpazar. He or she did not want to be caught by my gaze. This incident made me recall Butler's and Halberstam's approach, discussed in theoretical discussions (Halberstam, 1998, Butler, 1990).

On the other hand from the perspective of the relational formation of masculine identities and masculine spaces one of the important point to draw attention is this space, Süleymaniye makes itself "masculine space" by accepting "every men" including the ex-convict. One of the confirmed bachelors who is an ex-police officer has told that when he was young, as a result of "having a (sexual) relationship with a policewoman" as "she complained" him, he was imprisoned. As a result of this event he had been expelled from the police department. It seemed, not exactly "a relationship" as he calls it, but rather a rape to me. One of the aged paper collectors, when he was young he has been doing "tombalacılık"(dealing with a kind of lotto drawing numbers from a small bag) in the streets of Küçükpazar. He was imprisoned two times. One of the two was for

kidnapping wife of one of his close relatives. One of the bachelors who sleep in the park, an ex-burglar, has stayed in prison for 16 years for burglary. And finally one of the interviewees, a professional beggar, who live in Ankara normally, and come to Istanbul, specifically to the district, to beg. They work as a group, consisting of "friends", with whom he met earlier, and learnt willingly how to be a beggar. He says that he runs a coffeehouse in the district and his children back in Ankara think that he earns his living from this business. They all complained that they "can not find job" in other districts. (Except the beggar I believe that they all have told the truth.) Therefore one of the important reasons for some bachelors who have a criminal record; being in the district, they can not find jobs in other districts.

In this thesis what it means to be a single man but especially single man from rural, that is to say to become "bachelor" in mahalle (quarter) space of İstanbul has been studied starting from the contemporary and gendered practices of rural to urban migration of single males. Mills (2007:335) has found out that the linkages between space (mahalle) and gender are multiple and shifting and the boundaries between private and public spaces are fluid in Turkish urban context. The production of gender in daily life in mahalles of Süleymaniye district in some aspects is similar with the one produced in mahalle of Kuzguncuk studied by Mills. Erman (1996) has observed "the extensions of home space into street space through women's visiting inside and in nearby outside spaces in a squatter settlement in Ankara" (cited from Mills, 2007:340). Mills (2007:340) stemming from argues that "the residential street of the mahalle blends the spaces of the public arena of the main street and the inside of the house, linking neighbors and their homes". She argues that mahalle in Turkish context is slightly different than the study of de Certeau (1998) in which the French neighborhood is an extension of the private into the public sphere created by specific actions or 'tactics'. However in Turkish context there is a "kind of fluid boundaries between the inside of homes and the street which is created by the continual daily visiting" of women that is to say 'knowing' is created by mostly women who are continually present at home and observe the street, participating the control of the space. Inspiring from the study of Mill I argue that eight neighborhoods (*mahalle*s) space of Süleymaniye region has been produced by the actions of daily life. These actions connect or tie "stables" together in

bonds of trust by sharing their observation and knowledge and reciprocity as well as the "transients" (bachelors) in relationship of solidarity. I have also observed the similar extension of home space (though these "homes" are bachelor houses) into street space in Küçükpazar part of Süleymaniye district. Especially in summer evenings visiting several homo-social places by walking together along the streets social relationships have been developed in public spaces. Sitting in front of their houses, and by ongoing and reciprocal visiting among the groups "to drink tea" and gathering in all homo-social spaces not only coffeehouses which are open until the late hours, turning their rooms to the coffeehouses "making their own coffeehouses" in their own rooms make these streets an extension of space of bachelor room. With these social relations and actions in these streets "everyone 'knows' each other, or 'known' in the neighborhood" (Mills:2007:341) This can explain that why I have been warned as because of my being "unknown" it is dangerous to pass by some part of the district in dark hours not to be robbed. These are the clues that these neighborhoods can still be considered "mahalle" defined in Turkish context in spite of their peculiar structure. In this case in Süleymaniye, men are the actors of the practices that produce 'bachelor room' space, which is similar to 'home' space produced by mostly women. I agree with what Mills has said that the language of public and private reproduces dichotomies making difficult for theorizing the mutual constitution of gender and space. Demonstrating the male actors of practices that produce 'bachelor room space' very similar to 'home space'; as one of the findings of this thesis I argue that the connotations of public and private can be a matter of debate.

CONCLUSION

In my limited time and effort, I have attempted to shed light on the notion of "bachelor", a special place-bound case of manliness and the place of "bachelorship" in the construction of masculinity in Turkish context. I also tried to show how it is articulated with general "Turkish manhood" in the society by looking at the interrelationship between the masculinities of "bachelors" and the space where they accommodate in one of the particular concrete form of social and spatial reflections of it, bachelor rooms/houses in the neighborhoods of Süleymaniye district in Eminönü-İstanbul mostly from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity. I have also tried to relate the single male migration with masculinity in Turkey and highlight the spatial importance of men's neighborhoods (or men's urban ghettos) which play an important role as transitory spaces for "bachelors". In these particular places the contested masculinities are negotiated in the adapting period of migrant rural "bachelors" to the urban space which mostly determine these men's manly behaviors in the provincial cities that their families live.

The purpose of this study was to explore the "Bachelor Rooms/Houses" as a sociological phenomenon in Turkish urban context with the dimensions of economic relations, migration, masculinities in gender structure and the most importantly space. As I have tried to demonstrate through the images of single men the practice of migration for single men is based on the hetero-normative established constructions of gender structure. The gender dichotomy of public and private spaces is the main determinant of the migration and the practice of living in the bachelor rooms/houses in Süleymaniye-Eminönü district of İstanbul. Space is the most important factor to define "bachelor" and "bachelorship" in Turkish context to the extent that bachelors constitute a distinct category of maleness that should be carefully separated from the rest of the

spaces of masculinity the boundaries of which are defined by being a head of household. Masculinities influence the spaces creating spaces of masculinities as well as they are influenced by these masculine spaces in the re-producing of their masculinities.

"Bachelor rooms" as an important part of migration history of Istanbul has been determined by the particular spatial conditions of the oldest district of Istanbul; Eminönü where concentrated trade activities have been continuing for centuries. Male condensed population structure of the district is provided by the male population in retail or wholesale trade and trafficking or street vending phenomenon. The region has been used for centuries by the merchants from provincial cities, who have periodically come for trade, or workers who have come for seasonal work or those who have stayed temporarily for a period before a city-based settlement.

The district has a special social structure which allows provincial men for various kinds of transitions. These transitions are from 'adolescence to adult masculinity'; 'from habits of rural life to urban life' and 'from the masculinity in which he was born into to different forms of several examples of which exist in the region. The knowledge of migration, of masculinities and of space which has been reproducing itself continuously for centuries related to these transitions is accumulated in the homo-social spaces of the district from generation to generation and "bachelors" circulate this particular knowledge in the homo-social spaces of different towns of the country influencing the local masculinities.

In general men who stay together make the house the bachelor house which is a gender-specific place excluding other gender identities. From this perspective, neighborhoods with bachelor rooms in the cities can no longer be called only a part of the city, they are representative and performative spaces of masculinities within a large homo-social world covering the streets outside of the bachelor rooms/houses.

Masculinities define themselves in relation to other gender identities. Through the culturally and spatially constructed meanings attached to the practice in different places of the streets of the district provides the ground in which hegemonic masculinity is constructed and masculinity in general is controlled and negotiated within the various male-only environment of the district in terms of age, codes of respect and the region where "bachelors" came from. For many young men from

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rural areas, leaving home to migrate as a single male is also a separation from a previous status, as well as from being a young boy. Living in bachelor rooms is a state of being in a threshold or liminality. The experiences they get during the stay away from family are the steps to create their manliness. Feeling homesickness, being expatriate, after all these steps, finally a new being appear and it makes possible to acquire a new social position on their return to the hometown. The main goal, most of the time, is reunion with his family and/or create his own family and whether in the city or not live together in the same place with his family and all of these are the steps to contribute to become a "full man". We can consider this ideal as hegemonic masculinity. "Responsible men" consider themselves as separated from that situation of being a deviant by emphasizing their responsibilities for the people, whom they are responsible for, namely their families; and the sacrifices they make for them. As long as they live a bachelor's life in the context of this particular district, for a bachelor, living an asexual life is not seen as a deviancy from the ideal masculinity but instead, it is something expected by traditional religiously conservative hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, to claim power among contested rural masculinities in the district by emphasizing "being sexually active" can be construed as "irresponsibility" by spending the money that they supposed to spend for the people who are dependent to them.

On the other hand migration and living in bachelor rooms modify and bring a new shape to the traditional or usual gendered division of labor. In bachelor rooms, men without their families take all domestic responsibilities or do household chores like cooking, doing the laundry, washing the dishes etc. Almost all of the interviewees have answered as they have realized that after living in a bachelor house how household chores are demanding. In return, the women whose husbands are absent get new responsibilities and find the possibility to manage the household, and take decisions by themselves. To engage in agricultural labor, harvesting the family fields enable women to get more autonomy and to gain more freedom. As a result of all these changes in relations of power gendered and generational new negotiations come out in domestic sphere in terms of redefining the feminine and masculine roles.

The practice of migration to cities and accommodation in bachelor rooms is a historical cultural practice which has contributed to urban social life by

exclusively offering a special space for not only migrant rural workers but for all men, where they can not only find a cheap accommodation, but also by the existence of places such as coffeehouses nearby to these homosocial accommodation spaces exclusively for men they can socialize with other men and find jobs. Neighborhoods in cities with the bachelor rooms/houses with its controlled surrounding environment are socially constructed and gendered spaces as not only a reflection of general gender structure of the culture and society but through spatial relations they are also the concrete reflections of hegemonic masculinity which consider the neighborhoods where families, reside in "private" spaces. These neighborhoods also confine the single (rural) males spatially in their own particular "private" space in the urban "public" space to reduce the possible threats towards women they are responsible for with the existence of migrant unstable transients; bachelors. Looking at the ways in which masculinities are constructed in and through spaces of these neighborhoods it is possible to understand how various hegemonic and non-hegemonic masculinities enact, living side by side, working together, building allies with each other, but most of the time by subordinating and marginalizing each other with displays of performance.

Bachelor houses as heavily gendered spaces historically located in specific neighborhoods near the commercial urban spaces "known with this feature" are embedded into the social memory of rural part of Anatolia.We can also often come across the history of bachelor houses and their relations with other masculine institutions which have been active in the production of masculinity as an important part of the city in the history of Istanbul. The practice of immigrating to the big city and staying in the bachelor houses as an experience is a significant part of the migration culture of men in rural Anatolia. Bachelor houses and Bachelor Inns provide space for the construction, representation and performance of different masculinities of not only the immigrants from rural part of Anatolia, but the masculinities of the urban space.

The conditions, hardship, poverty and scarcity that these rural "bachelors" have to suffer, construct a particular discourse on success and masculinity in traditional rural hegemonic masculinity. In this discourse, to find a stable job, "being frugal", the capacity for saving money for relatives left behind back home and to live in modest play the most important part. In the mean time the groups and the family members

from different generations who migrate keep the memory of the past and the recent migrations comparing with different experiences, which provides an additional knowledge to the hegemonic discourse on success and masculinity.

An examination of the perceptions of "bachelor" and "bachelorship" as a case of manliness as well as its place-bound characteristics in the society in general definitely deserve a more comprehensive research. Particularly rural migrant worker masculinities in bachelor rooms/houses also requires an in-depth understanding and review of the history of this accommodation culture creating a particular spatial relationships in urban spaces in this cultural context as well as in other similar cultural contexts comparatively needs to be studied. There is also a need to explore the male-only migration practice as a challenge to the production of local rural masculinities in the various local socio-cultural contexts all over the country.

I have concluded that the construction of hegemonic type of masculinity with several contestations and discourses that subordinates and marginalizes "different" gender identities through certain performances, representations and the power relations in the gendered spaces of the district continues constantly influencing spatially the transformations of these spaces and are influenced by these spaces of masculinities.

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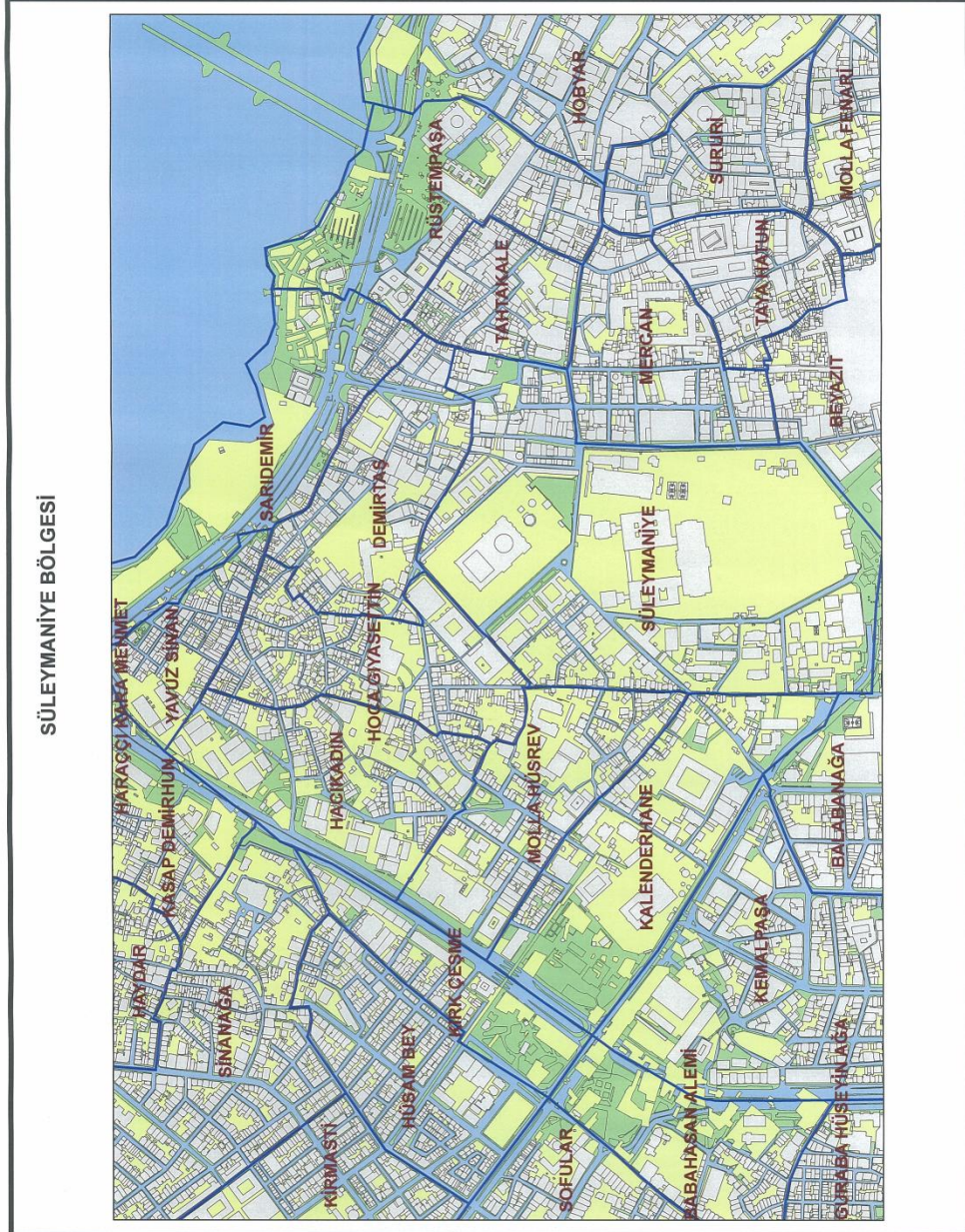
APPENDIX A

Air photo of Süleymaniye District in Historical Peninsula

Source: Zeynel Koç (2007) "Süleymaniye Yenilenebilir Mi, Yenilenmeli Mi?" Süleymaniye Symposium

APPENDIX B

Map of Süleymaniye

Source : İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Metropolitan Planning