

GOING PUBLIC: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF EVERYDAY
URBAN PUBLIC SPACE IN ANKARA ACROSS GENERATIONS
BETWEEN THE 1950S AND THE 1980S

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SELDA TUNCER

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŐIK
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Ayőe SAKTANBER
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Ayőe SAKTANBER
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif SARGIN (METU, ARCH) _____

Prof. Dr. Yıldız ECEVİT (METU, SOC) _____

Prof. Dr. Ayőe SAKTANBER (METU, SOC) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Didem KILIÇKIRAN (KHU, ARCH) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. F. Umut BEŐPINAR (METU, SOC) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Selda Tuncer
Signature:

ABSTRACT

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Tuncer, Selda

Ph.D., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber

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The central concern of this study is the interrelationship between space and gender, focusing on the everyday lives of women in urban public spaces. Presented as a comprehensive research on how women access and use public spaces in urban everyday life in the case of Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, the main objective of this study is to understand how they perceive and relate to the public as the outside world in its most inclusive sense. Based on an analysis of women's accounts of public space, the study looks also at how they interpret and narrate their experiences. By examining the micro-practices and micro-objectives in the everyday lives of women of different generations, a critical examination is made of Turkish modernization through the lens of gender and space relations. This generational empirical study also sheds light upon how certain cultural norms and practices relating to the access and experience of public space by women were performed and transmitted through and between different generations of women.

The focus of the study is primarily the period between 1950 and 1980, which can be considered as a period in which the Turkish modernization process had reached an advanced level of maturity. The main era explored in the study is the period preceding the launch of the Republican modernity project, in which the

transformation of the roles of women in society in accordance with the new secular regime was one of the most ambitious goals. By interviewing twenty-seven women of two generations living in three old traditional middle-class neighborhoods in Ankara, it is intended to reveal to what extent and through what activities women participated in and contributed to urban public life at the time in Ankara. The study, in this regard, aims to provide for the development of a comprehensive framework for understanding the historical construction and (re)shaping of public space and its relationship to gender relations in the Turkish context.

Keywords: Women, public space, city, everyday life, Ankara

ÖZ

DIŞARI ÇIKMAK: ANKARA'DA 1950'LERDEN 1980'LERE KADINLARIN KUŞAKLAR BOYU GÜNDELİK KAMUSAL KENT MEKÂNI DENEYİMLERİ

Tuncer, Selda

Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber

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Bu çalışmanın ana konusu, kadınların kentsel kamusal mekânlardaki gündelik hayatlarına odaklanarak, mekân ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki ilişkilerin ortaya konmasıdır. Türkiye'nin başkenti Ankara özelinde, kent gündelik hayatında kamusal mekânların kadınlar tarafından erişimine ve kullanımına ilişkin yapılan bu kapsamlı araştırmanın temel amacı, kadınların evin dışındaki dünyayı nasıl algıladıklarını ve onunla nasıl ilişkilendiklerini anlamaktır. Çalışma ayrıca, kadınların kamusal mekân deneyimlerini nasıl yorumladıklarını ve nasıl anlattıklarını incelemektedir. Farklı kuşaklardan kadınların gündelik hayatlarındaki mikro pratikler ve mikro hedefler incelenerek, Türkiye modernleşmesinin toplumsal cinsiyet ve mekân ilişkisi perspektifinden eleştirel bir irdelemesi yapılmıştır. Bu ampirik çalışma, kamusal mekânın kadınlar tarafından erişimine ve kullanımına ilişkin belirli kültürel normların ve pratiklerin kuşaktan kuşağa nasıl aktarıldığına ışık tutmaktadır.

Çalışma temel olarak Türkiye modernleşme sürecinin olgunlaşma evresi sayılabilecek olan 1950 ile 1980 yılları arasındaki zaman dilimine odaklanmaktadır. En büyük hedeflerinden biri yeni laik rejime uygun olarak toplumda kadınların rollerini dönüştürmek olan Cumhuriyetçi modernleşme

projesinin ortaya çıkışından hemen sonraki bu süreç, çalışmanın ana araştırma dönemidir. Ankara'nın üç eski geleneksel orta sınıf mahallesinde, iki kuşaktan yirmi yedi kadınla görüşme yapılarak, belirtilen dönemde kadınların kentteki kamusal yaşantıya hangi faaliyetlerle katıldığı ve ne ölçüde katkıda bulunduğunun ortaya çıkarılması hedeflenmiştir. Bu bakımdan çalışma, Türkiye bağlamında kamusal mekânın tarihsel olarak inşa edilmesi ve (yeniden) şekillendirilmesinin toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri ile bağlantısını anlamak için kapsamlı bir çerçeve geliştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kadın, kamusal mekân, kent, gündelik hayat, Ankara

To my mother, *Türkan*,
and
in memory of my grandmother, *Fatma*



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in the public life is one of the foundational aims of the Turkish modernization process, and for this to happen, a series of legal reforms were undertaken in citizenship and civil law. Such reforms as the change of the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code, the abolition of polygamy, women's suffrage and also social reforms like a nationwide campaign for girls' education paved the way for women's entering educational and working life. These reforms gave rise to the improvement of women's status in society and their participation in public life to a significant degree. These issues, that is, the position of women in society and how they participated in public sphere, have been widely and elaborately studied, but, the researches questioning how women participated in a newly developing modern urban life and in what ways they experienced public space and public culture in their everyday lives constitute a small portion of existing literature. Accordingly, I started out this study with the question of how women go out and experience public space in the context of the Republican modernization process. Rather than the early Republican period which there is an ample research about, I specifically focused on the time periods after 1950 when the acceptance modern society was expanded. My interest in the relationship women develop with the outside world and their experience of outer spaces and streets in daily life led to the writing of a dissertation on the issue. The intention herein is to make a comprehensive research on how women access to and use public spaces in urban everyday life in Turkey; with the main objective of this study being to understand women's accounts of public space; that is, how they perceive and relate to the public as the outside world in its most inclusive sense; and, equally important, how they interpret and narrate their experiences. My secondary objective is to develop a comprehensive research that will provide a historical account of the women's lives and their relationship with public space. Such an inquiry is required to bring together the different

theoretical and methodological approaches that stem from diverse disciplines, with the intention being to develop an interdisciplinary framework that allows different disciplinary traditions to be linked. This difficult task required careful consideration of the collocation of concepts and their interrelation in structuring such a multilayered research subject, and this was certainly one of the most interesting and challenging aspects of the dissertation research. For this reason, I wanted to organize the introduction in such a way that guidance is provided to the development of the conceptual framework of the dissertation, revealing discussions on then major themes and concepts.

The central focus of this study is the interrelationship between space and gender, focusing on the lives of women in the urban public space. The research draws upon previous literature related to urban public space and the gender-space relationship, as provided by feminist geographers, urban sociologists and social historians. It is important to note that in the study, the intersection of the terms space, place and gender serves as an overarching umbrella for the understanding of the experience of women in the public space. In this respect, it is necessary to elucidate the question of how gender is linked to the concepts of space and place, and how the relations of gender and space are mutually constitutive, highlighting the fluidity and complexity of the concepts of both space and gender. The intention here is also to call into question why the interrelation between gender and space is so important and relevant, underlying the potency of the concept of space as a research unit for understanding social relations and cultural life. In addition, an analysis will be made of the relationship women maintain with urban public space. Public spaces are the primary site of urban life, and play a significant role in the formation of social life and the creation of city cultures. Needless to say, the notion of public space has attracted the attention of a wide range of disciplines and areas of inquiry, which consequently brings about diverse usages of the term so as to take into account different concerns and raise different issues. As a result, the concept of public space covers a variety of meanings and functions that might be entirely disconnected, but also overlapping and contradicting. Considering this multiple and ambiguous character, the concept of public space needs to be clarified, with careful

consideration of its meaning and the framework within which it is employed. As the primary intention herein is to explore the relationship of women with public space in urban everyday life, it is necessary to conceptualize public space in the urban context, reviewing the different approaches and main debates in academic literature. This will provide a conceptual framework for the study and understanding of the constructions of public space and gender relations in the city.

I.1. Conceptual Framework

I.1.1. Intersection of Space, Place and Gender:

The greatest contribution made by French sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) to urban theory and, in general, spatial studies, was his conceptualization of space in social terms. In his substantial work *The Production of Space*, he argued that space is “a social product” or “a complex social construction” that affects spatial practices and perceptions.¹ In this sense, space of different levels changes and gains new functions and meanings depending on the relations of production and its use by social actors. It is the intention in this study to develop a theoretical discussion on how space is constituted, constructed and experienced, taking into account gender roles and relations in the Turkish context. More specifically, the concern is to reveal the role of gender in the formation of public space and culture. In parallel to this, the study calls into question the potency of the consideration of (social) space as a research unit for understanding social relations and cultural life.

As a social construct, space is constituted and defined by social and spatial behaviors and practices. In this sense, space is not simply a product of the forms of socio-economic organizations, as it also reflects the different aspects of social relations, such as class, gender, race and ethnicity. A clear relationship exists between “gender” and “space”, as while gender relations play a significant role in

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991 [1974]): p. 26.

the formation and organization of spaces and places, the cultural understanding of gender divisions vary through space and time. In order to comprehend better the relationship between space and gender, it is important to define the concepts of space, place and gender. There is a substantial amount of literature on the theorization of space and place in the disciplines of geography, sociology, urban studies and the like. Suffice to say, the essentialist notion of space as a container within which activities take place is abandoned in favor of the idea that spatial patterns are rather a result of social processes. That is, space is relational and has a constitutive effect on social processes.² Massey (1992) put this into words as: “interrelations between objects occur in space and time; it is these relationships themselves which *create/define* space and time”.³ While space is a relational concept, place is described with respect to such terms as location, fixture or territory. Places are made in the networks of everyday life through socio-spatial practices and the cultural meanings attributed to them.⁴ What is crucial here is that it is the lived experiences that give a place its distinctive character. Places are imbued with meaning and identity, and mostly through everyday experience. Thus, people’s experience of places and how they become attached to them come to define places. Since different people develop different relationships with spaces, places are contested arenas that are defined through power relations. They mark the constraints and “bound the identities around which control is exerted and contested”.⁵ Thus, recognizing the distinction between space as relational and place as a location, it is important to emphasize that both spaces and places consist of relations of domination, subordination and negotiation.

² Linda McDowell, “Spatializing Feminism: Geographic Perspectives” in *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* ed. by Nancy Duncan (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).

³ Doreen Massey, Politics and Space/Time in *New Left Review* (1992): p. 79.

⁴ McDowell, *Gender, Identity, and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

⁵ McDowell, 1999: op. cit., p. 4.

Similarly, gender is also a perpetually contested concept. As a social construct and dynamic practice⁶ it is deeply embedded in everyday social relationships and practices. The notion of gender as analytical category has been subject to intense debates in feminist scholarship; significant changes and ruptures in social theory, particularly the emergence of post-modern and post-structural theories have led to new interpretations and approaches to the concept of gender.⁷ In recent feminist research there has been a strong tendency to conceptualize gender in a diverse and pluralist manner, highlighting partial, decentred and fractured identities. That said, the gender categories of woman and man have themselves been challenged, and even rejected.⁸ One of the more prominent features of this trend is that gender is defined and theorized in cultural terms, paying more attention to discursive practices and formations than material relations.⁹ Although recognizing the fact that postmodern theories have made significant contributions and critiques to social feminist theory, in line with Bordo's (1990) emphasis on the continued significance of gender, I regard gender as a central analytical category for understanding women's experiences and theorizing the complexity of power relations between women and men.¹⁰ The primary focus of this study is women as subjects and, gender plays a central role as a set of social relations and processes. It has been

⁶Judith Butler, *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Acting bits/identity talk" in *Critical Inquiry* (Summer 1992), 770–803; Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993).

⁷ For further information on shifting disciplinary paradigms and changing intellectual tendencies in feminist social theory, see M. Barrett and A. Phillips (eds), *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debate* (Oxford: Polity, 1992); Sheila Allen, and Diana Leonard. "From sexual divisions to sexualities: Changing sociological agendas" in *Explorations in Sociology* 48 (1996): 17–33. Also, to give example, some of the discussions by feminist scholars on the concept of gender are as follows: Judith Butler, "Variations on sex and gender: Beauvoir, Wittig and Foucault" in *Feminism as Critique* ed. by S. Benhabib and D. Cornell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987); Christine Delphy, "Rethinking sex and Gender" in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1993), pp. 1–9.; Liz Stanley, "Should 'sex' really be 'gender' or 'gender' really be 'sex?'" in *Applied Sociology* ed. by R. Anderson and W. Sharrock (London: Allen & Unwin., 1984); Stevie Jackson, "Gender and heterosexuality: a materialist feminist analysis" in *(Hetero)sexual Politics* ed. by M. Maynard and J. Purvis (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995).

⁸ For a detailed account of deconstructive discourses on gender, see Susan Bordo, "Feminism, postmodernism, and gender-scepticism" in *Feminism/postmodernism* ed. by Linda J. Nicholson (London and New York: Routledge, 1990): pp. 133–156.

⁹ Caroline New, "Sex and Gender: A Critical Realistic Approach" in *New Formations* 56 (2005).

¹⁰ Bordo, op. cit.(1990). See also Christine Di Stefano, "Dilemmas of difference: Feminism, modernity, and postmodernism" in *Women & Politics* 8.3–4 (1988): pp. 1–24.

shown in the broad range of research related to gender that the formations of gender are eminently variable depending on the social and cultural context. In their definition of gender, historians Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (1981) emphasize culture as determinant of gender roles and relations:

What gender is, what men and women are, what sorts of relations do or should obtain between them- all of these notions do not simply reflect or elaborate upon biological “givens,” but are largely products of social and cultural processes.¹¹

Besides the argument for the cultural construction of gender, what is important here is that gender is defined as serving a regulatory mechanism in social relations between women and men, as well as the ways in which they are situated in social life. That is, gender expresses the notions of the socially-derived roles of women and men and draws the lines of their identities. Feminist philosopher Hilde Lindemann (2010) rightfully asserts that “gender is a norm, not a fact”,¹² being a set of rules and regulations for how women and men are supposed to be, act, behave and look. This prescriptive component plays a central role in the conceptualization of gender in this study, as it is crucial for understanding the relationship of women with public space. Moreover, it should be emphasized that gender is a site of contested power relations. As an effective norm, it creates the differences between men and women, leading to unequal social relations and female subordination. That is to say, gender itself is a power relation which pervades all aspects of social life. As Lindemann suggests, “it’s about the social pattern, widespread across cultures and history that distributes power asymmetrically to favor men over women”.¹³ Certainly, the operation of gender, resulting in inequality in favor of men, takes different forms across cultures, and works always in conjunction with other social categories like class, race, ethnicity,

¹¹ Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, “Introduction: Accounting for Sexual Meanings” in *Sexual meanings: The cultural construction of gender and sexuality* ed. by Ortner and Whitehead (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981): p. 1.

¹² Hilde Lindemann, “What is Feminist Ethics?” in *The Ethical Life: Fundamental Readings in Ethics and Moral Problems* ed. by Russ Shafer Landau (USA: Oxford University Press, 2010): p. 132.

¹³ Lindemann, op. cit., p. 132. For a thorough account of the relationship between gender and power, see Robert William Connell’s classic work, *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

age, sexuality and religion. Moreover, the social construction of gender, that is, the categories of woman and man, and the relations between these two, vary through space and time. In this regard, gender is a relational and variable category, and gender divisions and inequality emerge between men and women within specific social and spatial contexts.

At this point, it would be appropriate to discuss how gender is linked to the concept of space, which, as mentioned at the beginning, is mutually constitutive. In order to explore these relations, I will address the more specific discussions of feminist geographers. From the mid-1970s onwards, feminist geographers began challenging the gendered nature of the discipline of geography, investigating and making women's lives and experiences visible in different spaces and places. Taught mainly by men and focusing on the male body and heterosexual male experience, the discipline concentrated mainly on the spaces, places and landscapes belonging to and experienced by men, while the lives, experiences and behaviors of women were regarded as personal or private matters, and thus remained outside the scope of the study. The attempts of the feminist geographers, however, should not be understood simply as the inclusion of women in the field, but rather as a challenge to the construction of the body of knowledge in general. Considering the application and production of knowledge, Elizabeth Gross (1987) argues that "it became increasingly clear that it was not possible to simply include women in those theories where they had previously been excluded, for this exclusion forms a fundamental structuring principle and key presumption of patriarchal discourses."¹⁴ As a result, many patriarchal discourses required crucial transformations to accommodate the inclusion of women. In this vein, the aim of feminist geographers has been to uncover the mutual constitution of space and gender relations. While studying how women and men experience spaces and places in different ways, they have examined simultaneously how these differences take part in the social constitution of both gender and place, with spatial and gender divisions considered in mutual recognition and interaction.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Gross, "Conclusion: What is Feminist Theory?" in *Feminist Challenges: social and political theory* ed. by Elizabeth Gross and Carole Pateman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987): p. 191.

In current researches, this interconnectedness has become a particular concern in its highlighting of the fluidity and complexity of the concepts of both space and gender. For instance, the concept of intersectionality has started to be used very recently in feminist geography, providing a fruitful ground for theorizing the relationships between different social categories. In her inspiring article “Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography”, Gill Valentine (2007) draws attention to complexities and discontinuities in identities, and the significance of space in the formation of the subject. She argues that “an appreciation of intersectionality as spatially constituted and experienced offers feminists a way of addressing the tension between the fluidity and multiplicity of individual identities and the continued importance and necessity of group politics”.¹⁵ The distinctive character of intersectionality is certainly not based on its focus on relationships between multiple categories, as there are numerous works mapping these relationships. The specific debate about the intersectionality is that it interprets identities as “emergent properties that are not reducible to biological essences or role expectations” rather than as “separated and fixed differences added incrementally to one another”.¹⁶ Considering such an analysis, geographical thinking would have the potency to uncover the connections between production of space and power relations, because space and identities co-exist in and through power relations. Individuals experience different subject positions in particular spatial contexts and at temporal moments through everyday life. Since women and men are located differently in spaces, the operation of power cannot be considered independent of spatial relations, or indeed gendered relations. There are dominant spatial orderings in particular spaces that are mainly male and heterosexual, and which (re)produce exclusion and particular inequalities for certain groups such as black women and gays/lesbians. In order to understand the diverse relations between multiple categories, the concept of intersectionality

¹⁵ Gill Valentine, “Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography” in *The Professional Geographer*, Vol. 59, No. 1(2007), p. 19.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

should be interpreted as a spatial constitution and experience that includes social practices and power relations.

I.1.2. Conceptualizing Urban Public Space:

The term “public” has several distinct but related meanings in accordance with the context within which it is used, and most of these meanings are not directly related to space, but rather indicate the types of interaction and activities that are defined as distinct from the state and the private realm of the home. In this sense, the predominant emphasis has become the concept of the public sphere “as the political site separate from, and often critical of, the state and economy”.¹⁷ In this thesis, the main focus will be on public space rather than the public sphere, but will certainly not neglect the connections between the two concerning the inclusive and exclusive nature of the public sphere. In the context of space, the public can be defined in terms of access, ownership and control.¹⁸ A space is public in terms of access when everyone is free to enter and use it; it is public in terms of ownership when it is owned by the state rather than private company or individual; and it is public in terms of control when it is not controlled by a single entity, and when its inhabitants’ behaviors are not constrained through regulations. These three elements indicate different aspects of publicness, but may sometimes overlap. For instance, coffee houses or shopping malls are owned by private companies, but are open to the use of everyone. Schools, hospitals and other state buildings are public in terms of ownership, but are neither open to everyone, nor are the behaviors of the inhabitants within them free from rules and control. In this thesis, urban public space is considered primarily in terms of areas of free access for everyday use by all, and in this vein, the main concern will be how and by whom urban public spaces are occupied and used. Moreover, it is assumed that the perception of people

¹⁷ Nancy Duncan, “Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces” in *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* ed. by Nancy Duncan (London and New York: Routledge, 1996): p. 130.

¹⁸ Franck, K.A. and Paxson, L., “Women and Urban Public Space: Research, Design, and Policy Issues”, *Advances in Environment, Behavior and Design*, Vol. 2 (New York: Plenum, 1989).

is influential in the definition of public space, as well as the nature and structure of the institutions that own or manage them. Coffee houses, restaurants or shopping malls can be regarded as public spaces, even though they are privately owned and managed. As Goheen (1998) states with reference to Zukin, “the public has the power to decide what it finds acceptable and desirable”,¹⁹ and taking this perspective will enable us to examine public space as a site of contested meanings, symbols and identities. Space and spatial arrangements can gain (symbolic) meanings and values through how they are perceived and experienced, although these processes of creating and negotiating meaning cannot be considered as unrelated to the constructions of identity and its implications. Identities are “constituted by and constitute the public spaces of the city”.²⁰ Diverse social actors of different age, sex, class and race use and occupy urban public spaces with different purposes and with different visions of society. Since the acceptance of identities in public spaces occurs in power relations, the construction of identities is a highly conflictual process. For that reason, it would be more useful to conceive public space “as constituted by difference and inherently unstable and fluid” rather than adopting Habermas’ notion of the public sphere –that it serves as “a potential space for consensus, rationality and implicit homogeneity”.²¹

In current urban literature, there are two main ways of conceiving public space and its contribution to urban life: One is based on the assumption that public space has lost its meaning and value, having been subject either to increasing control and surveillance or having been privatized or semi-privatized,²² while there is an opposing interpretation that underlines the maintained significance of public space

¹⁹ Peter Goheen, “Public Space and the Geography of the Modern City” in *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 22, No. 4, (1998), p. 486.

²⁰ Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, “City Publics” in *A Companion to the City* ed. by G. Bridge and S. Watson (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003): p. 370.

²¹ Bridge and Watson, op. cit., p. 371.

²² Don Mitchell, “The End of Public Space? People’s Park, definitions of the public, and democracy” in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85, 1995, pp. 108–133; Christine Boyer, “The City of Illusion: New York’s public places” in *The Restless Urban Landscape* ed. by P. Knox (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1993), pp. 111–126; Michael Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park: the new American city and the end of public space* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992); Davis, Mike, *City of quartz: excavating the future in Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

as a site of visibility, recognition and the making of demands.²³ Those who see public space in negative terms concentrate upon the inhospitable environment of current cities for the “widespread enjoyment and use of public space”,²⁴ believing that public space has become disempowered and irrelevant in urban life, having lost its inclusive nature since many oppositional or marginalized groups encounter difficulties in representing or enforcing their purposes and interests. The implicit emphasis of this approach is that urban public spaces fall outside the influence of social actors due to the control of either state institutions or private interests. Contrary to the premises related to the end of public space, other scholars interpret the changing nature of public spaces and culture in a different and more positive manner, insisting on the significance of public space as “a vital locus for molding public opinion and asserting claims”.²⁵ In this frame, the main assumption is that public space still continues to serve the same function and meaning that it did in the past, though in different forms; to see this, it is necessary to understand the behaviors and activities of people who persistently claim and try to occupy the space. Everyday practices can serve as a fruitful ground for the study of the potency of public space. Prominent scholars like Lefebvre (1974), de Certeau (1984) and Jacobs (1961) all paid particular attention to the notion of everyday and everyday life, considering this terrain as the link between the public realm and urban space.²⁶ Since everyday practices, beyond the control of state, have a subversive potential, they can make and enforce changes in various fields of society; and for this reason,

²³ Peter G. Goheen, “Public Space and the Geography of the Modern City” in *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 22, No. 4, (1998); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995); J. P. Ethington, *The Public City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²⁴ Goheen, op. cit., p. 481.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991 [1974]); Michael de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984); Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

there is need to develop an extended understanding of everyday life that allows “a more flexible and a more dynamic model” of social and political agency.²⁷

Given this framework, it is clear that the use of urban public space is of particular importance in the engagement of women with the city. Women’s spatial patterns and behaviors in urban daily life are crucial for understanding how and in what ways women participate in and experience the city. It should be emphasized that “urban” is the key spatial scale through which gender is performed and constructed,²⁸ yet, to obtain a comprehensive picture of women in the city, it is important to inquire how women participate in urban life and experience various urban spaces, contesting and negotiating across the spatial and gender boundaries that are inherent in the male-built environment of the city. This would enable an exploration not only of how women are situated in urban public space, but also, more importantly, how they participate in urban public life and culture through their everyday practices. Here, the focus on “everyday” is especially important, because everyday places in the city serve for the urban experiences of women.²⁹ Accordingly, the term “urban public space” in this study refers to all kinds of public places in the city that are open to use by people in everyday life; that is, streets, parks, squares, bus stops, and the like.³⁰ This definition is not limited to open public spaces of the city, as it also includes inner public spaces of leisure, entertainment and consumption, such as restaurants, cafes, supermarkets, shopping malls, cinemas, theaters and concert halls, as well as places of public services and facilities like hospitals, schools, post offices and banks. Thus, the conception of urban public space in this study refers to ordinary everyday public places in which people carry out routine spatial behaviors and engage in a wide range of daily activities.

²⁷ Mona Domosh, “Those ‘Gorgeous Incongruities’: Polite Politics and Public Space on the Streets of Nineteenth-Century New York City” in *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 88 (2), (1998), p. 211.

²⁸ McDowell, op. cit.,(1983).

²⁹ Elizabeth Forrest Evans, “Liminal London: gender and threshold spaces in narratives of urban modernity”, Unpublished PhD Diss. (University of Wisconsin, 2006).

³⁰ Lyn H. Lofland, *The public realm: Exploring the city's quintessential social territory* (USA: Transaction Publishers, 1998).

I.2. Research Problem

This study is presented as a comprehensive research exploring how urban public spaces are perceived and experienced by women, what kinds of social relations they produce in terms of gender, and in parallel to this, what kinds of meanings they embody in Turkish history. The position of women in the city and their participation in social life has always been major topics in discussions concerning the relationship between the public sphere and gender. In non-Western societies in particular, where there are distinctive experiences of modernity, this issue becomes more important and critical since the project of modernization has occurred in varying forms in such societies. In the case of Turkey, the equal participation in public life of women and men constitutes one of the foundational notions of the experience of modernity, which is certainly related to the fact that the project of modernization in Turkey put women at the very center of society. With the first modernization attempts in the Tanzimat period, particularly in the frame of the Westernization movement, the status of women and the relations between men and women became one of the most important topics of discussion. As a result of the transition to a secular nation-state in the Republican period, women have become the symbol of Westernization and the carriers of culture and civilization. In this context, the increasing access of women in the public realm has been considered as an indicator of the success of Turkish modernization project.

Having a crucial place in Turkish modernization, this subject has certainly attracted great attention in the academic arena. As a result of significant works looking at the position of women in society and how they participate in public sphere, there has emerged a substantial body of literature,³¹ although the majority of these have

³¹ Some of the prominent works on the status of women in Turkish society are as follows: Zehra Arat, "Turkish women and the republican reconstruction of tradition" in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, and Power* ed. by Fatma Müge Göçek and Shiva Balaghi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 54–77; Yeşim Arat, *Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey* (N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989); Ferhunde Özbay, "Changes in Women's Activities Both Inside and Outside the Home" in *Women in Turkish Society* ed. by Şirin Tekeli (London: Zed Books, 1995): 89–111; Fatma Gök, "Women and Education in Turkey" in *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1995): 131–140; F. Yıldız Ecevit, "The status and changing forms of women's labour in the urban economy" *Women in Modern Turkish Society* by Şirin. Tekeli, (London: Zed Books, 1995): 81–88; Deniz A. Kandiyoti, "Some awkward questions on women and modernity in Turkey" *Remaking Women: Feminism and*

focused on the socio-economic and political aspects of gender relations. There are only a limited number of works on this issue concerning the socio-spatial dimension, and many of these have focused on domestic life and private space owing to the centrality of the house in the social order, and also the designation of the house as a female place. These works on domestic space have examined gender structures within the family and the unequal relations of the gendered space of the home.³² While addressing the exclusion of women from and/or inclusion in social life outside of home, they have less to say about the role and experience of women in public space. Moreover, most of the works on women in public have concentrated with some intensity on the presence of veiled women in public space.³³ These works have made a great contribution to the discussions on the politics of public space, illustrating the tense relationship between modernity, Islam and women; however, there is a critical gap in literature on how women, regardless of being veiled or not, are located in public space, and in what ways they perceive, experience and appropriate public space and public culture in their everyday lives. As such, there is a need for comprehensive studies that investigate the interrelationship between women and public space in a historical perspective, defining space, as well as gender, as the main research unit. This also brings about

Modernity in the Middle East ed. by Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 270–87.; “Urban change and women’s roles in Turkey: An overview and evaluation” in *Sex roles, family and community in Turkey* (1982): 101–120.

³² Serap Kayasü, “Women, Homeproduction, and the Home” in *Housing Question of the Others* ed. by Emine M. Komut (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 1996); Ferhunde Özbay, “Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernisation” in *Gender & History* by Leonore Davidoff et al. (eds.) (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Gülsüm Baydar, “Tenuous Boundaries: women, domesticity and nationhood in 1930s Turkey” in *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 7, Autumn 2002, pp. 229–244; Y. I. Guney, “Analyzing Visibility Structures in Turkish Domestic Spaces” in *the 6th International Space Syntax Symposium, Istanbul* (2007); Meltem Ö. Gürel, “Defining and living out the interior: the ‘modern’ apartment and the ‘urban’ housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s” in *Gender, Place and Culture* 16.6 (2009): 703–722; Kıvanç Kılınç, “Imported but not delivered: the construction of modern domesticity and the spatial politics of mass housing in 1930s’ Ankara” in *The Journal of Architecture* 17.6 (2012): 819–846.

³³ Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); “Islam in public: New visibilities and new imaginaries” in *Public Culture* 14.1 (2002): 173–190; Yeşim Arat, *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy: Islamist Women in Turkish Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Alev Çınar, *Modernity, Islam, and secularism in Turkey: bodies, places, and time* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); “Subversion and subjugation in the public sphere: secularism and the Islamic headscarf” in *Signs* 33.4 (2008): 891–913; Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: secularism and public life in Turkey* (Princeton, N.J.; Chichester: Princeton University Press, c2002); Anna J. Secor, “The veil and urban space in Istanbul: women’s dress, mobility and Islamic knowledge” in *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 9.1 (2002): 5–22.

a necessity to focus attention on everyday life, raising the potential to prioritize various forms and degrees of experience. Needless to say, there exists a great body of accumulated knowledge on Turkish modernity, but the researches investigating social processes and changes associated with the modernization on the basis of everyday life still constitute a small portion of existing literature. Accordingly, this study intends to contribute to the filling of this research gap by exploring how women participate in urban life and experience public spaces in their everyday lives. By analyzing the micro-practices and micro-objectives of women in their daily lives, it is aimed to provide a critical examination of Turkish modernization through the lens of gender and space relations. Understanding this historical process in this respect requires a recognition of “experience,” and it is of critical importance to explore, in the words of Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (1996), “the way in which experiences are handled in cultural terms, embodied in traditions, value systems, ideas, and institutional forms.”³⁴ Thus, the primary focus will be on how women experience certain social changes in their everyday life, and how they perceive and interpret them, rather than how these changes happened.

Moreover, it is also important that women’s experience of urban public space will be examined in the case of Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. The significance of Ankara, especially in the context of the present study, lies in its being the most important socio-spatial dimension of the Turkish nation-state building project, serving as the capital of the country with the proclamation of the Republic. It should be noted that spatial strategies played a critical role in the achievement of the social and structural transformations carried out by the Republican regime, and the most important of these was the decision to make Ankara the capital city so as to accomplish the nationalist ideal of Westernization.³⁵ That said, urban planning and the prescribed urban way of life within the project of modernity was a foundational element of the formation of modern nation and identity; but more

³⁴ Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (eds.), “Introduction” in *Becoming National: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 10.

³⁵ İlhan Tekeli, “Bir Modernleşme Hareketi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması”, *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan ve Reşat Kasaba (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998): pp. 146–147.

importantly, as Tankut (1993) emphasizes, Ankara constituted the first and foremost example of the production process of public/ness and the model of public citizen in Turkish cities.³⁶ In this context, the plan of transforming Ankara into a modern city cannot be seen merely as a structural or spatial transformation, as it should be regarded as the projection of the public individual and his/her spaces.³⁷ This does not mean that there was no idea or experience of public/ness before the foundation of the Republic, but the significance of the Republican era as a continuation of the modernization process that started in the Tanzimat period in the late nineteenth century lies in the fact that it led to the breaking of the community system and the emergence of civil society organization, and consequently urban planning, in Turkey.³⁸

Considering its central place in the process of Turkish modernization, Ankara is certainly appropriate for the examination and understanding of the organization of urban space and the formation of an urban (public) culture in Turkey. Ankara can also be considered as a fertile ground for exploring women's experiences of public space and what kind of roles they played in the formation of public culture in question. As such, the main aim of this study is to reveal and understand the relationship of women with public space in Ankara, as the capital of modern urbanization project in Turkey. The focus of the study is primarily the period between 1950 and 1980, which can be considered as a matured phase in the Turkish modernization process. This three-decade time span was one of the most crucial in both the political history of the Turkish Republic and the urbanization process of the country, during which cities underwent great transformations through increased industrialization, rapid urbanization and excessive growth in terms of both size and population. The period is of further interest since the great majority of the works on Ankara have concentrated on the early Republican period and the Second World War, such that very little is known about urban culture and

³⁶ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1993)

³⁷ Tankut, op. cit. (1993).

³⁸ Güven Arif Sargın (ed.), "Kamu, Kent ve Polytika" in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): 9-41; pp. 34-35. See also İlhan Tekeli, op. cit.,(1998).

daily life in Ankara from the 1950s to the 1970s. Additionally, there is little reference in existing literature to the experiences and accounts of public space by women, leaving a significant gap in data on how women perceive, experience and transform public space and public culture. The intention in this study is to begin to fill this gap in literature, taking women as social actors and giving voice to their experiences of public space. To this end, to reveal to what extent and through what activities women participated in and contributed to urban public life at the time. Another contribution of this study is the light shed by the women's narratives of their individual experiences of the transformation of urban life and culture in Ankara during the given historical period. The study, in this regard, will enable the development of a comprehensive framework for understanding the historical construction and (re)shaping of public space and its relationship to gender relations in the Turkish context.

I.3. Underlying Issues and Structure of the Thesis

In order to make a comprehensive research of both the making and meaning of the gendered nature of public spaces in the city, I will attempt to explore the historical use of public space, with particular attention paid to the everyday lives of women. For this sort of research, it is necessary to consider the processes of production and construction of space together in a mutual relationship. While the process of social production gives important clues about the rise of urban space historically, socio-economically and politically, that of social construction reveals how women and men experience, give meaning and transform urban public spaces. In this study, the main focus will be on the social construction of urban public spaces, paying heed to gender relations, although certainly without neglecting the connections between spatial structures and subjective experience. The importance of the historical approach lies in understanding the separation of private and public space, which is critical when examining how women experience and relate themselves to such spaces. A historical analysis, say Bondi and Domosh (1998), will permit an understanding of “how and why these terms have been constructed in particular

ways at certain key moments in the past, and that this understanding can illuminate what is at stake in contemporary constructions”.³⁹

In order to investigate the use and experience of urban public spaces by women in everyday life, I conducted an empirical research which combined both oral and visual narratives. In the study, public space is conceptualized mainly in terms of the user’s conception and meaning, and so I preferred to use an exploratory qualitative approach revealing the processes and relations through which everyday life is maintained. Conceiving women as social actors in the use and experience of urban public spaces, I made in-depth interviews women from two different generational groups in the three old neighborhoods of Ankara that reflect the traces of social history in the formation of the urban space and culture. These are namely *Cebeci*, *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı*, all of which are old traditional middle-class neighborhoods that were established around the current city centers and still maintain a neighborhood character today. The interviewees were middle- and lower-middle class women who were born in Ankara or have been living in the city at least from their childhood or early teen years. Within the scope of the field research, I also made photo-interviews during which the interviewees were encouraged to talk about their memories of their urban public experiences by looking at personal and family albums. During these interviews, I made the digital copies of photos, especially those depicting the relationship of women with urban public life, that is, pictures taken outside showing women in the open public spaces of the city and I included these photos as a supporting material in the analysis. The field material also includes written and visual narratives from sources such as literary works, auto/biographies and memoirs, and also other visual materials that give clues as to the physical change of the city. The use and collection of various materials, including the personal narratives of women of different generations, as well as cultural texts and productions, observational, historical and visual data will enable a comprehensive historical analysis of women’s relationship with public space to be developed, embracing the intertwinement of sociality and spatiality.

³⁹ Liz Bondi and Mona Domosh, “On the Contours of Public Space: A Tale of Three Women” in *Antipode*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1998), p. 271.

The seven chapters in the dissertation are organized as follows: the introductory chapter will be followed by Chapter II, which focuses on the formation of modern nation states and concomitant constructions of gender and public space. The large body of literature on the concept of public reveals that public spaces are, in a sense, spaces of modernity, being produced within and through processes of modernization. In this thesis, I conceive and examined public space in the paradigm of modernity and the formation of the nation state. This will allow an understanding of how the experience of public space by women is encompassed by the concurrent constructions of the nation, state and citizenship. It is important to note that the formation of public life and the gendered construction of the public-private dichotomy are central to the processes of state building and national citizenship. That said, this conceptual framework needs to be enhanced with a comparative and transnational historical approach, as only then can one understand the different formations of the public-private binary in different cultural and geographical contexts with different experiences of modernity. In this framework, Chapter II will explore how the experience of public space by women is encompassed by the concurrent constructions of the nation, state and citizenship. I will begin with a look at the conceptualization of public space from a historical perspective, and elucidate how the division of the public and the private has been historically constructed and experienced by women, mainly in the Western context. This discussion will be followed by the elaboration of different formations of the public and private in a non-Western context, particularly in Middle Eastern and Islamic cultures. I will conclude this chapter with a consideration of the organization of public life and the designation of the place of women accordingly in the context of Turkish modernity. In this vein, having considered the controversial relation between women and space in the scope of Turkish modernity due to the paradoxical construction of the ideal womanhood, I will point out how, in the Turkish context, women are located in the public space.

The Chapter III dwells upon the methodological questions used in the examination of the women's experience of public space in urban everyday life. After giving a

reflexive account of my fieldwork experience, particularly in terms of entering the field and critical research encounter, I will examine the basic themes and the key questions related to the development of an informed methodological approach. Accordingly, this chapter will discuss the themes of social change and everyday life, along with questions of how one can study the public and what kind of analysis is required for the women's narratives of public space. The question of how public space can be studied brings to light the peculiarities faced in examining the public space through the experiences of women. Since it is inevitable that studies of public space become more complicated when the subject is women, it is necessary to examine the tenuous boundaries between the public and private. For this reason, based on my field experience, I will explore the uneasy relationship between women and public space tracing the forms of publicness and privateness in their everyday lives. At this point, it should be noted that the primary aim of this study is to understand women's relationship with public space as the outside world, and as such, it can be considered, in a sense, as a study of public space at an everyday level, considering women as social actors and highlighting their subjectivity. This perspective calls for a more detailed and in-depth analysis of the women's accounts of everyday public space and public life. In relying on the tradition of narrative inquiry, an analysis of oral and visual narratives may prove to be very illuminating for the development of a broad understanding of women's experiences of public space. Thus, the discussions in chapter III will form the theoretical background of this methodological perspective, along with the necessities of its application in this kind of research.

Chapter IV will present a general sociological profile of the research subjects, drawing upon particular generational figurations. I will depict the sociological attributes of the interviewed women from different generations in terms of their family patterns, educational life, work experience, and forms of marriage and divorce, and also their place of origin in relation to their encounters with urbanity. This will enable an examination to be made of the generational peculiarities of the interviewees in a relational perspective, calling into question their sense of generational belonging based on a shared historical experience. In the light of the

information gained through the sociological profiling of the research subjects, this chapter will aim at developing a critical discussion on the formation of a middle class as part of the nation-building project in Turkey. Since the research group carries the characteristics of a traditional middle class in general, it is important to trace the general pathways to the middle class through generations, and to discuss how the formations of gender and class have occurred in the emergence of middle-class families.

The objective of Chapter V is to provide a historical background of the women's urban everyday public experience in Ankara in the period between the 1950s and the 1980s. For this purpose, I will first give an account of the urban development of Ankara and how the city transformed during this period; and then, based on this general historical framework, explore the use of Ankara's urban public spaces by women. The analysis will look into the socio-spatial behaviors and practices of women in their everyday life, making use of a variety of different sources, including literary works, biographies, and memoirs, as well as the first hand narratives of the women interviewed in this study. This chapter will reflect upon what kinds of urban public places were most commonly used by women in Ankara in the 1950 to 1980 period, based on an examination of the places of leisure and entertainment, consumption, errands and recreation in the city that were in active use by the women, and on their recollections of these experiences. The intention in doing this is to compile a general picture of urban daily life and the public culture of Ankara in the given period from the perspective of women, based on the experiences and activities in the everyday lives of the interviewees, revealing to what extent and through what activities women participated in and contributed to urban public life at the time. Chapter V will thus map the historical transformation of Ankara, that is, its cityscape and urban life and culture, throughout this time from the point of view of women.

Chapters VI to VIII will present empirical analysis of the women's experiences of public space. Beginning in Chapter VI, I will present the conditions under which they would go out and enter the public space in their everyday lives. Since women

were able to access and participate in public life only under by strict patriarchal traditions and cultural norms, it is essential to examine these patriarchal norms and relationships the women were subjected to throughout the different stages of their lives, as the complexity of the women's relationship with public space can only be fully grasped with a thorough understanding of these issues. To this end, this chapter, I will provide an illustration of how, through specific rules and regulations, the interviewed women were subjected to patriarchal social control mechanisms that affected their going outside in everyday life, which, I believe, will help reveal the conditions of access and availability that underlie the women's experiences of public life. Based on the narratives of the interviewees, Chapter VI will make an analysis of the conditions that enabled women to step outside the home.

The analysis of the issue of women going out and entering the public space will be followed by an examination of the women's everyday use of urban public space. Accordingly, Chapter VII will demonstrate how the interviewed women experienced different scales of urban public spaces in Ankara, and how they associated their everyday lives with urban public space in relation to different needs and activities. To this end, I will use the categorization of urban public spaces according to the spatial scales of home, neighborhood and city center, as an analytical device for the examination of the women's practices and mobility. These three spatial scales are considered as being ordered from the most private to the most public in urban life. Through exploring the women's everyday socio-spatial practices, this chapter will uncover and clarify the diverse forms of publicness experienced by the women and the different forms of belonging that they developed in their relationship with city life. The scope of this chapter also includes an analysis of the women's social interactions and engagements on an everyday basis, with the intention being to reveal what kinds of social relations and networks the interviewed women became involved with in urban everyday life. That is, I will explore to what extent and in what ways they engaged in different groups and alternative networks other than their familial ties. Through the investigation of the women's spatial practices and social involvements in everyday urban public space,

this chapter will draw a comprehensive picture of the women's relationship with urban public spaces, revealing the extent of their experience of the city.

The last chapter of the empirical analysis, Chapter VIII, focuses on the processes of learning and reproducing prescribed meanings and norms in the women's relationship with public space and public life. Here, the main concern is the transmission and transformation of culture through generations in the women's experiences of public space, and this concern requires an analysis of the social codes and norms of public behavior for women, which are extremely influential in their access to and participation in public life. In this context, I will examine how specific notions of proper womanhood relating to their access and use of public space are performed and transmitted through different generations of women. This will certainly lead to the uncovering of certain ruptures and continuities in the transmission of specific cultural norms that underlie the changes in the women's perception and reactions to these practices across different generations. Since women play the lead role in the process of transmitting the notions of proper womanhood rather than the relationship with their fathers on the head of the family in common culture, I consider the mother-daughter relationship as a very fruitful instrument for understanding this complicated and contested process. Accordingly, on the basis of the women's narratives related to the notion of proper womanhood, this chapter examines also how the desire to go outside has become one of the most contested issues between mothers and daughters. To address this issue, I will analyze contests, cooperation and negotiations between mothers and daughters regarding this practice of going out of home and entering public life. Chapter IX, the final chapter, will make an evaluation and discussion of the general findings of the study, providing arguments and questions for further researches.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN, NATION-STATE AND PUBLIC SPACE

II.1. Beyond the Great Divide: Reconsidering the Public and Private Realms

Public space is central to a wide range of studies on women, serving as an arena in which gender relations can be best observed. Historically, women have had a controversial relationship with public space, where they are generally a source of cultural anxiety. For centuries, the relationship of women with public space has been surrounded by negative connotations, and the appearance of women in public spaces is perceived as a threat to the social order. There have emerged several labels that “convey the visions and fears engendered by women going public”, such as new women, manly women, wild women and fallen women.⁴⁰ As a result, attempts are made through various regulations to prevent, restrict or control the entry of women into public space. The origins of this negative perception are founded deeply in the construction of social roles according to sex, and the organization of the public and the private spaces in this regard. That is, the presence of women in the public realm has been constructed and experienced through the public-private dichotomy that lies at the heart of the organization of modern social life. The separation of the public and private realms has for several decades been one of the central organizing themes in feminist research and practice. The terms “public” and “private” have served to reveal the subordinated position of women and the operation of gender over a wide time span, covering more than three centuries on four continents.⁴¹ It is inevitable that such widely used concepts would have a multiple and ambiguous character, and so in order to bring some intelligible order to the discussion, its complexity should be recognized and

⁴⁰ Kathy Peiss, “Going Public: Women in Nineteenth-Century Cultural History” in *American Literary History*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1991), p. 817.

⁴¹ Mary P. Ryan, “The Public and the Private Good: Across the Great Divide in Women’s History” in *Journal of Women’s History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 2003), p. 24.

the historical roots of the development of the public/private division should be elucidated.

The division of the public and private realms reached its ultimate expression in the 19th century with the separation of production from the household, though its historical roots date back to classical antiquity.⁴² In this period, the segregation of space occurred in parallel with the identification of gender categories with certain spaces; and these two processes have played a significant role in the organization of modern social life in the Western world. It has often been argued that the ideological and institutional bases of the division of social space into public and private realms constituted one of the main organizing characteristics of middle-class society in late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England and America.⁴³ The categorizations and restrictions concerning gender roles and relations have been constructed and experienced through the public-private dichotomy. In this context, women have been identified directly with the private, while men have been associated with the public. As a spatial expression of this separation, the place of women is defined as the domestic space, while streets, squares, coffee houses, that is, the urban public spaces of modernity, are primarily assigned to men. What is certain is that this separation is not simply a spatial division between the home and the outside, as it can more adequately be understood “as a separation between two worlds governed by different norms and values” because that “the spatial division separating the inner sphere of the home from the outside world had, however, a symbolic significance that did not correspond precisely with the spatial division”.⁴⁴ The private world “as an ideal type” has been traditionally the domain of the domestic, the embodied, the natural,

⁴² Jeff Weintraub, “The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction” in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on Grand Dichotomy* ed. by J. Weintraub and Krishan Kumar (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997): p.1.

⁴³ Simon Morgan, *A Victorian Public Place: Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007); Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 1992). To give example of the experiencing of public space by women in the Victorian era, see Judith R. Walkowitz, “Going Public: Shopping, Street Harassment, and Streetwalking in Late Victorian London” in *Representations*, No. 62. (Spring, 1998), pp. 1-30; Abigail A. van Slyck, “The Lady and the Library Loafer: Gender and Public Space in Victorian America” in *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Gendered Spaces and Aesthetics. (Winter, 1996), pp. 221-242.

⁴⁴ Linda Nicholson (1986), quoted in Bondi and Domosh, op. cit., pp. 270-271.

the family, property, personal life, intimacy, passion, sexuality, the good life, care, a heaven, unwaged labor, reproduction and immanence; while the public world “as an ideal type” has been traditionally conflated with the disembodied, the abstract, the cultural, rationality, critical public discourse, citizenship, civil society, justice, waged labor, production, the police, the state and action.⁴⁵ It is important to remember that this division occurs ideologically, although the construction of these two worlds is, in reality, deeply interrelated.

The construction of the public-private dichotomy according to the categories of gender, and in parallel to this, the development of spatial segregation, serve to explain both the subordinated position of women in society and the ideology on which this subordination is based.⁴⁶ Feminist scholars have long understood the division between the public and the private and their role in explaining the complex power relations of gender, and attributed a central role to the ideology of the separate spheres in feminist critical theory. One of the earliest scholars to write on this issue was anthropologist Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo (1974), who proposed a structural framework for the universal subordination of women opposing the private or domestic realm to the public realm.⁴⁷ The main point is that a blatant gender asymmetry and inequality exists in this social division in favor of men, and that the private realm is disproportionately considered to be the place of women.⁴⁸ Rosaldo’s formulation, which presented cross-cultural evidence of the status of women, had a remarkable influence on subsequent feminist work. The concept of separate spheres and the public-private dichotomy provided a different means of addressing “women’s history that employed social and cultural, as well as political,

⁴⁵ Nancy Duncan, “Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces” in *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* ed. by Nancy Duncan (London and New York: Routledge, 1996): p. 128.

⁴⁶ Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspective on Gender and Class* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1995).

⁴⁷ Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, “Women, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview” in *Women, Culture, and Society* ed. by M. Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974).

⁴⁸ Weintraub, op. cit., p. 28; Rosaldo (1974).

material”, particularly in terms of 19th-century history.⁴⁹ During the early 1970s, the separation was considered mostly as a means of subordination, oppression and victimization of women. In this first stage of the development of the metaphor, the language of the separate sphere was used by women historians to define the exclusion of women from public space and their confinement within the home.⁵⁰ In Kerber’s (1998) words, it referred to “an ideology imposed on women, a culture created by women, a set of boundaries expected to be observed by women”.⁵¹ Two different scholarships have developed over the course of time to counter this approach. The first of these appeared in the late 1970s, and made a strikingly different reinterpretation of the separation, placing emphasis on the components of the private realm, such as domesticity and nurturing. Scholars such as Rosenberg (1975), Lerner (1974) and Sklar (1985) pointed to the fact that women could use the domestic space to develop their own culture and to enhance their power. In this context, the private sphere was redefined as a site for the formation of a distinctive women’s culture that was based on emotional ties and supportive networks, as an alternative to the public world of men.

In more recent years, the emerging tendency has been to view the public and the private as mutually constructed spheres, and in this regard, the analysis of the separate spheres has evolved into “the gendered space approach that argues that specific spaces become associated with either masculine or feminine meanings that strongly influence men’s and women’s actual behavior and power within them”.⁵² This approach has brought forth a significant body of work, which implies that women could be and were in the public space, and that the division between the

⁴⁹ Linda Kerber, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History” in *The Journal of American History*, 75 (1) (1998), p. 18.

⁵⁰ Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860” in *American Quarterly*, Issue 2, Part I (Summer 1966), pp. 151-174; Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); *Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the history of American Feminism* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968); Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina* (New York: Schocken, 1967).

⁵¹ Kerber, op. cit., p. 17.

⁵² Jeanne Halgren Kilde, “The ‘Predominance of the Feminine’ at Chautauqua: Rethinking the Gender-Space Relationship in Victorian America” in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 24, No.2 (1999), p. 454.

two spheres is more flexible and permeable than was previously imagined.⁵³ One important conclusion to be drawn from this body of work is that the conceptualization of separate spheres, with its dualistic opposition, is too simplistic to provide a comprehensive explanation of the changing gender relations in society. Indeed, given the wealth of empirical evidence of women's activities outside the home, and also the different functions of the family that are not limited to the private space, clear-cut divisions between the public and private become spurious, and fall short of understanding the lives and experiences of women. The boundaries between public and private space change continuously, and take new forms through everyday practices that are inherently spatial, and they are always related to one another, which manifests itself in complex and multiple ways. In her later work, Rosaldo (1980) herself admitted that such oppositional categorizations fell short of allowing an understanding of the socially structured relationship that exists between men and women in human societies. She stated that the dichotomy of public/male and private/female, as fixed ideological divisions, "failed to understand how men and women both participate in and help to reproduce the institutional forms that may oppress, liberate, join or divide them".⁵⁴ Rather than abandoning her original formulation entirely, she rephrased the divisions between the public and private and male and female as "cultural constructions imposed on a far more complex world of inchoate experience".⁵⁵

What has been discussed so far indicates that the public/private distinction itself is deeply gendered, embodying the complicated but consistent gender bias that cannot be understood through the formulation of separate spheres. The public and private are ineluctably and inextricably intertwined, and it is necessary to consider that the division of social space into public and private realms is contiguous rather than separated or segregated. Since this is the case on both spatial and ideological levels,

⁵³ Mary P. Ryan, *Women in public: between banners and ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990); Elaine S. Abelson, *When ladies go a-thieving: middle-class shoplifters in the Victorian department store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Catherine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (USA: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

⁵⁴ Rosaldo, "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-cultural Understanding" in *Signs*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1980), p. 409.

⁵⁵ Ryan, op. cit. (1990), p. 7.

the ways in which the public and private are linked can best be understood by looking at the formation of the two, spatially and ideologically. When considered in spatial terms, the relationship between the public and private realms can be defined as a continuum, as well as a separation. Space represents both a juncture and a division, and in the same way, proximity as well as distance. In this sense, it would be better to think of the distinction between the public and private spaces as boundaries that represent both inclusion and exclusion. The boundaries between the private and public realms are inherently porous and ambiguous, in that they are simultaneously a part of both. They constitute a mediating area where the two meet and come apart that is shaped by the two realms, but also shapes them. What is significant is that, as Madanipour (2003) suggests, the treatment of the boundaries gives “meaning and significance to the distinction between the public and private spheres”, shaping social relationships and spatial arrangements.⁵⁶ The boundaries should be defined as socially constructed and permeable, because they are continually being tested, negotiated and transgressed in various ways by the everyday practices of both men and women.

This interweaving of the public and private realms is certainly not a seamless spatial continuum, nor can the two be described as in a simple mutual and functional relationship. In order to understand the ideological formations of these two realms, it is necessary to look at the asymmetrical relationship between the two, which requires clarifying “what is being contrasted (explicitly or implicitly) and on what basis the contrast is being drawn, as there are many varieties of the public/private distinction”.⁵⁷ Approaches that conceptualize the separation of the public and private in terms of state administration/market economy and state/civil society tend to define the public realm and its boundaries as the main conceptual interest, with the private realm remaining as “a residual category” to some degree.⁵⁸ In most feminist approaches, however, the “private” appears as the starting point,

⁵⁶ Madanipour, Ali, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003): p. 240.

⁵⁷ Weintraub, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

being identified with family, while the “public” corresponds to anything left outside it. Accordingly, in feminist literature it is common for “domestic/public” to be used as synonyms for “private/public”. What is significant here is the inclusion of the family in the public/private nexus, which is something that has been generally neglected in political analysis. Feminist researchers have revealed how the public world exercises authority over the private world and women. Feminist historian Mary Ryan (2000), who studied the active participation of urban women in public life in nineteenth century American cities, indicates that the “public” in this hierarchical construction controls “the entire social continuum, including the structural divisions between the genders”, and in her view this is mainly and directly related to the regulative and oppressive power of the state.⁵⁹ In fact, the state, as a decisive mechanism for either social change or social control in women’s lives, has occupied a significant place in many contemporary studies of the relationship of women with public space. In line with Ryan’s argument, that any research on the public and private in women’s history must eventually confront the institution of the state, this study suggests that the state serves a function in its capacity to define the role of women in public life.⁶⁰

That said, it should be careful when giving special emphasis to the role of the state in the formation of the public/private distinction, as this may cause other important components of the experience of public space by women to be overlooked, especially in terms of their everyday practices and sociability. In Ryan’s account, owing to the regulative function of the state, the public world has a decisive authority over the private world; although it should be noted that this is true particularly for the structural construction of the public/private distinction. The state’s political projects certainly regulate and shape the role of women in both the public and private spaces; but when considering the relationship of women with public space on an everyday level, the family, as the main unit of the private space, also appears to be very influential in their access to and experience of public space

⁵⁹ Ryan, *op. cit.* (2000), p. 23.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

in their daily lives. Needless to say, the formation of the family and family life is dependent on the state to a great extent; but traditional culture is also of equal importance, as will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.⁶¹ This is, in fact, the clearest indication of the intertwining and inseparability of the public and private spaces, and, therefore, it may be argued that searching for the everyday experience of women in public space necessitates a more elaborate and rigorous analysis that takes into account the points at which these two realms meet and interact. For this purpose, though the main interest of this study is the public space, the starting point is the family and home, as they are crucial to women's access to and participation in public space. This will permit me to reveal how the private and public aspects of women's lives are linked, and how their roles and place in the home/domestic life define their relationship with public space as they perpetually conjoin these two realms in their everyday experience.

At this point, it is necessary to take a closer look at the role and function of the public space in the formation of the gender asymmetry that is embodied in the public/private distinction. The most evident indication of this imbalance of power that favors men over women is the relative absence of women in public space. Most classical theories of the public neglect gender differences, and as a consequence, the male construction of this domain is regarded as the general norm. For instance, Habermas, a preeminent theoretician in this field, has been heavily criticized by several feminist scholars for his theory, which is based on the assumption that place women outside the public sphere, assigning them to the realm of nature and private rather than the rational world of public life and discourse.⁶² In his view, and that of many others, the public realm is defined

⁶¹ The role of culture and religion in women's access to and participation in public space will be discussed in detail in the final two sections. For a discussion of the Non-Western context, see Chapter II Section 3. Parameters of the Formation of Public Space in Non-Western Context: Gender, State and Culture and for an account of the Turkish case, see Chapter II Section 4. Women's Place in the Public Realm: Never ending Paradox of Turkish Modernity.

⁶² For related feminist critiques of Habermas, see Iris Marion Young, "Impartiality and the civic public: Some implications of feminist critiques of moral and political theory" *Praxis International*, Vol. 4 (1985): pp. 381-401; Nancy Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory? The Case of Habermas and Gender in Jürgen Habermas" in *New German Critique*, Vol. 35 (1985), pp. 97-131; Joan B. Landes, "Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: A feminist inquiry" in *Praxis International*, Vol. 12, No.1 (1992), pp. 106-127.

implicitly as men's place, construing the citizen as male. The great contribution of the feminist literature in this sense is in its exposure that this male-defined nature of the public is not natural or arbitrary. As such, it is important to note that the historical exclusion of women lies at the heart of the construction of the public realm, and so any analysis of the public should acknowledge and take into account this dimension as the main component of the subject matter. However, this should not be misinterpreted as suggesting that women are totally excluded from the public space and confined to the home, as such a view would distort the historical reality, and also put women in the position of a passive subject. It is true that the ideology of separate spheres played a significant role in the formation of 19th-century society, but its influence on the behaviors and actions of women is a matter of discussion. As can be observed in historical researches, women participated in public life not only "by their explicit grasping for political power and economic independence, but through a number of symbolic acts, such as smoking, wearing bloomers or comfortable dress, and riding bicycles".⁶³ Moreover, women's clubs, voluntary organizations, religious practices and informal networks outside the home led to the creation of an alternative public culture.

What is at issue, then, is not the question of whether women enter the public space, but how they perceive and appropriate public space, and, in this way, how they constitute their identities within it in their own specific ways. In order to be able to examine and understand the ways women access and experience public space, it is necessary to analyze the mechanism whereby public space is constituted and maintained as a male domain. It is important to note that the gendered character of the public space denotes not only the exclusion of women, but also stratification and hierarchy, as the leading components of the power relations between men and women. In addition to the multiple obstacles and barriers in the way of women's entrance into the public space, they are also subject to male domination within public life. The public space that women inhabit in is defined dominantly by men and in men's interests. What is more, men represent the general public as a whole,

⁶³ Peiss, *op. cit.*, p. 818.

including women. The public space in this sense operates as an important element of gender hierarchy, and accordingly, the status of women in the private space does not give her power in the public space. That is, as Ortner (1981) and later Ryan (1990) argued, “men are situated to establish status for both sexes, and where women rarely reciprocate and never dominate”.⁶⁴ This suggests that public space is the central arena for understanding the construction and operation of the male-dominated gender system. In this context, a more comprehensive and rigorous conceptualization of the public space that covers its multiple functions and purposes and provides structural links between them is required. Following Ortner and Whitehead’s cultural understanding of gender, Ryan (2000) asserts four critical purposes for the use of the public realm in feminist theory, “as a reference for cultural values, as a crudely serviceable classification of social behavior, as a space denoting especially blatant gender asymmetry and inequality, and as a center of concentrated power”.⁶⁵ The most important aspect of this definition is that it provides a framework for understanding the social and cultural constructions of gender and space that lead to relations of domination and inequality between men and women. It serves to reveal the parameters of women’s subordination and the ways women are excluded, oppressed and controlled by existing social and spatial relations, which are the results of social and political structures and socio-cultural conventions.

To conclude, it should be noted that the terms public and private have not been exhausted of significance and utility in the search for the experiences of exclusion, segregation and oppression that women are subjected to in societal life. The division between public and private spaces and the ideological implications of this division are subjected to continuous reshaping and redefinition. Alongside the socio-economic and political changes in society, women, especially in the middle-class, have made some improvements to different aspects of their public life, and

⁶⁴ Ryan, op. cit. (1990), p. 8. See also Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, *Sexual meanings: The cultural construction of gender and sexuality* ed. by Ortner and Whitehead (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁶⁵ Ibid.

have gained greater freedom of movement in the public spaces of the city. Nevertheless, “women’s widespread experience of unmonitored urban public spaces as strongly gendered” indicates that “some residues of the nineteenth century distinctions still persist”.⁶⁶ Most women experience urban public spaces in a constrained way, associated with her gender, age, class or race in certain places and at certain times of the day, and are expected to act and behave properly in public to alleviate the risk of gendered crime and danger. Moreover, the symbolic association between women going public and sexuality has not yet disappeared from social and cultural discourse. There may be overlaps between the spheres of women and men, or the boundaries might be blurred, but “vast areas of our experience and consciousness do not overlap” and “our private spaces and public spaces are still, in many important senses, gendered”.⁶⁷ That is, the public-private dichotomy would seem to continue to construct, order, discipline, control and constrain the relations of gender and sexuality through patriarchal power structures.⁶⁸

II. 2. Women in the City: Experiencing Urban Public Space

Since the beginning of the development of cities, the relationship between women and the city has always been controversial. In her critical work “The Invisible Flaneur,” Elizabeth Wilson (2001; 1991) identifies an analytic divide in feminist urban literature concerning the conceptualization of the city.⁶⁹ While some scholars concentrate on how cities constrain and oppress women, for others, the predominant concerns are the aspects of cities that are liberating for women. In the former group, urban space is “so fundamentally constructed by gender difference

⁶⁶ Liz Bondi and Mona Domosh, op. cit., p. 285.

⁶⁷ Kerber, op. cit., p. 39.

⁶⁸ Duncan, op. cit., p. 128.

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Wilson, “The Invisible Flaneur” (revised version) in *The Contradictions of Culture: cities, culture, women* by Elizabeth Wilson (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 72–89; *The Sphinx in the City* (Berkeley, Oxford, L.A.: University of California Press, 1991).

that women are not simply disadvantaged, but representationally excluded.”⁷⁰ In this sense, the scholars in this group have tended to examine the role of women in urban public space in terms of safety, and the issues of access and control.⁷¹ In contrast, the second tendency considers the city as “a contradictory and shifting space which can be appropriated by women.”⁷² The specific aim with this perspective is to investigate how urban life liberates women and what kinds of opportunities it provides to them.⁷³ Certainly, the notion of liberation attributed to urban life does not mean that women will be free of all oppressive and unequal relations that they are subjected to in the city. Instead, what is implied here is the possibility or the relative potency of the city for women to improve their lives. Despite the disadvantages and oppressions that affect women in particular, urban life also gives women the chance to experience and appropriate the public space. As Wilson (2001) states, “it is a matter of emphasis whether one insists on the dangers of rather than the opportunities for women in the cities.”⁷⁴ In this study, following Wilson’s critique of feminist urban scholarship, I aim to point out the ways in which cities liberate women.

The liberating aspects of the city can be considered in relation to the various facilities and services that city life offers, such as education, paid employment, healthcare and transportation. Besides, city life can give women the opportunity, though to only a certain extent, to escape the constraints of the gendered domestic space and patriarchal relationships. Yet beyond these, the greatest peculiarity that city life offers to women is the sense of anonymity, which is an immanent

⁷⁰ Wilson, op. cit. (2001), p. 83.

⁷¹ Rachel H. Pain, “Space, Sexual Violence and Social Control” in *Progress in Human Geography*, 15 (1991), pp. 415–431; Gill Valentine, “The geography of women’s fear” in *Area* (1989): pp. 385–390; Susan J. Smith, “Fear of crime: beyond a geography of deviance” in *Progress in Human Geography*, 11 (1987), pp. 1–23.

⁷² Wilson, op. cit. (2001), p. 83.

⁷³ Mona Domosh, “Geography and gender: home, again?” in *Progress in Human Geography* Vol. 22, No.2 (1998): pp. 276–282; “The Feminized Retail Landscape: Gender Ideology and Consumer Culture in 19th Century New York City” in *Retailing and Capital: Towards the New Retail Geography*, ed. by N. Wrigley and M. Lowe (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 257–270; Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City* (Berkeley, Oxford, L.A.: University of California Press, 1991); Mary Ryan, *Women in public: between banners and ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990).

⁷⁴ Wilson, op. cit. (2001), p. 83.

characteristic of the city that originates from the heterogeneous nature of urban life. In the city, people can build relationships with people other than those who are in their close environment at different levels of intimacy, while remaining thoroughly anonymous. The anonymity of city life becomes more visible when comparing it with rural life and suburban domesticity, which are built on strong community ties and constraining relations. Women living in big cities can act and behave with relatively more freedom, since relations within city life are more complex and flexible than that of rural one. In Barbara Brooks' (1989) words, "an urban or semi-urban environment gives more variety, more chance to move around between different groups and get lost in between."⁷⁵ She writes:

... coming from the country to the city was an escape into a freer more varied and tolerant way of life (...) the private and the public landscape interact, release each other." Moving to a different place gives you the chance to shift habits and routines, move into a different persona.⁷⁶

Thus, women can become anonymous in big cities by moving away the mechanisms of control and pressure that small community relations and neighborhood life generate through norms and acts of sanction, particularly in a moral sense. In relation to the engagement of women in the city, the use of urban public spaces is of particular importance. Women have a greater chance to get lost and become anonymous in the rush and crowds of urban public spaces, which are open to the use of everyone, at least in principle, and this increases their chance to have access to and participate in urban life. Contrary to commonly held assumptions in urban scholarship, it should be emphasized that women are not thoroughly excluded from urban spaces, as they fully use, live and experience various public or semi-public spaces, such as streets, parks, coffees, department stores and other recreational areas. Examining the use of spatial patterns of women and their behavior in urban daily life would provide very useful information, offering an understanding of how women relate themselves to urban life. Yet, to obtain a comprehensive picture of women in the city, it is important to inquire how

⁷⁵ Barbara Brooks (1989; 33–35) quoted in "City Imagineries" by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (ed.) in *A Companion to the City* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2002): p.7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–35.

women appropriate and contest urban public spaces by negotiating the contradictions and tensions of the city in their own way. Such an attempt would explore the (re)making of the urban public culture by women through tactics and strategies in everyday life, as well as organized acts of resistance developed to tackle the inequality in the city. Moreover, to consider women's urban experience in terms of appropriation and (re)making would allow women to be attributed a subject position. This kind of conceptualization of the city would allow us to consider women as active social actors who can experience urban space and resist unequal and oppressive relations within urban life.

Streets and their sidewalks are the most public of city spaces. As publicly owned spaces that are open to all, they are constructed, defined, used and lived as a site of circulation and social encounters. Social relations and practices are closely connected, and are mostly dependent upon the existence of streets since they involve passing through the street, and become public events that people observe and watch. In her influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, urban scholar and activist Jane Jacobs (1961) states that the essence of "both the testimonial banquet and the social life of city sidewalks is precisely that they are public."⁷⁷ The streets have a complex (dis)order that is composed of movements, changes, interactions, activities and events. The city streets and sidewalks are used for a variety of potential activities and events: walking, strolling, sitting, playing and recreation, but also festivals, theater, concerts, parades and demonstrations. In this context, they are the most vital organs of urban life and experience. What is more, city streets function as a stage for the production and display of gender and sexuality and, at the same time, for their potential subversion. One of the most prominent scholars of masculinity, R.W. Connell (1987), regards the street as an institution like a family or state, as in one sense, they have the same structures of gender relations. He argues that it is "at least a definite social milieu with particular relations."⁷⁸ An important feature of Connell's theory is his explanation of how the

⁷⁷ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961): p. 55.

⁷⁸ Robert William Connell's classic work, *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987): pp. 132–134

street is experienced differently by men and women as part of the social construction of gender. Accordingly, it can be seen that nearly all activities concerning children in the street, like pushing strollers or school runs, are performed primarily by women, whereas driving buses or trucks, and repairing vehicles or other things belonging to the street are mainly done by men. Moreover, the street is a setting for the intimidation of women to varying degrees, from verbal harassment to physical attacks and rape. These examples can certainly increase in line with age, class and sexuality, but the most important thing here is that, as Connell rightfully points out, the street as a social milieu has a division of labor and a power structure, and the patterns in question are strongly linked to the gender relations that are prevalent in society.⁷⁹ However, it should be noted that it is a loosely structured setting with space for diversity, and also the inversion of stereotyped gender roles and performances. This is what gives a specific character to the street, distinguishing it from all other socio-spatial settings.⁸⁰

Ever since the emergence of the modern city, reflections in the city streets have been providing new insights for those looking to understand the city. Considering urban life in terms of the street would lead to the creation of a counter urban discourse that challenges the rational, structured conceptualization of the city. This view, in a broader sense, is related to the conception of modernity, which emphasizes the “experience of adventure” rather than “the systematic rational life system”.⁸¹ There is a broad body of literature concerning the city as the experience of modernity. Urban scholars like Simmel (1903), Benjamin (1938), de Certeau (1984), Lefebvre (1974), Sennett (1974) and Berman (1982) have all devoted to explore the modernity of spectacle through examinations of the experience of the modern city. For Berman, the modern urban sensibility is derived from the streets, which bring an enormous number of people together, and thereby promote public

⁷⁹ Connell, op. cit., p. 134.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ David Frisby, *Cityscapes of Modernity: critical explorations* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press in association with Blackwell, 2001): p. 9.

interaction.⁸² Similarly, Sennett's vision of the city is based on encounters and performances in public space. That said, in these studies, the subject of the experience of modernity is primarily the male figure, as the *flaneur*, the stranger or the public man. In particular, the figure of *flaneur* that is so predominant in the works of Benjamin and Simmel has become a fashionable object of critical discussion. The *flaneur*, according to its most basic meaning, refers to a male city person who "strolled the urban streets and arcades in the nineteenth century",⁸³ and in this sense, a *flanerie* can be defined as the spatial practice of urban public spaces and places. What is at issue here, however, is that the *flanerie* indicates an "urban consciousness" that is, by definition, male.⁸⁴ As a historical figure, the *flaneur* implies a male city person, equipped with the faculties of observing, knowing and reproducing urban space. In this frame, feminist scholars have developed a critical understanding of *flanerie*, searching for the possible existence of a female counterpart for the *flaneur*.

At this point, it is necessary to ask, "is there a potential for the *flaneuse*?" And, if so, who is she? Feminist literature has come up with several answers to this question, but before examining them it is necessary to mention briefly the relationship women hold with the street, which has always been a subject of controversy. The contradictory nature of the city for women is perhaps best observed on the streets, as spaces of both freedom and danger. The street offers freedom for women, moving them away from the constraint and suffocation of the gendered space of the private realm.⁸⁵ Simultaneously, the street also poses the most danger, in that a woman's presence on the street is associated with sexual availability and prostitution. Regardless of whether or not they actually are, women

⁸² Marshall Berman *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the experience of modernity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982): p. 151.

⁸³ Anne Friedberg, "Les Flaneurs de Mal(1): Cinema and the Postmodern Condition" in *PMLA*, Vol. 106, No. 3 (May 1991), p. 420.

⁸⁴ Wilson, op. cit., (1991).

⁸⁵ Judith Walkowitz, "Going Public: Shopping, Street Harassment, and Streetwalking in Late Victorian London" in *Representations*, 62 (Spring 1998), pp. 1–30; Elizabeth Wilson, op. cit., (1991); Sophie Watson, *City Publics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

on the street are primarily perceived and defined in terms of their sexuality, and, unlike men, can never fully escape this role, which belongs in the private realm.⁸⁶ As such, women are not directly or easily associated with activities and/or values of the public culture; but nevertheless, the streets are the most commonly encountered and experienced public spaces of women, and also the spaces where women most publicly appear. Women use the streets for several reasons. They go out and take to the streets to go to work, to visit friends or relatives, to run household errands, to do shopping, to take the children for a walk, and the like. Hence, as everyday spaces, the streets provide the urban experiences for women. What is crucial here is that women take to the streets mainly for a definite reason, and are not supposed to wander the streets aimlessly, which is a good starting point for questioning the possible existence of the *flaneuse*.

There is a large body of work on female *flanerie* and the presence of women in public space from the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁸⁷ The figure of the *flaneur* has been interpreted in different, and often contrasting, ways, depending particularly on either the negative or positive conceptualization of the city, as mentioned Section II.1 of this chapter titled “Beyond the Great Divide: Reconsidering the Public and Private Realms.” In order not to repeat the arguments related to the relationships women keep with the city, I would like to draw attention to certain points that are conceived as obstacles to the possible existence of *flaneuse*. In the first place, there is some suspicion that a woman has the faculty to observe the cityscape in the manner of *flanerie*, and this assumption stems from the

⁸⁶ Karen A. Franck and Lynn Paxson, “Women and Urban Public Space: Research, Design, and Policy Issues” in *Advances in Environment, Behavior and Design*, Vol. 2 (New York: Plenum, 1989).

⁸⁷ Susan Buck-Morss, “The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: the politics of loitering” in *New German Critique*, No. 39, Second Special Issue on Walter Benjamin (Autumn 1996), pp. 99–140; Kathy Peiss, “Going Public: Women in Nineteenth-Century Cultural History” in *American Literary History*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1991), pp. 817–828; Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: femininity, feminism, and histories of art* (London: Routledge, 1988); Mary Ryan, op. cit. (1990); Janet Wolff, *Feminine Sentences: essays on women and culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Elizabeth Wilson, op. cit. (2001; 1991); Judith Walkowitz, op. cit. (1998); Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, “The flaneur on and off the streets of Paris” in *The Flaneur* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Deborah Nord, *Walking The Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1995); Anke Gleber, *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flanerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Mona Domosh, “Those ‘Gorgeous Incongruities’: Polite Politics and Public Space on the Streets of Nineteenth-Century New York City” in *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 88, No. 2 (1998), pp. 209–226.

vexed and nearly irresolvable relationship of women with spectatorship.⁸⁸ Since women cannot escape being defined in terms of their sexuality, their presence on the street inevitably becomes the object of the *flaneur's* gaze. Regardless for what reason she takes to the streets, a woman appears as feminine in the masculine sphere, and this position does not allow her the embodiment of subjectivity. As essential components of the urban spectacle, women are consumed and enjoyed by the *flaneur* along with the rest of the city's sights.⁸⁹ The crucial point is that women are positioned as the object of the *flaneur*, and in this sense, the gaze becomes a gendered action that occurs within a gendered space.⁹⁰ While a woman is herself a spectacle, it is argued that she cannot obtain the active position of the observer. Such an approach, however, is highly problematic, in that it describes the female existence within urban space, placing women directly in the position of a passive victim. Secondly, it is assumed that the female version of the *flaneur* is unimaginable due to the dissimilarity of shopping and *flanerie*, meaning that women cannot act like a *flaneur* owing to their strong association with the activity of consumption.

It is commonly assumed that shopping is the most prominent social indicator of female activity in public. With the rise of institutions of consumption in the 19th century, women were identified as the subject of consumerism; yet a woman as a consumer is unsuitable for *flanerie*, since "she desires the objects spread before her and acts upon that desire."⁹¹ This uncontrollable desire of women is certainly in conflict with the disengaged and dispassionate nature of the *flaneur*, which gives him superiority and critical distance while walking the city. Moreover, the characterization of consumption as feminine calls into question the publicness of the places for consumption. The feminization of such spaces has led to a discussion

⁸⁸ Deborah Nord, *Walking The Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1995).

⁸⁹ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, "The flaneur on and off the streets of Paris" in *The Flaneur* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

⁹⁰ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: femininity, feminism, and histories of art* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁹¹ Ferguson, op. cit., p. 27.

on whether department stores are best understood “as surrogate private spaces” rather than public spaces,⁹² but this view of consumption, however, neglects different variations and histories of the presence and experience of women in public spaces. The growth of a commercial culture in the late 19th century also played a key role in the creation of public spaces in which women played a pivotal role. The department stores and the arcades offered a means for middle-class women to become active spectators of modernity.⁹³ Thus, what is missing in these assumptions concerning both the *flâneur*’s gaze and the shopping activity is that the ambivalent character of the *flâneur* is not recognized. It would be appropriate to reconsider the definition of the *flâneur*, which implies the masculine privilege of urban public life,⁹⁴ because this view forbids the possible existence of the female counterpart of the *flâneur*. As Wilson (1991) argues, the *flâneur* is not a stabilized masculine self, but rather an identity that is fragmented under the pressure of a metropolitan existence.

In this respect, Wilson and other scholars like Domosh, Bondi, and Ryan, who emphasize the emancipating potential of the city, have strongly criticized works that represent women as overwhelmingly constrained by a man-made and male-defined urban environment. Indeed, in these studies, women are construed as rather disadvantaged and vulnerable, since the central focus is on the women’s restricted use of urban public spaces due to the fear of (sexual) crime and violence. In my opinion, the most prominent shortcoming of this approach is its potential to make a double victimization of women, implying the exclusionary effects of fear, but with only a limited mention of women’s capacity to occupy and appropriate urban space. Certainly, such approach fails to take into account the complex and ambivalent relationship of women with the city, as it focuses on only one side of the urban phenomenon, ignoring its liberating aspect. As such, it is necessary to develop a more comprehensive understanding that points the mutual constitutive

⁹² Keith Tester, *The Flâneur* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994): p. 18.

⁹³ Friedberg, op. cit. (1991).

⁹⁴ Pollock, op. cit. (1988); Wolff, op. cit. (1990).

processes of gendered identities and spaces, without neglecting the materiality and specificity of urban space.⁹⁵

II.3. Parameters of the Formation of Public Space in Non-Western Context: Gender, State and Culture

What has been discussed so far is an overview of the formation of public space in the Western world, but needless to say, the gender inequality that is inherent in the construction of the modern public and private spheres is specific to neither Western nor non-Western societies. Both gender boundaries and the public-private dichotomy change significantly and take particular forms in different cultural and geographical contexts with distinctive experiences of modernity, which changes drastically the social meanings of both the public and the private. As recent studies into the “women question” in the Middle East have demonstrated, the formation of gender roles and gender identities in a non-Western context disrupts many of the existing arguments on the public-private binary.⁹⁶ It is argued that the question of the public-private dichotomy in a non-Western setting is inevitably more complicated with the addition of other dichotomous notions of modernity/tradition, West/East, secular/religious, and the like. In particular, the presence of women in public has become an ideological terrain for contestations over modernity and

⁹⁵ Liz Bondi and Damaris Rose, “Constructing Gender, Constructing the Urban: a review of Anglo-American Feminist Urban Geography” in *Gender, Place, and Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 3, (2003).

⁹⁶ For some examples of historical accounts of the public-private binary in a non-Western context, see, for example, Leslie Peirce, “Beyond Harem Walls: Ottoman Royal Women and the Exercise of Power” in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women’s History* ed. by Dorothy O. Helly and Susan Reverby (New York: Ithaca, 1992); Dina Rizk Khouri, “Drawing Boundaries and Defining Spaces: Women and Space in Ottoman Iraq,” in *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws*, pp. 173–87. For contemporary accounts of this issue, see Farha Ghannam, *Remaking the modern: Space, relocation, and the politics of identity in a global Cairo* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji, “Feminization of Public Space: Women’s Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco” in *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies (JMEWS)* ed. by Valentine Moghadam and Fatima Sadiqi (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006): pp. 86–114.; Susanne Dahlgren, “Segregation, illegitimate encounters and contextual moralities: sexualities in the changing public sphere in Aden” in *Hawwa, Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* (2006); pp. 214–236; *Contesting realities: the public sphere and morality in southern Yemen* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2010); J Devika, “Negotiating women’s social space: public debates on gender in early modern Kerala, India”, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 7: 1 (2006), pp. 43–61; Shireen Hassim and Amanda Gouws, “Redefining the public space: women’s organizations, gender consciousness and civil society in South Africa” in *Politikon* Vol. 25, No. 2 (1998): pp. 53–76.

authenticity.⁹⁷ In this vein, the conceptual framework of this division as it originated in European context would be inadequate for explaining the lives and experience of women in Middle Eastern societies. There is little doubt, however, that the location and experience of gender boundaries has changed drastically under the influence of the European formation of the public and private. In Iran, Turkey, Egypt, and other similar cases, women and the family had become a subject of great concern by the turn of the century due to “the encounter with Europe, whether desired, ambivalent or imposed through colonial occupation”.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the gender boundaries concerning the public-private dichotomy in the Middle Eastern context cannot be thought of simply as a direct adoption or replication of European practice, as they have rather been shaped through cultural and historical dynamics. As Thompson (2003) argues, it is only “through the direct interrogation of the concepts in local historical contexts, and through direct scholarly debate about their merits, that we may succeed in redefining them in truly universal terms or in identifying new conceptual frameworks that foster comparative and transnational historical understanding.”⁹⁹ In this context, the foundation of the state, the constitution of classes, the forms of engagement with the discourses of Westernization and modernization and the processes of colonization play a significant role in the constitution, formation and redefinition of the public-private dichotomy in these societies.

Most commentaries on issues pertaining to gender and public space in the Middle East assign a central role to Islam; yet, a more recent body of literature has explored the complex situations of state building and class formation, which reject the primacy of Islam. Examining women in the Middle East in terms of Islam and Islamic culture is not only inadequate and ahistorical, but it also conceals the active

⁹⁷ Lila Abu-Lughod, *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998); Deniz Kandiyoti, “Women, Islam and the State”, in *Middle East Report*, No. 173, *Gender and Politics* (Nov. - Dec., 1991), pp. 9–14; Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁹⁸ Abu-Lughod, op. cit. (1998), p. 4.

⁹⁹ Elizabeth Thompson, “Public and Private in Middle Eastern Women’s History” in *Journal of Women History*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spring, 2003), p. 52.

role played by the existing patriarchal mechanisms in these societies. According to Deniz Kandiyoti (1991), one of the most central issues in the women's condition in Muslim societies is, among other things, "the different political projects of modern nation-states."¹⁰⁰ In her account, "the ways in which women are represented in political discourse, the degree of formal emancipation they have achieved, their forms of participation in economic life and the nature of the social movements through which they express their demands are closely linked to state-building processes". Indeed, all Muslim societies have had to cope with the problems of founding modern nation states and the constructs of national citizenship; and the gender boundaries of the public and private realms were central to this process. As part of the state-building projects to create national subjects, the citizenship of women was shaped around their traditional gender roles, as enlightened mothers of the nation, wives of men and modern managers of the household. In this frame, the traversal of public space by women and their proper place and conduct in public has been a focal point for the contestation of women's rights in these societies. The state served a function in its faculty to define women's role in public life; hence, the public-private division has become instrumental in the gendering of the state and nation.¹⁰¹

It is obvious that the regulatory role of the state in the public space cannot be considered separate from the domestic realm. Having articulated the notion of domesticity, one can analyze the operations of cultural practices that cannot be understood by looking at the state regulations over its citizens in public life.¹⁰² The gender boundaries of domesticity that are marked by national institutions and ideologies would bring into the patriarchal structures modes of operations and idioms that are profoundly influential in the experience of women in the public

¹⁰⁰ Kandiyoti, op. cit. (1991): p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Suad Joseph, "The Public/Private: The Imagined Boundary in the Imagined Nation/State/Community: The Lebanese Case" in *Feminist Review*, No. 57, Citizenship: Pushing the Boundaries (Autumn, 1997), p. 72; Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (eds.), *Woman, Nation, Gender* (London: Macmillan, 1989); Cynthia Nelson, "Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World" in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Aug., 1974), pp. 551–563.

¹⁰² Joseph, op. cit., (1997).

space. This becomes more critical in the Middle Eastern context, since familial and kinship ties and traditional relations are embedded in the state-building projects of these societies. There is no doubt that the rise of the nation state did not lead immediately to the dissolution of patriarchal kinship-based relations and traditional/religious values. This is the main predicament that modernizing states in the Middle East have encountered, and it is the position of women that has been central to the issue, where its implications and impact have a particular resonance. Programs aimed at making women modern brought with them contradictions and ambiguities pertaining to education, employment, marriage, family life, and the like, and in this sense, the most paradoxical situation is that the growing appearance of women in public space went hand-in-hand with their strong affiliation with domestic life. That is, women did participate in public life from their private positions depending on traditional gender roles. Evidently, the main reason behind this was the familiar dichotomy between modern practices and traditional and cultural norms, which found its reflection best in the organization of the public and private division. What is distinctive in the Middle Eastern context is that, as Suad Joseph (1997) expressed in her study on Lebanon, the boundaries between the public and private do not simply reflect the line between state regulation and natural law, as feminist scholar Carole Pateman (1988) suggested in her critique of Western classical liberal theory.¹⁰³ Instead, argues Joseph, in most Middle Eastern countries, the formation of the public-private division has relied on the line between the state and patriarchal kinship, which is closely connected to

¹⁰³ In her critique of Western patriarchal liberalism, Pateman considers the division of the public and private as a constitutive element of the Western contractarian vision of state and citizen relations. In her view, the public/private binary is another expression of natural/civil and women/men. This division reflects “the order of sexual difference in the natural condition, which is also a political difference.” Women have no part in the contract, but their subjection within the private realm serves the formation of the public sphere, which is appropriated by an “individual,” “a maker of contracts and civilly free.” And, the individual in question is definitely a man. In Joseph’s account, Pateman argues that “Western liberal contract theory, by locating the family in the sphere of nature, justified the creation of the ‘private’ (i.e. domestic) as a domain in which women could be subordinated to men by the laws of nature, outside the laws of the social contract.” What is missing here, however, is that, Joseph points out, the formation of the public and private division as well as that of an individual are culturally and specific constructs. They can be understood through an analysis of how cultural and historical dynamics lead to different constructions of the public/private under different socio-political circumstances. Joseph, op. cit. (1997), pp. 78–79; Carole Pateman, “Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy” in *In The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999a); *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988).

religious law.¹⁰⁴ What is worthy of note here is that the fluid and porous boundaries of the public and private cannot be understood by locating the family in the sphere of nature, since the state constructs and regulates the domain of the private, including domestic and family life, as part of its larger social and political projects.

At this point, it is needed to take a closer look at the notion of domesticity in order to understand the inextricable links of national ideologies to the formation of the public and private. First, it should be underlined that ideologies of domesticity are not concerned merely with the private realm, and do not mean simply keeping women at home, delegated to domestic roles and responsibilities. The placement of women in a bounded home is only one, although the most visible, instance of domestication. Ideologies of domesticity are inherently gender ideologies, and like all gender ideologies, are mainly concerned with defining appropriate and inappropriate social roles and identities for men and women.¹⁰⁵ They can be said to serve as a system for the regulation and implementation of gender in society, when considering the definition of gender in terms of a set of social relations and norms.¹⁰⁶ The power of the ideology of domesticity is so powerful because it often exhibits “as if conveying timeless truths, gender arrangements that are socially, historically, and politically produced”.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, concurring with Ananya Roy (2003), who discusses the notion of domesticity in Indian context, it is suggested that the term “domesticate” rather than “domestic” be used, referring to larger social and political projects, since the identities of men and women are not naturally domestic, and neither are the spaces and places, as they are domesticated within the relations of power.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Joseph, op. cit., (1997).

¹⁰⁵ Suzanne April Brenner, *The domestication of desire: Women, wealth, and modernity in Java*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998): p. 241.

¹⁰⁶ For the conceptualization of the category of gender in this study, see Chapter I, Section 1. Conceptual Framework.

¹⁰⁷ Brenner, op.cit., p. 241.

¹⁰⁸ Ananya Roy, *City requiem, Calcutta: Gender and the politics of poverty* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003): p. 87.

The term domesticate has several meanings that can be said from the same origins, and which tell a lot about gender ideology embedded within the term: to tame, to live in a family; originally, to cause to be at home; to accustom to home life; make domestic; to cause (animals or plants) to be no longer wild; tame; to civilize.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, but of no surprise, “domesticate” denotes also taming (of an animal) and civilizing, aside from merely referring to the home and family. In this respect, when considering the fact that civilization served as one of the main components of the modern nation-building project, domestication, especially of women, came to be irrevocably linked to national ideologies.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, to “domesticate” in the present context can be regarded as signifying the idea of bringing someone – or something – under control, as well as attributing it to the family. It could be argued that these two elements constitute, I argue, the logic of the gender regimes of nation states, though certainly in different forms across cultures. During the nation-building processes of the Middle-Eastern and South-Asian states, there was a clear intention for women to be domesticated by regulating their roles as mothers and caretakers, and by controlling their bodies and sexuality, and this served as a real means of achieving the social and moral order. Domesticated women have become the carriers of culture and civilization, serving as the main agents for both the biological and ideological reproduction of the nation,¹¹¹ and expected to “control their desires and make sacrifices on behalf of the family and the nation.”¹¹² No doubt, the control of women, enforced by the ideologies of domesticity, manifests

¹⁰⁹Noah Webster and Jean Lyttleton McKechnie, *Webster’s New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* (New York: Dorset & Baber, 1983), cited in Roy (2003): p. 80.

¹¹⁰ The historical sociologist Norbert Elias’ classic book *The Civilizing Process*, in which he explores the “civilizing” of manners and personality in Western Europe since the Middle Ages, is an excellent example of the analysis of ideologies and the processes of domestication. Also, an Indian postcolonial scholar of political science and history Partha Chatterjee has greatly concentrated on the issue of interlinking national ideologies and civilizing of women in much of his work. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations* (Oxford; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Partha Chatterjee, “The Nationalist Resolution of the Women’s Question.” in *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History*. ed. by K. Sangari and S. Vaid (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990a); “A Religion of Urban Domesticity: Sri Ramakrishna and the Calcutta Middle Class” in *Subaltern Studies VII* ed. by P. Chatterjee and G. Pandey (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹¹¹ Yuval-Davis and Anthias, op. cit., (1989); Nira-Yuval Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publication, 1997).

¹¹² Brenner, op. cit., pp. 244–245.

itself primarily and most intensively over the female body and sexuality, and this has a strong and direct influence on women's experience of public space. As the symbolic status of women is connected to their reproductive role, departing the domestic realm and entering public space was considered as threatening their femininity and motherly qualities, implying the enchantment of their independence and undomesticated sexuality.¹¹³ That is, as will be discussed below, the notions of purity and modesty, as major elements in the domestication of women, have played a central role in their relationship with the public space in Middle-Eastern societies, featuring as the most prominent themes in the national narratives of gender.

In order to understand the complex dynamics of the public-private division related to configurations of gender, however, it is necessary to consider two important points that are central to women's relationship with public life in a non-Western context. In the first place, the modernization process needs to be approached with a critical eye, questioning its immediate equation with progress, liberation and the empowerment of women. The new ideas and practices promoted in national modernist projects might not have been wholly emancipatory, as they may also produce simultaneously new coercive forms of regulation. In this sense, the state has the potential to serve both as a mechanism for social change and/or progress, and/or social control for women. For this reason, we need to examine all forms of modernization: "not just what new possibilities, but what hidden costs, unanticipated constraints, novel forms of discipline and regulation and unintended consequences accompanied such programs."¹¹⁴ In this vein, the greater participation of women in public life through education or employment would be misleading without consideration of the different means of social control and restriction that women have encountered in their everyday lives. Secondly, the specific cultural and historical dynamics of public and private construction in the Middle Eastern context suggest the need for a careful understanding of the religion,

¹¹³ Brenner, op. cit., p. 244. See also Partha Chattarjee, "Colonialism, Nationalism, Colonized Women: The Contest in India" in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (November 1989), pp. 626–630; Yuval-Davis and Anthias, op. cit., (1989).

¹¹⁴ Abu-Lughod, op. cit. (1998): p. vii.

and particularly Islam, and the ways it influences women's experience of public space. It is obvious that Islam has a determining role in women's lives in these societies; however the contours of its operations can be understood in relation to state-building projects. It would be misleading to think that the influence of religion was downgraded in the process of modernization, although it can be said that this occurred mainly at an institutional level. Most of the modernizing states in the region have not based their legal system on Islamic law, nor carried out their state formation with religious objectives, although the most elementary aspects of social life have continued to be arranged according to Islamic norms and values in these countries. In this sense, it would be more appropriate to consider Islam in terms of cultural practices and shared values, and not simply as a cultural factor. As an ideological system, Islam evidently produces "some unifying concepts" that are very influential in the subordination of women.¹¹⁵ As Kandiyoti (1987) argues in her study of Turkey, these concepts are deeply rooted in the "culturally defined modes of control of female sexuality, especially insofar as they influence subjective experiences of womanhood and femininity."¹¹⁶ Thus, women have become able to participate in public life, though in specific ways, as their public behavior and activities have been strictly circumscribed through different social control mechanisms in the name of honor, respectability and modesty.

It is certain that the mechanisms of control and regulation imposed upon female sexuality did not operate outside the sphere of the state. As Mosse (1982) argues, state-building projects and nationalism did not simply help control sexuality, but "also provided the means through which changing sexual attitudes could be absorbed and tamed into respectability."¹¹⁷ In this respect, discussions on the nation, gender and citizenship need to be articulated taking into account the concepts of honor and female morality, which are especially crucial in the case of

¹¹⁵ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case" in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Summer, 1987), p. 319.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

¹¹⁷ George L. Mosse, "Nationalism and Respectability: Normal and Abnormal Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century" in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Sexuality in History (Apr., 1982), p. 222.

Islamic societies. There is a substantial body of existing literature related to honor and shame in these societies that reflect the discontent and conflicts related the public presence of women.¹¹⁸ Discourse on the public-private division in the Islamic context raises the questions of female virtue and the proper moral conduct of women, since “honor in these societies, for both men and women, is rooted in the sexual behavior of women in common with other traditional, especially Mediterranean societies.”¹¹⁹ What is important here is that improper sexual behavior does not merely imply “illicit sexual relations,” but refers also to “violation of an elaborate code that prescribes circumspect and decorous social relations between the sexes.”¹²⁰ In this sense, transgressions of accepted social behaviors and values by women were thought in terms of sexuality, and thus were judged as immoral; and this has resulted in an overwhelming control and restriction on the public presence of women, particularly concerning dress codes, bodily presentation and conduct, and contact with the opposite sex.

Public-private discourse in a non-Western context leads inevitably to the issue of veiling. Arguments related to the presence of women in public usually prompt discussions over the covering of the face and the body, which constitutes part of the seclusion of women from the public realm. However, despite being central to the women’s lives and experience in this region, to study women’s experience of public space solely around the issue of veiling would be limiting and even sometimes misleading. As a matter of fact, the women’s modesty is not simply about the segregation of women from the public realm, as it is mainly linked with the question of the proper place of women in public. How should women occupy public spaces? What are the rules are there for the movement and behavior of

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); David D. Gilmore, *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (Washington: American Anthropological Association, 1987); Valerie J. Hoffman-Ladd, “Polemics on the Modesty and Segregation of Women in Contemporary Egypt” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Feb., 1987), pp. 23–50; Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994); Jane Schneider, “Of Vigilance and Virgins: Honor, Shame, and Access to Resources in Mediterranean Societies” in *Ethnology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1971), pp. 1–24.

¹¹⁹ Asma Afsaruddin, *Hermeneutics and Honor: Negotiating Female “Public” Space in Islamic/ate Societies* (USA: Harvard Univ Press, 1999): p. 9.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

women in public? How should they present their bodies and engage in contact with unrelated men? These questions shed light on the logic of the construction of gendered public spaces in the Islamic setting. In this sense, etiquette is crucial “for a woman’s position as her reproductive conduct in defining her as a moral agent”.¹²¹ Women are taught and expected to control any conversation, movement, dress and bodily gestures that might put them in situations in which they may be judged as sexually loose or immoral. In her ethnographic study on Cairo, Anouk de Koning (2009) examines the extent to which these interpretative possibilities affect women’s interactions with public space, and how propriety and respectability are managed by young upper- and middle-class women.¹²² In addition, the tension between morality and visibility is integral to women’s relationship with public space. To be seen going anywhere alone or with unrelated men could imply not only improper behavior, but also sexual availability. Hence, as Newcomb (2006) argues in her study on Moroccan women, “the complex ‘rules’ for using public spaces ‘involve successfully balancing appearances with actions, with the threat of being perceived as sexually promiscuous as the punishment for transgressions’.”¹²³ That is, the modesty and respectability of women are to be managed through a series of gendered spatial codes that govern the public and private realms.

It is obvious that class and social status serve as a crucial part of the complex system of rules regarding the moral conduct of women in public. Accordingly, for a respectable woman of her own class, being in the wrong place at the wrong time may transgress gender and class norms, and may also be dangerous. What is worth noting here is that the boundaries of transgression are also defined spatially, and are certainly not independent of time. It is clear that these boundaries are not fixed, as they are constantly challenged, contested and negotiated as the everyday practices of women transform and (re)define the contours of the public and private.

¹²¹ Janet L. Bauer, “Sexuality and the Moral “Construction” of Women in an Islamic Society” in *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (July, 1985), p. 123.

¹²² Anouk de Koning, “Gender, Public Space and Social Segregation in Cairo: Of Taxi Drivers, Prostitutes and Professional Women” in *Antipode* Vol. 41, No. 3, 2009, pp 533–556.

¹²³ Rachel Newcomb, “Gendering the city, gendering the nation: Contesting urban space in Fes, Morocco.” in *City and Society* 18, No. 2 (2006), p. 297.

Moreover, they are not always necessarily visible or concrete, in that most of the time, women have to deal with invisible-yet-impenetrable boundaries when accessing and experiencing public spaces. These operate, in particular, by invoking social and psychological control mechanisms in conjunction with the notions of respectability and female modesty. Nevertheless, women's lives are "a constant transitioning across boundaries;"¹²⁴ and they enter and move through public spaces for different reasons in their daily life by contesting or manipulating the gendered divisions and definitions imposed upon them. They connect continuously the private and public aspects of their lives "creating new or alternative spaces that transcend boundaries, visible and invisible".¹²⁵ Thus, focusing on everyday practices will lead to an understanding of how women (re)define and (re)appropriate public spaces using the fluid and porous boundaries as a site of resistance.

II.4. Women's Place in the Public Realm: Never-ending Paradox of Turkish Modernity

Turkey presents an exceptional case among the countries of the Middle East, in that it addressed the issue of women's rights very early and expressively within its national project. Women's issues first became a question of debate in the Tanzimat period (1839–1876) when a reform policy was initiated by the Ottoman Empire under European influence. Within this early phase of the modernization process, the education of women and the improvement of their status in society were regarded as one of the essentials of the modernization and Westernization of the Empire, and the issues of women started to be a common topic of discussion among a number of reformists and writers.¹²⁶ Within the more liberal political

¹²⁴ Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, Visions Urban Life* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000): p. 7.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Şehmus Güzel, "Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Toplumsal Değişim ve Kadın," in *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985); Şirin Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Yoplumsal Hayat* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982); Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State: political Actors or Symbolic pawns?" in *Women-nation-state* ed. by N. Yuval-Davis and F. Antnias (London: Macmillan, 1989):

atmosphere, this process led to the rise of the Ottoman women's movement that used women's journals, magazines, conferences and demonstrations to appeal for rights in education, work and political life.¹²⁷ In this way, they sought to enter the public sphere, and this struggle continued for many years until the foundation of the Turkish Republic, and even into the initial years of the new regime.¹²⁸

Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the founders launched a massive modernization project, with the explicit goal of bringing the nation to the level of contemporary civilization. Determined to take its place as an equal partner of the developed modern European countries, the new Republican ideology was imbued with nationalistic idealism and a strong urge for progress, which was to be accomplished by following a path of modernization. For this to happen, it was essential to break away from the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, for which a series of legal and social reforms were undertaken that saw Islamic norms and values changed to resemble more secular Western ones. Certainly, it was the changes that dealt with the equality and emancipation of women that were of particular importance in achieving this goal. Such reforms as the change of the alphabet from Arabic script to Latin, the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code, the abolition of polygamy, women's suffrage and a nationwide campaign for women's education paved the way for the emancipation of women from Islamic law and regulations. In addition to the legal regulations for the removal of the veil and the

pp. 126-49; Nükhet Sirman, "Turkish Feminism: A Short History" in *New Perspectives on Turkey* Vol. 3, No.1 (1989).

¹²⁷ For further information, see Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994); "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism" in *Aspasia* Vol.1, No.1 (2007): pp.61-83; Nükhet Sirman, op. cit. (1989).

¹²⁸ In later years, women became politically active during the war period; they organized meetings to protest the occupation of the country and they were involved in war efforts. In 1923, they founded the association of the Turkish Women's Association (Türk Kadınlar Birliği) as their demand for founding the first women's political party was rejected by the reason that they did not yet have political rights. The new Republican regime could not avoid the struggle of the women's movement, but during the implementation of the reforms, they did not seem to want their involvement in this process, and after a while the single party regime repressed the women's movement. In 1935, the government notified the Turkish Women's Association that there was no need for such organization anymore since the equality of sexes were accomplished in Turkey. As a result, the association was banned and some of the old feminist militants accepted to represent women in the parliament adopting the Kemalist ideology. See Şirin Tekeli, "Women in Turkish Politics" in *Women in Turkish Society* ed. by Nermin Abadan Unat (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981): pp. 293-310; Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Yopumsal Hayat* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982).

establishment of compulsory education for both boys and girls, women were permitted to vote in local elections in 1930 and in national elections in 1934, which was noticeably early for not only the Islamic world, but also for some European countries. These reforms served as a means of giving women public visibility at an institutional level to a significant degree, but what was more important was that they signified the most salient symbols of modernity, which were crucial in the construction of the image of the new nation state. It is believed that the reforms made in the name of the emancipation of women would give the new Republic a more modern and Western outlook in the eye of the international audience. In short, serving as evidence of a radical break from its Islamic Ottoman past, the modernization of women came to mean, in a sense, the modernization of the nation.

Many feminist scholars have discussed the function of the Republican reforms for women, highlighting their link with nationalistic goals and projects.¹²⁹ They argued that the reforms were not aimed at the emancipation of women in the real sense of the word, as the ultimate objective was rather to achieve the development of the newly founded nation-state. In fact, as Keyder (2005) points out, “Turkish nationalism was excessively instrumental, both as it was employed for social control, and for purposes of mobilization towards modernization”;¹³⁰ and it was in the field of women’s rights that this instrumentality was most evident. That is, the reforms with respect to the emancipation of women were instrumental in the process of modernization and Westernization of Turkey. In her feminist critique of Turkish modernization, Tekeli (1981) suggests that the founders of the new regime were intelligent in their timing of the recognition of women’s political rights, in a number of ways. On the one hand, women’s rights played a strategic role in the

¹²⁹ Şirin Tekeli, “Women in Turkish Politics” in *Women in Turkish Society* ed. by Nermin Abadan Unat (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981): pp. 293-310; Deniz Kandiyoti, “Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case” in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, (Summer, 1987), pp. 317-338; Yeşim Arat, *The Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey* (USA: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989); Zehra Arat, “Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition” in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East* ed. by Fatma Müge Göçek and Shira Balaghi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Ayşe Durakbaşa, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve ‘Münevver Erkekler’” in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler* ed. by Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzalıoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998): pp. 29-51.

¹³⁰ Çağlar Keyder, “A History and Geography of Turkish Nationalism” in *Citizenship and Nation-State in Greece and Turkey* ed. by Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (London and New York: Routledge, 2005): p. 12.

struggle against the political and ideological structures of the Ottoman state, while on the other, they served as proof of the democratization of the Turkish Republic.¹³¹ In short, the women's rights issue had symbolic value, serving to advertise the fact that the Turkey had a democratic regime and was ready to take its place among other Western democratic nations.

Although the Republican reforms were undertaken for the sake of national development, they nevertheless had a progressive impact on the status and rights of women, especially with respect to their education and employment. That said, it is worth mentioning that there were certain limitations to the legal rights given women with the Civil Code, reflecting the logic of the gender ideology of the Republican regime. While several articles in the Civil Code helped to improve the status of women in the family and marriage, the Civil Code, failed to provide for full equality between the sexes, in that it included several other articles and clauses that give a priority to men.¹³² The husband was defined as the head and representative of the marriage union, and was deemed the main provider, being responsible for all economic decisions related to the family, and deciding upon the place of residence. On the other hand, the wife was deemed responsible for taking care of the house and children, and was required to take the husband's surname after marriage. In addition, she had no legal right to work without the consent of the husband. These articles favoring the husband were important in the sense that they reflected the nationalist approach towards women; and combined together, they served to preserve the traditional gender norms that promoted the husband's superiority and the subordination of women. They created a legal framework that sustained the sexual division of labor, gender hierarchy and most importantly, the dependence of women on men in both economic and social terms.¹³³ In this regard, the Republican reforms did not lead to the dissolution of the power base of the

¹³¹ Tekeli, op. cit., pp. 298-299.

¹³² Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat, "Where to look for the truth: memory and interpretation in assessing the impact of Turkish women's education" in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2003), p. 58.

¹³³ Ibid.

patriarchal structure that pervaded into the public and private spaces. Instead, what they did was to create “a new patriarchy” that defined women in terms of national goals and bounded them “a new, and yet entirely legitimate, subordination.”¹³⁴

The new patriarchal order adopted by the Republican regime aimed to define social and moral boundaries for placing women in a modernizing society. This gave rise to the creation of “the new Turkish woman”, whose social identity was based on the honor of devotion to national duty. The new woman was to be modern, but she would also be expected to represent the authentic cultural values of the national tradition. It was intended to define the limits as “to what degree the women could be 'modernized' while 'traditional womanhood' was scrutinized.”¹³⁵ The new woman was not to be over-modernized, especially in the sense of becoming excessively Westernized, but should be honorable and virtuous, adhering to cultural traditions. This opposition between the traditional and modern lay at the core of the construction of the ideal Republican woman.¹³⁶ The controversial construction of a woman’s identity was certainly not unique to Turkey, having been a specific experience of gender in the nation building processes of a number of non-Western societies. This was particularly apparent and peculiar in post-colonial societies, where the identity of women was constructed to be modern, but distinct from the West in the face of the sovereignty of the colonial power. In his pioneering works, Chattarjee (1989, 1993) reveals how the woman and family, serving as a symbol of cultural authenticity, became crucial for the nationalist discourse in India, as the public space was occupied by a foreign state.¹³⁷ In a similar way, the role of

¹³⁴ Partha Chattarjee, “Colonialism , Nationalism , and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India” in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Nov., 1989), p. 629.

¹³⁵ Ayşe Durakbaşa and Aynur İlyasoğlu, “Formation of Gender Identities in Republican Turkey and Women's Narratives as Transmitters of 'Herstory' of Modernization” in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Autumn 2001): p. 196.

¹³⁶ Simten Coşar, “Women in Turkish Political Thought: between Tradition and Modernity” in *Feminist Review*, Vol. 86 (2001), pp. 123-28.

¹³⁷ Chattarjee, op. cit. (1989); “The Nationalist Resolution of the Women’s Question” in *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* ed. by Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990): pp. 233-253; *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

women and the family was also central to the Turkish national modernity project. However, as Sirman (2002) rightfully emphasizes, the construction of womanhood was distinguished from the Indian example in the sense that the new Turkish women did not own intrinsically purity or cleanliness in and of themselves.¹³⁸ What was bestowed upon women through the nationalist discourse was the ability to find her proper place and fulfill her duty in society through her rationality. That meant that women could be educated, enlightened and reasonably modern as mothers not only of the family, but also the nation. The attributes ascribed to women, such as chastity and caring, would be purposeful only if they were acquired as a result of the development of the women's identity through modernization.¹³⁹ The distinction in question is related mainly to the fact that the modern Western type of family was adopted as an important component of the Turkish national modernization; and unlike in the Indian case, as suggested by Chattarjee, the realm of family in Turkey did not represent a cultural authenticity and distinctiveness by excluding Western values and modes of thought.¹⁴⁰ That is, modernization efforts were pursued by the Turkish Republic in every field of society, infusing into both the public and private realms, and significantly, this led to the controversial construction of the woman's identity, along with dual gender references, as will be demonstrated below.

A critical study on the interrelationship between women and public space certainly requires a historical understanding of the public-private dichotomy that has been

¹³⁸ Nükhet Sirman, "Kadınların Milliyeti" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Milliyetçilik* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), pp. 242-243.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 242.

¹⁴⁰ Unlike the post-colonial states, Turkey adopted Western modernization in all aspects of the society. Particularly, in urban life, there appeared an excessive adoption of the Western norms and values in both domestic and public realms. Certainly, this does not mean a through replacement of traditional norms and practices with the new ones; they rather became mingled

In everyday life and resulted in a hybrid form of living culture which contains the conflicts between traditional and modern values and lifestyle. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Western type of domestic and public life was celebrated to a great extent and Western manners were adopted by the Republican reformers and urban elite excessively and mostly superficially. In his study of Turkish modernization, Serif Mardin describes this situation as "super or over-westernization." Şerif Mardin, "Super-Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* ed. by Benedict Peter, Erol Tümertekin and Fatma Mansur (Leiden: Brill, 1974): 403- 446. For also the discussion of modernization and cultural authenticity from gender perspective, see Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.), *Women, Islam, and the State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), "Feminist longings and postcolonial conditions" in *Remaking women: Feminism and modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998): pp. 1-31.

constructed according to the categories of gender. In order to understand the experiences of women in the public space in the Turkish context, it is essential to look into the organization of the public and the private realms in accordance with the needs of the Kemalist gender regime. As demonstrated by many studies, the increasing access of women into public realm was considered to be an indicator of the success of the Turkish modernization project. The public image of the modern Turkish woman as an educated professional became one of the most visible symbols of modern Turkey; however, this was only one aspect of the identity of women promoted by the Republican regime, as at the same time, the new woman was identified with the traditional notions of domesticity and femininity. In other words, even though women were encouraged to enter public space through education and professional employment, they were nevertheless associated mainly with the tasks of nurturing and reproduction, that is, the main components of the private realm. This controversial image of the ideal Turkish woman was central to the gender politics implemented with the Kemalist project, but what seems to be paradoxical at first sight, was in fact inherent to the Republican vision of ideal womanhood, and was covered powerfully under the masculine discourse of nationalism.¹⁴¹ What is of interest here is that this paradox actually served as a constitutive element in the complex operations of the separate spheres of ideology that defined the boundaries of the public and private for women. The spatial organization of the nation and the construction of gender identities were realized simultaneously and complementarily, and therefore “the public space of nationhood, the privacy of the house and the feminine figure intertwined” in the creation of a new modern nation.¹⁴²

The dualistic construction of woman’s identity expresses the social and moral norms in the positing of women in the public and private spaces. The proper place and role of women within both domains needed to be defined to permit the regulation of the acceptable codes of public and private behavior. Accordingly,

¹⁴¹ Gülsüm Baydar, “Tenuous boundaries: women, domesticity and nationhood in 1930s Turkey” in the *Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 7, Issue 3 (2002), p. 237.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

women were expected to be virtuous housewives and enlightened mothers in the private space, but masculinized social actors in the public space.¹⁴³ The domestic definition of the female role was, in fact, a relatively easy task, since women were believed to be natural homemakers, and their primary role was mothering. The Republican regime did not problematize or question these traditional gender roles, but preferred rather to give them a modern outlook, which could be accomplished through the education of women in this field. Education then was meant to instill in women the new social forms of domestic and family life, such as cleanliness, thrift, orderliness and hygiene, so as to create enlightened, professionally trained housewives. However, the public constitution of women's identities was a more troublesome question, requiring a set of social virtues and moral principles. This was mainly related to the fact that the feminine figure had always signified the disorderly element, and so her boundaries need to be carefully delineated in order not to pose any threat. As women are primarily perceived and defined in terms of their sexuality, their presence in the public space that had previously been confined to men began to serve as the source of anxiety and fear. As such, to take their place in the public space, women need to be domesticated according to national and moral values that kept their sexuality under control. For this purpose, the Republican reformers "fixed the boundaries of social change at both personal and public levels" by employing various rules and regulations related to the behavior and appearance of women in public.¹⁴⁴ Thus, the emancipation of women in the Turkish national project would be realized to the extent that their presence in the public space was as de-gendering subjects, absent of their female sexuality.

It is important to note here that these two seemingly different roles of the new woman defined by the nationalist discourse were in fact different sides of the same coin. They together constituted the gender regime of the Kemalist project of modernity, reflecting a double subordination of the ideal republican woman

¹⁴³ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliđinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar" in *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar* ed. by Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995).

¹⁴⁴ Ayşe Saktanber, *Living Islam: Women, Religion and the Politicization of Culture in Turkey* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002): p. 125.

through the ideology of domesticity. First, her feminine sexuality was defined within the limits of motherhood and wifedom, and she was domesticated by locating her in the modern house. In her illuminating work examining the association of the images of the modern house with the modern, secular women of the early Republican era, Gülsüm Baydar (2008) provides a critical analysis of how the modern house traps and domesticates the feminine element, arguing that “the house is the space of domestication of her modernity.”¹⁴⁵ Although the dualistic construction of the new woman occupies a central place in her analysis, Baydar does not mention the domestication of women in public space. Her account of the ideology of domesticity is limited to the private space, which is in line with the prevailing tendency in this field of study owing to the historical inseparability of the domesticity and the domestic realm. That said, the power of the ideology of domesticity penetrates all spheres of social life, including both private and public spaces, and most importantly, as contemporary feminist scholar Sue Best (1995) suggests, the association of space with the feminine generates “the pacification, domestication and containment of both woman and space.”¹⁴⁶ When a woman enters the public space, she is regarded as having left the domestic realm where she supposedly belongs. This is intimately connected to her sexuality, and her being outside the domestic order implies that her sexuality is out of control and needs to be domesticated. As Baydar emphasizes, the modern house served as a place where a woman’s sexuality was bounded and legitimized.¹⁴⁷ When considering this in terms of the public space, it can be argued that a woman’s undomesticated sexuality would have to be regulated by either defining her in terms of familial roles, such as mother or wife, or downgrading her femininity and rendering the female body almost asexual. In short, the domestication of the feminine figure constituted the principle basis of the relationship between the new Turkish woman

¹⁴⁵ Gülsüm Baydar, “Room for a Newlywed Woman Making Sense of Gender in the Architectural Discourse of Early Republican Turkey” in *Journal of Architectural Education*, 60.3 (2007), p.8.

¹⁴⁶ Sue Best, “Sexualizing Space” in *Sexy Bodies: The Strange Carnalities of Feminism* ed. by Elizabeth Grosz and Elspeth Probyn (New York: Routledge, 1995): p. 190.

¹⁴⁷ Baydar, op. cit. (2007), p. 4.

and the public space, and was covered by the Republican reforms, which provided women with the institutional means of participating in public life.

It is certain that what was at issue was not merely the definition of women and femininity, but rather the overall construction of gender relations and identities, and the role of creating national subjects within this was a dominating issue. I would, therefore, suggest that the complicated relationship between the new modern woman, public space and the ideology of domesticity can best be understood within the framework of the national identity formation. The transition from a monarchy to the republic necessarily brought about the creation of rational subjects in a national society. Within the project of modernization, however, as Saktanber points out, a new public space was to be established requiring “the transformation of men’s social functions and identities as well, so that they might become citizens of the new Turkish society.”¹⁴⁸ As the main target of the Turkish national project was the male population, the inclusion of women in the notion of citizenship necessitated special arrangements. This process of transformation defined “the limits of the women's movement, along with the identities that would be available to women.”¹⁴⁹ Women’s citizenship, in the context of state-building, was mainly associated with social and moral qualities. In particular, as Kandiyoti (1998) argues, there was “a persistent anxiety over sexual morality lodged itself at the heart of the ‘modern’ woman.”¹⁵⁰ The creation of national gender identities necessarily involved the articulation of new images of masculinity and femininity, and was required to create “a non-threatening public image for women” that did not transgress the precarious boundaries of the existing social order.¹⁵¹ In many of Mustafa Kemal’s speeches, the image of the modern Turkish woman was promoted in the frame of national moral values, giving particular emphasis to virtue and

¹⁴⁸ Saktanber, op. cit., p. 123.

¹⁴⁹ Ayşe Parla, “The “Honor” of the State: Virginité Examinations in Turkey” in *Feminist Studies* 27, No.1 (Spring 2001), p. 72.

¹⁵⁰ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Some Awkward Questions on Women and Modernity in Turkey” in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* ed. by Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998): p. 282.

¹⁵¹ Durakbaşı, op. cit. (1998), p. 44.

chastity. The founder and father of the nation defined vigilantly the essential characteristics of a proper woman of the Republic: “The Turkish woman ought to be the most enlightened, most virtuous and most self-controlled woman in the world ... She who is the source of the nation and the basis of social life can carry out her duty only if she is virtuous.”¹⁵² Accordingly, women appeared as self-sacrificing patriots and were expected to accept gloriously their own domestication by controlling their desires and remaining virtuous. What is revealing here is that the women’s virtue served as a means of expressing good citizenship, denying the female sexuality. This new virtue, promoted by the republican male elite, led to corporate control of the woman’s body, constraining and regulating their movement and access to the public space.

Much has been written on the role of men as the main social actors in the Turkish national modernization process. It is argued that the national identity transformation was realized, by and large, by the guidance of modernizing male reformers, maintaining gender hierarchies in the national discourse. Of critical relevance in the present context is that the gender ideology of the new regime was realized “within boundaries set in terms of manhood, whereby men constituted the primary public model for both men and women.”¹⁵³ Thus, the national identity transformation process was realized primarily by men, and for the benefit mainly of men. The male Republican elite defined the modern norms and manners of the newly emerging public life and the modes of participation by men and women alike. As a result, the new public space came to be constructed in accordance with men’s social identities and roles, and women were expected to adjust to this new social order. The contours of public space and public life were delineated within the framework of men’s acts and behaviors, and so women could become citizens of the new Turkish society only by following men, and it was this that made the public formation of the identity of women problematic. Within this scope of social change, regarded as a source of disorder and social threat, women were “allowed to

¹⁵² Speech given on 14 October 1925, at Women’s School of Education in İzmir. Quoted in Baydar, *op. cit.* (2002), p. 237.

¹⁵³ Saktanber, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

have a public face only after being re-formed by men.”¹⁵⁴ The exclusion women from the formation of a national public space in this way served to assure men that women would remain dependent on them, and that they would remain as the main actors in defining and shaping their relationship with public space.

The process in the formation of the Turkish national identity necessitated the organization of public life and the reshaping of private life according to the Western model of modernization. Establishing and shaping public space in accordance with the needs of the new regime played a particularly critical role in this process. The newly emerging public spaces and constructions in the urban areas served as the most effective way of creating and disseminating the national culture. Not only state institutions, schools and workplaces but also new formal squares, municipal parks, public gardens, opera and concert halls gained popularity as places for modern and secular activities. Ankara in particular, as the new capital of the new Republic, had a special role in the emergence of a national modern public culture, being at the center of the reforms of the Kemalist regime. Symbolizing the independence of the new Republic, Ankara served to disassociate the new Republic from its imperial and backward past, which was embodied in the city of Istanbul. This rupture would be accomplished through the creation of a modern and planned city and the emergence of a new urban lifestyle. With its educational institutions, a number of parks and areas for public recreation, Ankara constituted the first and most prominent example of the newly created public life and the ideal public citizen in Turkish cities.¹⁵⁵ The presence of women in these urban public places symbolized the existence of a modern public culture, and in Bozdoğan’s (2001) words, it was in itself “a celebrated theme, ‘a gendering of the modern’, underscoring the Kemalists’ pride in having liberated Turkish women from the oppressive seclusion of tradition.”¹⁵⁶ Images of modern Western-looking women in newly emerging public spaces such as parks, sporting events, fairs and

¹⁵⁴ Baydar, op. cit. (2002), p. 237.

¹⁵⁵ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent’in İmarı: Ankara 1929-39* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993).

¹⁵⁶ Bozdoğan, op. cit., p. 79.

national holidays in Ankara were deployed as testimony of the success of the new Republic in liberating Turkish women. It can thus be said that in the early Republican era, modern Ankara and modern women were connected in constructing the image of the new nation state, both being associated with “the qualities of beauty, youth, health and progress” that were idealized by the Kemalist regime, and “repeatedly juxtaposed with their older counterparts.”¹⁵⁷

These new public spaces served as the sites in which men and women could come together in modern forms of dress to socialize and be entertained. They were host to the new social occasions at which men and women could engage in and improve their new identities, and learn how to behave in a “civilized” manner in public. In this sense, it would be no exaggeration to say that the urban public spaces built mostly in the late 1930s served as “a school for socializing the people into modern citizens.”¹⁵⁸ In particular, the social mixing of the sexes and the presence of women in these public places were of critical importance, requiring new modalities and practices that depended largely on the management of social distance. Yet, given that public space was defined in terms of manhood, modern women were obliged to step into a male-defined public world where heterosocial interaction was restricted, which, argues Kandiyoti (1998), produced “unprecedented problems of identity management for women who had to devise new sets of signals and codes in order to function in the public realm without compromising their respectability”.¹⁵⁹ As a result, they had to be very careful in their behavior and appearance so as not to be accused of being seductive. Managing new social relationships with men generally required the repression of sexuality and an adjustment of the degree of social distance; and as women were supposed to preserve the norms of female virtue “the responsibility of proper social conduct” fell on shoulders of the women rather than

¹⁵⁷ Bozdoğan, op. cit., p. 80.

¹⁵⁸ Zeynep Uludağ, Uludağ, Zeynep, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde Rekreasyon ve Gençlik Parkı Örneği” in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* ed. by Yıldız Sey (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998): pp. 65-74. See also Elif Mahir, “Etiquette Rules in the Early Republican Period” in *Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol. 3 (2005), pp. 15-31.

¹⁵⁹ Kandiyoti, op. cit. (1998), pp. 282-283.

the men.¹⁶⁰ That is, what made a woman virtuous was to know how to behave and, most importantly, how to control oneself. Equally important, a woman's dress and bodily appearance in public was regarded as a sign of female virtue and respectability. Since unveiling appeared as an imperative of the formation of a modern public culture, this issue necessarily became a critical topic of discussion. With the secular reforms, women were no longer veiled, but were nevertheless expected to dress modestly while participating in public life. A woman in a revealing dress was as inappropriate as those who covered their entire bodies, since she was seen as a sign of corruption and degeneracy. As Kandiyoti puts it, "the fact that women were no longer secluded or veiled might have mandated new forms of puritanism that could be activated as a symbolic shield in a society where femininity was, by and large, incompatible with a public presence."¹⁶¹ As such, the public appearance of women as part of the modern outlook went hand in hand with limitations on femininity in dress and bodily practice. This was, in fact, an expression of the nationalist discourse defining the ideal Turkish woman as modern but virtuous. Accordingly, it can be argued that the presence of women in public is deeply inscribed with gendered and sexualized identifications, and this made women's relationship with the public space troublesome and controversial.

¹⁶⁰ Durakbasa and İlyasoğlu, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁶¹ Kandiyoti, *op. cit.* (1998), p. 283.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND THE STORY OF THE FIELDWORK

III.1. Setting the Field: Three Traditional Middle Class Neighborhoods of Ankara

In this thesis, I conduct a qualitative research to understand how women living in three old traditional middle-class neighborhoods in Ankara use and experience urban public spaces. For this purpose, empirical data was collected from the *Cebeci*, *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı* neighborhoods between August 2008 and December 2009. The research design was developed following preliminary investigations that included a literature review, observations and pilot interviews. In particular, the pilot interviews that I conducted in certain neighborhoods of the city with similar characteristics to those in my case study areas¹⁶² had a decisive role in the determination of the sampling and the choice of areas for the fieldwork. The selection of the *Cebeci*, *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı* neighborhoods for the main qualitative research was based on the fact that while they have several characteristics in common, their differences would serve to provide complementary information. These three selected neighborhoods are examples of relatively old residential areas in Ankara, reflecting, in a certain sense, the characteristics of the social history of the formation of urban space and culture from the 1950s to the present. To this day they are still mostly residential areas, containing mostly apartments for middle income groups, and have maintained, more or less, their traditional neighborhood features, despite some significant changes in their spatial and social structures. Besides being traditional middle-class areas of the city, their physical proximity to the city centers and the fact that they have maintained their neighborhood characteristics were also decisive in their selection for this research. I

¹⁶² The pilot interviews were conducted also with women living in neighborhoods other than the selected three, such as *Bahçelievler* and *Emek*, which can be considered as middle and upper-middle class housing areas that developed in more or less the same time period. These neighborhoods were deemed inappropriate for the research due to their relative remoteness from the city center, or their lack of common characteristics with the selected neighborhoods in terms of their ways of living and social behavior patterns, as well as the establishment type of the neighborhoods.

would also like to add that, not being a local resident of Ankara, my familiarity with these particular places was also influential. I came to Ankara for higher education and have been living in the city since then. In the earlier years of my stay in Ankara I had a chance to live in both *Cebeci* and *Aşağı Ayrancı*, and I lived in *Küçükesat* for more than two years during my fieldwork. I believe that this experience was very helpful in conducting the fieldwork, providing me with significant insights into the dynamics of these living environments and their socio-spatial characteristics.

While conducting the fieldwork I attempted to interview women who are still inhabitants of the neighborhoods, however as my interviewees were of different generations and were often mother-daughter groups, some of the women interviewed, especially the second-generation women, have moved towards the new residential areas that have been established surrounding the city. Within the scope of the research, I interviewed twenty-seven women: eight from *Cebeci*, seven from *Küçükesat* and eleven from *Aşağı Ayrancı* (See Appendix A, Table 1, and Table 2). It is important to note that some of the interviewees had lived in more than one neighborhood within the selected areas, having moved from one to the other in parallel to the development of urban space in a southerly direction, as I shall discuss in detail below. In this regard, out of a total of twenty-seven interviewees, ten women had lived for at least a few years in *Cebeci* and *Küçükesat*, and twelve women in *Aşağı Ayrancı*. It should also be mentioned that there were some limitations in the spatial designation of the work. The initial plan was to interview equal numbers of women from each neighborhood; however the empirical research was made largely in *Küçükesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı*. Since I had difficulties in finding interviewees currently living in *Cebeci*, I had a relatively less interaction with this neighborhood.¹⁶³ This is related also to the fact that *Küçükesat*

¹⁶³ The difficulties encountered in the field were not related exclusively to finding interviewees who lived in the selected areas, as other criteria also created problems. These included finding interviewees within the age range for determining the generational units and the place of birth, that is, the condition of being a native of Ankara or, at least, living in the city from an early age. Since Ankara is largely populated by migrants from rural areas and other provinces, finding women who were both natives of Ankara and also living in the selected neighborhoods was one of the most compelling aspects of the fieldwork.

was my home for more than two years during the fieldwork, and similarly, it was an advantage that I had friends living in *Aşağı Ayrancı*. I had the opportunity to make more observations and gather data on these two neighborhoods, as it became a part of my daily routines. Nevertheless, while conducting the fieldwork in *Cebeci*, I tried to develop alternative ways to participate in its daily life. In this sense, my field experience in this area had its own peculiarities. Some of the interviewees with whom I developed a close relationship were very helpful in this process. Following the in-depth interviews, they offered to accompany me on short walks in the neighborhood and its surroundings. Such experiences enabled me to observe and explore the social life of the neighborhood, and also to garner some observational information about the interaction of the informants with their environment.

As I stated at the outset, the most prominent characteristic common to the three selected areas is that they are old traditional middle-class neighborhoods in Ankara. Even though their socio-spatial structure has undergone noticeable change and taken a rather more heterogeneous character in parallel with the development of the city, each of them, at the time of the field studies, had still retained, more or less, their traditional neighborhood features, although each with its own peculiarity. It is important to note that during the time period being examined— that is, from the 1950s to the 1980s – all three districts were among the favored middle-class neighborhoods in the city.¹⁶⁴ Among the selected neighborhoods, *Cebeci* is the oldest, having been developed during the mid-1930s as part of the construction of the new capital city, whereas *Küçükesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı* started to flourish after the 1950s, one after the other in two successive decades.¹⁶⁵ It can be said that

¹⁶⁴ In the empirical research conducted in 1969–70, both *Cebeci* and *Küçükesat* were classified as middle class neighborhoods considering the level of income, monthly rents, the rate of home ownership, professions and level of education. *Ayrancı* was not included in the same group, as the survey was only conducted in the squatter area of the neighborhood, however it was argued that *Ayrancı* had similar characteristics though it was not seen in the results because of the reason in question. See Tuğrul Akçura, *Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1971): pp. 97-106.

¹⁶⁵ For the development of urban space in Ankara, see Özcan Altaban “Ankara’da Kentsel Alanın Doğal Çevrede Yayılımı (1923-1985)” in *Ankara 1985’ten 2015’e* ed. by METU City and Regional Planning Study Group (Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi EGO Genel Müd., 1987): pp. 126-149.

people's interest and orientation towards the district of *Aşağı Ayrancı* increased during the 1970s, which is also apparent in the narratives of the women interviewed when discussing their choice of location for residency and their mobility patterns in the city. At this point, it would be beneficial to explain briefly urban development and the formation of the socio-spatial structure of Ankara in order to show how the neighborhoods in question established along with the emergence of the city centers. This would provide a general framework for setting the field, as the location of the neighborhoods in relation to the city centers is one of the main selection criteria in the research.

In the first years of the Republic, the historical part of Ankara, that is, the Citadel and *Ulus*, became the city center of the new capital in parallel to the construction of the major buildings of the central state and its governmental functions, including the Parliament. Within a short time, *Ulus* turned into a focal point of new socio-economic and political developments, and by the 1930s it had become the most popular and prestigious part of Ankara with the arrival of common shopping areas, public parks, squares and new housing areas.¹⁶⁶ Besides local landowners and tradesmen, it became increasingly populated by the cabinet members, high level civil servants and military officials who had migrated to the city after the foundation of the Republic. Therefore, as a rapidly changing and modernizing area, it attracted people as a new place for settlement, and new neighborhoods flourished in the extended surroundings of the Citadel and *Ulus* to the north of the city. It is significant that the large majority of the first generation of women interviewed had first lived in *Ulus* or its surrounding areas, however during this period, other parts of Ankara had not yet developed, and the city was suffering from a lack of housing stock to a serious degree. One of the women interviewed from the first generation, Uğur (1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*), stated: “We were living in Bentderesi, *Yeni Hayat Mahallesi*, but there was only *Hisarınaltı* and also *Hamamönü* and *Hacıbayram*. There wasn't anywhere else. Those who had residences in *Keçiören* used to stay at their vineyard houses in the summers”.

¹⁶⁶ For the emergence of *Ulus* Square as a public space in the early republican Ankara, see İnci Yalım, “Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı. Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çalışması” in *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri* ed. by Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim yayınları, 2002).

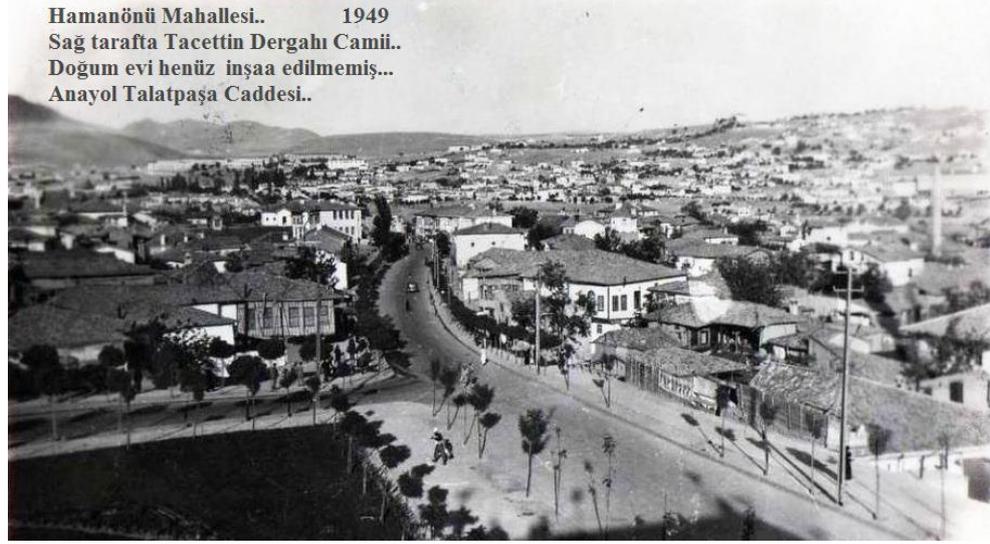


Photo 1: Hamamönü District, 1949¹⁶⁷

Along with the development of the old city area, new neighborhoods started to appear spontaneously in the vicinity. As a result, the traditional fabric around the Citadel began to extend out to the west, and once the slopes of the castle had become too populated, housing areas began to emerge in the district of *Cebeci*, following the route of the railroad (See Photo 2).¹⁶⁸ At that time, the area extending to the eastern edges of the city was mostly open pasture and farm lands, populated mostly by the local residents of Ankara. One of the women interviewed, who was in her eighties and had grown up on a homestead surrounded by an extensive garden, stated that her family was almost the only family who were not native, but had come from Istanbul. She described where she lived as very beautiful but lacking in infrastructure, lacking proper roads, shops or a market:

¹⁶⁷ Unless otherwise noted, the credit line for the photos except those belonging to the interviewees should be “Photos of Old Ankara” and “Ankara Ankara” facebook group pages.

¹⁶⁸ *Yurt Ansiklopedisi, Türkiye İl İl Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını*, “Adana-Ankara,” Cilt 1 (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1981): p. 638. See also Suavi Aydın and et.al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 2005): p. 402.

“My (*elementary*) school was far away (*in Hamamönü*), and we used to walk all that way from our home, which was in *Cebeci*. We didn’t have a car, so my dad would take me to school; we would walk there together, and then he would head to the office. (...) He would walk and open a pathway through the crop-fields up to the road, behind him walked my sister, and I followed her. That’s how we used to do it.” (Şükran 1929, *Cebeci*)¹⁶⁹

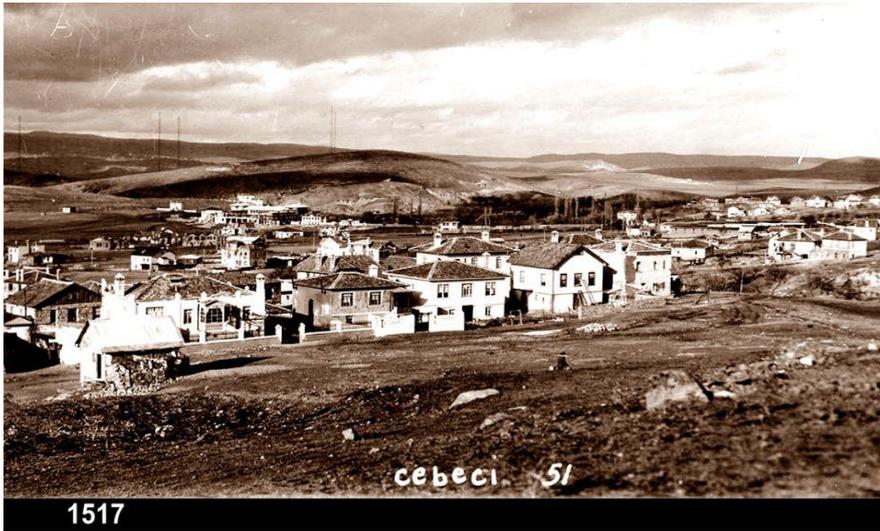


Photo 2: *Cebeci District, 1951*

However, this area, where traditional living patterns had survived, developed rapidly. The old Ankara houses were gradually replaced with two-story apartment houses, and new residential buildings and state facilities, hospitals, higher education institutions, the state conservatoire and other social buildings sprang up. Hence, between 1935–1950, *Cebeci* and the nearby district of *Kurtuluş*, located on the eastern extension of the city, came to be regarded as among the few prestigious neighborhoods. This was not to last, as with the growth of the city towards the south and also the emergence of squatter housing areas thereabouts after the fifties, *Cebeci* took on a more heterogeneous structure and started to lose its prestigious status, gradually coming to represent the middle and lower-middle income groups in the following decades (See Photo 3). According to a research conducted in 1969–70, the education level in *Cebeci* was significantly high, and thirty percent of the population worked as high level civil servants, public officials, specialized

¹⁶⁹ The real names of the interviewees have not been used in this study. The names were changed with similar pseudonyms by taking into account commonly used names of their own generations.

technical staff or were self-employed.¹⁷⁰ At the same time, a noticeable tendency was observed among the high-income groups in the neighborhood to move to new prestigious districts like *Yenişehir*, *Bahçelievler* and *Çankaya* in parallel to the development of new housing areas in southern direction away from the old city.¹⁷¹ Similarly, among the interviewees in the research were women who had moved from *Cebeci* to *Yenişehir*, *Ayrancı*, and *Küçükesat*. Today, with its mixture of middle and lower-middle classes, *Cebeci* is still maintaining its importance as an urban area owing to its proximity to the city centers, universities, hospitals and state institutions in the surrounding area.



Photo 3: Cebeci District/ Keskin Street, 1969



Photo 4: Yenişehir district, 1953

During the 1950s, housing for the middle-income groups began to develop around the new business center of *Yenişehir* to the west, but more intensely to the south (See Photo 4). As a result, the income groups with relatively high purchasing power began to concentrate in the southern part of the city, and *Kızılay* emerged as a new commercial center, oriented to the demands of this segment of society. Most of the commercial functions moved to the south, and being a backbone along the north–south axis, Ataturk Boulevard became home to the most prestigious shops,

¹⁷⁰ Tuğrul Akçura, op. cit., p. 102.

¹⁷¹ In the empirical research conducted in the old city of Ankara in 1970 it was indicated that about fifty percent of those who left old Ankara preferred the middle-class neighborhoods in the south of the city, in *Cebeci*, *Bahçelievler*, *Küçükesat*, *Yenimahalle*, *Maltepe*, *Sıhhiye*, *Emek*, *Ayrancı* and *Kurtuluş*. The second most preferred districts were the lower-middle class (26.5 percent) neighborhoods, such as *Aydınlıkevler*, *Mamak*, *Etlük*, *Keçiören* and *Dışkapı*. See Ruşen Keleş, *Eski Ankara'da Bir Şehir Tipolojisi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1971): pp. 124-125.

various offices, hotels and the like. More importantly, the boulevard came to be lined with the new buildings of the ministries, embassies and state institutions, which was the central factor in the development of *Kızılay* district.¹⁷² Thus, while *Ulus*, as the old city center, maintained its significance, despite being gradually segregated from the newly developing parts of the city, *Kızılay* emerged as the new business district during the 1970s almost in the opposite direction to *Ulus* (See Appendix B, Map 2). The most significant outcome of this process in the formation of the urban spatial structure was that Ankara became a city with a dual character to a large extent¹⁷³ with two distinct central areas: a poor northern zone surrounding *Ulus*; and a rich southern zone surrounding *Kızılay*, reflecting the population's division into two different social classes.

This dual urban structure reveals a concomitant development of the social stratification of the city and the fabric of its neighborhood areas. Accordingly, the housing of lower income groups and also squatter housing, which appeared especially in the wake of the migration to Ankara after the 1950s, began to accumulate on the north side of the city, whereas the middle and upper-middle class settlements developed to the south, along with the district of *Çankaya*.¹⁷⁴ The survey conducted in 1970 by the Ankara Master Plan Office indicated that income levels increased towards the south in the direction of *Kızılay-Çankaya*, but decreased in the direction of *Kızılay-Cebeci*. Accordingly, of the three selected neighborhoods in this thesis, *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı*, being located around *Kızılay* in the south, were classified as middle-class districts with the second

¹⁷² Akçura, op. cit., p. 123.

¹⁷³ The number of business establishments in the *Ulus* and *Kızılay* districts as early as 1954 reveals that Ankara had already started to become a city with two centers. While the total number of business places in central *Ulus* was 3,651, or 64.5 percent of the total (24.5 percent in *Ulus*, Hal, Anafartalar), central *Kızılay* had 693 places of business, or 12.4 percent of the total in the city. By 1970 this proportion had changed in favor of *Kızılay* and the total number of business establishments increased to 5,465. Moreover, the land use for housing in central *Kızılay* was almost three times that of *Ulus*, and there were almost twice the number of cultural and entertainment facilities in *Kızılay* as there were in *Ulus*. See Raci Bademli, "Ankara Merkezi İş Alanının Gelişimi" in *Ankara 1985'ten 2015'e* (Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi EGO Genel Müd., 1987): pp. 154-58.

¹⁷⁴ For the distribution of housing areas based on level of income, see Ali Türel, "Ankara Kent Formunda Konut Alanlarının Gelir Gruplarına Göre Farklılaşması" in *Ankara 1985'ten 2015'e* (Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi EGO Genel Müd., 1987): pp. 163-70.

highest income level; and *Cebeci*, located on the eastern extension of the city, followed them, being in the category of the third highest levels of income.¹⁷⁵ This situation in a sense implies a socio-economic transformation in the urban structure, which may be thought of as expressing the signs of the spatial shift in neighborhood preferences. It is worthy of note, but of no surprise, that more than half of the population living in the old city during the 1970s sought to move to the prestigious or middle-class neighborhoods of Ankara.¹⁷⁶ One of the main reasons for this was their dissatisfaction with both their neighborhoods and their houses, which is also highly observable among the women interviewed in the thesis. One of the women from the first generation who moved from *Ulus* to *Ayrancı* in the early 1970s stated that:

“(Ayrancı) was just emerging. It was pretty secluded out there. Then, the *Ulus* district started to change for the worse. Well, things started to change; ... it was not as pleasant as before. The good old neighbors were no more; so it was not the same place anymore. I mean, it was so close to that place, Bentderesi, and it was declining (*morally*) around there and becoming very difficult for young people to live there. Life in *Ulus* was deteriorating, so we set out for this side (*of the city*). We moved (*here*).” (Sündüz 1948, *Ayrancı*)

Similarly, Uğur (1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) who lived in *Ulus* and then moved to *Yenimahalle* in the mid-1950s (and ended up in *Ayrancı*) mentioned the decreasing quality of the old city center:

“So we... when I had started to work in the government, my brother told my mom that we could not stay here anymore. He said, ‘The girls have grown up, so let’s lease the house and move to *Yenimahalle*.’ Of course there were other places too, but *Yenimahalle* was new and inhabited mostly by civil servants ... (...) How should I say, (*Ulus/Yeni hayat*) was not really a decent neighborhood. It lagged behind when compared to *Yenimahalle*. Also, honestly, you couldn’t compare those districts of the city.” (Uğur 1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

It can be understood that most of the women had moved from *Ulus* and its surroundings to new middle-class neighborhoods like *Cebeci*, *Kurtuluş*, *Küçükkesat*, *Aşağı Ayrancı* and *Yenimahalle*. Moreover, over the course of time they continued to move even further towards the south, that is, from *Cebeci* to *Küçükkesat* at first,

¹⁷⁵ Türel, op. cit, p. 164.

¹⁷⁶ Keleş, op. cit. , pp. 62-67.

and then to *Aşağı Ayrancı*; or sometimes directly from *Cebeci* to *Aşağı Ayrancı*, which was the case especially for the relatively well-off families. In this shift in the location of the neighborhoods it was the desire in the newer and more modern districts that was one of the major motivating factors. Most often, it was the father or husband (of the women interviewed) who played the most significant role in the decision of where to settle. For instance, one of the women interviewed from the first generation said that her father had decided to move from *Yenimahalle* to be closer to the district of *Bahçelievler* as it was more modern. Similarly, this motivation pattern appeared, also in the cases of families who moved from *Küçükkesat* to *Aşağı Ayrancı*. As mentioned above, different from the *Cebeci* district, *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı* started to develop after the 1950s, and it is mentioned by most of the old inhabitants that there were still vineyards in both these districts, even throughout the 1950s. In each neighborhood I found one woman to interview from the first generation who remembered the early times of these areas very clearly, having lived in *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı* respectively even before the 1950s. Hikmet, who is still living in *Küçükkesat* in the age of seventy told that:

“This used to be our vineyard anyway, so we built (*our house*) here after my grandma and grandpa passed away. (...) It was a vineyard and everyone around here knew each other back then. It was all kith and kin around here I mean, ... there weren't even many houses here back then, just one house for every 7-8 acres of vineyard.” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)



Photo 5: Küçükkesat Vineyards, 1938



Photo 6: Kavaklıdere Vineyards, 1935

She described that when her parents had moved from *Hamamönü* to *Küçükkesat* in the early 1960s, *Küçükkesat* was a very decent neighborhood where apartment buildings had not yet become popular, with the area instead comprising one or two-story villas and houses with beautiful gardens. In a similar way, *Aşağı Ayrancı* had been covered with vineyards and orchards, and even during the 1940s, according to a first-generation woman that had moved from *Ulus* to *Ayrancı* in those years, it still seemed like a village: “This (*Meneviş Street*) was central-*Ayrancı*, and we used to call the lower part ‘the Tatar quarter’, where the dairymen lived, well, of course with cows and whatnot. In the morning, mostly women would bring us milk in churns, in spotless churns.” As some of the women interviewed from the first generation said, the area had been used mainly during the summer in the 1930s, but then most of the natives of Ankara started to live there permanently. As *Ayrancı* developed relatively later than *Küçükkesat*, interviews with some of the first-generation women indicate there were still the remainings of vineyards in the area at the beginning of the 1970s. In the narratives of the women from the second generation, these had been replaced with vacant plots left between the apartments on which the neighborhood children used to play. This was common in both *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı*.



Photo 7: *Aşağı Ayrancı District*, 1962

Since these two neighborhoods had been established in very close proximity to the ministries and state institutions, they were inhabited to a high degree by public employees, high-ranking civil servants, military staff and also small traders and retailers, as well as prestigious shop owners. With a rather high-income population working in respected professions with a good level of education, *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrancı* were perceived as “decent” neighborhoods in Ankara during the 1970s. For instance, almost half of the people living in *Küçükkesat* had received higher education.¹⁷⁷ Being located in the southernmost part of the city along the Parliamentary Avenue and home to many foreign embassies, *Aşağı Ayrancı* was a relatively more prestigious neighborhood, populated by mostly middle and upper-middle income groups, including embassy employees. One of the second-generation women, Gülay, from *Aşağı Ayrancı* painted a vivid picture of where she grew up:

“Well, this is kind of an elite district. I mean, when I was a kid, I recall what my friends’ moms and dads did. For instance, I had friends whose dads worked at the embassy or whose moms worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I don’t know... some of the kids’ fathers were lawyers, judges or those sorts of people, I guess. Some were tradesmen; for instance the owner of Flamingo Pastry lived in the apartment next to ours; we liked them very much as neighbors; we still do. Well, most of the women were housewives; mine was not, I guess. Overall, it was a pre-eminent neighborhood.” (Gülay 1969, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Regardless of the income level, a moderate life-style still seemed to be prominent in the neighborhood owing to the large number of older middle-income inhabitants, university students and young academicians, professionals and artists. On the other hand, the upper parts of the neighborhood, known as *Yukarı Ayrancı* during this period, had a more heterogenous character, inhabited also by lower-class groups in squatter houses which have today become apartment buildings.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Akçura, op. cit., pp. 97-106.

¹⁷⁸ While conducting pilot interviews I also interviewed some women in *Yukarı Ayrancı* to see if it was possible to expand the field of research; however as the profile of the population seemed to be quite mixed, I decided not to include the upper parts of *Ayrancı* district. The women I interviewed came to Ankara from rural areas during the 1960s and the 1970s, and their husbands were generally self-employed tradesman. Their education level was significantly lower than the women in the other selected neighborhoods. It should be noted that there were also well off families whose cultural capital was noticeably high, as well as rich merchant families.

These selected neighborhoods, including *Cebeci*, were among those with the highest population density, and so the two-story houses were gradually replaced with four- or five-story apartment buildings from the mid-1950s onwards. In the central areas of the city, the construction of apartment-type housing for the middle and upper-middle income groups was accelerated as a result of the flat ownership law and new legislation that allowed for an increase in the number of floors. This led to a broad pull down and build process in Ankara.¹⁷⁹ It should be noted that all three selected neighborhoods in the study were licensed urban areas rather than housing estate cooperatives, which was a means of obtaining housing and establishing neighborhoods at that time in Ankara, as seen in the cases of *Bahçelievler*, *Yenimahalle*, the *Dikmen Yapı Kooperatifi* and *Subayevler*.¹⁸⁰ The neighborhoods in question here developed spontaneously, through either a family's purchase of land and construction of a house –which would have been replaced with an apartment through the agency of a contractor in the long term – or a group of people, usually from the same workplace, forming housing cooperatives to build an apartment block. Since among the old inhabitants there was a tendency to move towards the new residential areas that were springing up in the areas surrounding the city, such as *Ümitköy* and *Çayyolu*, there are a great number of new tenants who were university students, academicians and young professionals who preferred the central location of the neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the number of old inhabitants who have continued to live in these neighborhoods is still significant, and so the fabric of the neighborhood has not yet been disturbed.

¹⁷⁹ Deniz Altay and Asuman Türkün, "The Changing Patterns of Segregation and Exclusion: The Case of Ankara" in *Globalizing Cities: Inequality and Segregation in Developing Countries* ed. by Ranvinder S. Sandhu and Jasmeet Sandhu (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2007): p. 295. For further information, see Ali Türel "Ankara'da Konut Yapım Süreçleri" in *Ankara 1985'ten 2015'e* (Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi EGO Genel Müd., 1987): pp. 55-65.

¹⁸⁰ One of the solutions to deal with housing shortage in Ankara was cooperative initiatives. Almost half of the housing cooperatives established in Turkey between 1935-44 were in Ankara. Cooperatives initiatives were found to be concentrated around the *Bahçelievler* district during the forties. The housing cooperatives in Ankara significantly increased, and there were over two hundreds in the fifties. During this period, the adoption of the property ownership law was promoting becoming a homeowner through membership of a cooperative. Tansı Şenyapılı, *Ankara Kentinde Geçekondu Gelişimi (1923-1960)* (Ankara: Ankara Kent Koop., 1985). See also İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Bahçelievler'in Öyküsü* (Ankara: Ankara Kent-Koop. Yayınları, 1984).

III.2. Across Generations, Between Mothers and Daughters

Besides the spatial location, based primarily on the area of inhabitation of the participants, time location also played a decisive role in the designation of the field research. In this sense, the age of the interviewees served as another determining factor in the selection of the research subjects since the primary aim in the thesis was to engage with women from different generations. Within the scope of the field research, I made in-depth interviews with a total of twenty-seven women from two successive generations: seventeen from the first generation, who were born before 1950; nine women from the second generation, who were born after 1950. Moreover, the first generation was divided into two age groups: five women who were born before 1930 and twelve women who were born after 1930. Thus, the entire research covers a fifty-year time-span.

Although the women interviewed were not necessarily biologically related, I also considered the familial setting as an important category for understanding the transmission of culture through generations. For this reason, I preferred to interview women from the same family whenever possible. While doing my field work, I sought to interview women between the ages of sixty and seventy-five first, and then spoke to their daughters wherever possible. If the first generation of women did not have daughters, they were substituted with women from a suitable age group. In total, I interviewed seven pairs of mother-daughters, but two of these pairs resulted in a slightly irregular pattern, since the mothers were above the age of eighty and belonged to the oldest age group born before 1930. In point of fact, it was not easy to find mother-daughter pairs in the specified age ranges mentioned above, and I encountered several difficulties. In the first place, two of the twelve women from the first generation had no daughters, and while the remaining ten women had at least one daughter, I was able to interview only five of them, since the majority did not wish, or were unable, to participate in the research due to time constraints or because they had moved away from Ankara.

I chose these two generational units for some basic reasons. Firstly, as most of the previous studies of Ankara have concentrated on the Early Republican period and the Second World War, little is known about urban life and urban culture in Ankara from the 1950s to the 1970s. The focus of this study is primarily the period between 1950 and 1980, and so arranging the sample this way guarantees that the members of the each generation had their youth within the defined period. Thus, the women's experience of urban public spaces from the two selected generations allows me to observe and understand the transformation of urban life and culture in Ankara during the given historical period. Besides, the five women included in the first generation who were born before 1930 provided information on the era before the 1950s, that is, the early Republican period, meaning that the interviews provided historical continuity through generations.

Secondly, during the pilot interviews I was able to observe that interviewing women older than a certain age (eighty and older) may pose difficulties in terms of obtaining clear answers. During these interviews, the women between the ages of eighty and ninety would often have difficulty in remembering their past experiences, or had problems understanding the questions. For this reason I decided that the women who were born before 1950 would be the first generation, but the twelve women who were born between 1930 and 1950 would constitute the main component of the first generation. That is, I will consider these two age groups together as a single generation in general and refer separately to the oldest age group born before 1930 when necessary. To determine the age group for the second-generation of women, the pilot interviews again served as a guide. In these pre-fieldwork interviews, I realized that most women from the first generation had children who were in their forties, and so I designated the age group of the second generation as the women who were born after 1950.

However, though the women to be interviewed were grouped in generational terms, that is, according to their dates of birth, it is important to note that these age groups do not refer simply to an aggregate of individuals who were born in a certain period. Instead they were determined considering their common exposure to

historical or cultural circumstances and events in specific time periods when they were at a certain age. Such an approach highlights “the specific chronological location of a generation”,¹⁸¹ and in this context, age needs to be considered in terms of life course and generation, highlighting its value in illuminating key sociological issues like the relationship between the biological and social, and between personal and social change, as well as mechanisms of social change.¹⁸² Accordingly, beyond its quantitative features and measurement of time in numerical units, age refers to the location of persons within historical time. It is certain that generation and age must be distinctively conceptualized, but it would be misleading to overlook the fact that age relations and generational processes and patterns are unavoidably related as age specified differences that are historically significant. The operationalization of age in this way enables us to develop a sociological understanding of generations, which has been paid scant attention in contemporary sociology.¹⁸³

Despite its common currency in everyday life, and also being an important feature of studies of age, life course and social change, the notion of “generation” has not been developed as a powerful research tool in sociological analysis. There is actually a widespread ambivalence and even confusion surrounding the concept of generation due to the wide variety in its use, such as denoting “a principle of kinship descent,” in the sense of birth cohort, referring to a life stage or

¹⁸¹ June Edmunds and Bryan S. Turner, *Generations, Culture, and Society* (Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002): p. 6.

¹⁸² Jane Pilcher, “Mannheim’s Sociology of Generations: An Undervalued Legacy” in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (September 1994), p. 482. See also J. Finch, “Age” in *Key Variables in Social Investigation* ed. by R. Burgess (London: RKP, 1986).

¹⁸³ For some significant examples of work on age, see J. Pilcher, *Age and Generation in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); M. W. Riley, Joan Waring, and Anne Foner, “The Sociology of Age” in *The Handbook of Sociology* ed. by N. Smelser and R. Burt (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988); David Kertzer and Jennie Keith, *Age and Anthropological Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); A. Foner, “Age in Society: Structure and Change” in *American Behavioral Sciences* 19 (1975): pp. 144-66; P. T. W. Baxter and U. Almagor, *Age, Generation and Time* (NY: St Martin’s Press, 1978); V. L. Bengtson and N. E. Cutler, “Generations and Intergenerational Generations: Perspectives on Age Groups and Social Change” in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences* ed. by H. Binstock and E. Shanas (NY: Van Nostrand, 1976).

representing a historical period.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, there has been a tendency to combine these four analytically different types of phenomena: “age and life course effects; cohort or generational effects; historical trends; and period effects.”¹⁸⁵ In general terms, however, there are two prominent approaches to defining generation, being either demographically or in terms of historical experiences in a specific historical time period.¹⁸⁶ It can be said that while the former has led to the studies of value transmission and intergenerational relations, the latter tendency rather addresses the processes in the social formation of distinct generations regarding generational cultures and politics.

In this study, though both approaches are necessarily combined owing to the fact that about half of the interviewees had familial ties, the primary concern lies with the idea of “generational location,” which points to “certain definite modes of behavior, feeling and thought” shared by the people of a specific time and place.¹⁸⁷ Accordingly, following Mannheim’s (1952) account of “generation” as a historical unit, the two age groups selected for the research as generational groupings are composed of women who were born at a given time and shared a similar location within the social and historical context. For Mannheim (1952), the similarity of location, in both geographical and cultural terms, constitutes the essential core of generation, and this is not developed merely chronologically, but rather, and more importantly, on the basis of common historical experience. In his ground-breaking analysis of the problems of generations, Mannheim (1952) argues that “contemporaneity becomes sociologically significant only when it involves also participation in the same social and historical circumstances.”¹⁸⁸ That is, what

¹⁸⁴ David I. Kertzer, “Generation as a Sociological Problem” in *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9 (1983), p. 126. See also L. E. Troll, “Issues in the Study of Generations” in *Ageing Human Development* 1:3: pp. 199-218.

¹⁸⁵ Edmunds and Turner, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁸⁶ R. L. Miller, *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories* (London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000): pp. 30-31.

¹⁸⁷ Karl Mannheim, “The Problem of Generations” in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* by K. Mannheim (London: Routledge, 1952 [1923]): p. 291.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

holds the members of the generation together is their having experienced the same dominant influences in their time and place. In this sense, following these arguments on the formation of generations, the women interviewed can be considered as belonging to successive generations spanning the time period between 1950 and 1980 in the capital city of Turkey, Ankara.

Certainly, as it is extensively argued, generations are not homogeneous or fixed entities, as they are internally diverse, in that not all people living in the same time period necessarily experience the same events or share the same historical context. Even though they may be exposed to the same events and conditions, these experiences would not affect them in the same way. This internal diversity contributes to “the particular character of a generation or the climate of an era.”¹⁸⁹ Thus, the meaning of a particular historical location differs with respect to various variables, such as social class, education level, occupation and marital status, as well as inherited characteristics like gender, race, ethnicity and birthplace. In this sense, each generation, though contemporaneous with other generations, comes to have a distinctive historical location and culture, leading them to experience and respond the same processes and events differently. This has resulted in the emergence of different and also opposing generations simultaneously within the same time period. In the case of the study group in this thesis, the selected generational groupings are in the first place determined by the dynamics of gender and class – that is, the women interviewed were generally from middle-class families and had been raised with similar cultural values and norms, and the majority of them had attained a similar type and level of education, certainly peculiar to the each generational group. Moreover, their place of origin and patterns of settlement were very influential in the formation of these generations. Aside from a small number of exceptions, all of the women in the study are of urban origin and spent a large part of their lives in cities, especially Ankara.¹⁹⁰ As my

¹⁸⁹ Julie McLeod and Rachel Thomson, *Researching Social Change* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002): p. 123.

¹⁹⁰ The issue regarding the interviewed women’s place of origin and their urban encounters will be elaborated in detail in Chapter IV, Section 2.7. Place of Origin: Urban Encounters.

specific field of interest is women's experiences of public space in the example of Ankara in the period between 1950 and 1980, it was important that the interviewees were born in Ankara, or at least started living here in their childhood or early teens. Consequently, the generational groups in question here came to be defined geographically as well as temporally, denoting a particular historical location.

In this context, considering that the oldest age dates back to the mid-1930s, it can be said that the two successive generational groups in the study trace, in a sense, the emergence and development of the traditional middle class in Turkey through the specific experiences of women in Ankara. It is important that the historical influence of the generations derives from their specific character owing to their location in the development of a society, that is, in historical and social process.¹⁹¹ For instance, within the same time period, another generational group that influenced the formation of urban life and culture in Ankara might comprise migrant women who came to the city by marriage and started living in the squatter areas. An analysis of this group would result in a very different picture, reflecting another specific mode of experience of the same historical cross-section. That is, as it is in the case of belonging to the same class, a shared generational location "limits individuals to a particular range of experiences, and predispose them to a characteristic mode of thought and experience and a characteristic type of historically relevant action."¹⁹² For Mannheim (1952), the most significant period in this regard is the formative years of childhood and youth, as the key periods of socialization and the development of a personality and social identity. People are significantly influenced by their socio-historical world at this stage of their lives and carry its traces throughout their lives. In their study of generations and collective memory, Schuman and Scott (1989) show that what people tend to refer to as crucial and effective is primarily the incidents and changes experienced or witnessed in their youth.¹⁹³ From this point forth, in this thesis I consider

¹⁹¹ Edmunds and Turner, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁹² Mannheim, op. cit., p. 291.

¹⁹³ Howard Schuman and Jacqueline Scott, "Generations and Collective Memories" in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (June, 1989), pp. 359-381.

particularly the formative years of the childhood and youth as the decisive life stages of the interviewed women when examining their shared historical experience regarding urban everyday life and city culture. In this sense, women who are in their sixties and early seventies today lived their youth and early teen-age years during the 1950s and 1960s, while the women of the following generation experienced this stage of their lives in the 1970s and 1980s.

Furthermore, in this study, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, family context is regarded as a significant category for examining and understanding the transmission of cultural values and norms across generations. Although I used the concept of generation in a rather broader sense, denoting a shared historical location and experience, its descent meaning, referring to kinship and familial relations, was also influential in the arrangement of the sample. Accordingly, the two generations studied are composed partially of members of family groups. Most studies examining the generation from the perspective of kinship descent have focused on parent-child relationships, value transmission continuity, and intergenerational relations and conflict. Based on a similar concern, I have tried to interview women from the same family, certainly in accordance with the age grouping of the generations; but as my interest also focuses on value transmission between women across different generations, I specifically interviewed mothers and their daughters. In such studies, when the interviewees are members of the same family, terminological and methodological issues gain particular importance, as the notion of generation has come to be unavoidably defined both demographically and historically. This may raise the risk of confusion between the two dimensions of the generations and the complicated nature of biological and historical connections. In particular, studies into intergenerational relations have been accurately criticized as notably ahistorical, neglecting the impact of social and cultural forces in the lives of individuals.¹⁹⁴ However, since generations within families develop and change historically, and these changes are linked to wider social relationships in society, the historical context must be considered as crucial

¹⁹⁴ Glen H. Elder Jr, "Approaches to Social Change and the Family" in *American Journal of Sociology* 84 (1978), pp. 31-38.

to the understanding of interpersonal and intergenerational dynamics, and also family transitions. In her influential research *Children of the Great Depression*, Elder (1978, 1988) argued that “historical events and individual experience are connected through the family.”¹⁹⁵ Therefore, it is required that familial ties and relationships should be considered as having both “an identifiable historical locus and specifiable age characteristics.”¹⁹⁶

In this regard, I take the women interviewed in general as the members of a certain limited birth cohort, whose age-graded life trajectories took place in a common historical location over the life span. The women from the same family, rather than being treated as merely a family-based generation, are in the first instance grouped by year of birth, and then defined as part of a broader generation on the basis of shared experience. Intergenerational relationships and specifically the relationships between mothers and daughters, become more of an issue when exploring the formation and transmission of cultural norms and values between the women across generations. Accordingly, I aim to examine how specific notions of proper womanhood are transmitted through generations, uncovering the certain ruptures and continuities in the transmission of specific rules and regulations regarding the experience of women of public space.

As Boyd (1989) points out as a unique and complex relationship that differs from other familial relationships, the mother-daughter dyad has particular importance for women in that it survives throughout their lives and plays a determining role in the processes of intergenerational transmission, especially when such issues as the formation of women’s identity and construction of femininity and womanhood are concerned.¹⁹⁷ Hence, during the interviews, I attempted to garner information from the women of the each generation about their relationship with their mothers or daughters across various life stages, but with special emphasis on adolescence and

¹⁹⁵ Glen H. Elder Jr, “Life course as Developmental Theory” in *Child Development*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (February, 1998), p. 3.

¹⁹⁶ Kertzer, op. cit., p. 143.

¹⁹⁷ Carol J. Boyd, “Mothers and Daughters: A Discussion of Theory and Research” in *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (May, 1989), pp. 291-301.

maidenhood. In this sense, the interviews with mothers and daughters provided an illuminating and thorough insight into this interdependent and mutual relationship. By comparing and compiling the similarities and differences between understandings and inputs of the mother and daughter I was given access to detailed information. In the course of the interviews, the second-generation women tended to be more open and were less hesitant in speaking about family affairs and relationships than their mothers, who regarded such issues as private. For instance, in the case of one of the pairs, I firstly interviewed the mother, who drew a picture of a good and harmonious family aside from minor problems which can be seen in every family; however in the subsequent interview with the daughter it was revealed that the situation was quite different, as she spoke of a quite troubled and turbulent family environment, especially due to the jealousy and pressure of her father. In similar cases to this example, the mother of one pair revealed information regarding the daughter in issues that she had left untouched; and in another pair, in which the first interview was conducted with the woman from the second generation, while the daughter said that she left her job voluntarily after marriage, her mother corrected this, saying that she actually stopped working upon the request of her husband. In this final case, it was the mother who uncovered what her daughter had wanted to keep secret, or was unable to tell in the interview, though it might be thoroughly her own interpretation about her daughter's life. It is significant that in both examples given here, both the mothers and the daughters estimated more or less what and how much they told each other. That is, while the mother was making a comment about her daughter, she mentioned that her daughter might not say this to me, or may say it differently. This is valid for both mothers and daughters.

To conclude, it should be noted that it is not the intention in this study to compare the characteristics of the two generations, that is, two different historical periods of time. Such studies rest on shaky ground, since they do not directly link the generations of women and the generations of their successors, leading to a neglect of generational interaction and value transmission. Rather, the intention here is to develop a comprehensive historical understanding of women's experience of public

space through generations by adopting a relational perspective. This raises inevitably the need to consider social change and continuity, which are, as argued by Mcleod and Thomson (2002), “not mutually exclusive terms, but have to be understood in and through each other, realized through iterative processes.”¹⁹⁸ Therefore, in order to examine and understand the mechanisms and processes of social change realized between generations, it is necessary to explore the paths of each particular historical period, that is, each generational location, so as to identify continuities and ruptures. Moreover, it should be taken into account that the narratives of the women reflect traces of the historical era to which they belong, as well as the conditions under which they now live. This kind of analysis will allow us to consider the notion of time in its multiple and complex forms, while also preventing us from overlooking the peculiarities of the each time period and falling into a progressive linear historical understanding.

III.3. Encountering the Field: Questions, Confusions and Critical Turning Points

When I first started my doctoral research, I was interested in the connection between women and space; however this interest developed into a quest to understand women’s experiences of public spaces in the urban context. I sought some way of exploring how women relate to and experience public spaces and public life in Ankara, the city in which I had been living, and I was thus compelled to make a comprehensive research on the basis of a strong historical perspective. For this purpose I searched for an appropriate research design to investigate this complex and multifaceted issue, along with different applicable scenarios in the Turkish context. Most of the empirical studies I came across in literature of urban sociology and anthropology had adopted an ethnographic approach to examining women’s use of public space; and these works provided interesting and illuminating examples, revealing various aspects of the relationship between gender and space in different geographical and historical localities. In these studies it was

¹⁹⁸ McLeod and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

common to find particular public spaces being examined by observing and interviewing the people who use and experience these places, while at the same time analyzing its design and construction process. In order to capture the historical formation of the public places to be examined, some of these researches were supported by analyses of other resources, such as literary works, biographies, diaries, etiquette books, and also visual materials, such as official or personal photographs.

Early on, I realized that such approach would be useful for exploring the question of public space in the Turkish context; and believed I could investigate how culture and space interplay in terms of gender relations by focusing on certain public places that are closely linked to the collective memory in Ankara. However, this method proved to have some limitations in terms of the intended study and also in its application in practice. In the first place, such a socio-spatial analysis based on an ethnographic research concentrates on contemporary experience, however when used in the exploration of long historical processes, it is required to be complemented by the above-mentioned historical materials, or it necessitates a longitudinal study. I was reluctant to adopt either of these alternatives, as both had difficulties in practice owing to the spatial and temporal aspects of the study in question. First of all, such a long-term research in a doctoral research would be impractical in terms of time constraints; and what is more, in Turkey, and particularly in the context of Ankara, there are very limited historical sources reflecting the subjective experience of women in urban and public life. Unlike in Western cultures, written records in general, but especially those related to women in Turkey are not sufficiently developed, and the very limited written documents from early times, such as biographies or diaries, tended to be written by women from notable or upper-class families, or those who had exceptional life stories.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ For some prominent examples of these auto/biographies or memoirs, see Halide Edip Adivar, *The Turkish Ordeal* (New York, London: John Murray, 1928); *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (New York: Arno Press, 1972 [1926]); İpek Çalışlar, *Halide Edib: Biyografisine Sığmayan Kadın* (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2010); Sabiha Sertel, *Roman Gibi* (İstanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1969); Yıldız Sertel, *Annem: Sabiha Sertel Kimdi, Neler Yazdı?* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994); Liz Behromas, *Suat Derviş* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2008); Fatma Karabıyık Barbarosoğlu, *Uzak Ülke: Fatma Aliye* (İstanbul: Profil Yayınevi, 2010).

Accordingly, they would be not very helpful for my study, as the intention was to concentrate on the everyday life experiences of ordinary women.

Aside from these factors, the urban development of Ankara and the rapid transformation of public places in the city had become influential in changing my initial ideas for the research design. Because of the tremendous change that has been experienced in the urban landscape of Ankara over time, it would be quite difficult to trace the public experience of women on the basis of a particular public space that is fixed in the collective memory of the city's inhabitants.²⁰⁰ Most of the urban public places and structures established in early years of the city have gradually disappeared or have been transformed into new unrecognizable areas to a large extent, with demolitions starting particularly in the eighties. Besides this, open urban public spaces have always occupied a very limited area in the city overall, and most of the recreational areas, like city parks and gardens, that were created during the Republican period in a bid to encourage the development of an urban public culture, have been gradually taken over for other uses. For this reason, in the case of Ankara, examples of plazas that served as "important public spaces and centers of civic life" that are so often seen in Latin American urban culture are rare.²⁰¹ Thus, in such a rapidly changing city that experiences destruction rather than preservation, which I have come to understand more deeply during this research – I did not want to make an ethnographic fieldwork or ethno-historical research, and developed instead another research strategy to explore the link between public space and women.

This process, which raised many questions, hesitations and confusions, was crucial in its illumination of my study, as being part of the larger problem, which address the clarification of the thesis research question, as well as in what ways this question can be examined. After several detours, it emerged that my main concern was with a more deep-seated question regarding women's experience of public space, one that required going beyond the socio-spatial analysis of certain public

²⁰⁰ This issue will be elaborated in Chapter V, Section 1. Changing capital – Changing cultures of public space.

²⁰¹ Setha Low, *On the Plaza* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000): p. 38.

places. This led my questioning of the understanding of what counts as a socio-historical analysis of gender and public space. When I reached this moment of quite a personal epiphany, I decided to change my angle of view and explore life stories and experiences of women instead of a particular public space. In this sense, having considered women as social actors, I concentrated on examining women's accounts of the public, that is, how they perceive and relate to the public world in its most inclusive sense; and, of equally importance, how they interpret and narrate their experiences. In this regard, my early interest in how women experiences of public space has resulted in me writing a thesis on how women go public, or more simply, how they go outside; and relating their experience of outside spaces in daily life.

In this study, as public space is considered in terms of the users' conceptions and meanings, I have used qualitative research methods to examine and elaborate on women's access to and experience of urban public spaces, revealing the processes and relations through which everyday life is maintained. The empirical data is based on information derived from observations, semi-structured interviews, and visual documents, including family and personal photographs. Nevertheless, the in-depth interviews conducted with the women mostly in their home environments i.e. in the private sphere constitute the central core of the empirical research. Certain key issues came to light as significant during my attempts to carry out the field research. The most challenging aspects of the fieldwork revolved around the question of how to study public space while embracing the interwoven issues of sociality and spatiality, and also how it can be operationalized in practice, particularly in the light of the elusive character of the notion of the public and the uneasy relationship between women and public space. Since studying the public realm becomes inevitably more complicated when the subject is women, it is crucial to examine the tenuous boundaries between the public and the private, which I will extensively discuss on in Chapters 6 and 7 through an analysis of the women's narratives. In the following section I will address the need to approach women's relationship with public space in its own peculiarity, and I will further unfold this issue, along with my research encounters, throughout the fieldwork studying the ambivalent and gendered nature of the term "public space". Therefore,

drawing upon my experience in the field, I will explore the peculiarities of examining public space through women's experiences, tracing the forms of publicness and privateness in their everyday lives.

III.3.1. Tenuous Boundaries: Public Experiences, Private Stories

In an attempt to develop an extensive research on the relationship between women and public space, I formulated the interviews on the basis of two interrelated sets of issues: women's everyday experiences regarding their access to, use and experience of urban open public spaces; and women's life stories and experiences through certain life stages, exploring such processes as their socialization and upbringing. This inevitably required asking a broad variety of questions to the women participating in the research about their individual life stories and experiences, which brought to light certain problems while conducting the interviews.

In advance of the interview or while obtaining permission to conduct an interview, I tried to clarify my research subject as much as possible, stating that I was interested in the life experiences of women living in Ankara, in particular the ways they participate in urban life, which places of the city they used to go, and in what kind of activities they were engaged outside the home. During the interviews, however, when asked about their personal or family lives, I often faced situations where the women felt uncomfortable and asked what I was going to do with their answers, or inquired why I was asking these kinds of questions. In other words, the questions, particularly those inquiring about women's experiences of the city, led to reluctance among the interviewees to answer the questions, and confusion related to what exactly I was researching. These generally did not lead to tense situations that threatened to disrupt the interviews,²⁰² however the women's unease

²⁰² During the fieldwork, only one interview was seriously disrupted in the first fifteen minutes. This was quite an exceptional case in which the woman wanted to stop the interview all of a sudden for no apparent reason. Although she seemed willing to participate in the research, she became nervous as we started to speak. It is interesting that she had not spoken of anything but her childhood at that point, and only in general terms; nevertheless, she did not want to continue the interview, and accused me of probing into her private life too much. The interviewee was among the few women I arranged an interview with without the reference of a close friend or relative, as I had rather met her by chance at a public painting atelier for women in *Küçükkesat*. I

with the questions related to personal matters and family life, which were –in their view– irrelevant to the research subject, indicates a very crucial point in terms of my discussion. That is, what is at issue here essentially is the intertwinement of the public and private realms, in other words, the inevitable effect of the private life on the formation of the public experience, as they are mutually constituted in a variety of ways in practice. In this sense, the issues that seemed to be irrelevant and unnecessary to the women in the interviews were actually at the very center of their experience of urban public space and public life. When answering their questions concerning the scope and purpose of the thesis, I got the impression that although they appeared to find my explanations logical, they were not expecting to be posed the kinds of questions that would probe their individual life stories and family lives.²⁰³ This certainly points to just how elusive the notion of public/ness is, and equally importantly, how defining the boundaries between the public and the private are ambivalent and transitive, as I will elaborate by drawing upon another incident encountered during the fieldwork.

It is important to note that this state of interrelation between the public and private realms is more complicated when the subject is woman, given the gendered construction and organization of these two realms. There is a sensitive and controversial relationship between women and the public space, where the private life has a decisive role in determining women's access to and experience of public spaces. For this reason, talking to the interviewees about their public experience leads inevitably to discussions also of their private lives, which was something often witnessed throughout the interviews. When asked about going outside and spending time out of the home during their youth, they often spoke about the obstacles and regulations they were subjected to within the family, and how they negotiated with them. Significantly, most of the women had bitter memories of those times, and related incidents in a very lively manner, mostly with either anger

was invited by one of the attendants of the painting course that I had come to know through living in the same neighborhood, but it seems that this contact was not effective enough to gain their trust.

²⁰³ Some of the women interviewed thought that I was studying the urban history of Ankara, and said that their memories could be helpful for my thesis; while others tended to respond to my questions positing themselves as representative of the women living in Ankara.

or regret, but also sometimes making fun of them. These stories sometimes referred to school trips that could not be attended after permission was not granted by parents (especially the father), or a mini skirt snatched away without being worn even once. There were also stories of small deceptions and evasions, by which they would be able to see a very popular film with a girlfriend, or meet a boyfriend in the patisserie. As such, based on the findings of my interviews, I argue that when the subject is a woman, the boundaries between the public and private become a lot more interpenetrated, meaning that a woman's experience of the public realm essentially contains private stories that one might want to keep to oneself, or that are not always easy or pleasant to talk about with others, especially someone they do not know.²⁰⁴

To me, this is one of the most peculiar aspects of studying public space through experience of women, considering them as primary social actor, and it is also possible to see its implications in the process of finding potential interviewees to participate in the research. In advance of the fieldwork I was planning to employ the snowball technique, however this did not work well in the field. Almost none of the interviewees brought other interviewees with whom they were acquainted, and I had not expected to face resistance to this extent in the field. Generally, at the end of the interview, or sometimes when they mentioned friends or relatives living in Ankara, I would ask if it was possible to talk to a few of them, explaining the difficulty in finding interviewees who had been born in Ankara in a certain period and who lived in the selected neighborhoods. Even though they seemed willing to help, accepting my request and even giving examples of who might be interested, almost none of the women followed through on their stated intentions. I believe that the women who shared their life stories did not want me to interview their friends or neighbors, as they desired to keep their interview experience to themselves. It is highly probable that they were uncomfortable sending me to their contacts after telling stories about their private lives. They may have also been

²⁰⁴ It should be noted that the opposite of this situation may also occur, as in some cases it may be much easier for a person to talk about her/his lives, including the private stories, with someone s/he has never met and is unlikely to see again. Thus, during the interview, the woman could have shared her most private experiences, those that she had never shared before. Certainly, this requires establishing mutual trust to a certain level.

reluctant to send me to other women, thinking that their friends may be disturbed or annoyed by a long and detailed interview. As a result, I mostly found potential interviewees using my networks of friends who have been living in Ankara for a long time, and so most of the women I interviewed were family members, relatives or neighbors of my friends. In order to reach different social networks, I also used e-mail lists of women's groups with which I had been previously involved.

Furthermore, the multiple and shifting boundaries between the public and private realms are manifested in a variety of complex ways depending on the socio-spatial context, which also includes the different forms of publicness appearing in the private realm. In this sense, the interviews provided a fruitful ground since most of the time the interviews were conducted in the women's homes, with only a few exceptions.²⁰⁵ By meeting them at home, as the most private place, I had a chance to observe the interviewees in their own surroundings, and also more importantly, during an (interview) activity which carries quite a public character. At the beginning of my research, I was unsure whether it was a good idea to examine women's public experiences through interviews in their private realm, as I had doubts about how and to what extent it would work. Yet, as I proceeded with the interviews I realized that it was quite an appropriate choice, particularly when asking the question of how women go out of the home and access the public realm. By interviewing the interviewees at home, I was able to see more closely the strength of their attachment to their home; and, certainly this close affiliation with the home was greatly influential in their relationship with their access to and experience of the public, as the outside world.

When I went for the interview, I usually found the women in a seemingly casual mood rather than being specially prepared for a guest. They generally accepted me in the salon (guest room), but most were quite comfortable using other parts of the house as well, and we sometimes went to the kitchen or to the balcony, or used

²⁰⁵A small number of women accepted me at their place of work or at their daughter's house. Of those which took place in the workplace, one was a boutique and the other a ceramic atelier. In both cases I had the chance to interview the women alone, with little disturbance. Although I did not encounter any serious problems with the interview process in those interviews, the atmosphere was relatively more uncomfortable and impersonal in comparison to those made in the home.

their small living room for the interview. I believe that the openness and relaxed nature of the interviews was due mostly to the fact that the intermediary people who had put us in touch were close friends or relatives. Also, my age, which would be close to that of their daughters or granddaughters, was also influential in this respect.²⁰⁶ Accordingly, I was not treated as a complete stranger or formal researcher, and this proved to be an advantage, in that it allowed a more flexible and relaxed atmosphere for the interview. With the comfort and confidence of being in their own homes, the women tended speak about their life stories and experiences more openly and freely.

It was often that the women accepted me alone in their home for the interview. Most of the first-generation women had lost their husbands and so lived alone, but in the case of the second-generation women, their husbands were often at work, and a few women were divorced. In a few cases, the husbands were at home during my visit, which had a significant impact on the nature of the interview, however this situation occurred only with first-generation women. In the course of these interviews, I would first be accepted into the salon for a kind of meeting phase during which the husband spoke in the main, inquiring about me and my research. In general, while their husbands were with us, the women would appear to be more uncomfortable and unsettled. Although we were alone during the interview, they still continued to behave with caution and sometimes needed to be sure we were not being overheard by their husbands. In one particular interview there were uncomfortable moments due to the presence of the husband at home. As I was taken to the salon by the woman for the interview, her husband positioned himself in an immediately adjacent room left the doors of both rooms open. When I sought to close the door of the salon, I noticed a nest of tables leaning against the door, which I thought was a very unnatural place for it. Naturally, the woman was quite

²⁰⁶ The interviewees are generally family members, relatives or neighbors of my friends so that, naturally, I was welcomed with warmth, rather than being treated as an unknown researcher, that is, as a friend of their children or grandchildren. Although there were advantages to it, my young age may also have had a negative effect on interviews as was not always easy to manage the interview process and develop a proper and balanced relationship between myself as a researcher and the interviewed woman. I was considerably younger than the interviewees, and so it was sometimes quite hard to intervene in the conversation or to ask detailed questions on some issues. Depending on her the age of the interviewee, they would often try to control the interview or give advice, considering me as their child. Accordingly, I sometimes encountered difficulties in being treated as a researcher by the women during the interview.

restless during the interview and answered my questions only after a great deal of thought, and sometimes in a whisper. On certain issues, particularly related to her experiences as a young girl about going out and contact with people of the opposite sex, she told me not to broach these issues, indicating the presence of her husband. Fortunately I was able to close the door half way through the interview when her husband started watching television, giving the excuse that the sound was disturbing the interview. As a result, at least to a certain extent, I could conduct the rest of the interview with relative ease, though certainly the woman was not relieved. This particular case illustrates how the woman's relation with the outside world and her public experience can be a sensitive and controversial issue, and offers a clear indication of how it can be a matter of both private and public life.

III.3.2. Understanding the Public Experience of Women through Everyday Life

At the beginning of the fieldwork, one of the main difficulties encountered was how to operationalize the notion of public experience, given its ambiguous and vague character. In that sense, everyday life served as a practical realm in which the women's socio-spatial practices, routine behaviors and various forms of public activity could be scrutinized more closely. As a consequence, it became necessary for the notion of public experience, which is eminently hard to define and delimit, to be concretized and translated into a lay language that the women interviewed could also understand. However, this brought to light a further problem to be addressed, as it was argued by Highmore (2002) "everyday life is not simply a quantifiable, transparent, palpable actuality to be straightforwardly mined for information."²⁰⁷ The problem with the everyday is that it is just there and seems to be readily accessible, yet it is not easy to grasp or grapple with due to its omnipresence. As Lefebvre (1991) aptly stated, "everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts;

²⁰⁷ Ben Highmore (ed.), *The Everyday Day Life Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002): p. 19

it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground.”²⁰⁸ It can be and has been described to include activities, attitudes, mentalities, objects, implements, experiences, and so on in all their variety. Such a multitude of phenomena becomes inevitably complex, elusive and messy in character, requiring a special approach and understanding if one is to apprehend and scrutinize it. In this sense, the question of what to include in everyday life raises questions of how to collate, present and articulate information on the everyday. These certainly depend on what aspect of everyday life we are concerned with, and also in what context and through what kind of material we intend to study.

Norbert Elias (1998) suggested that it is necessary to look at its counterpart, that is, what is not regarded as everyday, to be able to understand and capture the everyday. Accordingly, he posed a variety of meanings and uses of the everyday along with their counterparts, the most common of which were for him as follows: everyday as in routine, as opposed to “the extraordinary areas of society”; everyday as in the life of the masses, as opposed to “the life of the privileged and powerful”; everyday as in the sphere of mundane events, as opposed to “everything regarded by traditional political historiography as the only relevant or great events in history, that is, the center stage in history”; and everyday as in the private life (family, love, children), as opposed to the public or occupational life.²⁰⁹ In this study, drawing on this repertoire of meanings, I am concerned with the everyday in its first and foremost meaning, that is, as the site of the ordinary, the mundane, the quotidian. In this respect, everyday life refers to the continuum of mundane events and activities, which is taken for granted, familiar, and habitual as opposed to great events, extraordinary experiences or historical changes that affect large numbers of people. It is certain that every life involves, to a certain degree, the ordinary in itself; however in this thesis what I am actually interested in is “the daily lives of ordinary people”, to say more specifically, the mundane everyday lives of the women in the

²⁰⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Critique of Everyday Life* (London: Verso, 1991a [1958]): p. 97.

²⁰⁹ Norbert Elias, “On the Concept of Everyday Life” in *The Norbert Elias Reader: A Biographical Selection* ed. by Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1998): p. 171.

city, who can be described as ordinary or average people.²¹⁰ This implies habitual behaviors, daily rituals, and routine forms of work, leisure, and entertainment taking place on a daily basis, that is, what is lived by women “day after day.”²¹¹ It should be underlined that, as Elias (1998) suggested, my approach to the everyday includes the private as well as the public realms. In this vein, my intention has been to explore how the public realm is experienced by women, as well as their access to and contact with the outside world, which are shaped on an everyday basis, elaborating the formations of the women’s relationship with the public realm and the construction of the public and private intersections that appear in its most ordinary form. Accordingly, the interview questions revolved around the everyday practices of women at various spatial scales of urban public spaces in Ankara, that is, how and in what ways they used to go outside and participate in urban public life, and also what kinds of public places they generally used and experienced.

One clear implication of studying the daily lives of women is that the interviewees often questioned the value and significance of their individual everyday practices, and often they considered what they were being asked to talk about to be somewhat unnecessary or of little use for a scientific research. During the interviews, most of the women appeared hesitant to talk about their everyday practices and ordinary routines and showed concern about taking my time and disturbing the interview. There were times when some women expressed their hesitations with such comments as: “I hope all of this will be useful to you” or “What good are they going to do you?” Sometimes, when they felt they were going into too much detail about daily events, they would say “Anyway, you will not use all of this” or “I am telling now at length, but when you listen you will erase these parts.” In their view, most of what they told me was trivial or insignificant, that is to say, they were things they did every day, either consciously or unconsciously, but in the main

²¹⁰ I am using Bennet and Watson’s expression “the daily lives of ordinary people” in the sense of a wide range of fields of activity which are presumed to be familiar and unimportant. Significantly, even though these activities seem to be trivial at first glance, a close examination of them would reveal interesting sets of rules. Tony Bennett and Diane Watson, *Understanding Everyday Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002): p. x.

²¹¹ In her article in which she discusses everyday life through gender lens, Felski argues that everyday life is in the first place a temporal term conveying the fact of repetition. The significant aspect of everyday life is that it addresses not to the unique or particular but to what happens and what is practiced repetitiously every day. Rita Felski, “The Invention of Everyday Life” in *New Formations*, Vol. 39 (1999), p. 18.

without thinking about or questioning their actions. For this reason, they found my interest in their mundane acts and practices rather unusual and struggled to make sense of it. This situation was no doubt related to the particular nature of the everyday, which, as has already been related, resists our grasp and understanding. It can be said, in fact, that everyday life is distinctive, after all, owing to “its lack of distinction and differentiation,” in Felski’s (1999) words, “it is the air one breathes, the taken-for-granted backdrop the commonsensical basis of all human activities.”²¹²

The emphasis on the notion of the ordinary, I argue, gains particular importance within the scope of this study since women’s relationship with the public realm, that is, the outside world, is commonly perceived as being troubled, disordered, and most importantly, out of the ordinary. This was part of the reason behind my choice to focus attention on everyday life. In the process of determining the research question, when speaking with people, including my colleagues and friends, about my interest in the relationship of women and public space, especially the street, it was interesting to note that their first responses were generally related to marginalized or peripheral places or subjects. In this sense, some of the topics most frequently suggested to me were the experiences of the women working on the street, particularly as sex workers, and also the migrant women, the poor or lower-class women like cleaning women, or the squatter and peripheral areas of the city where women generally relate to urban life in a limited way or under specific circumstances. All these suggestions indicate that when the subject is woman, the general perception regarding the public space, especially synonymous with the street and the outside world, revolves around certain themes and some specifically defined contexts. I assume that to treat this simply as arbitrary would mean missing out on an important point in terms of the focus of this study.

Having considered the decisive role of the dynamics of gender and space in these specific settings and contexts, it seems quite reasonable to remember, at first blush, the research topics mentioned above. They, after all, occupy a significant place in

²¹² Felski, op. cit., p. 18.

existing literature and provide a fruitful ground for revealing the complex relationships of women with public space, particularly, the intricate intertwining of the public and the private realms in practice. However, the everyday presents itself as a problem containing both the ordinary and extraordinary. In short, as Elias (1998) did, Highmore (2002) argued that “the non-everyday (the exceptional) is there to be found in the heart of the everyday.”²¹³ What is more important is that this leads to an incomplete and misleading opinion that there is not much worth studying in the ordinary flow of the everyday regarding the relationship of women with public space. To put in other terms, any issue related to women’s public experience by its very nature would eventually fall into the category of “outside of the ordinary,” which could be best examined in certain circumstances defined by specific spatial and temporal dynamics or social contexts.

This general approach towards the relationship of women with public space, as I also encountered quite often during this research, needs to be considered alongside its relationship with the gendered constructions of the public and private realms, whose impact is deeply embedded in the formation of everyday life. Mirroring the public and private divide, the everyday can be seen splitting into two forms, being feminine and masculine. In this sense, such divisions as inside/outside and home/street point to “particular orientations and evaluations of everyday life.”²¹⁴ According to the former, in which the focus is on maintenance, care, reproduction and common routines, everyday life is conceived as the women’s sphere; while on the other side of the division the everyday is mainly associated with production, change, difference and sociability, being identified as the realm of men. Mike Featherstone (1995) described this division as a contrast between the everyday life and “the heroic life” of modernity, which shares “the quality of an adventure, or series of adventures.”²¹⁵ Certainly, the adventure takes place in the streets, falling outside the usual flow of the everyday existence, where the hero is by no means the

²¹³ Highmore, op. cit., p. 3.

²¹⁴ Naomi Schor, “Cartes Postales: Representing Paris 1900” in *Critical Inquiry*, 18 (1992), p. 188.

²¹⁵ Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity* (London, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1995): p.59.

woman, as she rather belongs to the everyday world, and is the one who is supposed to be left behind by the male hero.²¹⁶ In this context, the privilege of the heroic life leads to the exclusion of women's accounts of everyday life;²¹⁷ and more importantly, in this way, the feminine everyday world –as it is generally understood – comes to be undervalued, with the woman restrained to the ordinary. Accordingly, the home and domestic activities are seen as everyday life par excellence, while women are “the subject of everyday life and its victims.”²¹⁸

When women are associated with the street instead of the home, where they are assumed to belong, the experiences of women become inevitably extraordinary or unusual, and the implications of this perception were observed in the course of this research. When I shared with others my research interest regarding women's experience of public space and their relation with the street, their first impressions and ideas were related to non-ordinary experiences and contexts. An examination of the accounts of women of everyday public spaces I believe would reveal what had hitherto been generally overlooked, problematizing the gendered non-symmetrical division of the everyday world. However, it should be noted that choosing only one side of this division would certainly not be a proper and adequate response, as what is needed is a comprehensive alternative perspective that brings these seemingly distinct social realms together. At this point, the everyday can be regarded as an excellent tool, serving as the “connective tissue” that holds everything together.²¹⁹ As it has no definite boundaries and “includes a variety of different spaces as well as forms of movement through space,” the everyday, I believe, has proven to be a fruitful common ground for the exploration

²¹⁶ Featherstone, op. cit., p.59. Featherstone borrows the term “adventure” from Simmel, who influenced his work deeply. The most general feature of the adventure, for Simmel, is “its dropping out of the continuity of life.” See Georg Simmel, “The Adventurer” in *On Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings* ed. and with an introd. by Donald N. Levine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

²¹⁷ Schor, op. cit., p. 188.

²¹⁸ Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 73.

²¹⁹ Tony Bennett (2004), cited in Susie Scott, *Making Sense of Everyday Life* (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2009):p. 2.

of a form in which the worlds of the public and the private, the outside and the inside, collide.²²⁰

III.4. Theoretical Reflections on Research Methods:

In the light of what I have explained so far, this study can be seen as an inquiry of the public space at an everyday level, considering women as social actors and highlighting their subjectivity. This perspective calls for a more detailed and in-depth analysis of the experience of women in everyday public space and in public life. For this purpose I applied for the use and collection of various materials, such as in-depth interviews, cultural texts and productions, and observational, historical and visual data. Thus, the field data is composed of different types of narratives, which will permit the development of a comprehensive understanding of women's experience of public space.

Such diversity in the field material, in terms of both its form and content, is certainly required for a coherent and methodologically informed approach to analysis and writing. In this section I will explain the theoretical background of this methodological perspective, along with the necessities of its application in this kind of research, based on a rich foundation of qualitative data. First, I will consider the importance and necessity of experience-centered qualitative research in examining women's lives from their own perspective. In this sense, I will address how women's accounts of public space can be analyzed, underlying the peculiarities of personal narratives and life stories. Secondly, considering the visual narrative inquiry as a different form of narrative experience, I will explain the advantages of using personal family photographs to examine women's experiences of public spaces. I will explain how the visuality allows the addition of another layer of meaning to the oral narratives of lived experiences, elaborating the relationship between the interviewees' photographs and their meanings and interpretations.

²²⁰ Felski, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

III.4.1. Exploring Life Stories, Lived Experiences and Personal Narratives

The stories people tell about their lives are richly bound up with their lived experiences over time. As Maynes, Pierce and Lasslett (2008) pointed out, humans, as social beings, make sense of their life through stories in which they express their personal experience in sequential and meaningful orderings, that is to say, in narrative form, within accounts of themselves. The significance of such stories lies in this feature of personal sense-making, meaning that they reveal deep insights into the human experience, or in more specific words, the “subjective dimensions of social action.”²²¹ What is important is that this also enables us to attain a subjective perspective on one’s own life. This is one of the main reasons behind the fact that many investigators in social sciences have turned their attention to narrative in recent years.²²² Those who tend to adopt interpretive approaches are motivated to devote effort to studying narratives for being able to exploring human experience.²²³ Feminist scholars, particularly those involved in history and its related disciplines, have defended the need to attend to experience, along with the use of life stories and personal narratives, to install women as legitimate subjects of inquiry.²²⁴ From this standpoint it can be assumed that the individual agency is central to life stories, and can be expressed most distinctly through experience-centered narratives, which enable the opening of a path to subjectivity and personal sense-making. Paterson (2008) defines experience-centered narratives as “texts

²²¹ Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce, Barbara Laslett *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in Social Sciences and History* (U.S.A: Cornell University Press, 2008): p. 3.

²²² For the detailed historical account of the development of the narrative turn in social sciences, see Riessman, “Looking Back, Looking Forward” in *Narrative Methods in Human Sciences* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, c2008): pp. 1-21.

²²³ It is assumed that the current concern with the study of narratives is closely connected to a philosophy of inquiry developed by W. Dilthey (1833-1911), who “distinguished between a concern for *interpretation* in the human sciences and *explanation* in the natural sciences.” Dilthey particularly criticized mechanistic psychology, referring to it as inadequate for understanding the human condition. Similarly, this tendency has impacted on the work of early twentieth social philosophers like Max Weber, who drew attention to the study of the intentions, purposes and meanings through an interpretative rather than explanatory approach. Phillip L. Hammack & Bertram J. Cohler (eds.) “Narrative Engagement and Stories of Sexual Identity” in *The Story of Sexual Identity: Narrative Perspectives on the Gay and Lesbian Life Course* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009): pp. 5-7.

²²⁴ Joan W. Scott, “The Evidence of Experience” in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 17, No. 14 (2010): pp. 779-786.

which bring stories of personal experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience.”²²⁵ Such a definition offers a far more complex view of experience, and therefore of the subject. That is, it is not meant simply to be something that individuals have; but rather that subjects are constituted through experience.

In this regard, narratives gain particular importance, in that they serve as a way of connecting to the social world through their definition and interpretation of experience. Narratives not only convey lived experiences but also reconstitute them in multiple forms of connections and fictions. That is, being so imbricated in people’s stories about their lives, experience at once both constitutes and is constituted through narratives. Bruner (1987), the pioneer of the narrative studies, goes even one step further, arguing that personal life-narratives have “the power to structure perceptual experience, to organize memory, to segment and purpose-build the very ‘events’ of a life.”²²⁶ This statement highlights a subjective account of the narrator, considering narratives, in one sense, as constitutive of individual identities. As Yuval-Davis (2002) argues that “identities are narratives, stories people tell themselves and others about who they are (and who they are not).”²²⁷

Given the considerable variation in the employment of the concept of personal narratives in social research, it needs to be clarified at this point in what context it is used in this study. Personal narratives take a wide variety forms, such as autobiographies, oral histories and life history interviews, and also encompass texts, speech, visual materials, objects and performances. It should be noted that these are all generally included in social research, depending on the disciplinary background. In particular, this study draws mainly on an approach that has been

²²⁵ Wendy Patterson, “Narratives of events: Labovian event analysis and its limitations” in *Doing Narrative Research* ed. by M. Andrews, C.Squire and M.Tamboukou (London: Sage, 2008): p. 23. See also Corinne Squire, “Approaches to Narrative Research,” *ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper*, NCRM 009 (February 2008).

²²⁶ Jerome Bruner, “Life as Narrative” in *Social Research*, 54 (1987): p. 694.

²²⁷ Nira Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging” in *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 40, No 3 (2002), p. 202.

used predominantly in researches related to sociology and psychology, using the concept of the personal narrative, being “long sections of talk — extended accounts of lives in context that develop over the course of single or multiple research interviews.”²²⁸ The distinctive feature here is that a series of stories are shaped in and through an interactional process.²²⁹ Following the method of most experience-centered narrative researches, I chose to conduct the interviews in a semi-structured format, which allows the interviewees to express their own perspectives.²³⁰ I interviewed each woman for approximately one-and-a-half to two hours.²³¹ While asking specific questions to the women about their everyday experiences of the public space, I also took the opportunity to make a life story interview. To provide a more thorough understanding, I designed the focused research questions to elicit the entire life stories of the interviewees, along with their lived experiences.

A life story interview is a practical and integrated methodological approach for gathering information on the entire life experience of the interviewee. It provides a way of carrying out an in-depth study of individual lives by looking at “life as a whole” and also “human beings as whole persons.”²³² In the main, the life story is not intended to be interview designed, with specific theoretically embedded

²²⁸ Riessman (c2008), op. cit., p. 6. In addition to this usage, in the tradition of social history and anthropology, “narrative” refers to “the entire life story, an amalgam of autobiographical materials.” There is also another tradition (in especially linguistic studies) in which “personal narrative” has a very restrictive meaning. In this context, it is used to refer to “topically specific stories organized around characters, setting and plot,” being told in response to single questions. Riessman, “Analysis of Personal Narratives” in *Handbook of Interviewing* ed. by J.F. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein (Thousand Oaks, California, London: Sage, 2001).

²²⁹ For a comprehensive approach to the practice of interviewing, see Elliot G. Mishler, *Research Interviewing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1986). As an insightful example, see also Mishler, *Storylines: Craftartists' Narratives of Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press., 1999a).

²³⁰ For further information on semi-structured interviews, see Uwe Flick, “Semi-Structured Interviews” in *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (London: Sage Publications, 2002): pp. 74-95.

²³¹ It was my initial intention to interview each woman twice to receive more comprehensive information and overcome any limitations derived from a single long conversation; however I was only able to interview ten of the women twice, since most of them were reluctant to spend some more time for the interviews. This was the case especially for the second-generation women who had jobs and/or small children. That said, the interviews with the younger generation of women were scheduled to finish in a shorter time due to their more demanding daily lives in comparison with the group of first-generation women.

²³² Robert Atkinson, “The Life Story Interview as a Bridge in Narrative Inquiry” in *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology* ed. by D. Jean Clandinin (London, New Delhi: Thousand Oaks, 2007): p. 231.

research questions; but rather is based on a person telling about the life s/he has lived as completely as possible from the beginning. However, this does not necessarily mean that a perspective of life as a whole is lost when focused research questions are used to reveal elements of one's life experience. In this kind of qualitative and specifically narrative research, the life story interview serves rather as a "bridge from seeing an individual life in its parts to seeing it as a whole."²³³ On the basis of this view, I formulated the interviews in such a way that the life story can be told in parts chronologically and/or thematically, tracing the life course trajectories of the interviewees as from their childhood. I attempted to discover what kind of specific regulations and cultural norms they had been subjected to in various ways, relating to the codes and manners of the public behavior of women, in different stages of their lives. In this way I was able to place the specific parts of a life, that is, the women's lived experiences of public space, in the context of the whole life. This provided a more clear perspective of the personal opinions and feelings of the women studied, and more importantly, allowed me to glimpse into the ongoing role of how these persisted to live for the narrating women in their life stories.

It should be also noted that the concept of "life course" played a crucial role in the research, serving as a guide for me to operationalize the life story approach in this research. The study on the lives of the individuals and the stories they tell us about them requires considering one's lived experiences over the life course. In this sense, "when events happen within the individual life course, and when they happen with reference to historical temporalities" are of particular importance, being the analytical basis for life story research.²³⁴ Here, temporality plays a critical role as individuals experience, remember and interpret their experiences related to the specific time scope in which they lived and talk about. That is, personal narratives reflect different ways of understanding and articulating experience in each phase of the life course, depending on different needs, resources and

²³³ Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-239.

²³⁴ Maynes, Pierce, Laslett, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

constraints. From this point of view, I regarded the concept of the life course as an important determinant of the relationship of women with urban public space, given its influence in how the socio-spatial attitudes and behaviors of women are formed. Accordingly, the interviews started with general questions about the life stories of the interviewees, and then moved on towards more specific questions concerning their use and experience of urban public spaces in different stages of their lives.

This strategy also proved to be convenient for the interviewees to engage in the interview experience and follow up on specific subjects. Since the focus of the research was on the experiences of the interviewees throughout the life course, it became easier for them to talk about specific times and situations, rather than being asked about a broad period of time. During the interviews I paid special attention to the adolescence and young adulthood of the interviewees, since many events and incidents considered significant in the current culture and value system occur in those periods.²³⁵ In his work on generations, Mannheim (1952) considers these as the formative years in the development of social and political outlooks,²³⁶ and so they are deemed to be of particular importance for this study, given their significance in the women's sexual behavior and socialization. The interviews reflected that restrictions on the mobility and freedom of movement of the interviewees were most intensively felt in their youth, especially during puberty, and then again in the first years of marriage. Accordingly, by focusing on these stages of the life it can be possible to grasp a more thorough understanding of the women's relation with public space and public life.

Moreover, within the life course paradigm, human development throughout the life span is regarded as a socially and historically situated process. One's entire life

²³⁵ Jenna Baddeley and Jefferson A. Singer, "Charting The Life Story's Path" in *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry*, pp. 182-191.

²³⁶ Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations." Such assumptions are supported in researches related to social and developmental psychology. For instance, Rubin & Berntsen in their study showed that the majority of the memories that individuals recall happened in their adolescent and young adult years. David C. Rubin and Dorte Bernsten, "Life scripts help to maintain autobiographical memories of highly positive, but not highly negative, events" in *Memory & Cognition*, 31 (2003): pp. 1-14. See also H. Schuman. and J. Scott, "Generations and Collective Memories," pp. 359-81.

experience is deeply embedded in a given socio-historical context; and in that sense a personal narrative cannot be considered as simply an individualized documentation of life. The stories people tell about their lives correspond to particular moments not only in individual life cycle, but also in history. They are bound up with the historical moment and place, having very specific timings and generations.²³⁷ As Plummer (2009) aptly remarks, these stories are “generational tales” that are always about a time and a place.²³⁸ Concordantly, here, the notion of “generation” serves as a context by which people apply meaning to their lived experiences. The historical time period in which an individual grows up and develops has a decisive effect in the formation of her/his identity processes,²³⁹ so that each particular generation reflects distinctive life experiences in the stories they tell about their lives. In this way, life stories extending over a considerable period of the life course enable us to focus on the meaning of life changes and experiences for particular generations.

It is certain that experiences of social life and the ways they are construed and narrated are never unified, even within the same generation, as they are significantly changeable across different groups and cohorts, depending primarily on class, gender, ethnicity and the like.²⁴⁰ In this study, for instance, the interviewees are all women from two successive generations, and mostly from a traditional middle class background, with a more or less similar family and educational background and work experience in each particular generational group. Undoubtedly these factors, as parts of their individual and social identity, affected

²³⁷ Ken Plummer, “A preface, On Narrative Pluralism” in *The Story of Sexual Identity: Narrative Perspectives on the Gay and Lesbian Life Course* Phillip ed. by L. Hammack & Bertram J. Cohler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): pp. vii-xiv.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. ix.

²³⁹ A.R. D’Augelli & C. J. Patterson, *Lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities over the lifespan: Psychological perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

²⁴⁰ Glen H. Elder Jr., Monica K. Johnson, Robert Crosnoe, “The Emergence and Development of Life Course Theory” in *Handbook of the Life Course* ed. by Jeylan T. Mortimer and Michael J. Shanahan (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003): pp. 3-19.

their personal narratives in the stories they told.²⁴¹ Generational differences, however, are not reflected only in the content of the narratives due to historical temporalities; as they can also be seen in the different ways life experiences are expressed and the self-narratives are constructed as a result of the changing relationships within each developmental and historical period. In this sense, the first-generation women tended to introduce themselves to me with reference to their familial and cultural origins, or in some ways, in respect to the foundation of the Republic. The typical example of this is as follows:

“I was born in Ankara on 2.8.1948, I was born in Ankara. ... I was born in the Hacibayram quarter. I had three brothers. My brother, me, ... we (*lost*) our father at a very young age. My father was one of the chief clerks at the National Assembly during Ataturk's era. He is a person who spent time with Ataturk.” (Sündüz 1948, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

On the other hand, the life stories told by the second-generation women focused around the narrator herself as an individual, conscious of their own subjectivity. Their narratives of self-definition revolved primarily around their educational achievements, work experience, professional life, and sometimes political and civic activities. To give an example:

“I was born in Ankara in 1963. I am graduated from Mimar Kemal Primary and Secondary School. Then I am graduated from the Faculty of Communications in 1985. I started to work at TRT in 1987. I also work as a broadcaster. Then I became editor.” (Seval 1963, *Küçükkesat*)

These two types of narratives reflect different subject positions, constructed by the women themselves at the very beginning of the interview. They are the introductory statements of the women's narratives of self-definition on which they build their life story. It is significant that women in the different age groups used different forms of expression when defining their self-identity, and very similar plotlines, more or less, were observed in each studied generational group. While the women from the youngest generation give priority to their educational success

²⁴¹ Given the interpersonal context of the interview, it is inevitable that the characteristics of my personal identity, as a researcher, can also be very influential in this process. Speaking to a young female researcher from a well-known university with a good reputation certainly affected the stories and the ways they were told. For instance, as I would have been the same age as their granddaughters, and so the first-generation women tended to use a pedagogical discourse in their narratives.

and professional career over their families and marriage, their mothers, in contrast, posited themselves primarily in relation to their parental families and marriages. Each of these narratives gives important insights into the formations of personal and gender identities, which cannot be understood without their own historical and social context.²⁴² Despite a strong emphasis on individuality, personal stories are, in fact, “inevitably merged with other similar stories, which belong to surviving generations and a larger historical record.”²⁴³ Thus, through an analysis of personal narratives we can develop insights into the links between individual life trajectories and social processes. In this sense, an experience-centered narrative research, conducted alongside a life course approach, results in a methodologically privileged standpoint from which to understand human experience and agency.

III.4.2. Family Photographs as Visual Encounters between Women and the Place

Visual images, but especially photographs, have been used as a research medium for many years, most significantly in anthropology.²⁴⁴ Photographs have been used to supplement such conventional data collection methods as interviews and ethnographic fieldwork. In this sense, sociologists and anthropologists are interested in visual forms, in that they are socially and historically embedded. Visual researches within the social sciences, however, have remained a minority

²⁴² The examples about the changing formations of identity articulated with narratives across generations can be augmented with others. It is possible to see explicitly the generational differences in terms of how the women engage in and attach their personal life stories to the grand narratives, that is, milestone historical and national events. For an illuminating example of this kind of narrative analysis on how the nation and its life story becomes the dominant narrative that structures the accounts of the life of the women, see Nukhet Sirman “Constituting public emotions through memory: Interviewing witnesses” in *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 34 (2006), pp. 31-46.

²⁴³ Baddeley & Singer, “Charting The Life Story’s Path,” p. 178. For a detailed and instructive analysis of the co-constitution of personal stories with cultural and national narratives, see Liz Stanley “Madness to the Method? Using a Narrative Methodology to analyse large-scale complex social phenomena” in *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 8, Issue 3 (2008), pp. 435-447.

²⁴⁴ For some examples of studies in this field, see V. Caldarola, “Visual Contexts: A Photographic Research Method in Anthropology” in *Studies in Visual Communication (SVC)*, 11, 3 (1985), pp.33-53; J. J. Collier and H. Collier, *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method* (Alberquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); E. Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography, 1869-1920*, (London, New Haven and London Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1992): pp.74-95; Douglas Harper, “The visual ethnographic narrative,” *Visual Anthropology* (1987a), 1(1):1-19.

field until quite recently, and even though there has been a significant increase in interest within the last two decades, little has been written on methodological issues concerning how to use visual images for social research, and, particularly, how they can be integrated into an interview process.²⁴⁵

It can be said that photo-interview projects are the primary strategy for the inclusion of visual mediums in social research.²⁴⁶ Talking through pictures provides a context for the examination of the viewers' life experiences and the meanings they ascribe to them. What is referred to here is the context of experience in which the photograph is embedded, which is constructed by words along with visual images.²⁴⁷ As Berger (1980) remarks, "photographs in themselves do not narrate." The meanings of a photograph are constructed through its uses in a socially specific context, and they cannot be understood without words.²⁴⁸ This is what gives much of its value to the photograph as an object of sociological study. The inclusion of photographic images provides a basis for the construction of narratives. The photograph, rather than conveying new information or evidence, triggers the meaning potential carried by the viewers through their lived experiences.²⁴⁹ That is, photo-interviews serve as a means by which people can narrate their personal lives and experiences. The visual content of the photograph always give something to talk about, enabling the viewer to tell their personal narratives and stories, evoking memories and emotions. This dynamic interactional

²⁴⁵ To give example to some of the scholars who have been interested in visual studies in the social sciences, Walker, 1993, Hurworth & Sweeney 1995, Prosser 1996, Banks 1995, 2001, Emmison et al. 2001, Rose 2001. See Rosalind Hurworth, "Photo-Interviewing for Research" in *Social Research Update*, Issue 40, (Spring 2003).

²⁴⁶ "Photo-interviews," also referred to as "photo-elicitations," were first used by photographer and researcher John Collier (1957). Collier's photographic survey demonstrated that the use of the photograph in interviews was invaluable. In his view, photo-interviews prompt a response, so helping both the researcher and the subjects to overcome communication difficulties and memory blocks that inhibit the flow of information. J. Collier, *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967). See also Douglas Harper, "Talking About Pictures: A Case for Photo-Elicitation" in *Visual Studies*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, pp.13-26.

²⁴⁷ John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another way of Telling* (London: Writers and Readers: 1982): p. 107.

²⁴⁸ John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980): p.55

²⁴⁹ P. Byers (1966), cited in "Visual ethnography: Using Photography in Qualitative Research" by D. Schwartz in *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 12, Issue 2 (Summer, 1989), p. 120.

process provides a fruitful arena in which the visuality is incorporated into the narrative research. The result is a visual narrative inquiry which combines visual and verbal data to elicit human life experiences. Visual narrative research is a rapidly developing area of social inquiry, and recent studies have demonstrated that visual images, and especially photographs, can be used as an important resource in experience-based narrative research. Much of its richness as a methodological perspective derives from its ability to allow researchers and participants to “explore and make meaning of experience, both visually and narratively.”²⁵⁰

It should be noted that photo-interviews are not simply interviews conducted to elicit more information, but are rather a process that generates a different kind of experience and leads to different information. Talking through images introduces a kind of discourse that contains, along with information fully described in words, additional elements such as “body language, direction of gaze, or the nuances of human emotion.”²⁵¹ Such components of the visual cannot be easily captured in the common form of interview, and moreover, are usually ignored in the social sciences as being too subjective; yet, visual images thicken interpretation, which is of particular importance for studying the experience.²⁵² To use visuals, however, as either a topic or resource within social research, it is necessary for the use and form of visual images to be appropriate to the research questions set in the beginning. In this thesis, I preferred to use family photographs as a resource to extract information from the interviewees about their urban public experiences by evoking their memories and emotions. After the initial interviews, during which I heard the personal life narratives of the women and their daily lived experiences over the life course, I organized second meetings with those who were willing to share their

²⁵⁰ Hedy Bach, “Composing a Visual Narrative Inquiry” in *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry* ed. by D. Jean Clandinin (Tousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2007): p. 283.

²⁵¹ Michael Rich, “Show is Tell” in *Considering Counter-Narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense* ed. by Michael Bamberg and Molly Andrews (Amsterdam/Philadelphia; John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004): p. 155. See also in the same book, Barbara Harrison, “Photographic Visions and Narrative Inquiry,” pp. 113-136.

²⁵² Riessman (c2008), op. cit., pp. 180-81.

personal and family photographs. Ten women from different age groups agreed to show me their photographs and talk about their memories.

My initial motivation to use family albums as a source material was based on the idea that photographs reveal the public places of the city and some aspects of the public life experienced by the women in their youth. Since Ankara has changed a great deal over the course of time, in both its physical appearance and in its social aspects, I believed that photographs would provide insights into the urban environment and the different aspects of urban public life. The photographs, as material traces of the past, proved to be very helpful for studying space and place. According to Sontag, “photographs give people not only an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal,” but also “help people take possession of space in which they are insecure.”²⁵³ Thus, it could be argued that a photograph offers a unique encounter between a person and place. Indeed, the women’s photographs served as visual evidence of their past experiences of the city, which was very illuminating for me as a researcher who was significantly younger than the research subjects, and who had not grown up in Ankara. Besides, I wanted to use photographs in interviewing process to enlarge the women’s memories through images and invoke comments and discussion about their past experiences. Given that photographs are a captured experience, the photo-interview proved to be very useful for this kind of research, as it allowed the emotional and symbolic dimensions of the women’s relationship with place to be revealed, while also facilitating a deeper understanding of the complexity of the places, events and relationships mentioned by the women while telling their life stories in the first interview.

Bourdieu (1990) states that “photographic practice only exists and subsists for most of the time by virtue of its family function.”²⁵⁴ For him, the importance of family photography relies on its being the sign of familial identity and coherence, namely,

²⁵³ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Rosetta Books, 2005): p. 6.

²⁵⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art* (Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 1990): p. 19.

that of “reinforcing the integration of the family group.”²⁵⁵ People are represented in photographs not merely as individuals, but rather as part of a family group, along with their social roles and status, that is, as a husband, a parent or a teacher. Family photos memorialize the accomplishments of family members, such as weddings, graduations, childbirth, and the like. Through these special moments of family life, “each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself –a portable kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness.”²⁵⁶ These are the images that (re)construct individual and social identities in the frame of familial narration, and for that reason, family photography cannot be thought of simply as a collection of visual images. Rather, it is necessary to consider it as special kinds of images nested in specific practices, whose specificity defines a photograph as a family photo as much as the content of the picture.²⁵⁷

Many feminist critics, however, remark that family photos demonstrate intensely the happy moments of family members, concealing the women’s domestic labor and the emotional conflict ingrained in family life. Since the photos in question contain mostly special moments and events outside ordinary life, members of a family are shown at leisure, on holiday, at birthdays or wedding parties. On the other hand, there are no photos of women doing housework or looking after a baby at home or working at the office, and so family photos can be considered as deceptive and may be “criticized for perpetuating an idyllic image of the nuclear family.”²⁵⁸ Although this is true to a certain degree, drawing on the works of Rose (2010) and Hirsch (2002), I argue that this is a quite partial perspective, in that it dismisses the complex character of the family photography as a cultural practice. Family photos mark absence, loss or grief as well as happiness, cheer or togetherness. Talking through images can be very effective in exposing the familial

²⁵⁵ Bourdieu, op. cit., p. 19.

²⁵⁶ Sontag, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁵⁷ G. Rose, *Doing Family Photography the domestic, the public, and the politics of sentiment* (Farnham, Surrey, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, c2010): p. 14.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11. See also Bourdieu et al. 1990; Chambers 2001, 2002; Spence 1986.

tensions and emotional conflicts that are hidden behind the visual scene. In my photo-interviews, for instance, the feeling of loss following the death of a family member or close relative, especially if untimely, was very prominent in the women's responses and narratives. Likewise, a photograph of family members on holiday or on an outing to a park may bring to mind in some of the interviewed woman an unpleasant incident or intrafamilial conflict and stress. Hence, family photography cannot be evaluated only through what is depicted, as there are always stories behind photographs that remain unseen and unheard. Following Hirsch (2002 [1997]), I suggest that family photos, rather than being composed of homogeneous and stereotyped representations, are located precisely "in the space of contradiction between the myth of the ideal family and the lived reality of family life."²⁵⁹

Moreover, as both Sontag (2005) and Bourdieu (1990) have remarked, the enrichment of the practice of photography is closely connected to public leisure activities, since they break with the everyday environment and the usual course of events. Moreover, they are particularly important for the research subject in question here, in that they constitute a visual dialogue between personal and public lives. The family album, in a sense, signifies the act of connecting the family as a private unit to the public space. Hence, through these kinds of family photos, the separation of the public and private can be symbolically reconnected by recording family's outings and presence in public spaces and at public events and monuments within the album.²⁶⁰ Besides, given the active role of women in the construction of the family album, it can be assumed that women integrate their private family life with the public world by compiling albums of pictures recording the family's public presence as celebratory and memorialized. As Chambers (2003) argues, family albums, in this context, lead to "a visual dialogue between the domestic

²⁵⁹ Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁶⁰ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

values that shape women's private lives and the public world which invented these values."²⁶¹

In the course of the photo-interviews I was shown a range of photographs, most of which were contained in albums more or less in a chronological order. There were also photographs which tucked away in envelopes or in boxes categorized according to the thematic organization. It seemed that the arrangement and maintenance of photographs was often done by the interviewed women, which supports the assumption that family photography is an intensely gendered activity and a feminine space.²⁶² The albums would contain mostly pictures of the women from their youth and their wedding ceremonies, and also a record of their children's growth and achievements. The majority of the photographs I looked at were black and white and they were usually treated by the women as the objects of the past and the realm of memories, which led to feeling of yearning and nostalgia, particularly in the case of the first-generation women. This was apparent in their use of such terms as "bygone" or "old good days", or the way they touched and handled the photos during the interview. They would treat the photograph not as a depiction of someone or something, but as an actual person or object. This was not only limited to the people they knew, but the places with which they had a certain familiarity or some kind of attachment. Like the photos of close relatives and friends who had passed away, the images of the places experienced in the past that were no longer there or that had been changed beyond recognition seemed to have a considerable affect upon the women. This sense of attachment and belonging to a place mostly occurred, not surprisingly, with pictures of the old houses and neighborhoods in which the women had lived or had grown up; however they showed no less reactions nor made fewer comments to images of urban places that have since been torn down or disfigured. In this sense, urban parks, picnic sites, holiday resorts and

²⁶¹ Deborah Chambers, "Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space" in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* ed. by Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London & New York: I. B. Taurus, 2003): p. 114.

²⁶² Feminist scholars working with family photography draw attention to the fact that women in a household tend to be responsible for family photos, including their storage, compilation and display; that is, they take the role of "keepers of the past." In this sense, the family photograph album has evolved "as a predominantly feminine cultural form." See Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-100. See also Rose (c2010), *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.

monuments were the most common places evoking the attention and affection of the interviewees.

One of the main benefits of viewing these photographs in the interview is that they allowed the women to recall what they did and where they went on an everyday basis. This was particularly important for this study, since it was not very easy to remember daily experiences or the spaces of everyday life from the past, which was something I experienced quite often during the first interviews in the absence of photographs. It was common for the women to remember vividly most of the places and outings activities depicted in the photos, expressing their astonishment both in words and gestures. This was certainly the case for the women of the first generation, and particularly those above the age of eighty with whom I had difficulties communicating, and who would sometimes suffer memory blocks. In one particular interview, I was quite surprised to come across a large number of photos of public activities and outings, since the interviewee had said very little about them and had instead highlighted the restrictions she was subjected to as a young woman during the first interview. Additionally, these visual encounters with the past gave the women a chance to confirm and provide evidence of their lived experiences to me. Often I would be shown a photo and told, ‘this is the place I told you about’, ‘look at, we were used to go these kinds of places’ or ‘our holiday places were like this, as you see here’. In this way, photographs served as “indisputable evidence that the trip was made, that the program was carried out, that fun was had.”²⁶³ In conclusion, on the basis of my experience with this method, I believe that photographs helped in the interview process by sharpening the sometimes vague memories and providing depth and richness to the experiences of the women. The activity of viewing family photos also helped to revive the spatial memories of the women and helped to reveal aspects of their attachment to a place.

²⁶³ Sontag, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE OF WOMEN IN TWO GENERATIONS

IV.1. A Sociological Profile: Drawing Generational Figurations

Before drawing up a sociological profile on the basis of the generational patterns of the interviewees, it is first necessary to frame the generations both historically and spatially. While I conducted interviews with women from three different age groups, I will trace only two generational paths in the main, considering the women who were born before 1930 to be part of the first-generation group. The reason for this is that there were only a small number of women in the oldest age group (eighty and above), and because there was not a significantly large age gap between them and the women of the following group, that is, those born between 1930 and 1950. Furthermore, similar patterns were observed between these two groups of women in certain fields, as will be elaborated below, although there were differences in some respects. It should be noted that the shared historical experiences reflected in the narratives of the women was also considered as a guide when determining the generational patterns. In this regard, the women interviewed were classified in the following way: the first generation (the mothers' generation) is composed of women born before 1950; while the second generation (the daughters' generation) consists of women that were born after 1950 and went through adolescence in the 1970s and 1980s. The first generation group is divided into further two groups, with the former consisting of women born before 1930 who went through adolescence in the 1940s and 1950s, and the latter comprising women born between 1930 and 1950 who went through adolescence in the 1950s and 1960s. It is important to note that these two groups together are regarded as a single generation, and are referred to as the first generation hereafter. When necessary, I address the oldest age group born before 1930 separately in order to demonstrate the historical continuity as well as significant differences between these two age groups.

Moreover, the spatial location of each generation in question needs to be considered. As mentioned at the outset, the fieldwork was conducted in three neighborhoods in Ankara, namely *Küçükkesat*, *Cebeci* and *Aşağı Ayrancı*, where seven interviews were made in *Küçükkesat*, four women from the first generation and three from the second generation; eight interviews were made in *Cebeci*, three with women above the age of eighty, three women from the first generation and two from the second generation; and finally eleven women were interviewed in *Aşağı Ayrancı*, two from the over-eighty age group, five from the first generation and four from the second generation (See Table 1). The selection of three different neighborhoods was primarily based on their similarities and common features rather than their differences, which would require a comparative analysis. That is, even though the three areas differed from each other in some respects, especially in their historical development, all three had a similar socio-economic character. Despite the fact that these districts were, over the course of time, subjected to significant changes in their socio-economic characters, the nature of their populations and their spatial structures –with one becoming a lower-middle class neighborhood and another attracting an upper-middle class population– this was not reflected to any great extent in the fieldwork, as my interviews were with the older inhabitants of the neighborhoods. It can be observed that the majority of interviewees had experienced similar life patterns in terms of their families, education, work and the like. Certainly they were not thoroughly indistinguishable homogenous units, however the differences between them were not significant, and nor were they observable in any great numbers. For this reason I thought that it would be more appropriate to draw up a sociological profile of the interviewees primarily on the basis of generational patterns, making no distinction between neighborhoods, and making no comparison among them unless absolutely necessary. To this end, in the following sections I will first explain the main characteristics of the each generation and their forms of belonging and attachment, along with the two generational paths that followed each other, and then elaborate particular life patterns in terms of family, education, work, marriage, children and place of origin.

IV.1.1. Generational Belonging: Convergence and Diversity

Analyzing the general characteristics of the empirical data, one can identify a number of generational features, in which historical patterns are reflected in life experiences. The aim in this section, however, is not to provide a detailed analysis of the two generations studied in the thesis, but rather to point out some vital aspects that should be taken into account within the frame of this study. I argue that there are two distinct generational paths, stemming from the women's level of education and working patterns, and from the family and marriage. Before considering these two generations, however, it is important to locate the earliest age group within a historical period to allow an accurate drawing of the generational links, and thus trace the continuity between successive generations. A total of the five women in this group were born before 1930, and went through adolescence more or less in early Republican Ankara. In this sense, their life narratives fall significantly in line with what most researches related to women in that period have shown.²⁶⁴ Accordingly, they were born into a newly founded nation at a time when the Kemalist reforms of the young Republic were paving the way for women's entry into education, employment and politics.

This process was aimed at the creation of a modern secular society, and gained pace in the following decades. Consequently, women who are now in their sixties and seventies can be considered as the ensuing of "the daughters of the new Republic." Their youths were spent in the 1950s and 1960s, and like their predecessors, the early-generation Republican women, they were generally graduates of Girls Institutes who later made an "appropriate" marriage. Thus, rather than starting along a career path, they stayed at home and became educated

²⁶⁴ For some important examples of this research, see Ayse Durakbasa and Aynur Ilyasoglu, "Formation of Gender Identities in Republican Turkey and Women's Narratives as Transmitters of 'Herstory' of Modernization," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Autumn, 2001), pp. 195-203; Elif Ekin Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği, Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005); Gökçe Bayrakçeken Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional: Work and Liberation through Women's Narratives," Unpublished PhD Diss. (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2004).

housewives and mothers.²⁶⁵ A large majority of them wanted to start work after school, but only a small number were able to realize this dream due to the reluctance of either their parents or husbands, or both. That they gave silent responses or tried to find an acceptable excuse for not being able to work, albeit also sometimes expressing hidden anger or regret, was one of the most prominent characteristics common to the narratives of the first-generation women.²⁶⁶ During the interviews, however, it was worthy of note that most women in this group seemed to like talking about the success of their friends from the Girls Institutes who continued on to higher education and had entered a prestigious profession, such as in medicine, or had become a university professor. I am of the opinion that the source of this attitude lies in their propensity to be part of a generational group of women peculiar to their times of youth, and in a way to relate themselves to the accomplishments of their contemporaries, despite their inability to follow a similar path. It was quite often that they told their individual life stories and even sometimes introduced themselves as representatives of a particular time and place. There were some who used the expression “daughters of the Republic” to describe their own generation, but there was more of a tendency to identify themselves in reference to their affiliation with the Girls Institutes. For instance, one of the interviewees, Aliye, who was aged sixty-seven, stated that when she met her friends from the Institute, they still referred to each other as “girls,” paying heed to their status as students of the Girls Institute. That is, graduation from the Institute or a Girls Evening Comprehensive School was regarded by the first-generation women as a common shared experience that connected them to each other, developing in them a sense of belonging to a particular historical time and place.

²⁶⁵ This situation observed in the first-generation of women confirms the employment patterns of the institute graduates in general. Data from the 1960s shows that 41 percent of graduates from girls institutes did not work and stayed at home, while only 24 percent went on to higher education. See Mine Tan, *Kadın, Ekonomik Yaşamı ve Eğitimi* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1979); İlhan Başgöz and Howard E. Wilson, *Educational problems in Turkey, 1920-1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968).

²⁶⁶ This feature of the first-generation women’s narratives which can be regarded as a generational pattern was also observed in some of the previous research on the women as the same age group of the first generation in this study. In her dissertation research, Elif Ekin Akşit specifically focuses on this specific form of attitude and expression of the women graduated from the Girls Institute. See Akşit, “Girls' Education and The Paradoxes of Modernity and Nationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic” Unpublished Diss. (Binghamton: State University of New York, 2004). See also the publication of her dissertation in Turkish language: *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005).

It should also be noted that a strong relationship with the father played a crucial role in the lives of the women participating in the study, which is in compliance with the narratives of the early generation women of the Republic. This was clearly apparent in the commonly-used phrase “ideal daughters of Republican fathers,” identifying them as women of the Kemalist period. The fathers of the women had a determining role, especially in their education and (un)employment, as well as the selection of their spouses. The strength of the role of the fathers in raising children had led to the decline of women’s control over domestic and family issues, while also caused a weakening of the relationship between mothers and daughters.²⁶⁷ In point of fact, it is possible to trace the implications of this situation in the narratives of the women of the first generation in the study. Apart from a few exceptions, who mentioned their special relationship with their mothers, the majority of the women in their sixties and seventies tended to focus on their strong attachment with their fathers and how they contributed to their lives. Although I attempted to emphasize the role of the mother in the lives of the women and the specificity of the mother-daughter relationship while conducting the interviews, most women in the group were more willing to talk about their fathers. They mentioned especially how the great personalities of their fathers, often referring to them as intellectual and talented. This kind of narrative, which exalts the notion of the fatherhood and leaves little space for the relationship with the mother, was common among the first-generation women. Time has done little to change this pattern, as the prominence of the father has continued to be seen in the narratives of the following generation, although to a lesser degree. The difference from the first generation rather is seen most in the women’s tendency to mention their mothers as well as their fathers. While the role of the mother in the women’s narratives becomes more visible, in contrast to their descriptions of their fathers, the mother-daughter

²⁶⁷ In the Kemalist period women were encouraged to enter into public life, but the private realm was still regarded as a woman’s domain. On the other hand, as men became more effective in the education and socialization of the children, the women’s role in domestic issues decreased. In her article on the impact of the Kemalist reforms in the construction of the Turkish woman’s identity, Durakbaşa argued that women’s role in the regulation of social relations became less significant “as the family transformed into more of a conjugal unit and women were isolated from their kinship.” Ayşe Durakbaşa, “Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey” in *Deconstructing Images of the Turkish Woman* ed. by Zehra Arat (U.S.A: Palgrave, 2000 [1998]): p. 143.

relationship can be seen as being more complex and controversial among the second-generation women. This was to a large extent a common characteristic in the narratives of the women in their fifties and sixties, although there were exceptional cases.²⁶⁸ Nevertheless, for both generations, the mother-daughter relationship, in spite of its controversies and conflicts, features in their life narratives as an important supportive mechanism.²⁶⁹

As to the general characteristics of the second-generation group of women, they were on the whole born in Ankara in the 1950s and 1960s, when the changes and reforms initiated by the newly founded regime were being consolidated in the pursuit of the acceleration of national development and progress.²⁷⁰ Women of this generation can be described, in the first place, as well-educated and professional, with most of them possessing a university and postgraduate degree, and pursuing a career in a broad range of professional fields. Accordingly, they were able to create their own life-worlds, developing extra-familial social networks that were free from family influences. Their families were the rather traditional urban middle class of their time, and the women of this generation had been brought up by mostly civil servant fathers and educated mothers. Hence, they were raised to be productive members of society, coinciding with the traditional middle-class ideals and goals of a better future based on individual success and social duty.

It is significant that the second-generation women went through their youth from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, when there was a rather more liberal and tolerant

²⁶⁸ This subject will be examined in more detail in Chapter VIII, Section 2.1. "Going Out as a Field of Contest and Struggle" and Section 2.2. "Between Mothers and Daughters: Domestic Work as a Compromise."

²⁶⁹ Certainly, this is especially crucial for the second-generation women, since almost all of them are actively involved in working life. In particular, they were in great need of their mother's help and support in child care.

²⁷⁰ The 1950s represent a significant rupture in the historical progress of Turkish society. Under the impact of the great changes in the economic and political realms, and also the increasing international economic relations, the country moved into a thoroughly new stage on its path to modernization. That the opportunities of economic liberalism replaced the restrictions of the closed economy under the Kemalist regime generated rapid development in both agricultural commercialization and industrial production. In that sense, urbanization, which had started relatively slowly in the first years of the Republic, gained speed in the 1950s and continued gradually until the 1970s. For more information, see Çağlar Keyder, "Economic Development and Crisis, 1950-1980" in *Turkey in Transition: New Perspectives* ed. by I. Schick and A. Tonak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

political climate as a result of the 1961 Constitution in Turkey, and when social and political movements were very active, especially at a street level, with public protests and mass demonstrations.²⁷¹ It was quite common at the time for the younger generation, especially university students, to be drawn into protest groups and political activity, and traces of this lively political atmosphere could be observed in the narratives of the interviewed women, in parallel to the expansion of the area of political in general during the period. More than half of the women from the second generation were actively involved in leftist political groups or syndicates, or were at least sympathizers. Even today, two are still actively involved in politics, defining themselves leftist and/or feminist. Different from their predecessors, all of the interviewees from the second generation spoke at length about the political environment of the 1970s, expressing their ideological and political preferences. The first-generation women also talked about the politics of the period in which they had lived while relating their past experiences, albeit not in the same way, and not to the same extent, as their participation in the political public sphere had been very limited.

What is crucial here, however, is that the narratives of politics and political activism had an influential role in forming the women's attachment to their times, and also their self-definition through their generation. Unlike the previous generation, most of the women in this group tended to introduce themselves to me highlighting their individual characteristics rather than referring to a particular generational unit. Yet, it was common for this attitude to change when they started talking about the politics of the times of their youth and their own political experiences. In this sense, their forms of belonging seemed to be determined depending on to the extent to which they were involved in political life in their time period. Accordingly, it can be argued that there developed a strong sense of belonging among those who actively participated in political activities as members

²⁷¹ The 1961 Constitution, if thoroughly implemented, promised the creation of a liberal and democratic society. The distinctive aspect of the Constitution was that it provided guarantees of freedom of thought, expression, publication and other democratic liberties, promising economic and social rights. Thus, during this period, social and political groups and movements who had been tightly controlled before 1960 – the workers, university students and leftist intelligentsia – were able to launch a political struggle against the entrenched forces. See Feroz Ahmad (ed.), "The Failure of Tutelary Democracy 1961-1971" in *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy 1950-1975* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1977): pp. 177-212.

of leftist groups, student associations or syndicates. Thus, differing from the previous generation women, whose sense of belonging was based on a specific educational identity of their times, this shared experience of politics appeared as a bonding element in the generational affiliation of the women of the second generation.

IV.1.2. Family Patterns:

The general structural characteristic of the families of the women interviewed was that they were to a large extent nuclear, which appears to be consistent with the family typology that is prevalent in Turkish society.²⁷² Out of the total of twenty-seven interviewees, four had grown up in an extended family: two from the first generation and the other two from the second generation. In the former group, the extension of family occurred due to exceptional circumstances, that is, the early untimely death of the mother or father, which resulted in the extension of both families to include the remaining parent's close relatives. The extended family of the two women from the second generation, on the other hand, was based on the cohabitation with their father's family, including grandparents, and also sometimes young uncles and aunts.²⁷³ There were also two women in their sixties who stayed with their husband's family for a temporary period lasting a few years due to economic or work-related reasons. It should be noted that even though most of the interviewed women's families were nuclear, they were generally large-sized families with a number of children, which was more or less common to both two generations. When excluding the extended members of the family, more than half of the women's families were composed of at least six people. Within the whole sample, there were five women whose families had four members, which would be classified as a small-sized nuclear family; and for all the rest, family sizes ranged

²⁷² For detailed information on Turkish family and household structure, see Alen Duben, "Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Ottoman Turkish Family and Household Structures" in *Family in Turkish Society* ed. by Türköz Erder (Ankara: Turkish Social Science Association, 1985): pp. 105-127.

²⁷³ Since these two women from the young generation were among the mother-daughter pairs, I had a chance to gain more information from their mothers. According to this, one of them lived in an extended family by choice, while it had been necessary for the other.

from five to nine. The average family size in the first generation, including those born before 1930, was five, whereas it was four people in the second generation. It is worth mentioning that although they did not live in joint family households, the majority of women participating in the study were raised in families with strong relations of kinship. Most interviewees, but particularly those of the first generation, had lived close to their relatives –often in the same neighborhood, but in some cases, even in the same apartment building– and their social life was shaped primarily by the ties and relations of kinship.

Concerning the socio-economic status of the families in which the women had grown up, a considerable number of them were from the wealthier or more notable families of Ankara, or the provincial towns from where they had emigrated. Among the twenty-seven women from the two generations, nine had at least one parent that came from relatively well-known and well-off family in the period. As some of the interviewed women were mother-daughter pairs, the sum of the families being subject to this study were nineteen and seven of them were sharing this characteristic in some way. It should be mentioned that, however, none of the women referred to themselves as *eşraf*, which is a specific term for local notable families in the Turkish language. Most of the families were either land-rich or merchants, although there were also a few families that were long-established or politically influential in origin. That said, a large majority of them had been unable to maintain the wealth and notability of the family across the generations, and so their importance had not been transmitted to their children or grandchildren. Among these nine families there were only two who seemed to be in a good economic position, having retained their social status in a certain sense, which can be characterized as upper-middle class. All the rest were generally living in moderate socio-economic conditions as traditional middle or lower-middle class families.

To better understand the general characteristics of the families, it is necessary to consider the occupations of the fathers, as an important determinant of social status. Within the research group it can be observed that source of income, and especially

occupational identity, were determined strongly by the state, and there is a common characteristic in two of the studied generations relating to the father's occupation. Regardless of the age group to which they belong, most of the interviewees' fathers worked for state institutions in various positions, as Members of Parliament, high-level state officers, special government agents, judges, military officers, bank employees, worker and craftsman (See Appendix A, Table 3). Among the twelve women in their sixties and seventies, only two had a father with his own business, being either a craftsman or a landlord. Similarly, from the following generation, only two of the women's fathers were self-employed out of the nine in total – one being a craftsman and the other a tradesman – while another worked as an accountant in a private factory. As to the women of the very previous generation, in those aged eighty and above, a more or less similar pattern can be seen. Of the five fathers, two were employed in state jobs as bank employers or public officials, while three were self-employed, working as a landlord, a craftsman and a lawyer respectively. Considering the time periods in which the fathers of (the interviewed women) lived for each generation, this high dependency on the state in terms of their occupations and income is certainly not surprising, as the times of the first-generation families coincided with the creation of the state and its constitutive elements in early Republican Ankara. On the other hand, it was the extension of the state and its apparatuses that was the key feature of the times of the second-generation families.²⁷⁴ Consequently, the public sector was one of the most prevalent areas of employment, and most of the people living at those times would begin their careers in state institutions, which were considered secure and prestigious. If they were well-educated, they would work as public employers or

²⁷⁴ Due to the status of the capital city, public services had always retained particular importance within the economic structure of Ankara. According to the enumeration of civil servants in 1931, the number of people working for the state in the city was 4,920, but by the 1960s this had increased to more than seventy thousand, and the quarter of civil servants in the country were located in Ankara. That the military consisted sixteen percent of the active population in the city was also influential in the high proportion of state officials. In parallel to the expansion of the state, this increase continued dramatically in following decade. In the period between 1970 and 1980, the number of people working in public administration increased by eighty-two percent. See Suavi Aydın and et.al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 2005): pp. 532-33. For statistical information concerning the employment in public administration see Tuğrul Akçura, *Ankara Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1971); Özcan Altaban, "Kentte Yapılaşmayı Belirleyen Süreçler" in *Ankara 1985'ten 2015'e* (Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi EGO Genel Müd., 1987): pp. 31-48.

high-ranking state officers, depending on their professional field; or if they were craftsman or tradesman, they would seek to create their own businesses in the body of state institutions or, in some way, in relation to the state, as something quite desirable at the time.

IV.1.3. Educational Life:

The average level of education among the interviewed women can be said to be a reflection of the quality, type and degree of educational changes that occurred between generations, to a significant extent. The level of education among the interviewed women was considerably high, and rose gradually across the two generations. Of the twenty-seven women from the two generations, all of the interviewees had attended school, and had at least a diploma from primary school. Only five of the interviewees did not continue in education after primary school, with one leaving middle school upon the decision of the family. It is important to note that two of the five women with only a primary school diploma came from the eldest generation, being above the age of eighty. The remaining three women in this group were in their early seventies, and had migrated to Ankara from a rural area or a provincial city. The general tendency in the first generation was to go to a Girls Institute.²⁷⁵ In total, eight of the women had attended Girls' Institutes: two from the oldest age group born before 1930; and six from the first generation of women, who are now in their sixties and seventies. Of these eight, three women took part in a two-year-education program at the Evening Girls' Craft School.²⁷⁶ Of

²⁷⁵ The tendency observed among the first-generation women coincided with the general education pattern of the time period. From the 1930s and 1940s, Girls' Institutes played a substantial role in the education of women. While the number of Girls' Institutes was only four at the beginning of the 1930s, there were over a hundred across the country in the early 1960s. They gained popularity all over the country, and by the mid-1970s the number of students enrolled in girls institutes was higher than that of the female graduates from regular high schools. It is significant that the number of graduates from Girls' Institutes was twice the number of girls graduating from regular high school in the period from the mid-1950s to the 1960s. See Ministry of Education (MEB), *Kız Teknik Öğretimde Gelişmeler II* (Ankara: Ministry of Education, 1993): p. 71; MEB, *Türkiye'de Mesleki ve Teknik Öğretim* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1964): p. 37.

²⁷⁶ Evening Girls Craft Schools were founded to complement the Girls' Institutes and to further develop women's education across the whole country. By 1940, there were at least sixty-five evening schools, most of which were located in provincial areas. These schools offered two years of education, with various craft classes, like embroidery, hat-making, fashion and sewing being intensive in the curriculum. The evening schools were part-time schools with more flexible class hours, and were open also to women who had passed the age of primary and secondary school. Moreover, successful students were able to continue on to further

the five women who had received four years of education at the Girls' Institute, one was able to obtain a diploma equivalent to a High School degree, as the type of education and the curriculum had changed by the time she had started at the Institute.²⁷⁷ There were three women, one from each generation, with a lycée diploma, one of which had obtained her diploma later in life after taking part in examinations for external students, after her parents had decided not to send her to High School. In addition to this, one woman had left High School as she wanted to get married. Regarding participation in higher education, a rapid rise in the number of women graduating from university can be seen across the two generations.²⁷⁸ Of all the interviewees, seven were university graduates, and two of them had entered postgraduate education. Of the university graduates, only one was in her sixties; with all the rest, and also two women with postgraduate degrees, from the youngest generation, being now in their fifties and sixties (See Appendix A, Table 4).

Having considered the women's level of education across the two generations, there would appear to have been a great improvement in terms of the degree and the type of education the women had received. There is, in fact, little difference between the two age groups within the first generation of women; that is, the women born between 1930 and 1950 can be seen as a continuation of the previous age group of women born before 1930. Similar patterns of education are observed between these two age groups, including attendance of Girls' Institutes and Girls' High Schools,

education in Girls' Technical Teacher Schools. See Yael Navaro-Yaşın, "Evde Taylorizm": Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk yıllarında eviçinin rasyonelleşmesi (1928-40)" in *Toplum ve Bilim* 84 (Spring 2000): pp. 57-58.

²⁷⁷ During the mid-1960s, in parallel with the economic and social development of the country, Girls' Institutes turned into Girls' Vocational High Schools, and underwent a radical change in their program and curriculum. Thus, technical training intended for employment was replaced with the teaching of domestic courses. See Ministry of Education (MEB), *Kız Teknik Öğretimde Gelişmeler II* (Ankara: 1993);

²⁷⁸ Higher education from the 1930s to the 1980s witnessed a significant increase in the proportion of female students enrolling in university or high school. More importantly, there was a dramatic rise in the proportion of women in the total university graduates between 1930 and 1940. Within a ten-year period, it increased from 6 percent to 20 percent, remaining more or less the same during the 1960s and 1970s. It should be noted, however, that a very small number of women were able to participate in higher education all over the country. The rate of women going on to higher education increased to a maximum of 5 percent prior to the 1990s. Naturally, women's access to and participation in higher education is especially high in urban areas; and the socio-economic status of the family is a very decisive factor in this, and is also the case for the research group in this thesis. Gülten Kazgan, "Labour Force Participation, Occupational Distribution, Educational Attainment and the Socio-Economic Status of Women in the Turkish Economy" in *Women in Turkish Society* ed. by Nermin Abadan Unat (Leiden: Brill, 1981): pp. 131-160; İsmet Koç and others, *Türkiye'nin Demografik Dönüşümü 1968-2008* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü, 2010).

in addition to having a primary school diploma. The most significant change can be seen in the case of the second generation in terms of the number of university graduates and post-graduate degrees. While the educational lives of the first generation of women, including the oldest age group, had mostly ended in the Girls' Institutes due to family pressure, or through being married (off), women in the younger generation tended to go on to higher education, and they were expected to obtain a university degree. The interviewees studied in a diversity of fields, including biology, economics, statistics, accounting, media and archeology. It should be kept in mind that it was in the 1970s that the traditional middle class began to take shape, bringing about the subsequent development of urban areas. Education was one driving force in this process. One of the main goals of the families in this social class was to ensure that all their children, whether they be male or female, receive a good education.

In the frame of generational figurations there is a crucial point that needs to be underlined regarding the type and quality of the education the women received. As the common pattern in the first generation, Girls' Institutes centered on teaching for the organization of the home and household chores such as cleaning, cooking, and child care. Within the scope of its program, there were also vocational training courses, but mainly in traditionally female skills like knitting, tailoring and ornamental works. Thus, the women in the first generation had been educated primarily for the domestic realm, learning household tasks and specializing in certain traditionally female skills and activities that would allow them to work at home, particularly as tailors. With the decline of the prevalence of the Girls' Institutes, most of the middle class families tended to send their daughters to regular high schools, with a view to them continuing on to university afterwards.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ By the mid-1970s, the function and popularity of Girls' Institutes had declined, and they reoriented themselves to technical education. These technical schools targeted mostly lower- and middle-income groups, seeking to develop their knowledge as skilled laborers in domestic jobs like tailoring, cooking, sewing and millinery. On the other hand, regular public and private high schools became attractive for middle-class families, which was clearly observable in the increasing number of female students enrolling in regular high schools starting from the mid-1960s. In the 1964–65 academic year, the number of female students enrolled in regular high schools was half the number in Girls' Institutes, and the difference between the two had almost disappeared by the 1973–74 academic year. For the number of female students in high schools per decade from the 1920s, see Ministry of Education (MEB), *Kız Teknik Öğretimde Gelişmeler II* (Ankara: 1993).

The curriculum implemented in high schools composed of included general courses rather than domestic courses and feminine arts. Even in the schools intended only for female students, for instance Ankara Girls High School, which was one of the most prominent public schools of the time period, there was only minor emphasis on household management or related domestic activities in the coursework.²⁸⁰ Hence, different from their mothers and grandmothers, women in this group had the opportunity to receive a secondary education that would prepare them for university.

The involvement of women in education was not limited to formal education, as a changing pattern of education style and quality was quite noticeable between the generations, particularly in the vocational leisure-type courses and other self-improvement educational activities that women were engaged in. In this sense, it is likely that the first-generation women had mostly enrolled in classically defined female courses and fields, such as dressmaking, ornamentation, nursing and secretarial courses, which were precisely in line with the educational program run in the Institutes. Three of the five women over the age of eighty, and three of the twelve women in their sixties and seventies had attended several such courses, especially in their middle ages. Among these women, two enrolled in Koran courses rather later in life. As to the courses and trainings undertaken by the women of the second generation, they were very diverse, and included foreign languages, computer courses, personal development, creative drama, and also various courses in art, including pottery, painting, classical Turkish music and photography. Three of the nine women in their forties and fifties had enrolled on these kinds of courses after retirement or in early middle age; however it is important to note that while none of these three women had a professional occupation, two of them started new jobs after undertaking these courses.

²⁸⁰ Ankara Girls' High School was established in 1923 and launched its first year with seventy-nine girls. It would go on to become one of the most well-known high schools in the country, with a reputation of giving high quality education. It mainly attracted students from upper-middle and upper class families, and a large majority of its graduates received university degrees and would go on to launch professional careers. The school turned into a mixed-sex high school in 1976 under the name of Ankara High School. Ankara Kız Lisesi, *Bir Okulun 80 Yılı* (Ankara: Ankara Kız Lisesi, 2008). See also Kıvanç Kılınc, "Constructing Women for the Republic: The Spatial Politics of Gender, Class, and Domesticity in Ankara, 1928-1952," Unpublished Diss. (Binghamton: State University of New York, 2010).

IV.1.4. Work Experience:

There is a statistically established connection between a high level of education and employment, and it is possible to observe this relationship also in the research group.²⁸¹ The rate and type of employment change depending on the generation of the interviewee, and in parallel to the level and quality of education, as well as the societal norms of the respective times. Of the twenty-seven women from the two generations, ten had never worked. Half of that number was from the women who were born before 1930, meaning that none of the women between the ages of eighty and ninety had any work experience. There was one woman from the second generation, aged forty, who had worked as an accountant in a small company for a few years, but had then quit her job when she got married. It should be underlined that this was the only woman who was not working among the second-generation group. The remaining eight women in this group were all working, and mostly in specialized professions (See Appendix A, Table 5).

When considering the entire sample, the increase in the number of working women across the two generations is remarkable. Unlike the similar educational patterns observed between the women in their sixties and seventies and those above the age of eighty within the first generation, there is a significant difference between these two groups in terms of employment. While none of the women in the former group had any work experience, seven of the twelve women in the latter group worked either at home or in an office. Accordingly, there was no woman above the age of eighty who had worked, even though three of them had attended high school or an educational institute. It is important to note that all these three women were from relatively well-off families. This was due mainly to the stereotyped gender roles that were the social norm, since working women were very rare in the early

²⁸¹ A strong relationship has been identified between education and participation in the labor force in several empirical works and in the state statistics for Turkey. This relationship can be varied in the agricultural sector, but particularly in terms of non-agricultural labor, women's participation in the labor force increased as their level of education rose. For instance, in the mid-1970s, 5 percent of women graduated from primary school and 12.5 percent of the secondary school graduates joined the labor force; whereas this proportion was 30 percent for lycees and 56.2 percent for technical colleges. The highest proportion was in higher education, with 70 percent of the women that graduated from the university and its equivalent entering into a working life. See Gülten Kazgan, *op. cit.*, 1981; Ferhunde Özbay, "The Impact of Education on Women in Rural and Urban Turkey" in *Women in Turkish Society* ed. by Nermin Abadan Unat (Leiden: Brill, 1981): pp. 160-181.

Republican period of the 1930s and 1940s.²⁸² On the other hand, from the women in their sixties and seventies, two of seven women had worked at home as a tailor, while the remaining five had been employed in various state institutions, including state banks and universities. Among these five women working outside the home, one was a bank employee and one was a Turkish language instructor for foreign university students. The remaining three worked in different state departments as public officials, and one in particular, who had started to work in the state institution after being a tailor at home for twelve years, had to leave her job nine years before retirement due to pressure from her husband and family.

In the case of the second generation, it is evident that the number of working women is significantly high, but more importantly, noticeable changes can be observed in the type of employment, with a significant improvement in terms of occupational status. After obtaining a university degree, most of the women in their forties and fifties had entered professional occupations, and the interviewees included a biologist, a television program editor and a bank manager. Aside from one interviewee who stopped working after a few years, all the women in this group had an active working life. Similar to their predecessors, the majority of women in the last generation were employed in different state institutions, but rather as skilled professionals with a higher occupational status and a higher income. Hence, in a sense, there has been a maintaining of dependence on the state in terms of income and professional identity across the two generations.²⁸³ Five out

²⁸² Before the 1950s, the participation of women in paid labor was very low owing to the strong negativity concerning women's work in society. However, it should be also noted that the in early Republican period Turkey had not yet been industrialized, and after the Second World War, more than 80 percent of the active population was working in agriculture. When the unpaid female labor in the family is taken into account, more than half of the agricultural population was women, and 81.5 percent of women at the age of fifteen and above seemed to work. Only 4 percent of active women had worked in non-agricultural jobs. Due to the scarcity of male labor, the use of female labor was required in urban areas. Accordingly, the Kemalist ideology promoted women's education and their participation in non-agricultural production. See Ferhunde Özbay, "Changes in Women's Activities both Inside and Outside the Home" in *Women in Modern Turkish Society* ed. by Şirin Tekeli (London ; Atlantic Heights, N.J. : Zed Books, 1995): pp. 89-112.

²⁸³ That the women's employment concentrated in public institutions was not arbitrary; it reflects a general characteristic of the economic life and employment patterns of the time period. Beginning from the early Republican period, the number and percentage of women working in public administration had shown a regular increase. This is, on the one hand, related to the increasing personnel requirement due to the numerical increase in state institutions and the proliferation of their functions. Besides, economic difficulties, a relative improvement in women's education and also changes in the structure of family and childbirth led to women's increasing participation in public administration. Within a forty-year period between 1938 and 1978, the

of the eight women worked in public institutions, namely the Ministry of Environment, the Turkish Radio and Television Association, the Turkish Public Employment Agency, the Ministry of Social Security and finally Turkish Bank of Endowments. Of these five, only one had a relatively lower status, working as a public officer in the department of press and information at the Ministry of Social Security. There were also two self-employed women, one of which was running her own boutique and the other was working as a consultant specialist in the field of personal development. The former had decided to open her own business, despite having studied statistics at university. After her daughter had grown up, she opened a boutique in a shopping center located in a rather expensive area of Ankara, and ran it on her own for about thirteen years. Similarly, the other self-employed woman also worked outside the field she studied as university. After graduating from the Department of Archeology and Art History, she worked in several jobs, as a tourist guide, hotel management, journalism and translation before becoming an independent consultant specialist in personal development. Additionally, one woman who is currently self-employed previously worked in an aircraft factory as a skilled worker. Among the women in the younger generation, she was the only one without a university diploma. After retirement, she set up a ceramic atelier in partnership with her friend who was working in the same factory.

The above offers a good indication of the significance of a professional education in working outside the home. As was evident in the sample of women from different generations, the level of education achieved depended, to a large extent, on the attitudes of their families towards women's education and work, which cannot be considered independent of the social norms and expectations of the period in which they lived. Most of the women from the first generation were

increase in female civil servants was noticeably higher in comparison with men. While the number of women had increased twenty two times, the rise of male civil servants was six-fold. In 1978, the proportion of women in public administration was 26,7 percent. Nevertheless, it is observed that men still constituted the big majority of civil servants. In following decades, the number of women in public administration had continued to increase and by the year of 1994 the proportion of female civil servants was 34,3 percent. Particularly, it was seen that public administration was the primary working area for women who enrolled in higher education. Nevertheless, there were very few women who took place in managerial positions and, moreover, female civil servants concentrated in certain fields which can be defined as traditionally feminine areas of work. See Oya Çitçi, "Türk Kamu Yönetiminde Kadın Görevliler" in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* ed. by Nermin Abadan Unat (İstanbul: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1982); T.C.Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, *Cumhuriyetimizin 75. Yılında Türkiye'de Kadının Durumu* (Ankara: T.C.Başbakanlık, 1998).

unlikely to enter higher education or work outside the home, since it this was rare and disapproved of strongly by a large proportion of society at the time. That is, the primary reason for not sending the girls to high school or university was the negative perception of women working outside the home, being considered unnecessary and inappropriate. The woman who attended the Girls' Institute, for instance, fought hard to convince her father to allow her to get education, because it was at the Institute where she could learn sewing and take up tailoring at home. After only a long struggle she was able to work in an office, however this did not last long due to the disapproval of her parents and the jealousy of her husband. Similarly, another woman from the first generation was sent to Girls' Evening Craft School for two years so that she could make a good marriage and be a good housewife, whereas her brothers were strongly encouraged to get a good university education and obtain a good job. She even did not think of asking to continue on to higher education, since her family was opposed to women working outside the home. The interviewee expressed clearly that at the time, boys were generally considered more important than girls. When these women had children, however, they strived for their daughters as well as sons to get a good education and take up a profession. Thus, almost all of the women from the next generation had started working in a job that was related to the professional fields they had obtained, mostly, through higher education. In contrast to their predecessors, the women in this group were strongly encouraged to work outside the home and have a professional career. It is significant that one of the interviewees, who is in her late forties and who had started working later in life, stated that she was reluctant to see her friends from university since they would ask why she was not working, while her mother was ashamed that she did not have a proper job, despite obtaining a university degree. This case offers insight into how social expectations regarding gender roles have changed across the generations.

IV.1.5. Marriage and Divorce:

Within the entire research group, marriage was very common, with both generations accepting it as a social norm. Out of the total twenty-seven

interviewees, only one woman, now in her eighties, never married, with the rest of the sample all being married at least once. It is apparent though that patterns and forms of marriage changed with each successive generation in terms of age at which the interviewees married, where and how they met their spouse, the decision processes etc. Accordingly, a significant rise in the women's age of marriage was observed among the interviewees from two successive generations.²⁸⁴ As the first generation left its place to the next one, the average age at the time of marriage increased from nineteen to twenty-seven. In contrast, there was no difference in this regard between the women in their sixties and seventies and those aged over eighty. In that sense, among the nine women in the youngest generation, the earliest age of marriage was twenty-one, and only two women got married in their very early twenties. The remaining seven women were married at the age of twenty-five and above; and of these, one woman did not marry until her thirties. That the women's age of marriage is significantly high in the second generation is certainly a result of their entry into higher education,²⁸⁵ however, among the first-generation women, including those above eighty, the highest age at marriage was twenty-four. A large majority of the women in this group were married between the ages of seventeen and twenty two. Out of a total of seventeen women, ten were married under the age

²⁸⁴ According to population figures garnered from censuses between the 1930s and the 1970s, there was a gradual increase in the average age of women at first marriage. A Hacettepe University population research conducted in 1973 also indicated a rise in women's age of marriage. The estimated average age in urban and rural areas in 1960 was respectively 20.24 and 18.86; but by 1973, the average in cities was 20.96. As these average marriage ages were calculated based on the rate of single women in each age group, they seem relatively higher than the estimates obtained indirectly. See, Ferhunde Özbay, op. cit. 1981. This increase in marriage age in general was related to improvements in women's education levels, which was especially case in the larger cities. There were also other factors that were influential in the process of urbanization and modernization that led to later marriages. According to an empirical research conducted in Ankara in 1965–66, women from rural backgrounds living in the city were heavily concentrated in the youngest age at marriage, while those from urban backgrounds (1 or 2 generations urban) were likely to marry at age 20 and over (66 percent). Similarly, it was found that women with less than a primary education were more frequently married at younger ages and less frequently at older ages (only 19 percent at age twenty or more) compared to women with a higher level of education. See Greer Litton Fox, "Some Determinants of Modernism Among Women in Ankara, Turkey," *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 35, No.3 (1973): p. 523.

²⁸⁵ That there is a strong relationship between the rise of education level and marriages in Turkey, which has been investigated in detail in several researches: For instance, the Hacettepe Research in 1973 revealed a significant increase in the age of marriage depending on education level. In particular, the delay in age of first marriage noticeably manifested itself in the case of women who had graduated from secondary school and above. Accordingly, in urban areas the average marriage age of women who finished primary school was 20.81, whereas the average age for women who had been educated in secondary school and high school was 26.41. It is assumed that this average will be much higher among the women who enrolled in higher and postgraduate education. See Ferhunde Özbay, op. cit. 1981.

of twenty; and of these ten, two were married off by their families at ages as young as fourteen and fifteen, coinciding with puberty (See Appendix A, Table 6).²⁸⁶

Another crucial distinction in the marriage patterns between generations is the apparent shift from arranged marriages to those based on the individual choice of the partners. Four of the five women, who were born before 1930, had arranged marriages in which their parents were the primary decision makers. Aside from one who got married to their neighbor's son, none of the women had known their husbands before being becoming engaged, and had only seen their future spouses once or twice in public with family or relatives beforehand. The pattern of arranged marriages was also quite common among the women between the ages of sixty and seventy, however with the slight difference that the women's approval was taken into account in the decision-making process.²⁸⁷ Six of the twelve women in this group had an arranged marriage through the mediation of mostly close relatives and family acquaintances. Apart from one who was strongly encouraged to marry one of her cousins by her sister, all had were asked their opinions and given the chance to choose their spouse from a number of candidates. Also, almost all of them were able to meet and talk with their future husbands before making their decision, but always in the presence of a family member. In addition, there was one woman who

²⁸⁶ In the Civil Code, the minimum age for marriage was determined as 17 for men and 15 for women; although women aged 14 and men aged 15 could marry with the permission of the judge. In effect, in Turkey the minimum age for civil marriage, which was also in effect during the youth of the first-generation women, was 14 for women and 15 for men. According to the empirical research on the Turkish family structure conducted in 1968, the percentage of women who were married earlier than the legal minimum age in the three main cities (Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir) was 13 percent. Contrary to general belief that early marriage is particular to rural areas in Turkey, this research reveals that there was no substantial difference between urban and rural areas, as this figure was only marginally higher, at 14.5 percent, in villages. See Serim Timur, *Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı* (Ankara: Hacettepe University Publications, 1972): pp. 95-97.

²⁸⁷ Even though the occasions at which the women met their spouses were subject to change over the course of time depending on social and economic developments, the rate of arranged marriages, even in urban areas, was still considerably high during the fifties and the sixties – corresponding to the period of puberty of the first-generation women. By 1968, in the three largest cities (İstanbul, Ankara and Izmir) one-third of women met their spouses through their families, and one-third met them independently (at school, work or in the street). However, it can be observed that marriage without meeting the spouse was also quite common. The proportion of women who met their spouse at the engagement was 16 percent; and similarly, the rate of women whose spouses from the same neighborhood was 16.4 percent. See Serim Timur, *Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı*. Moreover, according to the empirical research conducted in Ankara in 1966, nearly three-quarters of marriages (73.2 percent) were arranged. In this research, it was found that love match marriages occurred disproportionately among women with city origins or those who had some exposure to urban areas; among women with more than primary education; and those whose who married at an older age. See Greer Litton Fox, "Love Match and Arranged Marriage in a Modernizing Nation: Mate Selection in Ankara, Turkey," *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 37/1 (1975): p. 186.

had been married at the age of fourteen to a friend of her uncle under coercion, which can be considered as a forced child marriage.²⁸⁸ The remaining five women (out of a total of twelve) in the first generation were married based primarily on their own choice or through love. Of these five, only one had a spouse who was not from the immediate social circle of family, relatives and neighbors,²⁸⁹ as all the rest were married to either a family friend or a neighbor's son. With just a few exceptions, the majority of first-generation women had marriages from within the family networks, but marrying close relatives, such as cousins, was by no means unacceptable. Within the entire sample, only one woman had a cross-cousin marriage, which had been approved, although unwillingly, by her family.

In the case of the second-generation women, the pattern of arranged marriages had almost completely disappeared, to be replaced by free-choice marriages based on love or mutual convenience, providing women more independence and autonomy. In this sense, it is noticeable that all nine women in this group met their spouses independently and decided to marry under their own choices. Six of the nine women married for love, and mostly after a long courtship. Almost all of them met their spouses during their education, and especially during their university years, as only two women met their spouses in their neighborhoods.²⁹⁰ Of the remaining three women, one got married through the mediation of her manager at work, and two made a marriage of mutual convenience, but not totally devoid of affection. Thus, contrary to their predecessors, the women of the last generation had entered marriages that were totally outside and independent of their family networks,

²⁸⁸ The interviewed woman mentioned that she came from a notable family, but when she lost her father unexpectedly at an early age her mother stayed alone from a very young age, as there had been a twenty-year age gap between her and her husband. After his death, they started to live with her two young maternal uncles. When the uncles got married and moved away after graduating from the university, she got married off at a very early age to a friend of her uncle so her mother would not be left by herself.

²⁸⁹ The only woman whose spouse was from outside family networks had a rather different story to that of the other women of her generation in the research group. She was an employer in Turkish Post Office and met her husband on the street while commuting to work. Her future husband wanted to meet her, and after refusing him several times, she accepted to meet with him, and they were later married.

²⁹⁰ It is important to note that these two women met their spouses in their neighborhood, but they were not from the family networks. Both women chose to marry without the mediation of their families. One of the women's spouses was a university student living in the next-door apartment, and the other's spouse was from the same neighborhood, although their houses were not in close proximity; and they knew each other only by sight.

choosing their spouses and making the decisions for themselves. In this vein, it can be argued that the entry of women into higher education and professional life enabled them to break away from their family and kin networks, which had been previously very influential in marriage.

It is also revealing to look at the occupations of the husbands of the interviewees as a good indication of the social classes into which these women married. Concerning the type and quality of the husbands' careers, each generation draws more or less a particular feature obtaining similar positions within themselves. In the case of the earliest generation of women, aged above eighty, all four husbands were self-employed, with three being tradesmen or craftsmen, and the other owning a commercial business related to the building trade. The husbands of the women in their sixties and seventies, on the other hand, tended to be employed by the state in a similar role to their fathers, accounting for ten of the twelve. Of these, five were high-level state officials, two were military officers, two were engineers and one was a Member of Parliament. Of the remaining two, one was a high-ranking official in a foreign embassy and the other, a tradesman, was the exception in the entire group, being self-employed in a low-status job. A rich diversity can be observed in the youngest generation. Following a decrease in state jobs, the husbands of the women in this group have such fields of occupation as architecture, performing arts, media and banking. Of the nine, six had professional occupations, with two employed in public institutions, two as unqualified state employers and one working as a taxi driver (See Appendix A, Table 7). As was the case with the second-generation women themselves, their husbands, in parallel to the attainment of good education, had mostly high-level jobs related to their chosen professions. That is, they, as married couples, were rather middle class and upwardly mobile in terms of their education and professional employment.

Lastly, it is necessary to consider the rate of divorce and separation among the interviewed women across the two generations. Of the total twenty-five married women, five had been divorced; and of these five, two were from the first generation, being in their sixties, and the other three from the youngest generation.

Of the five women, two were divorced after around fifteen years of marriage due to the infidelity of their husbands. For the remaining two women from the younger generation, their divorces were based on mutual agreement; one after three years, and the other after around eighteen years. There was also one woman from the first generation whose marriage had broken up after nine years at the age of twenty-three after she had been forced to marry as a child. None of the women had remarried after their divorces. It is also necessary to note that most of the older women from the first generation are now alone after the deaths of their spouses. Eight of the sixteen married women from the first generation, including all those above the age of eighty, have lost their husbands. Thus, of the entire sample, fifteen women are now living alone due either to divorce or to the loss of a spouse.

IV.1.6. Children:

Across the entire sample, all of the women had at least one child, aside from the woman who never married. The average number of children among the interviewed women gradually decreases across the two generations. While there is a slight difference in the number of children between women of the first generation aged between sixty and seventy-five and the women above the age of eighty, a more noticeable change appears in the case of the second generation when compared to their predecessors. Accordingly, the average number of the children among the women above the age of eighty was approximately three, with numbers ranging between four and two in each family. Similarly, for the women in their sixties and seventies, having two or three children was the most common pattern. In this age group of women, the actual average was 2.5, which decreases to an average of 1.5 for the next generation, which had a maximum of two children (See Appendix A, Table 8). Overall, the interviewed women tended to have conceived their first child in the early years of their marriage. In the first generation including those born before 1930, almost all of the women had their first child one or two years after marriage. Out of the seventeen women, only two conceived their first child in the

later years of marriage after experiencing problems with conception.²⁹¹ As to the youngest generation, this pattern continues to a large extent, with only a small degree of change. The majority of women in their forties and fifties had their first child in the first three years of marriage. The number of children had by a couple tends to have been determined by the families' understanding of family size as well as economic conditions. The sex distribution of the children is also relatively influential in the decision of how many children to have due to the desire to have children of both sexes, though this is especially peculiar to the first generation. Thus, having as many children as possible was not widely accepted by the women of any generation. In this respect, it can be said that overall, the women participating in the study had an idea of family-planning, although the women of the youngest generation were more conscious and deliberate in their family planning processes.

Concerning the sex distribution of the children, there was no significant difference across the generations. Of the total fifty-seven children, thirty-one were female and twenty-seven were male. By chance, each generation had one more girl than they did boys. It would seem that having a boy was not a vital concern for the women, as none of them ascribed any special importance to having a male child during the interviews. Nevertheless, it was implicitly expressed that to have a boy was rather desirable for the women of the first generation. In this sense, a few of the women had a third child in the hope of it being a son, while one woman who had tried to have a son several times stopped trying after giving birth to her fourth daughter. For the youngest generation it would seem the sex of the children was not an issue, unlike their predecessors. Four out of the nine women in this group had children of both sexes – one from each – and the remaining five had either a son or daughter, almost all of whom were a single child. Therefore, across the generations of women, the desire to have children of both sexes was maintained to a certain extent, although the number of children decreased.

²⁹¹ One of the women had not been able bear a child for a long time after getting married at a very young age, while the other had had problems conceiving due to a medical condition. Both had tried several times before having their first child.

The greater majority of children in the entire sample no longer live with their parents, which is natural for the children of the first generation who are now middle aged and have generally started their own lives. Of the total fifty-seven children, ten are living with their parents, with only two being the children of the first generation, having never married. When considering each generation, the five women above the age of eighty had thirteen adult children in total, with most living in Ankara, although a few are living in another city or abroad. All are married, and almost half of them have already retired. For the women in their sixties and seventies, the total number of the children was twenty-nine, of which only seven of are not living in Ankara, and three of that number having moved abroad for postgraduate education or work. A large number are still actively involved in their working lives, as only three of them are retired or not working.²⁹² Lastly, as to the women of the youngest generation, only three of the total fourteen children are not adults. Four out of the eleven adult children have moved away from Ankara for higher education or work. There are also two daughters who have left their parents' home after getting married, but have continued to live in Ankara. Among those who live with their parents, two of them have started a professional career in the last few years, three of them are pursuing university or postgraduate education, and three are attending primary or secondary school.

It is worthy of note that a substantial proportion of the adult children from the two generations have a good level of education, being at least high-school graduates, and more than half of them possessing a university or post-graduate diploma. There were also some who have received education abroad. Even among those whose parents were above the age of eighty, nine out of the twelve have a university education, including one who has a master's degree. In the case of the immediate generation, sixteen are university graduates, of whom two had carried out a postgraduate education, from a total of thirty. Additionally, two boys have obtained university degrees from an open education faculty. It is interesting to note that significantly more daughters than sons are graduated from university, which is a

²⁹² Among those who were working, there were also four retired daughters that had directed their interest into fields other than their own working area. Of the four, three had established their own businesses, and one was employed as the president of an international association related to child crime.

fact that is common to both generations; and moreover, all of those with a post-graduate education are female. Similarly, in the youngest generation, four daughters out of the seven adult children completed higher education, and two of them have a master's degree (See Appendix A, Table 9).

In parallel to the attainment of a high level of education, a considerable proportion of the adult children of the interviewed women are employed in good jobs in specialized fields, and are pursuing a professional career or are an entrepreneur in commercial business at either a national or international level. Here, it should be noted that their educational and professional affiliations with the state are considerably high. As they had been mostly employed at state institutions, a vast number of them studied at public schools and state universities; and those that had studied abroad had done so with a scholarship. Only a few children from the relatively well-off families in the research group attended private schools, especially for their high school education. The choice of whether to send a child to a public or private school is driven by whether the family deems it necessary, as well as their economic capacity. Particularly for the first generation, it was not very common to send a child to private school, even among the wealthier families;²⁹³ however this pattern started to change over time, and it has become more widespread across generations in parallel to the changes in living patterns and the consumption behaviors of middle-class groups, as well as the growth of private schools in Turkey, especially and primarily in the larger cities.²⁹⁴ In this sense, a

²⁹³ In early years of the Republic, up until the fifties, the most prominent private school in Ankara was TED Ankara College, which had been established by the Turkish Education Foundation in 1930. This was the first private Turkish school using English as the medium of instruction, with the primary aim being to provide Turkish students with modern education facilities and foreign language education, as most of the foreign schools were closed or had been taken under high control by the state for the purpose of creating national unity in education in the early period of the Republic. TED Ankara College was established for the children of notable and well-to-do families; and in that sense, during my interviews, some women from the upper middle-class families regarded this college as a costly and luxurious school. For instance, one of the first-generation women who was relatively well off in the study group told me that she had wanted to send her children to the college, however they had been unable to afford it. According to her, the College was intended for only a very small group of people, and it was unattainable for families like theirs. See TED, *Türk Eğitim Derneği Tarihçesi* (TED: Ankara, 2003).

²⁹⁴ In Turkey, until the 1950s there were only a very limited number of private schools, and these were mostly for minorities. In the newly founded state, education was regarded a fundamental agent for the building of the nation and the modernization project, and so it became regulated, financed and controlled by the state. The development of private schools first occurred after the mid-1960s after the legal regulation in the 1961 Constitution that permitted the establishment of private education institutions under the supervision and control

shift in the educational preferences of the parents can gradually be seen in the younger generation, with many women interviewed in this group more eager to send their children to private school, mostly at high-school level, but even in some cases from as early as primary school. As a conclusion, it should be kept in mind that the women interviewed in this research were members of traditional middle-class groups, and so desired to provide their children with a good life and a good future through quality education, and consequently, a secure and decent job, based their expectations of state resources. In this sense, to be able to ensure this as parents they did their best to provide all opportunities, most of which had not been made available to them in their own childhoods.

IV.1.7. Place of Origin: Urban Encounters

Most of the women participating in the study were born in Ankara, or had lived in the city from their early childhood or teens, with only three exceptions: one who came to Ankara in the first years of her marriage, and two who came in their mid-thirties. Of these three, however, only one woman had no interaction with Ankara before settling in the city; while the other two had previous knowledge of the city gained either during a short-term studentship or when visiting close relatives. It is significant that all three women came from the first generation. Within the whole sample, out of the twenty-seven women, eleven were born in Ankara, while fifteen came from elsewhere; including two whose places of birth were the villages or counties around Ankara. Of these fifteen, twelve women came to Ankara at an early age; six came between the ages of two and six; two came between the ages of nine and twelve; and the remaining five came between the ages of fifteen and eighteen (See Appendix A, Table 10). Including those who were born in Ankara, the majority were originally from other places, being mostly provincial cities and towns in the country. It also needs to be pointed out that some of the women's

of the state. However, the expansion of private schools happened to coincide with the second half of the 1980s in parallel to economic and social developments in Turkey and also new legal provisions in the 1982 Constitution and legal incentives after 1985. Fatma Gök, "The Privatization of Education in Turkey" in *The Ravages of Neo-Liberalism: Economy, Society and Gender in Turkey* ed. by Neşecan Balkan and Sungur Savran (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002): pp. 93-104.

families were Balkan immigrants, with six women having family origins in Greece, Romania, Albania, Yugoslavia (Bosniac) or Georgia.²⁹⁵ These women came to Ankara either directly from their native countries, or they first settled in another city, and then moved to Ankara. Among those who came to Ankara from different parts of Turkey, five came from East and South-East Anatolia, four from Central Anatolia, three from the Marmara region, two from the inner Aegean region, and one from the central Black Sea coast (See Appendix A, Table 11). These women should not be misconceived as part of the wave of immigration of families flowing from rural areas to the larger cities, which occurred intensively in Turkey from the fifties onwards.²⁹⁶ In the case of this sample, the patterns of migration and settlement had a specific character of their own, as the interviewees came to Ankara mostly due to the assignment of their fathers as high-level state officials, or with the intention of benefiting from the opportunities of the newly developing capital city. This was the case especially for the landowner or relatively well-off families of the provincial cities who were eager to give their children a good quality education and a good future. This is certainly not surprising when considering the rapid socio-economic and urban development of Ankara in the early Republican period.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Of the five women of Balkan origin, three were from the first generation. Of the three from the first generation, one's grandfather and his family migrated from Batumi to the Black Sea region during the period of the Ottoman Empire, while another's grandfather came from İşkodra (Albania) to Istanbul, and then they moved to Ankara after her father was appointed as a judge. There was also one woman whose mother was from Rumeli and whose father was from Selanik. When I asked her origins, she first told me "we are Rumelian." She was the only woman in the whole group whose father had been settled by the state in the township of Zir located close to Ankara. Then, her father came and took her mother's family. In addition to these three first-generation women, there were two from the second generation: one, whose father, who was from Yugoslavia, first migrated with his family to İzmir and, after a while they came to Ankara. The other one's origins were in Romania, but her father grew up in Bahrain and he was assigned to East Anatolia during the Ottoman era. From the great-grandfather onwards, the male family members always worked in the postal service. For information on the displacement of the population and the question of the settlement from the Ottoman Empire to the present, see İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskan Sorunu", *Toplum ve Bilim*, 50 (1990): 49-71.

²⁹⁶ Starting in the 1950s, significant changes were made in the economic and social structure in the rural areas, leading to mass migration from rural to urban areas. The technological advances in cultivation produced a surplus labor force, and played a crucial role in the emergence of migration. In parallel to this, the building of the highway network within the context of the Marshall Plan had an important influence on the movement of people from rural areas to such cities as Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir. For further information on internal migration in Turkey, see Ahmet İçduygu, *Türkiye'de İç Göç, Sorunsal Alanları ve Araştırma Yöntemleri Konferans* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998).

²⁹⁷ For the selection of Ankara as the capital city and its urban development in early Republican period, see Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı: 1929-1939* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993); Çağatay Keskinok, "Urban Planning Experience of Turkey in the 1930s," *METU JFA*, 27:2 (2010/1): pp. 173-188.

Most of the women had no or very limited contact with their hometowns, as their arrival and settlement in Ankara occurred at a very early age, and they generally stayed here permanently as a family. In spite of the fact that several of the women's fathers and/or husbands were employed by the state, and hence, dispatched from time to time to work in different provincial cities and towns in the country, all the interviewees were fully settled in Ankara, spending most of their lives in the city. During the interviews, the majority of the women tended to identify themselves as *Ankaralı* (resident of Ankara), but they also mentioned their family origins without prompting, which is a common cultural practice in Turkey. A small number of women, belonging mostly to the first generation, emphasized where they came from and conceived this, in a sense, as part of their cultural identity. Thus, the general tendency was to say that "we have now become *Ankaralı*," which indicates their own self-perception and definition of where they belong. Also, particularly among those from the younger generation, it was common to indicate that they had grown up in the city, distancing themselves from their rural or provincial origins. Within the entire group, six women had not been born in the city, but almost all had left their village or county when they were very young, although there were exceptions, as two of the women from the first generation started living in the city after getting married (See Appendix A, Table 12). Moreover, of the six not born in Ankara, one woman, even though her family was originally from Ankara, had been born in a small village but had lived in several provincial cities up until the age of fifteen due to her father's profession as a judge. Therefore, when considering the places of origin of the entire sample, a greater part of the interviewed women had grown up in urban areas, and had a certain degree of familiarity with urban life and culture from a very early age.

IV.2. Pathways to Middle Class: Republican Education, Family Values and Work

On the basis of the information given thus far it is possible to understand the general paths and processes in the development of a middle class in Turkey,

specifically in the capital city of Ankara, across almost two generations, in parallel to the processes in the formation of the nation state. Spanning a period of fifty years, with interviewees in the forty to ninety age range, the women participating in the study witnessed the period of acceleration of modernization from 1950 onwards as well as the founding stages of the Turkish Republic. Hence, the interviewed women's narratives of their experiences in a sense give us a general picture of an important part of the Turkish modernization process, although they cannot be regarded as representative. The social and economic patterns and cultural practices surrounding the lives of the interviewees reveal some notable implications of this deep-seated transformation process for the formation of gender and class codes. It is important to note that the nation-building project of the Republic assigned a special role to the state and the state apparatuses, and so the historical development of the middle class went hand-in-hand with the state-led modernization.²⁹⁸ This was not unique to the Turkish experience of modernity, but was common also in non-Western societies, especially in the Middle East. In his work linking the emergence of an urban middle class and the historical experience of modernity in the Eastern Mediterranean, Keith David Watenpaugh (2006) argues that "being modern and being middle class became intertwined, if not one and the same thing, in the consciousness and praxis of members of the emergent middle classes".²⁹⁹ Indeed, in the case of the Turkish modernization process, the formation of a national middle class was regarded as fundamental to the institutionalization of the Republican reforms, along with the implementation of the national economy.³⁰⁰ Accordingly, the social engineering of the reformist state was intended to help create a middle class, while aiming at achieving a new and better society. In this

²⁹⁸ For a comprehensive historical analysis of the state formation and the development of the class structure in Turkish society, tracing the Ottoman Empire before the period of the capitalist incorporation, see Çağlar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey* (London, New York: Verso, 1987).

²⁹⁹ Keith David Watenpaugh, "Introduction : Modernity, Class, and the Architectures of Community" in *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006): p. 10

³⁰⁰ Even before the Kemalist regime, the adoption of this objective first appeared in the Young Turk economic policy in the period after 1908 (the Second Constitutional Period). Several ideologues of Young Turks like Yusuf Akçura denied the necessity of the formation of a national middle class for the accomplishment of the revolution. Watenpaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 26. For further information, see Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993); Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993).

national project, in which the institution of the family, but specifically the middle-class family, was given a central place, and both women and men were expected to contribute to this process, being conscious of their national mission and in accordance with the gender ideology of the Republican regime.

When locating the research sample in this historical framework mentioned above, and considering the time span of the generations studied, it is possible to observe traces of the rise of the traditional middle class and its gradual formation in Turkish society. Here, what I mean by traditional middle class is a social group mainly composed of bureaucrats, civil servants, officers, and army members but certainly not limited to them. When considering the time period under examination, it is important to note that the decline of the agricultural production and the rise of the industrial and service sector by the 1950s led to the enlargement of middle class occupational groups, including entrepreneurs, managers, and small manufacturers, and new businessmen.³⁰¹ Nevertheless, it can be said that the majority of the study group had strong ties with the state. Moreover, the term “middle class” is used in this study to refer “a series of occupations, attitudes, and interests” rather than a rigidly separated and antagonistic social class.³⁰² That is, my primary focus will be more on the patterns of behavior, socio-cultural values, and presentations of self than the level and sources of wealth and income. In general terms, I argue that the women interviewed in the study belonged to more or less the same class, attained the same education, spent a large part of their lives in the same city, and were

³⁰¹ One of the key factors in the political change in the 1950s was the increasing power of the new middle class groups. When considered within the framework of development process, the bureaucratic elite constituted the core of middle class in Turkey. The early Republican period was marked by the process of modernization through bureaucratic innovation with the advent of Kemalist reforms and this was the period when the evolution of middle class began in Turkey. However, after the victory of the Democratic Party, the 1950s and onwards witnessed the growing economic strength of new groups of entrepreneurs and landlords, and, therefore, the bureaucratic elite had to share its power with “the newer sectors of the middle class and their allies.” Thus, the middle class was enlarged by the economic and political involvement of new middle class occupational groups outside the bureaucratic elite. See Neyzi Nezih, “Middle Classes in Turkey”, in *Social Change and Politics in Turkey*, ed. by Kemal Karpat (Brill: Leiden, 1973).

³⁰² In Turkey, and also other developing nations, the formation of social classes is not derived from only and mainly from clash of economic interests. It is not possible to talk about rigidly divided social classes and categories as seen in the Western Europe, owing to the nature of economic development, the political ideology and social and cultural foundations of the system in Turkey. Accordingly, the clashes between the bureaucratic elites and economic groups played a significant role in the formation of social classes. See Kemal Karpat (ed.), “Introduction”, in *Social Change and Politics in Turkey* (Brill: Leiden, 1973).

imbued with similar cultural values and norms, depending on their generational affiliation. That is, each generation of women in the study reflects a certain phase of the middle-class, concomitant with the social and economic development in Turkey. In this vein, the women of the first generation, aged eighty and above, were educated at Girls' Institutes, which occupied a distinct place in the state's education system, and historically played a significant role in the development of the middle-class ideology. As a result of the education of the women in modern ways and practices for the organization of their home and family life, the norms and values of the middle-class ideology of domesticity became disseminated within society. It is also important to note that these Institutes remained popular, particularly among the urban middle-class and upper-middle class families of the provincial towns, up until the mid-seventies as single-sex educational institutions for girls only.³⁰³ These Institutes, where the modern norms and values were promoted relating to both private and public life, became in the long run "important signifiers of middle-class status and cultural taste" in Turkish society.³⁰⁴ This process would have been accomplished as the women got married and started a new family, in which they were to apply the norms of modern/Western domesticity.

Following this general trend of the period, most of the women I studied from the first generation maintained, in some way, a modern way of life in their marriage with their spouses, who were also eager to adopt the reforms in their family lives. On the whole, it was the husbands who were more willing to embrace these changes and novelties in everyday life, being the initiator, and this was especially

³⁰³ During the interviews, it was common for women who had graduated from the Institute to mention with some pride their classmates who were the daughters of reputable families in Ankara, or whose fathers were Parliament members, governors or well-known music or theatre artists. This gives some idea of the socio-economic background of the Institute students in Ankara at that time, as a collection of the middle and upper-middle class girls of the city. Zehra Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic" in *Deconstructing Images of The Turkish Woman* ed. by Zehra Arat (London: Macmillan, 1998): p. 163.

³⁰⁴ In his article that examines the construction of the identity of Turkish modern women, Zafer Yenel focuses on the teaching of cooking and changing consumption practices. Following Bourdieu's (1989) conceptualization of *habitus* and taste, he argues that the reconstitution of the women's role through adopting Western norms led to the development of new ideals of domesticity as inherent part of the Republic ideology; and he draws attention to the fact that "these new norms of domesticity that promoted through educational institutions of the state," the Girls Institutes being in the first place, became "important signifiers of middle-class status and taste." See Yenel, "Cooking the Nation: Women, Experiences of Modernity, and the Girls' Institutes in Turkey" in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950* Anna Frangoudaki and Caglar Keyder (London, New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007): p. 192.

manifested in the participation of the family in social life and activities. As the spouses of the women were employed mostly in state institutions, they were naturally involved in the newly emerging and developing public life being promoted by the state. When taking into account the conditions of the period, being the 1950s and 1960s, it is still not possible to talk about the existence of a rich and lively public life, especially in terms of leisure, entertainment and recreational activities. Although the country was undergoing rapid socio-economic development under the influence of America during the 1950s, like elsewhere in the developing world at that time, its reflections on middle-class urban everyday life in Ankara was not yet apparent. Choices of activities were very limited, and most of them were not inclusive or preferable, as they would be out of the price range of the larger part of society. For instance, dining out was quite rare until the late 1960s for most of the interviewed women's families. I was often told during interviews that their family income did stretch to such extravagances.³⁰⁵ Similarly, the household spending on travel and holidays was low, and the concept of an annual holiday had not yet emerged. According to my interviews, most of the women started taking family holidays in the mid-1960s, generally going to places close to Ankara, but especially to summer camps run by the various state institutions.³⁰⁶ As an economical option for families, state-run summer camps were a very common shared experience among the women in the study, even into the second generation. This indicates how the organization of leisure time and activities in society, especially for middle-class families, was developed by the state, being a decisive actor in the formation of both the public and private spheres.

It should be pointed out that the 1950s and 1960s were times of frugality in society as a whole, and the idea of living sparingly was one of the core elements of a

³⁰⁵ Ankara anyway did not have many public eating places, like restaurants, fast food cafes or patisseries, where people could meet their friends and to eat at a fair price. It should be noted that dining out and similar activities were not yet developed as a common pattern of middle-class social behavior in everyday life at that time, being considered by many as unnecessary. This issue will be examined in detail in Chapter V, Section 2.2.2. Restaurants, Cafes and Patisseries.

³⁰⁶ As most of the women underlined, tourism and holiday resorts around the country at that time were extremely limited. For this reason, they preferred to holiday at the summer camps run by state institutions with which a family member was affiliated. This person was most often the father, although in some cases the families were able to benefit from such facilities through the work affiliations of the mother or both parents.

traditional middle-class family lifestyle. Accordingly, families tended to be careful with their spending and consuming habits, and household expenditures were limited to certain consumer goods and subsistence items. This was certainly related to the purchasing power of the families to a large extent, but, beyond this, over consumption was regarded as improper and reprehensible, being associated with the idea of lavishness and exuberance. This generally accepted opinion in both the society and culture of that period can be seen in many of the narratives of the first-generation women when speaking about their daily life activities and shopping habits, but also in their sense of good manners and by what values they raised their children.³⁰⁷ Hence, as consumer markets were also not yet developed, and most consumer products were not commonly available, the general tendency was rather to produce at home by the family's own means, which was especially the case for foodstuffs and clothing, and to use what was bought or made for as long as possible in the most economical way. It is evident that graduating from the Girls' Institute had a functional benefit, given its educational program based on courses like cooking and needlework, and concentrating on the household economy. The majority of women interviewed said that they used to meet the clothing needs of the family members by tailoring at home themselves, based in part on the scarcity of ready-made clothing. As evident in the childhood and early teenage memories of the second-generation women, this situation continued until the seventies, when ready-to-wear clothing started becoming popular and could be found more easily in the country's urban areas.³⁰⁸ It should also be noted that most of the women's families were among the earliest owners of certain consumer goods, which took time to spread throughout society, such as televisions, telephones and automobiles. In terms of their purchasing power, they were almost all able to buy new

³⁰⁷ This attitude towards over consumption and the idea of living sparingly was also observed in the narratives of the second-generation women when speaking about their upbringing, and most of the women from this generation talked about how they were raised by their parents in this manner. They mentioned these teachings and values proudly and in an approving manner, and often gave negative examples from the present day in terms of the weakening social relations, people's attitudes towards each other and over-emphasis on consumption in society.

³⁰⁸ In the study group there were a few "well-to-do" women who mentioned that they sometimes ordered textiles and clothing from abroad. However, this attitude was seen to be more common in the case of new technological products and household appliances (cameras, tape players, televisions, refrigerators etc.) and also childcare materials and toys.

technologies, especially consumer durables and home appliances, which were considered essential in a modern Turkish family home. These socio-economic status indicators do more than merely reflect income, as they also point to the middle-class character of the majority of these families. Although the interviewees did not always define themselves as middle-class in a specific way, instead using such terms as “ordinary” and “normal,” it can be argued that in their behavioral patterns and living standards (food, clothing, consumer goods, entertainment, children’s education, etc.) they were within the primary group, constituting the traditional middle class in modern Turkey, and specifically in Ankara as the capital city.

As to the women interviewed from the second generation, what has been presented thus far gives a general picture about what kind of family life the second-generation women had and in what socio-economic conditions and cultural patterns they were raised up. Most of the elements and habits of everyday life mentioned above were explicitly observed in the childhood and early teenage narratives of the women in this group, that is, those who were born during the 1950s and the 1960s. In point of fact, rather than change, there was much continuity in certain fields, but particularly in the everyday standard of living, as the first generation left its place to the next one. Their consumption behavior and public life activities were gradually changing and expanding, though not to a significant degree, with the opening of new stores and shopping arcades, and the new availability of such goods and products as ready-to-wear clothing or catering, and the establishment of restaurants and patisseries. Most of the women interviewed implied or explicitly mentioned that these kinds of everyday practices were subject to important changes from the mid-eighties onwards, but most during the 1990s, which some of them described as the period of the consumption society.³⁰⁹ What has been maintained

³⁰⁹ Turkey has gone through a dramatic transformation in many aspects since the beginning of the 1980s due to an economic and political restructuring. In parallel to the adoption of a liberal, market-oriented, and outward oriented growth strategy, the years since have witnessed an increasing supremacy of market forces in the field of consumption, along with the decreasing state regulation of the economy and also the cultural realm. This process led to the creation of new consumer patterns and cultural practices, impacting primarily and most intensively in the urban areas. As a result, consumption has increased noticeably, especially among the middle- and upper-income groups, and small-scale business and retail shops have been replaced by large department stores and shopping centers. From the 1990s, shopping malls “as an emerging public space” started to expand

over the two generations, to a great extent, is the sense of thrift and frugality as representative of middle-class family culture and virtue. It is apparent from the interviews that these were the core elements of their family lifestyle, as they had been brought up according to the ideals and values of the traditional middle-class family, which promoted the virtues of responsibility and a good education to benefit both the family and society as a whole.³¹⁰

Certainly, the aforesaid ideology was particularly gendered as well as classed, which had different implications for boys and girls as it was seen in the case of the first-generation women being directed to become educated mothers and wives. It is evident that the gender dimension of the nationwide-promoted ideology was significantly transformed across the generations, as the role and status of women had always been a point of focus in society. This leads comfortably to the newly emerging ideals and expectations of the women interviewed from the second generation, the majority of which had grown up under the influence of their educated Republican fathers on the one hand, and their Institute-graduate mothers on the other. Accordingly, they were brought up with a good education and were encouraged to get a profession, while at the same time being competent at housework. As the interviews explicitly indicated, the mothers of the interviewees were keen to pass on to their daughters the skills they had learned at the Institutes, so ensuring the development of a well-mannered young girl and a good housewife

in the big cities, housing their own leisure and entertainment facilities, and accordingly consumption became a kind of lifestyle in urban everyday life. See F. Erkip, "The shopping mall as an emergent public space in Turkey," *Environment Planning A*, Vol. 35 (2003): pp. 1073-1093.

³¹⁰ These dispositions of the interviewees as the members of middle-class families support the argument put forward by Bourdieu (1984) that the habitus of the old petit bourgeoisie is formed by traditional values and its members think that they gained their position through "simple, serious and honest life." In his elaborate empirical study, Bourdieu demonstrates that the ethos of the old petit bourgeoisie everyday life is based on the notion of conscientiousness, which leads to the appreciation of the "values of work, order, rigour and care." Nevertheless, as Neyzi (1973) reminds us, these standards associated with the middle classes in the West might not be equally accepted by all the sections of the middle classes in developing countries like Turkey. The distinctive feature of middle classes in these countries is that, I argue, it is defined not only by wealth, professions, education and the like, but also by the way they claim to be modern. By incorporating the mores, manners, and tastes associated with the Western middle-class culture, they tried to be as modern as their counterparts in Europe. Therefore, as Watenpaugh (2006) argues, being middle class, primarily in cultural sense, is the evidence of being modern. This was certainly much more apparent in the early Republican era in Turkey but was still relevant in later stages. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (U.S.A: Harvard University Press, 1984): p. 350; Nezih Neyzi, op. cit., p. 130; K. D. Watenpaugh, op. cit., p. 22.

for the future. The fathers, on the other hand, had a governing role, especially in their educational and working lives (selection of university and field of study, and also the processes of choosing a career and finding a job).³¹¹ This raising of the women as young girls in both the public and private realms was not contradictory, as the two milieu are mutually complementary, defining the contours of the status and roles of urban middle-class women at that time. Hence, the second-generation women were required to have a higher education and to work in a respectable job, while also maintaining a good marriage and being a good wife and mother in the home.

Another important point that should be noted regarding the middle-class character of the second-generation women that reflects the character of the time period is that class differences and conflicts seemed to have little influence in everyday life. Several of the women interviewed underlined that they had attended state schools for their primary education, where the children of different socio-economic groups were intermingled. They frequently mentioned friends from lower-class families, as well as from better-off families, and also the equitable treatment of their parents and teachers. Referring to the current situation with regard to the large gap between the lifestyles of the rich and poor, and in particular the increasing number of private schools and colleges intended for the children of middle- and upper-middle class families, the women in this group were proud to praise the lack of hostility between the different levels of people in everyday life and social relations, unlike today. In this sense, their families' good relationships with their lower-class neighbors, especially with the families of the doorkeeper, and their attendance of the same school were the most common examples cited of this in the narratives of the

³¹¹ The interviews reflect that household chores and domestic issues were the most prominent and common areas of conflict among mothers and daughters. Often, the women from the second generation would complain about their mother's high standards of cleanliness and orderliness in the home, and would mentioned how difficult and tiring it is to satisfy the demands and expectations of their mothers regarding household tasks. The most intense disputes seemed to arise when they were young girls, especially in puberty, but continued, though in a lesser degree, after marriage. These would take the form of criticisms from their mothers about taking care and managing the home, and also more generally, about being a good wife and mother. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VII, Section 3. Between Mothers and Daughters: Domestic Work as A Compromise and Chapter VI, Section 2.1. "I have always been domestic:" Home as a Woman's Central Place.

interviewees.³¹² Moreover, most of the women pointed out that such basic moral values were tied strongly to their parents, who taught them that it was a shame to differentiate between people based on their economic and social status and their deficiencies. During that period of that time, the poor were not yet being perceived with contempt or as a threat in Turkish society;³¹³ and as also implied in the interviews, they were rather treated by the traditional middle class with sympathy and, more importantly, social responsibility. This is actually not very surprising when considering that social polarization and segregation had not yet arisen in society, appearing only as a small gap between the rich and the poor. It is also necessary to take into account the impact of the rather liberating political climate of the 1960s and the 1970s, when leftist movements and labor unions had great influence, and calls for democracy and equality were common in society. Beyond these points, I believe that the social family background of the studied group in general also played a significant role, as their parents had witnessed a period of coalescence in the common national ideals of the young Republic in anticipation of

³¹² As one of the major cities in the country, Ankara experienced very high urban population growth between 1950 and 1970, with an intense flow of migrants from the rural area. A large number of squatter settlements sprang up, and over the course of time, sharp socio-economic hierarchies and spatial differentiations emerged in the geography of the city. While the lowest income groups were located in the belts of the squatter areas surrounding the city, the more affluent population tended to move gradually towards the southern parts of Ankara. During these years, most of the migrants started working in the service sector and in informal jobs; although some who worked and lived as a family in middle and upper-middle class neighborhoods, where the husbands would be employed as doorkeepers, in charge of building security, shopping, cleaning, general maintenance, etc., whereas the wives became domestic workers in the houses of the residents. The rise of doorkeeper families in the Turkish urban landscape occurred in the early 1960s as a result the replacement of single family houses with apartment buildings, which continued into the 1970s. Therefore, unfamiliar encounters emerged along class lines, generating significant physical and symbolic spaces that were shared by both rural and urban groups. Gül Özyeğin, *Untidy Gender: Domestic Service in Turkey* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001). While researching this thesis, I came across examples of such class encounters, mostly among the women interviewed living in the district of *Aşağı Ayrıncı*, which is inhabited by rather middle and upper-middle class families; and to a lesser degree in *Küçükkesat*. As the doorkeeper families tend to live in the same apartment as their employers, their everyday lives inevitably intermingle, and they use common public places in the neighborhood. Some of the interviewees mentioned the doorkeeper families in their apartment, drawing attention to their good relations as neighbors, and the lack of enmity between them. While making interview with one of the women in the garden of their apartment I had the opportunity to see the relationship with the wife of the doorkeeper, who saw us and dropped by. The interviewee treated her as she would an old neighbor, and then gave me more details.

³¹³ After mid-1980, the incidence and degree of urban poverty dramatically increased owing to economic and political crisis in Turkey, and also other important factors like the forced migration that occurred in the 1990s. The underlying reason for the rising poverty in society was, to a great extent, the huge growth in unemployment and the growing inequality in income distribution. Different from earlier periods, in the nineties, poverty was closely correlated with crime, violence and conflict due to the increasing social and spatial polarization, and the widening of the gulf between the different income groups. However, during the sixties and the seventies, poverty was not yet perceived as “a massive threat,” and the urban poor were not perceived as the “dangerous other”. See Emre Kongar, *21. Yüzyılda Türkiye* (İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 1998); Sema Erder, “Yeni kentliler ve kentin yeni yoksulları,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, 66 (1995), pp. 106-119.

a classless society; and, hence they were imbued with a strong belief in building a better society through the commitment of each citizen.

Thus, in the context of this study, the development of the middle class was an inherent part of the modernization project and the creation of a nation state in Turkey; and in these processes, the formations of gender and class played a decisive role, alongside the construction of the family. Within this project, women, especially from urban middle-class families, had a central role, being responsible for applying the ideology of domesticity and transmitting it for the next generations. Here, as a concluding remark, I argue that in addition to certain characteristics like age, birthplace and family origin, the cultural patterns and social practices described here can be considered as reflections of the emerging traditional urban middle-class family and culture, to a large extent, under the influence of the state in a bid to create a modern and civilized nation. Therefore, I argue that based on public education and state-related employment and the associated cultures, the subjects of this thesis followed traditional pathways to a middle-class life, but more importantly, a middle-class culture of virtue, imbued with idealism and a sense of social mission. That is, by maintaining social and moral values while adopting certain living patterns, they were able to build a modern social life and become key social actors as carriers and transmitters of the urban middle-class culture and national ideals.

CHAPTER V

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: EVERYDAY PUBLIC LIFE OF WOMEN IN ANKARA BETWEEN 1950 AND 1980

V.I. Changing the Capital, Changing Cultures of Public Space

The period between the years 1950 and 1980 can be regarded as one of the most crucial periods in both the political history of the Turkish Republic and the urbanization process of the country. These three decades saw great changes in every domain of society, and were a turning point particularly for the political regime of Turkey and its economic relations. In 1950, the single-party system was replaced by a multi-party parliamentary democracy, bringing to an end to the rule of the Republican People's Party (RPP) with the success of the Democrat Party, thus marking the end of the early Republican period. The electoral success of the Democrat Party was based on the overwhelming support it received from the peasantry and the private sector,³¹⁴ and the new government would quickly abandon state-based development and the restrictions of a closed economy in favor of economic liberalism and integration with the global market. This process of liberalization led also to an increasing dependency on the United States with the flow of American funds into Turkey. These changes in the economic and political realms put Turkey on a new path towards modernization,³¹⁵ significantly putting an end to the ideal of creating a national bourgeoisie. Differently from the previous period, the Democrat Party's understanding of modernity highlighted religious and traditional elements and became sensitive to the tendencies of populism. İlhan Tekeli (1999) interpreted this transformation as a shift from "a radical modernity

³¹⁴ For a general historical account of this transition in the field of politics and the economy, see Feroz Ahmad, "The multi-party conundrum 1945–1960" in *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993): pp. 102–120.

³¹⁵ Keyder interprets this transition as "a shift from one pattern of capitalist modernization to another." In his view, this stage is a "bourgeois modernization", referring to "the political forms of liberal democracy, and for the rule of more commercially minded less autonomous governing class." See Çağlar Keyder, 'The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy' in *Turkey in Transition: New Perspectives* ed. by Irvin C. Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak with translations by Rezan Benatar, Irvin C. Schick and Ronnie Margulies (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987): p. 42.

project” that started with the foundation of the Republic and lasted until the 1950s, to “a populist modernity project,” that took place between the 1950s and 1980s.³¹⁶ This shift would influence deeply the urbanization process of the Turkish Republic, and also inevitably the development of Ankara as the capital city.

In the early Republican period, Ankara was the symbol of modern Turkey; and as the most important socio-spatial aspect of the modernization project, it signified the urbanization of the newly founded nation-state.³¹⁷ By the 1950s, however, the Democrat Party had begun to promote İstanbul rather than Ankara for urban development, losing Ankara its privileged position in the country. As the new development model was adopted that prioritized the interests of the private sector, the port cities that had lost importance before 1945 returned to prominence, particularly İstanbul.³¹⁸ The Prime Minister in the 1950s, Adnan Menderes, was particularly interested in large-scale expropriations in İstanbul; and for the next 10 years, public investments flowed into İstanbul rather than Ankara. From this period onwards, without any priority being given, Ankara had to develop relying on its own sources within liberal market mechanisms, which brought with it difficulties in urban development and the management of the city, especially in the mid-1950s, when financial bottlenecks were appearing nationwide.

In the period between 1950 and 1980, cities were shaped on the basis of the increasing industrialization, rapid urbanization, and the excessive growth in both size and population.³¹⁹ As one of the three largest cities in the country, especially in these post-war years, Ankara experienced swift and spontaneous growth, as well as

³¹⁶ İlhan Tekeli, “Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması” in *Modernite Aşılırken Siyaset* ed. by İ. Tekeli (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999): p. 16.

³¹⁷ Tarık Şengül, “Cumhuriyetin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Ankara’nın Gelişiminde Farklı Aşamalar” in *TMMOB Ankara Kent Sorunları Sempozyumu 29–30 November 2007* (Ankara: Kazan Ofset, 2008): pp. 17–22.

³¹⁸ İlhan Tekeli, “Başkent Ankara’nın Öyküsü” in *Türkiye’de Kentleşme Yazıları* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1982): p. 68.

³¹⁹ Sevin Osmay “1923’ten Bugüne Kent Merkezlerinin Dönüşümü” in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* ed. by Yıldız Sey (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1998): p. 140.

several endeavors to overcome it.³²⁰ The continuous migration from rural areas and the question of housing and land speculation put great pressure on the administration of the city. During the 1960s and the 1970s, the major issues faced by the administration were the control of urban growth and the development of strategies for “the expansion and spatial organization of industrial capacities of the city in order to absorb the migrants arriving in Ankara.”³²¹ However, by 1955, the “planned” capital city of the Republic had already turned into an unplanned developed city with a population of half a million, and the re-planning of the city became inevitable. Following an international competition launched in 1955, the second master plan of Ankara, foreseeing a population of 750,000 in 2000, was prepared by Nihat Yücel and Reşat Uybadin (See Appendix B, Map 3). The plan was approved in 1957 and was implemented between 1958 and 1968.³²² The most prominent feature of the plan was the physical organization and the use of land within the city, and its most significant effects were the spread of suburban sprawl along the western axis and the relocation of industry away from the city center.³²³ The Yücel-Uybadin Plan, however, made no proposal for a spatial form of urban development for Ankara, being based on a metropolitan plan. More importantly, it did not take into account the previous plan made by Jansen, and so for its implementation, the Jansen Plan had to be totally disregarded (See Appendix B, Map 4, Map 5). The proposals within the Yücel-Uybadin Plan for dealing with urban growth resulted in the pursuit of growth through “the destruction of the urban fabric and the construction of high-rise blocks.”³²⁴ Legal changes that allowed property ownership paved the way for significant increases in the number of buildings and population density,³²⁵ and the replacement of two-story houses with

³²⁰ Bülent Batuman, “City Profile: Ankara” in *Cities* (June 2012), p. 11.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³²² Ali Cengizkan, “1957 Yücel-Uybadin İmar Planı ve Ankara Şehir Mimarisi” in *Cumhuriyet’in ‘Ankara’sı: Özcan Altaban’a Armağan* ed. by Tanrı Şenyapılı (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005): pp. 24–59.

³²³ Batuman, (2012), *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³²⁴ Cengizkan, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³²⁵ The Condominium Law of 1965 made it legally possible to purchase and own apartments. With the opportunity for joint ownership of apartment blocks, high-rise residential developments became the typical

high-rise apartment blocks would alter the physical texture of Ankara city throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

The rise of apartment buildings, however, was only one aspect of the urban development and spatial transformation of Turkish cities in this period. When considering the changing macro-form of Ankara, the urban socio-spatial pattern reflected a dual structure, with the emergence of apartment housing districts and spontaneously developed squatter settlements. This duality was not limited to the field of housing, but affected the entire city structure, including the city centers, land use and urban transportation.³²⁶ As a result of dramatic and rapid changes in the urban landscape, Ankara lost its status as the first planned city in modern Turkey, being left to develop according to market forces.³²⁷ It should be noted that the 1960s saw a return to planned development with the onset of a new governmental era and the enactment of the 1961 Constitution. Urban planning, being considered as a part of social and economic development, became valued at the national level as more than simply a practice of physical planning.³²⁸ Accordingly, between 1968 and 1984 the Ankara Master Plan Bureau oversaw the spatial transformation of Ankara, working especially on the organization of industrial zones and directing the city's growth outwards.³²⁹ Although these attempts brought improvements in one sense, they were ineffective in creating permanent solutions for the rapidly growing urban areas. By the 1970s the population of Ankara had already surpassed the estimation of the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, having reached 1.2 million, and this incorrect population projection on the

pattern of middle-class expansion in the 1960s and 1970s. Ayşe Öncü, "The politics of the urban land market in Turkey: 1950–1980" in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1988), pp. 49–50.

³²⁶ İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması" in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* ed. by Yıldız Sey (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1998): pp. 1–24.

³²⁷ Özcan Altaban, "Cumhuriyet'in Kent Planlama Politikaları ve Ankara Deneyimi" in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* ed. by Yıldız Sey (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1998): p. 55.

³²⁸ Deniz Altay and Asuman Türkün, "The Changing Patterns of Segregation and Exclusion: The Case of Ankara" in *Globalizing Cities: Inequality and Segregation in Developing Countries* ed. by Ranvinder S. Sandhu and Jasmeet Sandhu (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2007): pp. 281–283.

³²⁹ Batuman (2012), op. cit., p. 4. See also Altaban, "Ankara Metropolitan Alan Planlama Deneyimi: 1970–1984 Nazım Plan Bürosu'nun Kuruluşu, Örgüt Yapısı, Planlama Yaklaşımı ve Sorunlar" in *Planlama* (2002/4): pp. 32–45.

one hand, and the pressure of land speculation on the other, gave rise to serious problems for the urban development of Ankara in the period.

The unplanned growth and expansion of Ankara experienced between 1950 and 1980 did not manifest itself in the development and enhancement of urban public spaces, which is not surprising. According to a 1970 research of the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau, green spaces for public recreation and cultural and entertainment facilities were grossly inadequate for a growing metropolitan city.³³⁰ During this period, Ankara contained only 5% of the green areas and 14% of the recreational facilities needed for a healthy urban environment in a city of Ankara's size and population.³³¹ Most of the open public places in the city, including urban parks and city squares, had been established or planned before the 1950s. At this point, it should be noted that Yücel-Uybadin Plan gave no priority to the spatial form of the city, which had been established through a pattern of squares and urban green areas by the previous plans prepared by Jansen and Lorcher.³³² Moreover, owing to the Democrat Party's populist approach to urban development, by the 1950s many of the existing public spaces within the city had been destroyed with the enlargement of the streets and boulevards and the reduction of green areas to facilitate the flow of traffic.³³³ The city centers were the first areas to be affected by this trend, which appeared most prevalent in *Kızılay*, the most important central business district of the time. *Kızılay* had gradually become smaller in size through various implementations to resolve the growing problems of traffic congestion, public transportation and car parking. Broadening the streets and boulevards led first to the removal of the chestnut trees that lined Atatürk Boulevard, and then the gradual reduction over time in size of *Kızılay* Square. By the late 1970s, *Kızılay* Park, which was one of the most popular recreational areas of the time, had totally vanished, and the historical *Kızılay*

³³⁰ Altaban (1998), op. cit., pp. 56–57.

³³¹ Ibid., p. 56.

³³² Baykan Günay, "Ankara Çekirdek Alanı'nın Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında bir Değerlendirme" in *Cumhuriyet'in 'Ankara'sı* ed. by Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005): pp. 80–90.

³³³ İlhan Tekeli, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Türkiye'de Belediyeciliğin Evrimi" in *Türkiye'de Belediyeciliğin Evrimi* ed. by Ergun Türkcan (Ankara: Türk İdareciler Derneği, 1978):pp. 117–126.

building had been demolished. In addition, a substantial part of Güven Park had begun to be used as a terminus for buses and *dolmuş*. It should be noted that there was an additional political force behind this transformation, as the spatial arrangements and the new orders undertaken in the city centers served the purpose of controlling and preventing the mobilization of the masses, restricting the use of the squares and central city streets for political gatherings.³³⁴



Photo 8: Kızılay, Yenişehir, 1950s



Photo 9: Kızılay Square, 1970

The picture presented above covers only the physical aspect of Ankara's public spaces during the period in question. In spite of the increasing scarcity of urban public places within the city, however, Ankara was host to a vibrant public life and culture, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. This was strongly related to the social and political climate of the time that had been revived by a rather more liberal and democratic Constitution in 1961. In order to understand the changing dynamics of urban public life during these years, it is important to look at how the functions and uses of the main city centers changed in parallel to the changes in Turkish society in this period. While *Ulus* was the only city center in Ankara during the early Republican era, two new centers had emerged in the city by 1980. Along with the development of Yenişehir in the south, *Kızılay* also gained in importance as a major urban public space, and had become the main center of the city by the 1960s. Afterwards, between 1970 and 1980, commercial activities started to develop along

³³⁴ For the regulations implemented by the government to reduce the political use of *Kızılay* Square in this period, see Batuman (2002), *op. cit.*, pp. 61–64.

Tunalı Hilmi Street, which was located further south, and this area became a significant sub-center, attracting banks and various service activities (See Appendix B, Map 2). As a result, by the end of the 1970s, Ankara had turned into a city with three central areas, *Kızılay* and *Ulus* being the major city centers, and Tunalı Hilmi Street as a sub-center.³³⁵

One of the major points to be considered regarding the use of city centers in this period was the significant change in the number and social class of the people using these areas of the city. Among these three city centers, *Kızılay* is worth particular attention as the main public space of the time, where a mix of people from all different parts of the city came together. Having a more central location than both *Ulus* and *Tunalı Hilmi*, *Kızılay* became increasingly the most commonly used public space, and had an important unifying role among the different areas of the city. What is of importance here, however, is that *Kızılay* had come to acquire a more diverse character by the 1950s. In the early Republican era, the public spaces located around *Kızılay* were used mainly by the new bourgeois and high-income groups; however, starting in the 1950s alongside the transition to the multi-party system, *Kızılay* started to become accessible to the lower-income groups that were settled in other parts of the city, including the settlements in the peripheries.³³⁶ The introduction of the *dolmuş* as a new mode of inner-city transportation had a major impact on this transformation in its connection of urban habitants with the city centers.³³⁷ That said, it should not be overlooked that *Kızılay* and its surrounding urban residential neighborhoods maintained its middle and upper-middle class character during these years. The change that occurred was rather in the public use of *Kızılay*, which became more diverse in terms of different social groups that used it. Particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, under the influence of the socio-political

³³⁵ Osmay (1998), op. cit., pp. 146–147. Raci Bademli, “Ankara Merkezi İş Alanının Gelişimi” in *Ankara 1985’ten 2015’e* (Ankara: EGO Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1987b).

³³⁶ Batuman, “Cumhuriyet’in Kamusal Mekânı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı” in *Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): pp. 55–57.

³³⁷ Osmay (1998), op. cit., pp. 145–146. *Dolmuş* is an informal public transportation mean appered in this period due to the insufficiency of the existing public transport system. For further information, see İlhan Tekeli and Tarım Okyay, *Dolmuşun Öyküsü* (Ankara: Çevre ve Mimarlık Bilimleri Derneği, 1981).

conjuncture, the center of *Kızılay* and especially the Square led to different and overlapping uses and different meanings for diverse social actors. The politicization of urban public spaces was another important feature of this period, and it is possible to see traces of this in the women's experiences presented later in the thesis. It is apparent that urban public spaces in Ankara became the sites of political contestation and resistance, and played a crucial role in the development of a vigorous political culture.

The new municipal movement that appeared in the 1970s also had a noticeable impact on the rise of a vibrant political and civic life.³³⁸ With the success of the social democratic parties in the 1973 and 1977 local elections, the decade proved to be a fortunate period for the city of Ankara, given their prioritization of urban social policies.³³⁹ The municipality mayors during this period, Vedat Dalokay and Ali Dinçer, concentrated on producing and implementing urban planning decisions that benefitted all citizens, providing urban services also to the squatter areas as well as the city centers.³⁴⁰ One of the most important services launched by the municipalities in this period was to initiate the development of new public spaces for use by the urban public, including urban parks and green open spaces, and also pedestrian areas. Some of the most prominent examples of these were the reformation of the *Sıhhiye* district with green space arrangements, and the introduction of Sakarya Street and its environment as a pedestrianized area, which was followed by the pedestrianization of the Yüksel district.³⁴¹ These places, which remain as important centers of urban life in Ankara even today, have reinforced the

³³⁸ The principles of new municipalism were determined as democraticness, productiveness, creating resources, organizing social consumption, unionist holism and rulemaking. Developed by technicians, attempts were made to implement them in democrat municipalities in this period. See Ruşen Keleş, "Demokratik Gelişmemizde Yerel Yönetimler" in *Bahri Savcı'ya Armağan* (Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı Yayını No: 7, 1988): p. 292. See also Korel Göymen, *Bir Yerel Yönetim Öyküsü: 1977-1980 Ankara Belediyesi Deneyimi* (Ankara: Özgün Matbaacılık, 1983).

³³⁹ Altaban (1998), op. cit., p.59.

³⁴⁰ The most significant projects implemented in this regard were the de-regulation of roads and junctions, the launch of a subway construction, the implementation of "bus lanes" for the first time and the establishment of bakeries for the production of low-cost bread for the public.

³⁴¹ Korel Göymen, *Bir Yerel Yönetim Öyküsü: 1977-1980 Ankara Belediyesi Deneyimi* (Ankara: Özgün Matbaacılık, 1983): pp. 75-111.

inhabitants to participate in the use and production of the urban public culture. However, with the military coup of 1980, all of the local government units were dismissed, and the political administrative structure underwent a dramatic change that resulted in most of the human-centered projects being unrealized.³⁴² The military coup marked the introduction of a new era in every field of society, which brought an end to both the new municipal movement and the vibrant urban public culture in Ankara.

V.2. Women's Everyday Public Spaces in Ankara

In this section, I will explore the use of Ankara's urban public space by women, based on the general historical framework provided above for the urban development of Ankara. The analysis will look into the socio-spatial behaviors and practices of women in their everyday life, making use of a variety of different sources, including literary works, biographies, and memoirs, as well as the first hand narratives of the women interviewed in this study. The study will reflect upon what kinds of urban public places were most commonly used by women in Ankara in the 1950 to 1980 period. The intention in doing this is to compile a general picture of urban daily life and the public culture of Ankara in the given period from the perspective of women, based on their experiences and activities in everyday life. Following this method, the intention is to reveal to what extent and through what activities women participated in and contributed to urban public life at the time, which can be considered an important study for two reasons. Firstly, existing literature contains few studies related to the role and experiences of women in the public space, and there is a significant gap regarding how women perceive, experience, and transform public space and public culture. Secondly, a large majority of the works on Ankara have concentrated on the early Republican period and the Second World War, and as such very little is known about urban culture

³⁴² Tekeli, "Yakın Geçmişten Bugüne, Belediye Programlarının Oluşumu" in *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, XII/93 (Mart), pp. 40–44; Tarık Şengül, "On the Trajectory of Urbanization in Turkey: an Attempt of Periodisation" in *International Development Planning Review*, (2003, b), 25, 3, p. 162.

and daily life in Ankara from the 1950s to the 1970s.³⁴³

A common feature of most researches concerned with Ankara is that they are based primarily on the accounts and experiences of male inhabitants of the city, and mostly from the elite families of society, being prominent in the political or intellectual realm or a member of a well-known family.³⁴⁴ What is more, our knowledge of Ankara in the early years is limited to the accounts of people who came to the city following the establishment of the Republic. Apart from a few exceptions, the available auto/biographies and memoirs were written by those who grew up in the social milieu of Yenışehir, a newly founded part of the city.³⁴⁵ The authors were mostly the children of notable families (*eşraf*) or civil servants who had been assigned to the capital city, and little is known about the lives of the rest of the city, particularly the city's native inhabitants (*yerli*) who lived in the oldest part of the city.³⁴⁶ As such, the social lives of ordinary people and their everyday experiences in Ankara can be understood only from the perspective of outsiders.

There are a few narratives on early Republican Ankara that were penned by women from the elite society of the city, like Latife Hanım and Halide Edip Adıvar, or by

³⁴³ To give some examples of researches on early Republican Ankara: Zeynep Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara," Unpublished PhD Diss. (University of California at Berkeley, 1987); Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı: 1929–1939* (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993); Serpil Özalp, "Transformation of Ankara between 1935–1950 in relation with Everyday Life and Lived Spatiality," Unpublished PhD Diss. (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2006); İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923–1938*. (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001); Ahmet Tak, "Ankara 1923–1950: The Socio-spatial Manifestation of Republican Will," Unpublished PhD Diss. (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2007); Gönül Güneş, *İkinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında Gündelik Yaşam* (Ankara: Alter Yayıncılık, 2013).

³⁴⁴ Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Çankaya* (İstanbul: Bates Yayınları, 1998); Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1987 [8th edition]); Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Politikada 45 Yıl* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1968 [2nd edition]); Orhan Karaveli, *Bir Ankara Ailesinin Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2009); Nahid Sırrı Örik, *Tersine Giden Yol* (İstanbul: Arma Yayınları, 1995).

³⁴⁵ For instance, Vehbi Koç, an Ankara-born businessman who became nationally famous, is one of the most prominent examples. See Can Dünder, *Özel Arşivinden Belgeler ve Anılarıyla Vehbi Koç 1961/1976 2 Cilt* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008).

³⁴⁶ In their comprehensive historical study of Ankara, Suavi Aydın et al. indicate that the only example of narratives that gave voice to local inhabitants of Ankara in their own words was the collection made by Hamit Zübeyir in Ankara Budun Bilgisi (1935). *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005): p. 485.

foreign women, especially journalists, who visited Ankara at that time.³⁴⁷ There are also memoirs and novels written by prominent writers and journalists, as well as by pioneering professional women of their times.³⁴⁸ These were, on the whole, women who were able to participate in the already limited public life in early period of Republican Ankara, which follows one of the most notable features of this era in any kind of narrative – the scarcity of women in urban public life. This was often expressed by the men of the Republican elite coming from İstanbul as a kind of complaint about the dullness of public life. There are also some anecdotes written by elite women, though less in number, regarding their discomfort with the excessive male population in public spaces.³⁴⁹ Similar anecdotes were voiced by some of the first generation of women and those aged above eighty, who were interviewed in the study. For instance, Sevim’s (1936, *Küçükkesat*) words illustrate this point very well: “Back then women didn’t wander on the streets, it wasn’t like now sweetheart. (...) You see, when a men saw a girl he would look at her nonstop. Now, they just pass you by.” Thus, it is often that the Ankara of the 1930s was referred to as “a city devoid of women” in most written and oral narratives.³⁵⁰ Certainly, this narration of the city would not fully reflect the complete picture of Ankara of the given period. As Funda Cantek (2003) states, women were not few in number, as what seems to be referred to was the scarcity of women who were participating in the newly founded urban public life in compliance with modern dress codes.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ İpek Çalışlar, *Latife Hanım* (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2011); Halide Edip Adivar, *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* (İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 2004); Halide Edip Adivar, *The Turkish Ordeal* (New York, London: John Murray, 1928); Sabiha Gökçen, *Atatürk’le Bir Ömür* (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 2000); Grace Ellison *Ankara’da Bir İngiliz Kadını* trans. by Osman Olcay (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1989).

³⁴⁸ Suat Derviş, *Ankara Mahpusu* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2000); Nezihe Araz, *Mustafa Kemal’in Ankara’sı* (İstanbul: Dünya Basım Dağıtım, 1994); Silan, Şen Sahir, *Pişman Değilim* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002); Süreyya Ağaoğlu, *Bir Ömür Böyle Geçti* (İstanbul: İstanbul Barosu Yayınları, 2010).

³⁴⁹ In her memoirs, Süreyya Ağaoğlu, the first female Turkish lawyer, wrote how two young women, eating by themselves at a restaurant whose other customers were all men, had been received with astonishment. Süreyya Ağaoğlu, *Bir Ömür Böyle Geçti* (İstanbul: İstanbul Barosu Yayınları, 2010), pp. 40–42.

³⁵⁰ N. Sırrı Örik, op. cit., p. 176; Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Mustafa Kemal Paşa ve Milli Mücadele’nin İç Âlemi* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1967): pp. 178–179; F. Rıfık Atay, op. cit., p. 353; R. Halit Karay, op. cit., p. 43.

³⁵¹ Funda Şenol Cantek, *“Yaban”lar ve Yerliler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), p. 94.

The male-dominated public realm in early Republican Ankara would certainly not prevail, as social life in the 1950s became more mixed and diversified in terms of gender and class. The number of women in urban public life increased noticeably with their growing participation in education and employment. This change was reflected in most studies of Ankara, and also in the auto/biographical and literary narratives related to the city, and there was also a relative increase in the number of women's narratives, particularly literary and biographical works.³⁵² Yet, as mentioned earlier, little has been written specifically on the urban everyday life of Ankara between 1950 and 1980. When compared to the vast records from the early Republican era of 1920–1950, and also the period after the military coup in 1980, this three-decade period in-between seems to have been left in the shade. In addition, among the already limited number of researches, the lives and experiences of women are rarely touched upon, as much of what has been examined and described about Ankara in this period, and indeed the lives of women, is from the perspective of men. For instance, Önder Şenyapılı's works (2005; 1992) on everyday life in urban Ankara are highly illuminating, particularly on leisure and entertainment in Ankara,³⁵³ yet most of the public places he described, and especially bars, clubs and concert venues for evening entertainment, were not widely used, or even known, by most of the women.³⁵⁴ Among the interviewees in the present study, only a few women said they had visited such places, and only a couple of times at most. The participation of women in urban life was most often seen in such cultural activities as the cinema or theater; however, and not surprisingly, in the personal narratives written by men there is no mention of

³⁵² Some of the most prominent women writers of the period, who produced either literary or biographical works, were Sevgi Soysal (1970; 1973; 1974); Nazlı Eray (1976; 1979; 1981); Ayla Kutlu (1979; 1983; 2007); Selçuk Baran (1987); Adalet Ağaoğlu (1974; 2004).

³⁵³ Önder Şenyapılı, "Gençlik Yıllarımın (ve öncesinin) Ankara'sında Eğlence-Dinlence Mekânları" in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı* ed. by Tansi Şenyapılı (Ankara: ODTU Yayıncılık, 2005); *Ankaralama* (Ankara: Belya Yay., 1992).

³⁵⁴ This is certainly related to the dynamics of class as much as that of gender. The entertainment venues that Şenyapılı experienced from a young age and related in his memoirs were mostly those that appealed to upper-middle class groups, particularly in terms of the cultural capital. Şenyapılı worked as a civil servant and journalist after completing his higher education at METU, and then Pennsylvania University. This may give a certain idea about the socio-spatial status of the places he attended for leisure and entertainment; however, it should be noted that the gender aspect was also quite effective, as can be seen in his anecdotes about strip shows and erotic dancers in the venues he attended. See Şenyapılı, op. cit., pp. 311–316.

activities women engaged in only by women, either alone or in groups. In this section, the primary intention is to examine and reveal the experiences of women in public places in Ankara during the 1950s and 1980s – the places they used to go, how they used the public domain, how they perceived these places and the kind of activities in which they took part. This inquiry will draw back the curtain on a unique aspect of everyday life in the city, one that has remained hidden under the cloak of male narratives on public space.

The use of urban public space by women can be categorized under four types of activities: leisure and entertainment; errands and consumption; public transportation; and political and civic action. The following sections will make an analysis of the spaces for leisure and entertainment in Ankara, along with the changing lifestyle habits throughout the subsequent generations. Furthermore, so as to maintain historical continuity, reference will be made to public life and the associated spaces in the early Republican era on the basis of the narratives of the oldest age group within the first-generation women.

V.2.1. Spaces of Leisure and Entertainment

The urban public spaces that were commonly used by women for leisure and entertainment in Ankara can be classified into three generic categories, based on the lived experiences of the women interviewed and a number of literary narratives from the period that were written by women: (1) places for recreational activities, such as parks and picnic areas; (2) places for eating out, such as restaurants, cafes and patisseries; and (3) places for cultural activities and entertainment, such as cinemas, theatres and music venues.

V.2.1.1. Parks and picnic areas

Urban parks have been prominent in public life in Ankara since the very early years of the Republic, serving as an important part of the modern urban culture and lifestyle, and offering the city's inhabitants an opportunity to spend their leisure

time together within the city. They were places for both families and bachelors, but over the course of time they became a sine qua non of family public leisure, and were used especially by women. The basic recreation areas in pre-Republican Ankara were the gardens, vineyard houses and streamside areas around the city, such as *Hatip Çayı* and *İncesu Deresi*, where people could go for picnics. These areas were often mentioned by the interviewees from the first generation and those above eighty, and remained vivid in their childhood memories. Hikmet, one of the first-generation women interviewed, recalled her childhood in the vineyard owned by her family with a feeling of longing:

"... in our garden, like I've told you, was in Türközü and was a beautiful place to have a picnic. For instance, all our relatives and family friends would come to there for a picnic. (*It was*) such a beautiful fruit garden, with a brook right next to it, fish would wiggle in it. There were all sorts of fruits there; pear, all sorts of fruits, I cannot even count." (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)



Photo 10: *Hatip Çayı*, 1930s

Most of the women emphasized that there was no place else to go and spend time, which was a common observation also in the narratives of the newcomers to Ankara coming from İstanbul. The city bore almost no trace of the modern way of living, particularly concerning public leisure and entertainment, and so in order to create a modern urban culture and transform public life, the Republican regime set about building new public places where people could gather and share this new social experience. The urban parks and green areas constructed within and around the city were of particular importance, offering alternative forms of recreation to

the existing traditional leisure (*mesire*) culture. Gençlik Park, Atatürk Forest Farm and Çubuk Dam were the most popular of these, and were repeatedly mentioned by the interviewees from the first generation, including those above the eighty. Gençlik Park and Atatürk Forest Farm in particular featured strongly in the childhood memories of the second-generation women. Aliye (1939, *Küçükkesat*) from the first-generation women shared her memory of Gençlik Park: “Whatelse was there in Ankara anyways. We'd go to the Çiftlik for picnics. I mean if you don't have a vehicle you cannot go out just like that. And, well, we'd really go to Gençlik Park. We'd have tea, kids would play... We'd walk around.”



Photo 11: Gençlik Park, 1955



Photo 12: Atatürk Forest Farm

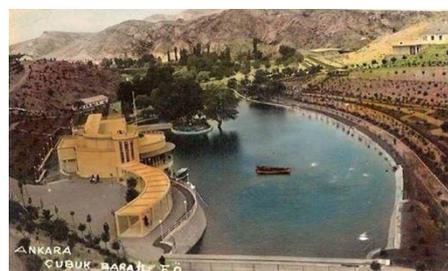


Photo 13. Çubuk Dam, 1940s

Some of the women in their early seventies related their memories of Hacettepe Park and Esenpark, which were both organized as urban parks, but were used to a large extent as the extension of traditional social practices.³⁵⁵ Hikmet said that picnicking in Hacettepe Park was a frequent leisure activity in her childhood:

³⁵⁵ Serpil Özaloğlu, “Transformation of Ankara between 1935–1950 in relation with Everyday Life and Lived Spatiality,” Unpublished PhD Diss. (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2006): p. 142.

“Quiet often we'd go to, Hacettepe was a picnic area back then, we'd go there often. For dinner, everyone in the house, all the neighborhood, we'd go there. (...) Would be gone there mostly during fall and spring; because we'd be in the garden (*referring to their vineyard*) during summer; but in fall and spring we'd definitely go there to have our meals.” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)

It is apparent from similar narratives of the interviewees that the new urban green areas served as meeting places for women and were in common use as picnic sites by families. They retained their popularity throughout the 1950s–1980s era, although it is certain that there were changes in their uses and meanings. It should be noted that the interviewees' experiences of these places coincided with the period in which their uses and functions had changed significantly, moving away from their originally intended mission of educating the public and creating the modern Turkish citizen.³⁵⁶



Photo 14: *A family picnic (Zehra, the oldest gen.)*



Photo 15: *A Childhood Memory: Family Picnic (Reyhan, 2nd gen.)*

During the mid-1930s and 1940s, both Gençlik Park and the Farm, and also Çubuk Dam, were very popular among the elite of the city, with the large swimming pools offering opportunities for sunbathing and boating, and music halls for jazz music and dance. As a result of the move of the city center from *Ulus* to *Kızılay*, and more

³⁵⁶ Zeynep Uludağ, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde Rekreasyon ve Gençlik Parkı Örneği” in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* ed. by Yıldız Sey (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998): pp. 72–73.

importantly, the reluctance to mix with people from the lower classes, these urban public places had by 1950 lost their appeal for the elite. The resulting tension between “the elite” and “the people” regarding the modern way of life and public manners often featured in the early pages of the *Ulus* daily newspaper until the late-1940s. For instance, in an article about Çubuk Dam scornful remarks were made about the local inhabitants of Ankara who brought barbecues, coal, swings etc. to a picnic in the park of the Dam, and reminded that this place had not been built for these kinds of people.³⁵⁷ The main criticism was the continuance of traditional leisure practices in the newly created urban public places that aspired to be modern. Similarly, a writer in the daily *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* newspaper spoke of the existence of two separate city cultures in Ankara:

“The outlook of *Ankaralı* (resident of Ankara) in Mamak, Kayaş and Hatipçayı would be backward, while it seems advanced in Çiftlik Park, Marmara and Black Sea (Swimming Pools), (...) However much you try. If you cannot resemble it to Çiftlik, if you cannot put a real orchestra instead of "fine orchestra" of the garden, there is no chance at all for you to give the 'unity' view to the community.”³⁵⁸



Photo 16: Atatürk Forest Farm, Beer Parks, 1930s



Photo 17: Atatürk Forest Farm, The Black Sea Pool, 1930s

According to the author of the piece, the activities undertaken by the public at such picnic sites as *Kayaş* and *Hatip Çayı* had to be changed, in that he considered them to be a part of the past. That said, it could be understood from the article that his main fear was that the Farm would turn into something similar, with all classes of

³⁵⁷ *Ulus* (26 Jul 1937); İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923–1938* (Ankara: ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Yay., 2001): pp. 328–331.

³⁵⁸ *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, “Ankaralı Nerelerde Nasıl Eğleniyor?” (19 Aug 1933) quoted in *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü* ed. by Aydın and et. al., p. 429.

people crowded into the same space. However, as could be understood from the interviews, these places, especially *Kayaş*, remained as popular picnic sites, even into the 1960s, for a large section of society. Güngör, who came to Ankara at a very early age and grew up in *Yenişehir* during the 1950s and 1960s, depicted their picnic trips to *Kayaş* in this way:

“It was *Kayaş*; where we had our picnics, we'd go by train... For example, we'd talk beforehand, with friends we were going to go with. (...) And, everyone would prepare something. (...) We'd go as a crowded group with our baskets on our arms, like a flock you know. We'd go from this *Yenişehir* thing, the station, we'd get on a train and go to *Kayaş*.” (Güngör 1946, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)



Photo 18: *Kayaş*, A Family Picnic

More importantly, the public leisure culture that was regarded by the writer as backward was not limited to the old picnic areas. Contrary to expectations, the intended modernization and Westernization went rather in the opposite direction, with the Atatürk Forest Farm becoming one of the most crowded picnic sites in Ankara over time, to the detriment of the art, cultural and sporting activities provided there, which gradually disappeared. This change was evident in the words of Saadet (1942, *Cebeci*) from the first generation, who came to Ankara from a nearby village as a child: “We'd go to *Çiftlik*. Take the train with our bags, and we'd also take small gas cylinders. And go to Atatürk's house for picnics.” Saadet's account dates back to the early 1960s, and reiterates exactly what was occurring at the Farm that was often mentioned with disdain in the newspapers of the 1940s.

The significance of outdoor leisure sites for this study is based on their use by different parts of the population of Ankara, and their revealing of class and gender conflicts more evidently. This would have increased in time, in parallel with the growth in automobile ownership and the development of public transport. The establishment of Gençlik Park, which occupied a very large area in the center of the city, had a great effect in the revival of urban public life by the mid-1940s. Gençlik Park, which was introduced as “the sea right in the middle of Ankara, heaven in the steppe” in the newspaper *Ulus* (26 March, 1942), became the new face of Ankara’s leisure culture at the time, based on the range of facilities and activities offered.³⁵⁹ The park featured a large pond with a fountain, where rowing boats could be rented, as well as gardens, playgrounds, coffeehouses, a swimming pool, music halls, open-air theaters, etc.³⁶⁰ Considering the conditions of the period, Gençlik Park had a unique character, providing not only recreational but also cultural entertainment to the inhabitants of Ankara. More importantly, the park embodied the modern leisure culture, where the diversity of the facilities offered something to every segment of society – the young and old, men and women, and also the rich and poor.³⁶¹ Similar to the other open urban public places mentioned in this section, Gençlik Park, too, was first and foremost frequented by the elite and upper-middle class people in the first decade of its establishment. As indicated by many of the interviewees, the social composition of the Park changed significantly over time, resulting in the more elite members of society to move on from Gençlik Park to other areas.³⁶² In Selçuk Baran’s (2009) novel *Bozkır Çiçekleri*, which is set in Ankara in the early 1970s, the main character, a young man who came to the capital from the provinces expresses this situation as follows: “In Ankara, there are many a people who do not like coming to Gençlik Park. Likes of Nurten and those

³⁵⁹ In the newspaper, the title was written by Kemal Zeki Gençosmanoğlu. Aslanoğlu, op. cit., p. 330.

³⁶⁰ “Ankara’da Gençlik Parkı”, *Belediyeler Dergisi*, April 1936, No. 9, pp. 74–75.

³⁶¹ Uludağ, op. cit., p. 68.

³⁶² Uludağ, Zeynep, “The Social Construction of Meaning in Landscape Architecture: A Case Study of Gençlik Parkı in Ankara,” Unpublished PhD Diss. (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 1998): p.168.

aristocrats and those who have self-proclaimed some privilege won't set foot in Gençlik Park. You are right to be marveled by this abstention or the contempt.”³⁶³

With the influx of visitors from many parts of society, Gençlik Park experienced its golden years throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In parallel to rise of the entertainment industry in Turkey, by the 1950s³⁶⁴ the Park had seen the establishment of a wide range of commercial entertainment venues, including restaurants, tea gardens, cafeterias, beer gardens, *gazin*os and an amusement park. These places, reflecting the sense of fun and general tastes of the period, catered to different social groups with different services, and there was a noticeable difference between the users of the tea gardens and those of *gazin*os, where popular singers would take to the stage.³⁶⁵ Nevertheless, Gençlik Park, up until the 1970s, was populated predominantly by middle-income groups, leading the general common profile of the Park to become a kind of moderate middle-class modernism, emerging on the basis of a mixture of traditional cultural patterns and Western culture.³⁶⁶ In this newly developing leisure culture, in which entertainment was prominent, a leading role was played by the amusement park and the number of *gazin*os and tea gardens that had appeared in the Park by 1952³⁶⁷ (See Photos 19, 20, 21). As the interviews reflect, both were in regular use by women for many years and are ingrained in their memories, being mentioned to varying degrees by the majority of interviewees from both generations, including the oldest age group born before 1930:

³⁶³ Selçuk Baran, *Bozkır Çiçekleri* (İstanbul: YKY, 2009 [1987]): p. 83.

³⁶⁴ Murat Belge, “Türkiye’de Günlük Hayat” in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Vol 3–4) ed. by Murat Belge and Bülent Özüakın (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984): p. 863.

³⁶⁵ In particular, as most of the personal narratives indicate, the Göl Gazino in Gençlik Park was a quite upscale place with a rather select clientele, appealing to middle-class families who could afford the prices and who were used to going to such places. As a salient example, see Burcu Yılmaz, “Bozkır’daki Cennet: Gençlik Parkı” in *Sanki Viran Ankara* ed. by Funda Şenol Cantek (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005): p. 226.

³⁶⁶ Erol Demir, “Kamusal Mekân ve İmge: Gençlik Parkı’nın Değişen Anlamı” in *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 94 (2002): p. 116.

³⁶⁷ The popularization of *gazin*os as a public entertainment venue in Turkish society and the women’s experiences of these places will be elaborated in V.2.2.3. Cinemas, Theatres, and Music Venues, pp. 31–37.



Photo 19: *Gençlik Park (Hayat Magazine, 1970)*



Photo 20: *Lunapark Gazino, June 1972*



Photo 21: *Gençlik Park, Tea Gardens*

“For example, back then Gençlik Park was a hip place, a very hip place. There were times we went there to dine.” (Neriman 1929, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

“... We, the kids would get ice-cream and all, and the young girls would buy some other stuff and we'd sit there. There were open-air places where they'd serve tea, they'd bring tea in samovars, everybody would sit and all; but us young girls wherever there was an amusement park (*would go there*). We'd go to the amusement park, but Gençlik Park was very clean, people would ride the boats there, it's not what it was.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

“... and the most important one was Gençlik Park then. For instance, say they would gather us all and take us all there. (...) We, in Gençlik Park, would ride those, electric cars; that amusement park thing, we loved those the most (*she laughs*).” (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)

Not surprisingly, the transformation of the leisure culture and the newly emerging patterns of modernization in Gençlik Park – and, of course, in other urban public places – were frowned upon by the social elite, who had been the first users of the Park in its founding years. This part of society made harsh criticisms of the situation. For instance, in his memoirs, Nejat Akgün (1996), relating his experiences of Ankara in the 1930s and 1940s, complained about Gençlik Park being turned into a fairground, and considered the opening of the amusement park as the leading factor in the deterioration of the Park:

“In the meantime, the opening of some primitive tea garden was allowed and there had been created a fair atmosphere in that beautiful park. The following year, the local version of funfair raids were made and most of the tea parks were transformed into alehouses and *gazin*os serving alcoholic beverages, and thus the deterioration was provided continuity in any case. The indigenous families in Ankara increasingly gave up frequenting the park and left it to the wealth but incapable people. (...) In the 1960s, matinees for women were organized in some *gazin*os and the shouting of so many people all out with bad voice in the name of artist and their belly dancing with the audience was overlooked. And the name for it was integration with the people. However, if the frequenters were allowed to bring *dolma* with olive oil, *börek* and meatball food, these places would not be any different than the women baths used to be within the neighborhood in the past.”³⁶⁸

In this comment, Akgün’s disparaging class-based attitude toward the Park’s users was clear, with his implication that the new visitors of the Park were lowbrow and not sufficiently modernized. For him, this newly emerging middle-class public culture lacked cultural rather than economic capital, and this stance was very similar to the comments on the Atatürk Forest Farm and Çubuk Dam mentioned above. More importantly in this context, Akgün spoke out about the feminization of the public space, criticizing the ways in which the park was used by women. In his view, the activities engaged in by women in Gençlik Park were backward and belonged to the times before the modernization of the city. In contrast to Akgün’s opinions, many of the interviews conducted in this study indicate that gathering and making their own entertainment had always been a major part of the experience of women in public places in everyday life. It is worth noting that despite Akgün’s gratitude at the prohibition of homemade food in the Park, from the interviews conducted for the study, the women often spoke about preparing food and taking it to Gençlik Park:

“To have a good time we would go to the matinees at Gençlik Park at night. We'd prepare our own food, we'd buy the drinks there but we'd cook some food and go there with friends. We would listen to some music and have fun. Surrounded with green, it would be like having a picnic, I mean at night.” (Yıldız 1938, *Küçükkesat*)

“This is how the picnic thing was like. For instance there were those tea shops around the lake. You'd get a samovar for example and (*have*) whatever you had brought from home (*with tea*), like cakes, rolls, stuffed peppers... (...) There were Re, Recep Özgen tea cafes at that corner. After they brought the samovar (*we would always have*) meatballs, french fries, bread and all there.” (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)

³⁶⁸ Nejat Akgün, *Burası Ankara* (Ankara: Ankara Kulübü Derneği, 1996): pp. 235–236.

The picnic culture, which had been a common pastime in society, started to decrease gradually in the mid-1970s, and had become rare among middle-class families by the 1980s. In parallel to this, the major urban parks and picnic sites like Gençlik Park and the Atatürk Forest Farm lost their appeal for this group, and started to be populated by lower-class groups, especially those that had migrated from rural areas to become the new inhabitants of the city.³⁶⁹ Traces of this can be seen also in the narratives of the women interviewed, as those who continued to visit the park after the 1970s, were usually from the lower-middle class of society and living in the *Cebeci* district and its surrounding areas, close to the Park. It should be noted that most of the women from the second generation referred to Gençlik Park as a leisure and entertainment site when recounting their childhood memories, although their experiences of the Park tended to be limited to special occasions, such as wedding ceremonies: Everybody would get married there; both my sisters got married there. (...) Gençlik Park wasn't divided in two three places yet. It was a very big salon, very beautiful. I mean it wasn't in a very good shape but the way the water flowed and all. I used to see when I went to marriage ceremonies” (Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*).



Photo 22: Gençlik Park (Sevil, 1st gen.)



Photo 23: Gençlik Park, (Leman, the oldest gen. - Gülden 2nd gen.)

The changing use of the Park, which was recorded in a number of previous studies on this subject, was reiterated by several women during the interviews. The transformation of both the social composition of Gençlik Park and its functions was

³⁶⁹ Uludağ, op. cit. (1998); Demir (2002); Yılmaz, op. cit. (2006).

experienced in other picnic sites and urban parks in Ankara over time. In the 1980s, large family picnics started to become less popular, although women, especially those from the first generation, started to use the new parks in their neighborhoods to meet and spend time with female friends, usually with their children. The most commonly used parks in this regard were Kurtuluş Park, Kuğulu Park, Seğmenler Park and Dikmen Valley. In contrast, based on the narratives of the second-generation women, it could be argued that the use of urban parks by women saw a dramatic decrease as a result of the rise of other pastimes, such as walking, sport, etc.

V.2.1.2. Restaurants, Cafes and Patisseries

Nearly all of the narratives about the early Republican Ankara mention the scarcity of places to eat in the city. In the biographies and memoirs of those who lived in the period, anecdotes relating how difficult it was to find proper places to eat, either for entertainment or within the working day, were common. Accordingly, those interviewed from the first generation often stated that the men working for the state would go home for lunch. In the second quarter of the century, the number of eating establishment in Ankara saw a marked increase as a result of both state initiatives and the opening of new hotels with fine restaurants.³⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the existing restaurants and *lokantas* were still few in number, and most were run by minorities,³⁷¹ and of these, Karpıç, Macar'ın Lokantası, Ankara Palas, Belvü Palas and Lozan Palas may be listed as the most prominent examples.³⁷² Offering good-quality service and rich menus, including foreign dishes, these restaurants were Western in style and were frequented mainly by the state elite and intellectuals. As a result, with very few exceptions they were predominantly male-dominated venues, and were rarely used for family entertainment or related activities. Not

³⁷⁰ Zafer Nuri Yenal, "The Culture and Political Economy of Food Consumption Practices in Turkey," Unpublished PhD Diss. (New York: State University of New York, 2000): p. 264.

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 265.

³⁷² Semih Günver, "Ankara'nın İlk Lokantaları" in *Ankara Mutfak Kültürü ve Yemekleri No.2* by Kamil Toygar and Nimet Berkok (Ankara: Vekam Yayınları, 1999): pp. 53–60; Aydın and et. al., op. cit., pp. 417–427.

surprisingly, the women interviewed from the first generation including those above eighty had never been to such places, and so they held no memories of them. This male-dominated pastime was first of all related to economic access, as the restaurants mentioned above were quite upscale for even middle-class families; however, it is also important to note that eating out was not a common cultural practice at the time. As heard so often from the women during the interviews, people did not need such activities in the 1940s and the 1950s. For instance, Güngör, a first-generation woman from a relatively higher social class than the other interviewees, offered the following perspective:

“Well, of course there were restaurants, but then you see. How should I put it, now everyone can go to restaurants but back then. Only the very rich (*could go*); for example, Ankara Palace, Gar *Gazinosu* to go to these places, money wise... I mean, you needed (*lots of*) money. Well, those places, I mean maybe we didn't want to go there that much. Maybe we were happy in our neighborhood, didn't really needed to go you know.” (Güngör 1946, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

Aside from the high-end eating establishments, there were also rather more informal eating places, like pudding shops (*muhallebici*) and ice cream parlors. Pudding shops in particular were in common use by the public, and served as meeting places where young people could spend time together. They were popular among families in the summer, and were usually located in the city center and in the livelier parts of the newly developing neighborhoods, owned generally by immigrants from the Balkans.³⁷³ Among the numerous pudding shops, Akman was one of the most prominent, established in *Ulus* by Albanian immigrants in 1936³⁷⁴. Most of the women interviewed from the first generation recalled their visits to Akman with fond memories:

“The place we went the most was Akman, We'd go there, to Akman the most with friends to drink boza [*a fermented beverage made of millet*]. We loved it there (*when we were at the girls' institute*) and we skipped school at noon, at lunch hour, we'd go straight to Akman, drink a boza and go back during winter. That was what we loved (*she laughs*).” (Aliye 1939, *Küçükcesat*)

³⁷³ Yenal (2000), op. cit., pp. 265–266.

³⁷⁴ For further information about Akman, see the interviews with its owner, Numan Akman, and his son, Alper Akman, in *Bir Aşk, Bir Hayat, Bir Şehir* by Güven Tunç (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınevi, 2011): pp. 212–223.

“In my time, there were pastry shops, pudding shops where you'd get together. For example, there was a place which had the best *fok* ice-cream in Samanpazarı. Akman. (...) It was Akman, it made the best *fok* ice-cream, you'd go in and sit down... (...) I mean there were places as such. There were pudding shops, at *Ulus*, there were things, new things...” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)



Photo 24: A newspaper Advertisement
(Ulus, 25.12.1935)

Photo 25: Akman Pudding Shop, 1930s

Some of the second-generation women also mentioned visiting Akman as a child in the company of their mothers. After 1950, the pudding shops and ice cream parlors were gradually replaced by patisseries and, later, cafes, which would become common meeting points for social activities, especially among young people. While those located in the city centers were frequented by high-class groups, civil servants and intellectuals, the neighborhood patisseries were generally the preferred choice of the middle class. In particular, the new city center of Yenışehir hosted several patisseries and cafes, which served as social centers for communication and influenced significantly the formation of the public culture of Ankara at that time, especially the intellectual and political circles. The lively atmosphere of these places can be seen in most of the literary and biographical narratives of Ankara from the 1960s and early 1970s.³⁷⁵ For instance, Erendiz Atasü (1996), a writer who lived most of her life in Ankara, describes the city of those days as follows: “A road with trees on both sides, a boulevard, nice sidewalks. On the sidewalk

³⁷⁵ Şenyapılı (2004), op. cit., pp. 344–347; Şinasi Özdenoğlu, “Yaşadığım Ankara” in *Başkent Söyleşileri* (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1990); Adalet Ağaoglu, “Aşkım ve Başkaldırım: Ankara” in *Karşılaşmalar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2008 [1993]); *Damla Damla Günler I (1969–1977)* (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2004); Ayla Kutlu Söyleşisi in *Sanatçı Tanıklığı: Kent, Yasam, Kültür* ed. by Ali Cengizkan (Ankara: Edebiyatçılar Derneği, 1996): pp. 303–316; Zerrin Taşpınar Söyleşisi in *Sanatçı Tanıklığı*, pp. 485–508; Selçuk Baran, *Bozkır Çiçekleri* (İstanbul: YKY, 2009 [1987]).

there pastry shops, sidewalk cafes. You'd bump into your friends and have some tea or coffee somewhere. It was a city like that”³⁷⁶.



Photo 26: Yenisehir, Atatürk Boulevard, 1955

The boulevard cafes and patisseries, it would seem, were not used so often by the general public, as a large majority of the women interviewed told me that they seldom frequented such places. Finding them expensive, or just not part of their habits, the interviewees referred to them rather as places they passed by. Only a few of the women from the first generation were able to speak of their experiences of sitting in these cafes, and it was a rare occurrence even for them. Sevil (1945, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*), who was the only university graduate among the women of the first generation, spoke in glowing terms of the boulevard eateries, likening them to European cafes: “Buildings, on both sides of the road. Later on when we were studying at the university, some of the ground floors, were turned into boulevard coffee shops where you could drink some tea or coffee. Just like the ones in France. (...) Yes, yes! And, once in a while we'd sit there with friends.” The women of the second generation, on the other hand, had few memories of this version of the main boulevard and its trees and cafes, at least in the memories of their youth. In their teen years, the general tendency had been to go to the cafes and patisseries in their own neighborhoods, and later to the cafes located around the universities:

³⁷⁶ Erendiz Atasü in *Kent, Yaşam, Kültür* ed. by Ali Cengizkan (Ankara: Edebiyatçılar Derneği, 1996), p. 54.

“We'd go to Kilim patisserie. (...) There, not at Mesnevi, somewhere around Farabi there was another cafe; we'd go there a lot. (...) It was a pastry shop then. Later patisseries became pubs, and pubs to something like that. In our youth these places were pastry shops. Things to do were going to the movies and the pastry shops, there was nothing else (*to do*).” (Gülden 1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“Around Beşevler, across the university campus there were pastry shops. And, that alley in between, because there was the music school; around the music school there were pastry shops there, you know. (...) Or like I've said before, like gaming cafes, we'd play games, we'd play Okey (*a tiles based game*).” (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)

The mid-1950s saw the emergence of the first sandwich parlors in Ankara, with *Uğrak Pastanesi* known to be the first place in the city where food was eaten standing up. After becoming used to conventional seated restaurants, people found eating sandwiches and toast while standing to be a novel experience.³⁷⁷ Among the first-generation interviewees, there were a number of women who remembered very well *Uğrak Pastanesi*:

“And there was Uğrak, a pastry shop, right where the buses stopped. We'd also go there. During the lunch break, you see, what can we eat there. You're the first I am telling this, they kept saying toasted sandwiches, and we were like what is that anyways. (*A sign at the window of the pastry shop said*) "Toasted Sandwiches Made", we got very curious what it is they were making, went there with a few friends, thought we should try them sandwiches (*she laughs*). They were just sandwiches.” (Aliye 1939, *Küçükkesat*)

“There weren't very many food and beverages then, there weren't those toasted sandwiches and all. See, I mean we'd go to Uğrak, there were new sandwiches with Russian salad and sausages, cheese wasn't very popular anymore, there were *ayran* (*a beverage made from yogurt*). There weren't any mek-dunilds' (*referring to the fast food franchise Mc Donalds*), or this and that much back then.” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)

Sandwich parlors expanded in Ankara during the 1960s with the rise of foreign food and eating habits to urban areas in Turkey, influenced strongly by American culture³⁷⁸. Sandwich shops, where the food was served to eat standing up or to take away, first appeared around high schools and universities, and then spread rapidly all over the city. They became very popular in a short period of time, especially among young people owing to their practicality and affordability when compared to other eating establishments, although much of its popularity is undoubtedly due

³⁷⁷ Akgün, op. cit., p. 233.

³⁷⁸ Yenal (2000), op. cit., p. 268.

to the novelty factor. The way Sevgi Soysal (1972) depicts the rise of sandwich shops and people's great interest for them in Ankara is worthy of note in her novel *Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti*, which is one of the most prominent literary works reflecting Ankara at that time at an everyday level:

“The sandwich shop was packed. No one was tired of eating this kind of food; sandwiches made with mustard, sausages, pepperonis, cheese that were served in every shop the same way. Eating sandwiches was a change all together, anew to many. (...) The first sandwich shop was opened in a narrow arcade next to Büyük Cinema. The owner had put up a sign with "Hot Dog" written on it on the boulevard sidewalk. As soon as it was opened, it was overflowed with girls and boys of (*private*) Yenişehir High School together. (...) And then all of a sudden sandwich shops spread all over the city. All the empty shops, apartment building corridors, sheds, around *Kızılay* and *Yenişehir*, all the places that were no good for anything else was turned into sandwich shops. To *Ulus*, *Cebeci*, *Maltepe*, everywhere. These sandwich shops spread to *Yenimahalle*, even to *Altındağ*, *Telsizler*.”³⁷⁹



Photo 27: *Kızılay, Piknik Sandwich Shop*



Photo 28: *Piknik Sandwich Shop, A leaflet, 1955*

Soysal's vivid description gives us a good idea of the extent of change in the dining culture, along with the mushrooming of sandwich shops during the 1970s. The significance of these should not be underestimated, as eating out as a social practice was not yet that common in society, particularly when compared to the fast food explosion during the 1990s. It should be noted, however, that even though sandwich shops were serving food at reasonable prices, they were still not cheap

³⁷⁹ Sevgi Soysal, *Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012 [1973]): p. 24. The place depicted by Soysal in her book was a very famous sandwich parlor named *Piknik* in the city center, *Kızılay*, where she would go to meet with her friends. See Erdal Doğan, *Sevgi Soysal: Yaşasaydı Aşık Olurdum* (İstanbul: Everest, 2002): p. 51. For further information on *Piknik*, which would appear to have been a landmark of Ankara at the time, see Yalçın Ergir, “Piknik: Tuna Caddesi, 1/A, Yenişehir / Ankara” in *Cumhuriyet'in Ütopyası: Ankara* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2012): pp. 234–247.

enough for a large segment of society to afford with great frequency. This was especially the case for the most popular establishments located in the more favorable districts and in the city centers, of which *Kızılay* was the most prominent.

These eating places served as a center of attraction for young people. For instance, Reyhan from the second generation, who at the time lived in *Küçükkesat*, a district close to the city center, talked about one of her favorite sandwich shops: “We'd go to *Kızılay* (city center), there was a sandwich shop and *Dedem* (a well-known similar kind of eating place) there. The sandwich shop had amazing hot dogs; can't find sausages like those anymore. *Dedem* also started selling döner kebabs; doner kebabs were in put in sandwiches, and it was impossible to find a place to sit there. And that was, you know, kind of like having social status to us.” This statement is important, as it shows how a small eating place like a sandwich parlor began serving as a place for the exercising of cultural capital as a means of indicating prestige and status.³⁸⁰ From the interviews with the second-generation women it can be understood that eating at sandwich shops or other fast-food places increased over time, and became a common social practice in urban everyday life from the 1980s and onwards. It is also important to note that the nature and inhabitants of the eating places changed and they became devoted to not only families but also to young people.

Another important factor that was influential in the development of the culture of eating out was the opening of new eating places in Ankara by people who had migrated from different parts of the country, especially from Central and Eastern Anatolia and the Black Sea Region. The massive integral migration from rural to urban areas that started in the 1950s led to the emergence of new types of restaurants and *lokantas* serving traditional regional food in a relaxed and informal atmosphere.³⁸¹ Accordingly, *döner*, *kebab* and *pide* houses had become quite popular in the city by the 1960s and, especially in the 1970s, emerging first in the

³⁸⁰ Following Bourdieu (1984), Finkelstein argues that eating venues were popular spaces of public consumption, where culture, lifestyle and status were an issue. They provided “the tools through which claims for cultural capital are made,” such as artifice and fashionability.” See J. Finkelstein, *Dining Out: A Sociology of Modern Manners* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989): p. 122.

³⁸¹ Yenal (2000), op. cit., pp. 266–267.

city centers and middle-class neighborhoods, and then spreading gradually to the more moderate/middle-income neighborhoods and shopping areas. Their practicality and relatively inexpensive prices played a key role in their popularization. According to many of the interviewees, *kebab* and *pide* houses began to cater to those who would stop by and eat while shopping or while engaged in similar outdoor activities. Among Ankara's eating establishments, the finer restaurants tended to be used only on special occasions such as birthdays and anniversaries, or on pay day. Some of the selected quotes from the narratives of the women given below reveal memories that exemplify these common uses:

"I mean, our birthdays, anniversaries, they meant a lot to me. My husband valued those days as well. We'd go have dinner outside at those days; he liked such things.." (Uğur 1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

"For instance, we'd go to collect grandma's pension. Grandma would get her three months of pension from grandpa; and he would collect it from *Kızılay*, from the Boulevard branch... So, we'd definitely go with her. We'd go Zafer bazaar, the famous Zafer bazaar, wander around there and she'd buy us food you know. (...) I can't remember it that clearly, but for example you know these Kebab 49's (*a famous kebab restaurant*), they had shops back then, too." (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)



Photo 29: *Gazino* Restaurant
(Zehra, the oldest gen.)



Photo 30: *Gazino* Restaurant
(Leman, the oldest gen.)

From these statements it can be understood that eating out practices began to become more common in society, in parallel with the increasing number of eating establishments, including the various types of restaurants and *lokantas*. However, eating out and similar activities, at restaurants, had did not develop as a common pattern of middle-class social behavior in everyday life until the mid-1980s. Most of the interviewees from the first generation tended to consider eating out as an unnecessary luxury, which can also be observed in early memories of the second-

generation interviewees. The economic status of families was undoubtedly the greatest determining factor in this regard, but it is important to note that spending money on eating out at the time was not a generally accepted social practice among the middle class, being associated with extravagance and lavishness. During the interviews, many of the interviewees claimed that their family income did not stretch to such extravagances. This attitude changed significantly over time after the 1980s, when an increase in eating out was observed among the young people and adults that made up the second-generation group, particularly after entering working life. The two quotations below, made by a woman from each generation, are quite important in clarifying the generational differences in the changing patterns of eating culture:

“Me and my husband, we'd go to a restaurant once a month, or sometimes to places where you could eat practically. I mean, like I said, things you'd eat and drink outside were extras, luxury. You'd think of what you could afford when spending (*money*). For that, it was rare, I mean, we wouldn't go here and there like frequently.” (Yıldız 1938, *Küçükkesat*)

“Well now, so many times, we'd have meals outside so often, it was practical. For instance, when there was no food at home we'd go to a restaurant right away. We'd eat and all and then come back home. Those Kukla Kebabs were at, at Anavatan (*political party*), and then there was Urfalı Kebab at *Ulus*. I mean, we'd go to Karacaoğlu (*a kebab restaurant*), I don't know, where else did we go I wonder?” (Ferda 1953, *Cebeci*)

These selected narratives reveal how greatly the attitude towards eating-out changed in just one generation. Eating out had become a frequent everyday practice for the second-generation woman owing to its practicality and the savings of time that could be had. At this point, it is necessary to mention one final change that was often spoken of by the second-generation women regarding the eating places they used to go. Most of the women interviewed in this group said that they liked going to places that served alcohol, such as bars and taverns, but as the quotes below indicate, this was more likely to occur during the university years and afterwards:

“That Sakarya street, over there, um this was around the 70s, 80s... Back then, there were pubs like this, but can't remember their names exactly now... There was one called “Sen ve Ben” (*You and Me*), we'd go there you know. Piknik, until it was shut down, we went to Piknik. There are more...” (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“I mean, we went mostly to, um, to decent *meyhanes* and restaurants for example. (...) For example, well, it's famous, Tavukçu (*meyhane*) we went to at *Kızılay*. That ended slowly, and then to *Körfez*, now it's called *Kumsal*; *Göksu*. I still go to these places quiet often..” (Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

In these quotes above, the increase in the number and variety of eating places in Ankara is quite obvious. More importantly, for the second-generation of women, it can be said that dining out, both in the daytime and the evening, became a part of the entertainment culture of the middle-class women of Ankara.

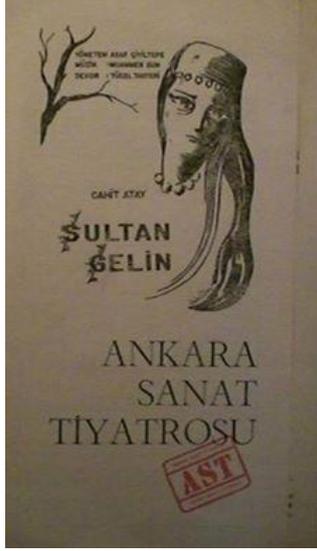
V.2.1.3. Cinemas, Theatres, and Music Venues

From the 1950s onwards, Turkey witnessed a significant revival in cultural and intellectual life. Urban areas became centers of rich cultural activities, including literature, music, theatre and cinema. Owing to its privilege as the new capital, where state-led reforms and endeavors in diverse spheres of culture and art were initially undertaken, Ankara had become the center of this transformation in Turkey by the 1960s.³⁸² As I will elaborate below, its effects were manifested increasingly across generations in the narratives of the women about their participation in urban life. The rich variety of Ankara's cultural activities was prominent in the memoirs of the young artists and intellectuals in Ankara in the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, Zerrin Taşpınar (1996), a poet and writer, describes the city of her youth as follows: “I can compare Ankara; it had an interest for art events that I've never seen in any other city. Maybe it was the people I knew who were like that. I used to think it would be a center of culture, arts and science.”³⁸³ Similarly, Atasü (1996), who was born in Ankara and lived a great part of her life in the city, has fond memories of those days:

³⁸² Kudret Emiroğlu, “1960'ların Ankara'sında Sanat Rüzgârı” in *Cumhuriyet'in Ütopyası Ankara* ed. by Funda Şenol Cantek (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayinevi, 2012): p. 432.

³⁸³ Zerrin Taşpınar in *Sanatçı Tanıklığı* (1996), p. 495.

“There was something nice in our lives, and that was watching plays, ballet performances, and operas. Back then there was AST (*Ankara Arts Theatre*) legend going on. We'd go watch every play there. At State Theatre, I think it was 1961, a ballet was performed fully for the first time. It was Ophelia ballet. We truly lived in a cultural atmosphere.”³⁸⁴.



**Photo 31: Ankara Art Theatre (AST)
A Theater poster**



Photo 32: AST, A scene from a theater play

There are many other examples of these kinds of narratives about Ankara in this period, penned by other writers and artists of both sexes.³⁸⁵ It is apparent that urban life took on a more mixed-sex composition when compared to the previous period, prior to the 1950s, and that this rich cultural life was no longer limited to a small section of society. As the interviews attest, middle- and lower middle-class people were also able to participate in most of the cultural activities and attractions in the city. Many of the women interviewed for the study, particularly those from the second generation, spoke about a very lively social life. This is no more evident than in the words of Esra (1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*), a high-school graduate from the *Ayrancı* district: “We used to go to the classical music concerts. We all gathered

³⁸⁴ Atasü, op. cit., p. 54.

³⁸⁵ Buket Uzuner, “Ankara’ya Hoşgeldiniz Sayın Yolcular” in *Ankara’nın Taşına Bak: Türk Yazınında Ankara* ed. by A. Esat Bozyiğit (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000): pp. 544–547; Ertuğrul Özkök, “68 Gençliğinin Ankara’sı” in *Başkent Söyleşileri* (Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayınları, 1990): pp. 116–137; Doğan, *Sevgi Soysal: Yaşasaydı Aşık Olurdum* (İstanbul: Everest, 2002). Fuat Ercan and et. al., *Hayatımda Hiç Araya Bakmadım: Mubeccel Kıray’la Söyleşi* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2001); Güven Tunç, *Bir Aşk Bir Hayat Bir Şehir* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2011). See also Önder Şenyapılı (1992); Adalet Ağaoğlu (2004).

and went to CSO (*presidential symphonie orchestra*). Again we used to go concerts and theater plays just like that. We were too socialized.”

One of the most popular cultural activities in the period between 1950 and 1980 was theatre, which was popular with both generations, including those above eighty. During those years, there were eleven theaters in Ankara, four of which were run by the state and seven by private companies. There were also theater tours from İstanbul in the spring and summer seasons, and it is clear that they were all very popular.³⁸⁶ Even more private theaters were built during the 1960s and afterwards, and these featured heavily in the narratives of the second-generation women. In contrast, the state theaters, which were located mainly in *Ulus*, the old city center, were more often named by the women of the first generation. Some of the quotations from the narratives in this group below show how popular the theater was among women at the time:

“I have been to most of them. (...) We'd always go to Büyük Theatre, Küçük Theatre on foot (...) Look now, you reminded me of the theatre; we'd go to the theatre so often... I'm still fond of it.” (Uğur 1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“My husband was very keen on plays above all,. He loved it so much and we would go together. So often that we missed almost no plays, especially the ones by Gazanfer Özcan and his group... We'd have so much fun and laugh...” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

From these statements, it can be understood that the theater became a more common activity among people in those years when compared to the early Republican Ankara, although it still continued to be treated as a special occasion. It was common to hear the interviewees speaking about their visits to these places, especially the state theaters, which required them to dress elegantly and appropriately. Aliye (1939, *Küçükkesat*), who came to Ankara at the age of eleven in 1950, described going to theater as being somehow a privilege: “for that place, one would need to have really good clothes, to be smartly dressed,... you know how they say it was a privilege to go to Beyoğlu, going to the theatre in Ankara was like that. People wore navy blue suits and dresses to go to Büyük Theatre.” Besides the

³⁸⁶ Şenyapılı (2005), op. cit. pp. 320–323. See also Tekin Yücelbalkan, “Elmadağ’ın Üstünde Bir Kara Bulut Rivayet Ederler” in *Bir Aşk Bir Hayat Bir Şehir* (2011), pp. 177–191.

narratives of the first-generation women in this regard, there were also some women, though less in number, from the second generation who shared similar anecdotes, but regarding the opera and ballet rather than theater. Sinem, who grew up in an art-loving family, remarked in astonishment how flamboyant the women dressed to go to the opera:

“...mostly to the opera and ballet on Saturdays, still the same. Saturdays were suitable for students. That’s why we didn’t have to wear official clothes. I remember going with my dad to evening performances or ballet shows. When others were telling me, it was boring to me, but I myself experienced it. Believe me, all the women would go in evening dresses; look I am talking about 1975,1976. Men were in suits, and women in evening dresses.” (*Sinem 1954, Küçükkesat*)

As the narrative above illustrates, the custom of dressing formally continued to a certain degree in special venues like opera houses, but a more flexible dress code was adopted gradually over time with the transformation of the theater and cinema into rather casual occasions. This can also be observed in the different theaters attended by the second-generation women, who spoke mostly often about two state theaters in particular that they attended: the Ankara Art Theatre (AST), which was founded in 1963; and Çağdaş Sahne, which opened in 1975.³⁸⁷ Both theatres were launched by a group of theater players around Yenışehir, the new city center, and became well known for their critical and political stance. This was expressed clearly in the words of Seval (1963, *Küçükkesat*), a second-generation woman, who attended the theater quite regularly as an employee at Turkish Radio and Television Association (TRT): “The most important thing. As for the theatres, there was Çağdaş Sahne. There was....Another theatre (*thinking*)... Well, what was the one in *Kızılay* called? (...) AST, yes, AST. Ankara Sanat, AST.” The theatre enjoyed great popularity among young people and university students, as expressed by a theater worker who worked at AST in its early years, referring to the declining interest in theater today: “Eighty per cent of the theatre audience is comprised of the young. Once a play was on in the seventies, tickets for five sessions would be sold in METU, and three in Ankara University. But now five tickets are hardly sold even if

³⁸⁷ Aydın and et. al., op. cit., p. 570. For statistical information on theater halls, the plays staged and the audiences, see *Yurt Ansiklopedisi, Türkiye İl İl Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını, “Adana-Ankara,” Cilt 1* (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1981): pp. 708–709.

you assign one person in university.”³⁸⁸ It is thus possible to see the effects of this tendency in the narratives of the second-generation women, of which almost all were university graduates. To give an example, for Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*), the theaters were city landmarks in the Ankara of her youth: “We used to go to Çağdaş Theatre a lot. To Çağdaş Theatre... That one, the meeting point for a lot of people during those university years used to be the Çağdaş Theatre.” As such, it may be argued that the theater was one of the most popular cultural activities among middle-class people, being influential in the formation of public culture during the 1970s and 1980s. Significantly, the interviewed women spoke were proud of the quality of the theater in Ankara, in terms of both the performances and the audiences, which is evident seen in the words of Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*): “Especially there is one common thing all theatre players say. The best theatre audience is in Ankara, they say.”

Another public leisure activity that began to grow in popularity in Turkish society in the 1950s was the cinema. Unlike the theatre and other similar culture-art activities, the cinema had first emerged as a form of entertainment in Ankara in the early 1930s, led by the private sector;³⁸⁹ however it wasn't until the mid-1950s that its popularity saw a rapid increase. This rise coincided with the development of the local film-making sector, and in particular the Turkish *Yesilçam* films, named after the location in İstanbul of film production and distribution facilities.³⁹⁰ The proliferation of cinemas all over the city contributed greatly to the formation of public culture during this period, and as put aptly by Murat Belge (1984), cinema as a special public space gained a critical importance in everyday life.³⁹¹ Ankara's first cinemas opened in the old city center of *Ulus*, after which, like most of other entertainment venues, started to gather around the new center of *Yenişehir/Kızılay*,

³⁸⁸ Yücelbakan, op. cit., p. 182.

³⁸⁹ Emiroğlu, op. cit., p. 433. For the historical development of cinema in Ankara from the very beginning, see Turan Tanyer, “Sinemalarımız” in *Cumhuriyet'in Ütopyası: Ankara* ed. by Funda Şenol Cantek (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2012): pp. 515–564.

³⁹⁰ Nilgün Abisel, “Türk Sinemasının Mutlu Günleri” in *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar* (Ankara: Phoenix, 2005): pp. 104–109.

³⁹¹ Belge, op. cit., p. 864.

and later in the *Tunalı Hilmi* district. Moreover, the 1960s and 1970s witnessed the opening of a large number of open-air and indoor screens in many neighborhoods of the city. The total number of cinemas in Ankara, including open-air screens, rose from only six in 1941 to more than a hundred in 1973,³⁹² spread across the city, and reaching its very outskirts. Cinema thus became the most popular form of public entertainment in Ankara, and remained so until the 1980s. Behiç Köksal (2004), who worked as a projectionist in Ankara for many years, expressed the popularity of cinema at that time:

“Well, cinema was very popular in those years; you know? It was the foremost tool for entertainment... Going to the cinema, was not like something everyone could do, with all the family members. Most families could not afford going to the cinema.”³⁹³

While Köksal’s comment is true to a certain extent, it should be noted that the opening of neighborhood cinemas provided greater affordability for most families. Cinemas owed their reputation to the districts in which they were located, and besides, it was also important whether the film screened was Turkish or foreign. The cinemas in the city centers were certainly more expensive, and people tended to visit them only on special occasions, and there were only very few first-generation interviewees who remembered going to the cinema in the old city center of *Ulus*. Hikmet (1941, *Küçükkesat*), who grew up in the vicinity of the old city, had fond childhood memories of these cinemas: “The city center, *Ulus*, was very beautiful then. For example, there were lovely cinemas in *Ulus*... My mother, for instance, loved cinema (...) There was Yeni Cinema in *Ulus*. We would go to Yeni Cinema.” The most commonly mentioned cinemas during the interviews were those in the new centers of *Kızılay* and *Tunalı Hilmi*: Ankara Cinema, Ulus Cinema and Büyük Cinema. These were described, in the words of Vakur Kayador (2000), as the symbols of modernizing Ankara, and would be remembered by anyone from Ankara aged thirty-five or over.³⁹⁴

³⁹² Ankara Valiliği 1973: pp. 185–86, quoted in Aydın and et. al., op. cit., p. 559.

³⁹³ Behiç Köksal in *Ankara’da Sinemalar Vardı* ed. by İnal Karagözoğlu (İstanbul: Bilişim Yayınevi, 2004), p. 118.

³⁹⁴ Vakur Kayador, “Bir Zamanlar Ankara Sinemaları” in *Kebikeç*, Vol. 5 No. 9 (2000), p. 162.



Photo 33: Kızılay, Büyük Cinema



Photo 34: Ulus Cinema

“Well, we didn’t have much variety when we were young. Cinema, mostly. I mean, there was our Büyük Cinema in the great bazaar you know. Ulus cinema, there used to be Ulus Cinema at the exact spot as Soysal Inn today. It would play lovely films. We would go to the cinema in winter time, for instance.” (Güngör 1946, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

For the second-generation women, it was the cinemas that opened later around the *Kızılay* and *Tunalı Hilmi* districts that stuck in their memories, particularly *Kızılırmak Cinema* and *Kavaklıdere Cinema*:

“Cinema is very important to us. My friends would even ask me what was on and where it was playing for seven days of the week. Plus, there was Ankara Cinema, Büyük Cinema. They were all turned into different things later. But *Kızılırmak Cinema* has always been our favorite...” (Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)

“As for films, there were cinemas then, because there weren't videos and stuff. The cinemas on *Tunalı Street*, of course it was one of the places we hung out. *Kızılırmak Cinema*, where else would we go? Later, *Metropol* was opened on *Selanik Street*. The time when we were at university or the last grade in high school. What else? We used to go to the cinema on *Tunalı street* more often, I suppose. *Kavaklıdere Cinema*, oh, there was also *Akün* then.” (Seval 1963, *Küçükkesat*)

Moreover, cinemas in the city center would be open during the day to provide entertainment to university students and people working in the surrounding area, especially civil servants. Going to the cinema was quite a popular activity for students when skipping school. Among the interviewees from the second generation were some working women who said that they would go to the cinema during their lunch breaks, and I also heard similar anecdotes from my personal friends of the same age. The following quotations from the narratives of women of different generations exemplify these cinema visits:

“We would run to the cinema, leave the class, ditch the lesson. We'd say come on let's ditch school, let's do it; and we'd go to the movies. There was Ankara Cinema. There was Büyük, Cinema where there is Ankara Office Blocks today. We'd get student's discount; it was just 1 lira. The regular price was 2,5 liras, and student tickets were 1 lira. We'd go there.” (Sevil 1945, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“During lunch breaks when I was working at the office; at lunch break... There was one Büyük Cinema in *Kızılay*. Another... Around that Mine Store's location, just after the *Zafer Bazaar*. There was another cinema over there (...) We used to time it for the lunch break. The lunch break was one and half hours then; I mean from twelve to one thirty, but we used to be a bit late. Films ended bit after one thirty; we would get permission for it. We would rush over there. At lunch breaks... We would go to Büyük Cinema and the other cinema, the other, I can't remember its name... We would go there.” (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

It would appear that the noon matinees mentioned by Hülya date to a much earlier time, even before 1950. According to the memoirs of Köksal (2004), Park Cinema launched a new screening at noon that became very popular in 1945: “That new session was thought of for this reason: “Everybody goes out for lunch break at 12:00; we can bring films that last for about 1 hour or 1 hour and 15 minutes, 1 hour 20 minutes. Play them without showing what is coming soon and all during the lunch breaks... People loved the 12:15 a lot.”³⁹⁵ It would not be difficult to understand that women in Ankara of the 1940s had only limited opportunities to go to these screenings. As was clear from the interviews, it was only during the 1960s or 1970s that women started to go to the cinema with any frequency, either alone or with friends, in parallel with their increased participation in employment and public life.

Besides the handful of cinemas in the city centers, many neighborhood cinemas were opened in the various parts of the city that were either indoor or open-air. These were not limited only to the central neighborhoods, but could be found also in the outlying, lower-class areas. The most advantageous feature of the neighborhood cinemas was their accessibility, being within walking distance of the homes of most people. For this reason, the cinema became the most significant family entertainment, especially for women who were not working and had little opportunity to visit the city centers. The first neighborhood cinema opened in the

³⁹⁵ Köksal, op. cit., p. 67.

Cebeci district, which was a popular middle-class residential area in the 1950s,³⁹⁶ and with the addition of other new cinemas in a short period of time, *Cebeci* soon became known as a kind of cinema district. According to Tuğrul Tanyer (2012), if the sites of the cinemas and the residences of their audiences were to be marked on the city map, it would reveal just how much cinema became a part of neighborhood life.³⁹⁷ This is all too evident in the detailed narration of one first-generation interviewee, Saadet, who gave the names of the cinemas and their location:

“In Ulucanlar Tea Garden, the current Sigorta Hospital, there was Sakarya Outdoor Cinema. There was another outdoor cinema near it, and my uncle was the manager of it. (...) Also, there was Yıldız Cinema, below our house. An outdoor cinema; around Cebeci Cinema, over there, there was an outdoor cinema around the İnönü Stadium, there was an outdoor cinema near the cardiology hospital. (...) We used to go at night. In day time, there was an indoor cinema in *Cebeci*. It had a special daytime matinee for ladies. (...) Besides, there was the İnci Cinema in *Cebeci*, where we also went there. It used to offer family sessions for ladies in day time. (...) Turkish films, they would also have foreign films on. Only day-time family sessions used to be on Wednesdays and Fridays.” (Saadet 1942, *Cebeci*)

As the quote above reflects, there were many cinemas in *Cebeci* and its surroundings, of which the majority were open-air. Located in the gardens or empty plots between apartment buildings, the open-air cinema was known to be one of the most popular family leisure activities in the summer³⁹⁸. During the 1950s and 1960s, such venues were established in many other neighborhoods, such as *Ayrancı*, *Küçükkesat*, *Mamak*, *Bahçelievler*, *Yenimahalle*, *Keçiören*, *Etlük*, *Altındağ* and *Gölbaşı*.

³⁹⁶ Tanyer, op. cit., p. 553.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 553–554.

³⁹⁸ This contradicts Tansı Şenyapılı’s claim that there were very few open-air cinemas in Ankara, and that they did not find favor with the city’s inhabitants, as it is known that there were many open-air cinemas in the city. See Şenyapılı, op. cit. (2005), p. 318.



Photo 35: Gölbaşı Cinema, 1941



Photo 36: Open-Air Cinemas: A Newspaper Advertisement (Zafer, 21.05.1949)

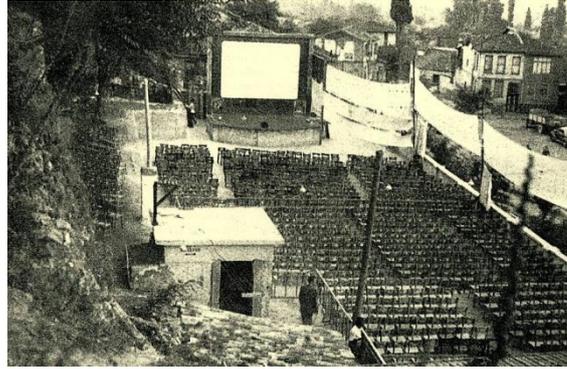


Photo 37: Altındağ Open-air Cinema

Generally, the open-air cinemas screened Turkish movies, and the program would be changed every three days. Sevim (1936, *Küçükkesat*), from the first generation, spoke about how often they used to go to see these movies: “Turkish films, were mostly Turkish films. It was the same both in the outdoors and indoors cinemas. Oh my, we could hardly wait. On both days, whenever films changed we would go to the movies.” Moreover, most of the neighborhood cinemas would put on special screenings during the week, such as bargain matinees and matinees for women and children, targeting women who did not work. As the majority of cinemagoers were from middle and lower middle-class civil servant families, there were also weekend screenings for the whole family. Some of the first-generation interviewees describe explicitly how often they would attend these matinees:

“There would be daytime matinees. (*We would go*) to the cinema always, on Wednesdays. There would be women matinees, one was opened right here. (...) One was opened here... We would go to *Cebeci*. Wherever it was. We would go to women's matinees. On Wednesdays. (Saime 1935, *Cebeci*)

“There was a Konak Cinema here.. (...) We would go to that Konak Cinema, too, on a weekly basis, to the matinees etc. (...) My husband and I used to go on the weekends, either on Saturdays or Sundays. It had a matinee at ten; at twelve, and then it would switch to the regular matinees. That also saved money, it was cheaper. The prices would be different, too.” (Yıldız 1938, *Küçükkesat*)

The popularity of the cinema as a public activity continued in Ankara in the following decades, highlighted by most of the second-generation interviewees; yet open-air cinemas, which had featured heavily in the everyday lives of women, saw a drop in attendance, and gradually faded out in the 1970s. Attending open-air cinemas on hot summer nights remained as a pleasant childhood memory for the second-generation women, as can be seen in Hülya's (1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) narration: "You could see it from my grandma's balcony, like half of the film. We either would go to my grandma's to watch it or we'd go with seeds, fizzy lemonades, and our cushions in our hands. Oh, it was soo delightful..." The narratives of women from both generations depict the rapid growth and concentration of the city in size and population, as well as the loss of these cinemas, which were mostly on empty plots or in large gardens, to apartments or shopping centers. By the 1980s, most of the neighborhood cinemas, especially those in the *Cebeci* district, had been turned into wedding salons,³⁹⁹ and this decline spread to affect also those in the centers across the entire country. This decline was driven by a crisis in Turkish cinema and the rapid rise in popularity of sex films in the early 1980s, which brought to an end the age of the cinema in Turkey.⁴⁰⁰ Significantly, the cinemas in Ankara in 1998, including those that opened in the shopping malls, numbered only fifteen.⁴⁰¹

Besides cinema and theater, *gazinós*, bars and taverns were a significant part of the urban public culture during this period, with *gazinós* in particular being cited in the interviews as the most popular venues for music and dance.⁴⁰² *Gazinós*, where the

³⁹⁹ Tanyer, op. cit., pp. 562–563.

⁴⁰⁰ Abisel, "Renkli Filme Geçiş ve Bunalım Dönemi" in *Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar* (Ankara: Phoenix, 2005): pp. 109–115.

⁴⁰¹ Ali Esat Bozyiğit, "Sinemalarımız" in *Kebikeç*, Vol. 5, No.9 (2000), p. 175.

⁴⁰² *Gazinós* were a very popular form of public entertainment in Turkish society in the 1950s and onwards. Not a casino, nor a tavern in any exact sense, *gazinós* were places where people, especially families, could go to listen to traditional live Turkish music while consuming food and beverages. Some *gazinós* had licenses to sell liquor, though not all, and this mostly depended on the profile of its clients, as well as its status and location. *Gazinós* were found primarily in İstanbul, and were a twentieth century phenomenon, but their earliest forms were seen as early as the 1900s. Münir Nurettin Beken, "Aesthetics and Artistic Criticisms at Turkish Gazino" in *Music and Anthropology* 8, http://www.muspe.unibo.it/wwcat/period/ma/index/number8/gazino/bek_00.htm. For further information on the origins of *gazinós*, see Walter Feldman, "Cultural Authority and Authenticity in the Turkish Repertoire" in *Asian Music*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Autumn, 1990 - Winter, 1991), pp. 73–111.

public could enjoy concerts and dance shows, first began to appear in Ankara in the late 1930s,⁴⁰³ and owing to the increased importance of entertainment in everyday life in the 1950s, they became widespread in urban areas all over the country.⁴⁰⁴ They could be found in many settings, including urban parks or in the complexes of public buildings, such as railway stations. The profile of the customers and also the content of the program would depend on the location of the *gazino*. While park *gazinos* were mostly populated by middle-class families, those housed in modern buildings would put on *alafranga* (Western) music for the upper-class and elite members of society. This differentiation could be seen as more pronounced in the early times of the *gazinos* in Ankara. For instance, *Gar Gazino* was a modern venue for the upper class, and primarily male, bureaucrats, offering Western music and dance shows by foreign women.⁴⁰⁵ Yet, in time, especially after 1950, the status of these venues changed, and the kind of people who would attend such high-class places became more diversified. As the interviews reveal, during the 1950s and 1960s, middle-class families, especially married couples, could sometimes be seen in the evenings in *Gar Gazino* and *Bomonti*, though not often.



Photo 38: *Gar Gazino*: A Newspaper Advertisement (Zafer, 21.05.1949)

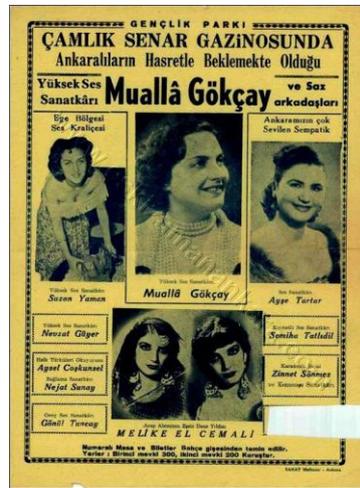


Photo 39: *Gençlik Park*, A *Gazino* Advertisement

⁴⁰³ *Gar Gazino*, located in the building of the train station, and “Çubuk Baraj” *Gazino* within the area of Çubuk Dam opened in 1937, while another famous example, *Göl Gazino*, was opened in Gençlik Park in 1946. İnci Aslanoglu, “1930–1950 Yılları Ankara’sının Eğlence Yaşamı İçinde Gazino Binaları” in *Tarih İçinde Ankara II* ed. by Yıldırım Yavuz (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1998): pp. 327–331.

⁴⁰⁴ Belge, op. cit., p. 863.

⁴⁰⁵ Şenyapılı, op. cit., pp. 311–16; Özaloğlu, op. cit., p. 140.

The two anecdotes from the first-generation women reproduced below highlight their status as a venue for evening entertainment for middle-class families:

“Well, as I've said, there was Bomonti. There was Train Station, we'd mostly go in the evening. There'd be food... Food and shows...The Russian um ... There were, those, dancers whom we used to watch; my husband liked such a table spread, he enjoyed dinning.” (Saime 1935, *Cebeci*)

“once, for example, my uncle and his family invited us for dinner at the thing, Göl *Gazino*. There was a show on. A foreigner something, ladies were dancing and all ... It was nice, we had diner, watched them and came back...” (Neriman 1929, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Although the cultural alaturca/alafranga division continued in the *gazin*os, the main trend by the 1950s was to cater to the audiences of both genres under the same roof.⁴⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the most popular *gazin*os, appealing to the greatest part of society, were those with Turkish music programs. It should be noted that in early Republican Ankara, *gazin*os and other entertainment venues offering traditional Turkish music were rare, and gained little public acceptance, in that the cultural policy of the state sought to downplay traditional Turkish music, promoting instead classical and polyphonic Western music.⁴⁰⁷ Apart from the places like “Şehir Bahçesi” Park, Meclis Park (Park of the Second National Assembly building), Ankara Palas, Gar *Gazino* and Süreyya, where Western music was played, one urban park *gazino*, called Esenpark *Gazino*, played classical Turkish music, and this had become very popular among the inhabitants of the city by the 1940s.⁴⁰⁸ Esenpark was a popular venue for family recreation and entertainment, with lots of fresh air and concerts by famous Turkish singers of the period. Esenpark features in most biographical narratives of Ankara from the period, and it can be understood that it was an important locus of public life during the 1940s and 1950s. Among the first-generation interviewees, several talked about attending concerts at Esenpark *Gazino*: “...then there was a *gazino* called Esentepe in *Samanpazarı* district. We

⁴⁰⁶ Belge, op. cit., p. 863.

⁴⁰⁷ S. Özaloğlu (2006), p. 146; F. Şenol Cantek (2003), op. cit., p. 274. For the state policy and reforms in Turkish music during the early Republican period, see Orhan Hançerlioğlu, “Modernizing Reforms and Turkish Music in the 1930s” in *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 93–108.

⁴⁰⁸ The popularity of Esenpark *Gazino* is all too apparent in most of the early period memoirs and researches. For instance, in Özaloğlu’s study of early Republican Ankara (between 1935 and 1950), Esenpark was one of the most frequently mentioned public places by the interviewees.

used to look forward to seeing them because television was not available like it's now. We'd wait for the new show to come up so that we could go; we'd go to watch those.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*).

In due course, the number of *gazin*os offering Turkish music program increased, while those playing *alafranga* music began arranging concerts by famous Turkish singers of the time. Additionally, family gardens, where people could listen to music over dinner and beverages, opened in several districts of Ankara, in *Cebeci* in particular for the lower-income groups. Between the 1950s and the mid-1970s, *gazin*os experienced their golden years, as television had not yet arrived in Turkey. The narratives of the first-generation women in particular, although sometimes even those of the second-generation women, narrate childhood and teenage experiences of such venues, with the most prominent being Bomonti, Göl Gazino in Gençlik Park, Cebeci Dörtüol Family Garden, and Güney Gazino (See above, Photo 39):

“And, we were young girls, like we were really young girls. I remember going to Safiye Ayla and Müzeyyen Senar's concerts for example. Bomonti was at, somewhere around boys' high school.” (Neriman 1929, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“look, there was a family garden, sort of a club, in our neighborhood, in summer as an example. There was a family garden, there was *Cebeci Dörtüol Family Garden*. (...) So often we went to the family garden in the evening. The whole household, not just the family, all the household would go to that family garden to entertain. Often like once a week, once every 15 days or sometimes twice a week if it was the artificer Müzeyyen or someone alike. (...) And, then in Gençlik Park, I often forget the names, I can't keep them in my mind. Once Zeki Müren and so on had concerts, we would often go to that *gazino*, in that place, in Gençlik Park. What *gazino* was it?” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)

“Mom and dad had night dresses! Not only one, there was Güney *Gazino*. A bit cause of dad's status, to restaurants where they also had music, you know.. they would go to where families dined, where singers went but of course we would stay at home then.” (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

*Gazin*os would sometimes put on special programs only for women, known as women matinees, and for families. The women matinees would generally be shown on the afternoons of certain days of the week. Although historical resources and personal narratives highlight the popularity of women matinees in this period, only

a few of the interviewees mentioned attending them.⁴⁰⁹ In contrast to the interest shown in cinema matinees for women, the common tendency among the interviewees was to attend the evening programs at the *gazin*os with their husband, or accompanying neighbors or relatives. As a very popular public place for entertainment, *gazin*os gradually declined with the advent of television, and also the changing and diversifying of entertainment activities in the mid-1970s.⁴¹⁰ At that time, middle-class families began frequenting *gazin*os, when classical Turkish music began to be replaced with Turkish folk music and *arabesk*, leading to a significant change in the cultural atmosphere and the customer profile.⁴¹¹ One interviewee from the second generation, Ferda (1953, *Cebeci*), who grew up in a relatively lower-middle class family, recalled her *gazin*o memories with joyful and taunting laughter: “...There was a place called Astorya (*laughing*) well in Demirtepe. You know the stairs in Demirtepe down to Necatibey, it was turned into a coffeehouse, I think, even İbrahim Tatlıses would appear there, my dad always arranged the thing for us, to the women’s matinee we would go, to the women’s matinee and all (*laughing*), you see.” Those times heralded the end of the *gazin*o culture in Ankara, and so were not a part of public entertainment enjoyed by the second-generation women. In addition to *gazin*os, there were also bars and music clubs for the younger population, especially young professionals and university students. These places were mostly located in the more prestigious hotels, or in purpose-built venues, and would host popular music bands and dance orchestras.

⁴⁰⁹ For the popularization of women’s matinees at *gazin*os, especially in İstanbul, see Martin Stokes, *Aşk Cumhuriyeti: Türk Popüler Müziğinde Kültürel Mahrem* (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012): p. 55, p. 83. As a vivid literary narrative explaining the popularity of *gazin*o matinees among middle-class women in Ankara, see Yıldız Ramazanoğlu, “Anglika’nın Ankara’yı Unutuşu” in *Kadın Öykülerinde Ankara* ed. by Efnan Dervişoğlu (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2008): pp. 151–171.

⁴¹⁰ Beken, op. cit., 2003.

⁴¹¹ *Arabesk* is a type of music that emerged at the end of the 1960s as a result of the massive migration from rural areas to the big cities. As a hybrid genre, mixing Turkish classical and folk elements, *arabesk* music reflected the passions and aspirations of the rural migrants living in *gecekondus* or squatter settlements in the metropolitan areas. Over the course of time, the term *arabesk* came to represent the entire migrant culture that formed in Turkish cities; however, the generating discourses of degeneration, middle and upper-middle class groups was not appreciated, and they even despised, to certain extent, *arabesk* films and songs. See Meral Özbek, “Arabesk Culture: A Case of Modernization and Popular Identity” in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity* ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997): p. 211. See also Martin Stokes, *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

However, as illustrated in the memoirs of Şenyapılı (2005), they were generally upscale places that catered to the upper-middle class groups. Among the second-generation interviewees, only a few women attended these venues, as most were more likely to attend the tea parties, balls, dance parties and concerts arranged by the university. However, from the late 1970s onwards, and especially during the 1980s, the entertainment culture in Turkey changed significantly, with both family *gazinos* and music clubs with live orchestras being replaced by nightclubs, discotheques, *pavyons* and taverns.⁴¹²

V.2.2. Spaces of Consumption

The development of the city along its north–south axis resulted in the emergence of two central shopping districts in Ankara in the 1950s: one in *Ulus*, and the other in *Kızılay*. *Ulus*, the first shopping district of the young capital, long maintained its significance, but started to appeal to the lower and middle-income groups; while *Kızılay*, within the Yenışehir district, turned into a prestigious new shopping district for the high-income groups of the city. Going against the Jansen Plan, which had projected the Yenışehir as a residential area, the patisseries, cinemas and bookshops began to move to *Kızılay*, followed by the more prestigious of *Ulus*' retailers. As a result, *Kızılay* became the most prominent shopping district in Ankara,⁴¹³ and particularly the legal adjustments of 1951 enabled the opening of commercial and business workplaces in the district, playing a significant role in its

⁴¹² The term *pavyon* originates from the French word *pavillon*, and refers to an entertainment venue, generally open into the early hours of the morning, selling liquor and offering entertainment in the form of music and dance. It should be noted that there have been different uses of the word in Turkey in history. During the 1950s and the 1960s, *pavyon* tended to be used in the meaning of nightclub, where men and women would listen to music and dance, but it is important to note here that it was also a family entertainment venue. One of the most prominent examples of this kind was Süreyya Pavyonu in Ankara. However, by the 1970s, these entertainment venues began to undergo a gradual transformation in terms of both the quality and the profile of the clients, and *pavyon* began to be used to describe somewhere that appealed to male customers rather than families, offering sexual services to some extent. The word *pavyon* is used here in the sense of the second meaning. See Şenyapılı, op. cit., p. 335.

⁴¹³ For the proportions of the workplaces and the workforce size in *Ulus* and *Kızılay* in the 1950s and 1970s, see Bademli, op. cit., pp. 155–157.

transformation.⁴¹⁴ It was only after the mid-1970s that *Kızılay* began to be frequented by large segments of the public. These changing spatial patterns of consumption throughout the 1950–1980 period featured also in the narratives of the interviewed women of different generations when speaking about their everyday shopping habits. During the interviews, women of the first generation largely spoke about *Ulus* and its surroundings, where they used to visit so often in earlier years; whereas the second-generation women rarely mentioned this district as a shopping area, aside from when they were recalling childhood memories.

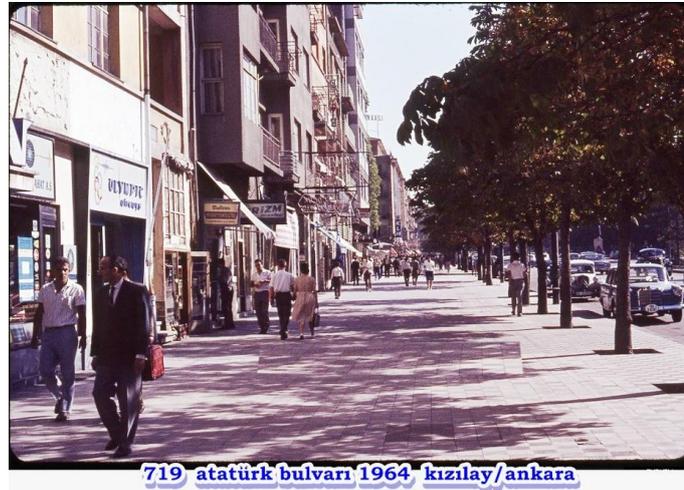


Photo 40: *Kızılay, Atatürk Boulevard, (1964)*

The *Ulus* district, by the mid-1930s, was home to a high concentration of shops selling household goods, dry goods, clothing and shoes, among a wide range of other products. Featuring also services, such as banks, post offices and theaters, *Ulus* maintained the characteristics of a central shopping district. As most of the women’s narratives attest, the *Ulus* district had one main street, named *Anafartalar*, along which the stores were located, as well as such shopping zones as *Hamamönü*, *Samanpazarı* and *Çıkırıkçılar Yokuşu*. While the stores along *Anafartalar* Street tended to sell rather high-end items, the shopping zones hosted smaller stores and retail shops selling a variety of goods and services. In the words of Neriman who was over eighty years of age, living in the *Aşağı Ayrancı* district: “On the

⁴¹⁴ Aydın and et. al., op. cit., p. 545. See also Sezai Göksu, “Yenişehir: Ankara’da Bir İmar Öyküsü” in *Kent, Planlama, Politika, Sanat: Tarık Okyay Anısına Yazılar* ed. by İlhan Tekeli (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1994): pp. 257–276.

Anafartalar (*Street*) were great market places, all large things were there, my uncle had a branch office in downtown down the Statue. (...) The big stores were on the Anafartalar.” Even though both the main street and shopping zones were mentioned frequently by the first-generation women, including those above eighty, it can be said that there was still an overriding tendency to visit the shops located around *Hamamönü* and *Samanpazarı*. This was due to the diversity of products and services, as well as the prices, which found clear expression in the brief statement of Sevim (1936, *Küçükkesat*), who would go to *Ulus* with her husband to buy, in particular, dry goods and clothes: “There was the *Hamamönü*, where one could meet all her needs.” From the first-generation women, Hikmet, who lived in *Küçükkesat*, gave an account of shopping in *Samanpazarı*:

“...honestly, *Samanpazarı* was a lovely place in those times, nice pl... To say, I remember three quite nice shoe stores, there were many lovely shoe stores. *Hamamönü* was in fashion ... For example, that which, *Kibar* was in fashion then... Still exist that *Kibar* knitwear, there was a very big Jewish store selling knit blouses, sweaters, jumpers... Elegant wear garment everything was available then in Ankara in *Samanpazarı* around (*pause*), how can I say, on your way from *Hamamönü* to the Court House...” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)⁴¹⁵

When talking about the *Ulus* district during the interviews, the women referred only to two types of shopping, one was for dry goods and accessories, especially shoes and fabric, and the other was household groceries. For the former, the women frequented the stores and emporiums spread around the district; while for the latter, there was a wholesale food market that families could visit for their grocery shopping. The wholesale market in *Ulus* was often mentioned in the narratives of women from both generations.

⁴¹⁵ As seen in Hikmet’s anecdote, similar comments on Jewish or Armenian retailer shop owners and also tailors largely took place in the narratives of the first-generation women while talking about their earlier memories.



Photo 41: Ulus, The Wholesale Market, 1931

This regular shopping habit was explained in the words of Uğur (1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) from the first-generation of women, who lived in *Ulus* until the early 1950s when she was eighteen: On Sundays, Fridays-Saturdays we used to come down and usually have dealings in the local bazaar on Saturdays, we used to shop there. After then, once automobiles were available, we'd go by car because there was no parking lot problem. Just near the thing, the local bazaar, we could find parking places." Although Uğur and her husband bought a car in the 1970s, they kept going to *Ulus* wholesale market for a long time, even after they had left the *Ulus* district. As the narrations of women from the second generation also show, this was certainly a long-lasting habit among middle-class families, although it was more common among those living in *Cebeci* and *Küçükkesat* rather than in *Ayrancı*, owing to their close proximity and handy transportation to *Ulus*. Of the second-generation women, Sinem and Reyhan, who both lived in *Küçükkesat* when they were young, recalled their families' practice of food shopping at the wholesale market in a similar way:

"We used to go to *Ulus* for that reason (*pause*) you know the spice and wholesale stuff, winter stuff and all (...) for such supplies, we used to go to the local bazaar. And still, if I pass by it I go in and check if they have this Antep rosemary and buy it from there. We used to go there, my dad loved those places more, for example, he used to go to the local bazaar to buy fresh fruits and vegetables." (Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)

“For example, my father would shop at that place, at *Samanpazarı*, toilet papers were bought whole for 6 months, big cans of cheese and all, but this wasn't the case with us.” (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

Besides referring to the same shopping experience, another common feature of these two quotes is that both women referred to their fathers as in charge of this type of shopping. This was no coincidence, in that it reflects the influence of gender roles in family shopping activities in their childhoods, and even in their youth. Some women from the first generation also expressed, either implicitly or explicitly, that shopping for groceries and related household items was considered a task for the male members of family. Of those living in *Cebeci* district, Saime's (1935, *Cebeci*) words exemplify this pattern, which seemed to be quite common among middle-class families at that time: “They mostly went to the local bazaar in *Ulus* and did the shopping there. Mostly men did it, too. My father-in-law used to do it, my husband did it, I did not know what the bazaar was.” As will elaborate in the following chapters, men seemed to be reluctant to allow their wives to mingle with crowds, especially in places like the wholesale market, which was patronized largely by men. In some household, this attitude would extend to all kinds of shopping. For instance, Hülya (1953, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*), a second-generation woman whose father was a lawyer, said that she had no recollection of the whole family, or both of her parents, going shopping together: “He didn't allow mom much either, a bit jealous dad was, as an example, he would go to the market, buy all, and bring home. Dad, dad used to buy everything for her. (...) but when I grew up a bit more, mom and I started going down to that street in *Cebeci* or to *Kızılay*.” It should be noted that this was not always the case, as there were women who did accompany their husbands during grocery shopping.⁴¹⁶ This pattern changed gradually from the 1960s onwards, when *Kızılay* became a more central place for the everyday shopping of middle-class families.

The city habitants in Ankara also went to *Ulus* to frequent the shops selling textile products, especially different kinds of fabrics, shoes and various related items. It is

⁴¹⁶ It should be noted that lower middle class women, and especially those whose husbands were self-employed, were more likely to go shopping, both with their husbands or by themselves.

no surprise that fabric shopping was the most common shopping activity, as at that time, most consumer products, but especially clothing, were not commonly available. Most of the interviewees from the first generation had studied at the Girls Institute, and started visiting the fabric stores in *Ulus* at a young age while they were still students. When they got married, this gave way to shopping for fabric and related goods for the general household and family clothing. The majority of women interviewed in this group said that they used to meet the clothing needs of their family through their own efforts, or by going to the tailor.⁴¹⁷ Saadet (1942, *Cebeci*), who made clothes at home, described the everyday practices related to the scarcity of ready-made clothing: “From *Ulus*, *Samanpazarı* we used to buy. In the past, there weren't ready-made stuff, there were pullovers, but no skirts or pyjamas. Silk was sold to brides, pyjamas for grooms. The rest, we would sew all the casual clothes.” In addition to clothes, fabric was essential also for such home textile products as curtains, bed linen and tablecloths. To meet such needs, and for casual wear, the most popular shopping outlet was the large fabric store named Sümerbank, which was established in 1935 as one of the first institutions to open under the statist economic policies of the Republic⁴¹⁸. Neriman, who moved from *Hamamönü* to *Ayrancı* in as early as 1937, spoke about Sümerbank in glowing terms:

“Sümerbank was good, all types of fabric, chintz, drapery, chambray, flax, etc, if you were to buy those Sümerbank. Was place. (...) we used to like it you see, Sümerbank was our destination, we used to go there to buy chambray, to buy bed sheets, to buy quilts, ... Sümerbank cloth was quite good, men's fabric.” (Neriman 1929, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

⁴¹⁷ In the study group there were a few “well-to-do” women who mentioned that they sometimes ordered textiles and clothing from abroad.

⁴¹⁸ For the role of Sümerbank in the national economy, see Perihan Ünlü Soylu and Özlem Yaktı, “Devletçiliğe Yönelmede Bir Köşe Taşı: Birinci Beş Yıllık Sanayi Planı (A Claimant Economic Launching: First Five Year Industrial Plan)” in *Historical Studies: A Tribute to Prof. Dr. Enver Konukçu* (April, 2012), pp. 365–379, http://www.historystudies.net/Makaleler/364318561_24-Perihan%20%C3%9Cnl%C3%BCsoylu.pdf. See also Dilek Himam and Burkay Pasin, “Designing a National Uniform (ity): The Culture of Sümerbank within the Context of the Turkish Nation State Project” in *Journal of Design History*, 24 (2), (2011), pp. 157–170.



Photo 42: Ulus, Sumerbank Store

Sümerbank's cotton flannels and pyjamas were especially popular with the general public, and saw widespread use all over the country. This shopping pattern was characteristic of the given period, and continued until the availability of ready-to-wear became more prominent, and could be found more in the country's urban areas. When *Kızılay* became the central shopping district of Ankara, fabric gave way to confectionary products, as was often mentioned in the narratives of the second-generation women.

Although *Kızılay* had already developed as a shopping area in the city by the mid-1950s, it did not appeal immediately to the general public, including the middle-class families. Most of the individual and literary narratives from this period indicate that *Kızılay* was the main shopping district for the upscale and elite segment of Ankara population; whereas for other groups, especially the middle-class, it served as a public place for such activities as promenading, window shopping and people watching. In her novel *Bozkır Çiçekleri*, Selçuk Baran (2009) depicted the ambling of the main character of the book, a state officer, along the Boulevard in *Kızılay*:

“...She walked along the boulevard. She looked at the window displays. She was dazzled with the abundance of colors, lights, people (...) She stopped in front of a shop full of women’s clothes. She read each and every price tag. A belt with fringed ends which she could not figure out what was for cost thirty five liras. She felt surprised. An ablaze sweater was two hundred liras... There were handkerchiefs in colourful floriated patterns, 25 liras for six... Looking at these high prices got her dizzy.”⁴¹⁹

This was also observed in the interviews with women of both generations, in which it could be understood that *Kızılay* was too expensive for the average middle-class family. Many of the women’s comparisons of *Ulus* and *Kızılay* highlighted this factor, and, more importantly, it was an opinion that was shared by some of the women from the more well-off families in the study group. For instance, Güngör (1946, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) from the first generation had first lived in Meşrutiyet Street in *Kızılay*, and then in *Ayrancı*, which were both quite prestigious areas of Ankara at that time. Her comparison of *Ulus* and *Kızılay* followed very closely that of the other women interviewed: “Well, one could also shop at *Kızılay*, but it was more economical in *Ulus*. Because, *Ulus*, for shopping, was more, you could find anything you needed, I mean. *Kızılay* appealed to the upper class but *Ulus* appealed to all.” It can be understood that the general attitude towards the two shopping districts, almost until the mid-1970s, was that *Kızılay* was generally considered to be for the purchase of more expensive, luxury or high-end goods. Ferda (1953, *Cebeci*), a second-generation woman, living in *Cebeci*, illustrated this while talking about their shopping habits: “...in the past, *Kızılay* was so expensive and for the classy I mean in our times (laughing). (...) when I was at university, I am a graduate of 75,...” Before long, however, Ferda, like most of the women of her generation, started to shop in *Kızılay* rather than *Ulus*.

With the rapid increase in the number of retail outlets, *Kızılay* became a popular shopping area, appealing to a wider section of society, and there were two factors that were particularly influential in this transformation: The opening of Gima, as the first department store in the country; and the emergence of shopping arcades, where a wide range of goods and services were available. Gima was established in

⁴¹⁹ Baran, op. cit., p. 22.

1967 by several state institutions, and was aimed at providing middle-income groups access to reasonably priced goods⁴²⁰.



Photo 43: Kızılay, Gima department store

In particular, its meat and dairy products, which were sold at a fair price, received a great deal of attention from the customers.⁴²¹ Most of the women interviewed from the first generation spoke about Gima and its reasonable prices when talking about their shopping habits in *Kızılay*. For example, Saadet (1942, *Cebeci*) said: “There was not a good place to shop at. What was a first for us was a Gima store was opened at *Kızılay*. My mom and others would go there to buy minced meat and olives, and wait in the queue around.” What she was referring to here was the queues of mostly lower-middle and middle-class people in front of Gima, who were looking to buy meat, especially the mince provided by the Meat and Fish Cooperation. Thus, for grocery shopping, Gima came to replace the wholesale market in *Ulus* as the premier and most often used shopping place in Ankara. This

⁴²⁰ Gima was founded as a public economic enterprise through a partnership of several state institutions, such as the Turkish Grain Board, the Agricultural Bank, and the Güneş Insurance Company. Founded in 1967, it was the first national supermarket, and was privatized in 1996. See A. Ali Koç, Gülden Bölük and Süreyya Kovacı, “Concentration in food retailing and anti-competitive practices in Turkey” Paper prepared for presentation at the 11th EAAE Seminar “A resilient European food industry and food chain in a challenging world”, Chania, Crete, Greece, September 3–6, 2009. <http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/58077/2/Koc-Boluk-Kovaci.pdf>.

⁴²¹ The queues for mince outside the Gima remained in the memories of the city inhabitants, marking the patterns of consumption in the 1970s. See, Bülent Yardımcı, “Gima’da Ankara Sosyetesini Defile İzlerdi, Migros Kamyon Marketi” in *Milliyet*, 12 May 2005. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/05/12/business/bus14.html>.

changing pattern of shopping, alongside the new formation of the city, featured in most of biographical and literal narratives from the 1970s. In her novel *Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti*, Sevgi Soysal (2007) explains the move from *Ulus* to *Kızılay*: “Today self-aware Ankara people shop at *Kızılay*. Even the civil servants interested in stacking cheap food. Not to the local bazaar, they go to Gima nowadays.”⁴²² It should be noted, however, that the clientele of Gima was not limited to lower-income groups, as middle-class families were also evident. Among the interviewees, besides the lower-middle class women, as in the example of Saadet given above, there were women who came from rather well-to-do families that shopped at Gima:

“Gima for our shopping, I used to go to Gima. The Meat and Fish Authority was newly opened then, next to that side of Sakarya when kids were in high school. My parents were getting older. It was very nice to them, too, the sausages and so on were newly done.” (Neriman, 1929, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“Shopping, supermarkets you know. First Gima was opened. We used to go to Gima, we used to go to the *Maltepe* bazaar, because little things that were necessary for the house was sold there, we went there a lot...” (Aliye 1939, *Küçükkesat*)

Each of the anecdotes above represents a slightly different layer of the middle class, coming from the different neighborhoods selected in the scope of this study. The newly established Gima became a highly favored shop for most of the people of Ankara. It is also significant that, as can be seen in the narrations of the interviewees, not only Gima, but also *Kızılay* and its surroundings became the main shopping district for groceries and household items. What is more, it can also be understood from their narrations that the participation of women in shopping activities seemed to increase in *Kızılay*.

Coming to the second significant influence on the rise in popularity of *Kızılay*, the opening of shopping arcades in *Kızılay* saw a wide range of goods and services become available, especially manufactured products. By the 1950s, a number of arcades had appeared in the *Kızılay* on the ground and basement floors of apartment buildings, with building permission granted based on the construction of

⁴²² Sevgi Soysal, *Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007[1974]): p. 21.

attached apartment blocks.⁴²³ The main feature of these arcades was that one could find anything, owing to vast number of retail shops that were accommodated in the district. There were arcades offering big-ticket or high-end goods, as well as those selling ordinary everyday goods, basic clothes, etc. Each arcade catered to different needs, and, therefore appealed to different social groups. Seval (1963, *Küçükkesat*) from the second generation of interviewees spoke about the shopping places they frequented in *Kızılay*: “As far as I am concerned, Kocabeyoğlu was a place for underwear and things like that. Shoes and the more serious clothes from Soysal (*Passage*). (...) İzmir Street in *Kızılay* were places we visited.” Among the interviewees, the arcades were mentioned most often by the second-generation women when recalling their childhood and teenage years, with almost all in this group relating their memories of these places very vividly. Seval claimed that the most prominent arcade was Kocabeyoğlu Passage, which served as the prime spot for families to meet their clothing, footwear, fabric, millinery and school supply needs. On the other hand, Soysal Pasajı was generally referred to as featuring more upscale and special products, such as evening gowns and shoes. The following quotes exemplify the women’s uses of the passages in question:

“We bought from *Kızılay*; of course, Kocabeyoğlu Passage was so important. Kocabeyoğlu, well those book stores, Zafer, both both. Actually I recently went to Kocabeyoğlu, got nostalgic. It is almost a ruin now but it was so important for us.”
(Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“...ooow there was a passage called Alinazik Passage, I also was lucky to find, I will say, it is under today’s Soysal Han, that Alinazik Passage was where the most elegant shoes and bags were sold for women of Ankara. It’s an incredible thing, there were such luxurious things of that kind, you know, (...) people looking for night gowns would go to those passages, yes Really, how it’s changed today.” **(Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)**

It is significant that both quotes mention the decline and deterioration of the arcades, and indeed, some of the passages in *Kızılay* have already closed, while some are in a very bad condition today after losing their popularity and function. It is noteworthy that long before this decay, the women of the second generation had stopped frequenting the passages as they entered adulthood. As they stated to earning their own money, they turned towards the higher quality stores located on

⁴²³ Aydın and et. al., op. cit., p. 545.

the Boulevard and in some of the other main streets in *Kızılay*. As reflected in the interviews, the arcades were considered places to go with their families, especially their mothers. Reyhan (1958, *Küçükkesat*), from the second generation, expressed this situation as follows: “that (*passage*) was no more in fashion, I don’t remember exactly when it was over, oh, after Kocabeyoğlu we went towards, Selin. You know that street where Vakko was; those up to Mithatpaşa (*Street*), those on that track started to look fancier to me.”

This trend was also quite pronounced in the narratives of the other women of the second generation, although there were a number of particular stores that were named by many of the interviewees, such as *Selin* and *Mine*. In addition to these single stores, there was one department store called *Yeni Karamürsel* (YKM) that was mentioned by almost all of the women in this group as being ingrained in their memories. Opening in the heart of *Kızılay* in 1970, YKM had wide appeal among middle-class families, and especially women, in that it was Ankara’s first multi-story department store, containing a wide range of quality products and offering purchases with installments to state workers.⁴²⁴ The remarks of the women below reveal how important the opening of such store was for them at the time:

“...for the first time then, Karamürsel store had just opened and a very big one, such a big store.. There, for the first time, for the first time in my life, I put on an evening dress. Then I had a black dress with stripes on it like this, which had a jacket as well.”
(Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)

“Take Karamürsel as an example. My first installment card was from Karamürsel. I mean the very first installment, I remember the first jacket I bought well. I bought it on installment. I bought quite an expensive suede jacket. (...) Mine store was so famous back then.” **(Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)**

Both anecdotes, highlighting the first experiences of each interviewee, indicate that YKM changed the consumer experience within its own time. As can be understood from the commentaries of the women above, YKM proved to be an important shopping facility for professional women.

⁴²⁴ Prior to opening in *Kızılay* in 1970, YKM had first opened in *Ulus* in 1957. For a short history of the YKM, see its own website: <http://www.ykm.com.tr/kurumsal/hakkimizda/tarihce/>. Also see, “40 Yıldır Ankaralı’nın Buluşma Noktası YKM” in *Hürriyet*, 11 April 2007, <http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=6307376>.

The narratives of the women interviewed for the study reveal a general fact that *Kızılay* functioned as the main shopping district for the second-generation women, particularly for clothing and related items. The first-generation women, too, visited *Kızılay* for shopping; however, their memories of *Ulus* as a shopping area held a broader and more vivid place in their narratives. Moreover, differently from the women of the second generation, their experience of *Kızılay* seemed to be related primarily with grocery and household shopping. This can be attributed in part to the fact that the neighborhoods, as residential areas, were poorly developed in terms of shopping facilities, featuring at most grocers and related shops selling fruit, vegetables and meat products, although being expensive for weekly household shopping. As such, the general tendency was to go to the central shopping districts for larger shopping outings, where most of the needs could be found in one place and at a fair price; and this explains the popularity of the wholesale market in *Ulus* and, afterwards, the Gima department store in *Kızılay*. It is also apparent from the interviews that this pattern of consumerism came to the end, first, due to the expansion of district bazaars, and afterwards, due to the opening of markets and supermarkets in the local districts.

It should be not overlooked that the changing gender roles in society over time were substantially influential in the differentiation between generations regarding shopping practices. Most anecdotes above indicate that the first-generation women tended to go shopping either as a family or with their spouses, and so this was how they experienced the places of consumption. On the other hand, for the second-generation women the notion of family shopping gave way as they got older to shopping for individual needs, which is evident in their narration of shopping activities using the singular pronoun *I*. What they also remembered were the instances related to the shopping that they did for themselves. Additionally, the individual needs of the second generation became more diverse as they entered higher education or working life. For instance, besides shopping for clothing and similar goods, the interviewees of this generation spoke often of their frequent visits to the shops and arcades selling new and second-hand books. As mentioned by most of the second-generation women, in the earlier years, Zafer Çarşısı, located

on the Boulevard, and later the Dost and İmge bookshops on Yüksel Street, were the most common haunts for browsing books. The following quotes from two women, Gülay and Seval, are illustrative of this practice:

“... Seriously, it still is my hobby, I mean I love it. I love going to book stores. My favourite one was Dost, as a place to go; it still is. (...) Its former location was more, we usually would go there, to the one in Zafer Bazaar.” (Gülay 1969, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“then I from İmge, I was a regular of it, I liked very much the boy there. He used to recommend every new book to me, around the last grade of high school or university. (...) So, since I started going to university in 81, it must have been established in 80 or so. (...) I really enjoyed talking to him and discussing (*the books*) with him.” (Seval 1963, *Küçükcesat*)

It is clear that both women had similar experiences in book shopping, and the underlying point of these comments is that the bookshops served as a public place for free time activity. The women visited bookshops not only to buy books, but also, and more importantly, to stroll and socialize with the people there. This type of shopping as a social activity was peculiar to the second-generation women, as aside from some window shopping activities, it was rare to see such shopping activities among the first-generation women. This is not surprising, given that they would rarely go shopping on their own until they reached a certain age.

V.2.3. Streets and Public Transportation

For women, the streets and public transportation were the most commonly used public spaces, in that they were essential for reaching their destinations; however, given its very ordinariness, this space has been largely ignored in most studies of gender in the city. For a better understanding of the experiences of women in urban public spaces, it is necessary to consider their gendered nature and the changing use of them by women. It is argued in this study that the spaces passed through by women when going from one space to the other are just as important as public spaces as cinemas, theaters and department stores. As such, in this section how and in what ways women used the streets and daily transportation means to move around the city in the period between the 1950s and the 1980s, exploring the particular experiences of women that experienced the era.

The most prominent narrative on daily transportation in the 1930s and the 1940s in Ankara was the scarcity of public transport in the city to any significant degree. This manifested itself in the words of the women who were born before 1930, and also in the childhood memories of the first-generation women. Although there were buses and trolleybuses running on certain routes within the city, their number was limited, and the use of taxis was relatively uncommon among people before the 1950s. Significantly, this situation continued as the status quo throughout the 1950s, although the *dolmuş* system was formalized by the municipality in 1946⁴²⁵ (See Photo 44). As such, people tended to walk as far as possible, or if necessary, took the bus to certain parts of the city. The memories of the first-generation women related to daily transportation in these early years generally came from their youth, when they were attending the Girls Institute. The quotes below reveal that walking was common, and was even considered a pleasant pastime among the general public:

“You know we used to walk from *Samanpazarı* to *Dışkapı*, we went and came back all the way on foot. These busses or others were not available then, well. They called it Uray bus (...) but it didn't go through all the neighborhoods. We used to walk with girl friends.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

“It cost 10 kuruş, can you believe that, from *Dışkapı*, we couldn't afford, I never took the trolleybus to school from *Dışkapı* to *Ulus*. We used to walk, such a fresh air. As for my father, what was it called then.. (thinking) had his workplace in *Tandoğan*, he walked to *Ulus*, we used to come together, they used to take the service bus to there. We used to walk up to *Ulus*.” (Aliye 1939, *Küçükkesat*)

As can be understood from the comments of both women, *Ulus* was the central hub of city transport in Ankara at the time, although similar examples from among the interviewees reveal that most state workers used to walk to *Ulus* Square to take a bus. It is worthy of note, but of no surprise, that women, and especially young girls, were not supposed walk alone on the street, and would either be accompanied by schoolmates from the neighborhood, by their parents or even sometimes by a male relative, arranged for the purpose.

⁴²⁵ Tekeli and Okyay, op. cit., p. 226.



Photo 44: Dolmuş Station, Altındağ



Photo 45: Ulus, Municipality Bus, 1970s

The bus was affordable for the majority of people, including the lower-class groups, as the cheapest mode of transport at the time, and this was highlighted by the most of the women interviewed. Nevertheless, people often preferred to walk when possible so as to save money, particularly young women. With little money for themselves, they preferred to save their allowance for their own needs or for social activities, such as going to a café or a movie. The remarks of Saime (1935, *Cebeci*), who would walk with her friend to the Institute from *Cebeci*, explain this tendency very well: “While going (to school) we sometimes took it, but walked back because we loved walking very much. Back then, we would spend the carfare, we used to go to the sahlepe house, drink sahlepe. We could not spare it for the road we drank sahlepe. If we walked to school, we'd definitely take the car on the way back, either one or the other.” Another reason women preferred to walk rather than use public transport was that the buses were overcrowded, there being an insufficient number for the population of the city. This was one of the most common complaints among the women related to the buses, and the problem would continue to a large extent in the following decades. For instance, Şükran (*Cebeci*, 1929), who was one of the interviewees aged over eighty, chose to walk to the school from her home, which was a fairly long distance: “I was accepted to the arts school, İsmetpaşa; from there, I mean I didn't like taking the bus because they were

so crowded. They called Abidinpaşa comfort palace. Busses would run to that Faculty of Medicine, you can't imagine how packed they would be, I preferred to walk.” Şükran came from a relatively well-off family, however, almost the same attitude was seen in the words of Saadet (1942, *Cebeci*), whose family was in the lowest income group of all interviewees. It is thus apparent that this reaction to public buses and their use did not arise from Şükran’s class, although they certainly shared it; rather, in the main, the issue here was related to being a woman, as I will elaborate in the following examples.

It was significant in the interviews that public transport was the most common public place for women to experience problems and disturbances based on their presence in public as a woman. This comes as no surprise when considering the fact that it was on public transport that women were the most publicly visible and also in the closest contact with men. In particular, it was on public buses, as the primary means of transportation in the city, where women would most often be subjected to physical and verbal harassment. This situation was cited mainly in the women’s memories of their youth, and was common to both generations in the study group, including the oldest age group. Each of the following quotations illustrates the similar experiences of women across different generations, including the oldest age group born before 1930 in this regard:

“(Buses) got more crowded later on. Well, some things would happen there, harassment and so on.” (Neriman 1929, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“Certainly, it happened a lot in my youth. Happened a lot. We were harassed a lot, on buses, here and there.” (Sevil 1945, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“I did have trouble on buses of course, they would push in too close, bus problems were many.” (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)

It is worth noting that each woman saw harassment as something that was inevitable, and not likely to be avoided, and that it most commonly occurred during their high school years. According to Sevil from the first generation, such incidents, whether on the street or on public transport, reached excessive levels when she was at girls’ high school during the early 1960s, compelling the school management to arrange a special bus only for girls to take them home in the

evenings. This problem was not limited to the narratives of the women interviewed, as its symptoms featured also in the memoirs of some of the women writers living in Ankara at the time. Erendüz Atasü (1996), when recording her experiences of Ankara when she was at high school, recalled the painful memory of being harassed on the bus while commuting to Ankara Koleji: “Buses are truly awful! Full of elder perverts and adolescent boys harassing little girls. Adolescent boys who haven't had any sexual experiences, and who knows what kind of problems they have... For us, going to and coming back from school is the biggest adventure and torture.”⁴²⁶ The women interviewed declined to give an explicit description of what they endured on the buses, and especially those from the first generation used such ambiguous terms as “disturbance” to imply their experience. Only one woman, Esra, from the second generation used the word “harassment” to describe her experience, which may be due in part to her having a touch with the leftist and women’s movements:

“In high school years (...) harassment took place so often on buses, they would be packed. Like they wouldn't get on buses, our mothers and all. Now I see elegant ladies, the bus, they are part of life. It wasn't like that. This is how I remember it. There would be gropers and you know. We'd generally walk.” (Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrançtı*)

When considering the narratives of other interviewees, Esra’s comments on the role of buses in everyday life could be considered as rather an exaggerated, although there may be a significant element of truth to her statement. As confirmed in many of the interviews, the use of buses decreased in the 1960s, especially among middle-class women, as a result of the development of a new means of transport in Ankara. After the municipality decided not to meet the transport demand solely through its own buses, it consequently granted approval for the running of minibuses as a new service.⁴²⁷ By 1961, there were over six hundred, and this number would increase steadily until the mid-1970s.⁴²⁸ Not surprisingly, this was not a perfect solution for the city, although it may have had a comforting effect on

⁴²⁶ Atasü, op. cit., pp. 52–53.

⁴²⁷ Tekeli and Okyay, op. cit., p. 228.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

women, which can clearly be seen in the expression of Atasü (1996), “...*dolmuş* relieved us finally.”⁴²⁹ This was also mentioned by some of the women interviewed from time to time, especially those who were living in the districts that were served by the *dolmuş*.⁴³⁰ The *dolmuş* was slightly more expensive than the bus, but this was generally not cited as an issue during the interviews.

Besides the buses and *dolmuş*, the taxi was also an important means of transport in the everyday lives of women from the 1950s onward. It is noticeable in the narratives of the first-generation women that their use of taxis for daily transport began after they got married, which more often than not was based on the insistence of their spouses. The overcrowding of public transport, especially buses, compelled the husbands to take a taxi when going anywhere with their wives, and among the interviewees, some of the women told explicitly of their husbands' discontent with them being in crowded places. The obvious solution to this was the taxi, as very few people had private automobiles at the time.



Photo 46: Taxi *dolmuş*, 1967-69



Photo 47: *Uluç*, Taxis, 1950s

⁴²⁹ Atasü, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴³⁰ Among the selected neighbourhoods in the study, in *Küçükkesat* and *Aşağı Ayrıncı* in particular, the *dolmuş* was one of the most prominent means of transportation.

The following dialogue from a first-generation woman, Saime (1935, *Cebeci*) demonstrates this need of the husband to keep his wife away from the general public:

Saime: My husband, he wouldn't take *dolmuş* because it was so full. We used to take it when we were not in company of my father or my husband, as ladies we, with my mother, used to get on it; otherwise he would never let us get in crowd, we took taxi, we came by taxi.

I: Which one did you like more, bus, *dolmuş* or taxi?

Saime: I would prefer taking the bus from time to time, taxi and bus... how long after he was deceased, I took the bus; otherwise we had always taken a taxi. He hadn't let us in crowd, a bit jealous he was..

Similar to Saime's experience, the jealousy of the husband was mentioned also by other women from the first generation, who had similar experiences of using a taxi. Normally, when they were alone, the women tended not to take taxis in their everyday live, believing it to be unnecessary and waste of money. Besides, there was sense of fear and unease associated with travelling alone as a woman in a taxi, which was also influential in this reluctance. Most of the first-generation women began taking taxis by themselves for their daily trips after reaching a certain age, late later in their lives. Yıldız's (1938, *Küçükkesat*) words explain this, marking how her attitude changed throughout the course of her life: "I didn't use to get on taxis before, because I couldn't dare to. I was afraid, I mean, I couldn't. (...) And then, I don't do now, it was not impossible in fact, it wasn't something to be afraid of that much." It should be noted that taxis were a commodious mode of transport for the women when they wanted to go somewhere in a group. As mentioned in the interviews, this was especially the case when going to the bazaar for shopping or attending women's visiting days.

It is certain that taxi fares were noticeably higher than the bus and *dolmuş*. When asked about the economic aspect of taxis, and if it was affordable to them, the interviewees made quite contradictory statements, which made it difficult to draw a certain conclusion in terms of class patterns. While some of the women from lower income families said that taxis were not cheap, but affordable, others considered them to be expensive, even those from the middle-income, and even the more

prosperous, families. Nevertheless, most of the first-generation women stated that taking a taxi was quite a common practice for family visits and public activities. In summary, it can certainly be said that the taxi as a means of transportation held a significant place in the everyday life of the city during the period in question, serving as an important means of transport for the family, especially middle-class families, until the late 1970s, when private car ownership escalated.⁴³¹

Apart from shared experiences of being a woman in public, most of what I have explained so far concerns, in the main, the everyday activities of the first-generation women. At this point, it is necessary to touch upon some important features of the second-generation women's daily transport habits. The narratives of the women in this group largely concentrate on their youth, in particular their university years and working lives. Since the *dolmuş* system was well established in most parts of the city by the 1970s, it was the primary mode of public transport for this generation of women, rather than public buses. When living on a *dolmuş* route, the women would use the *dolmuş* to go to school and to the city center, *Kızılay*. Esra (1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*), who has lived in *Ayrancı* since she was very young, had the following to say about the *dolmuş*: "It is still much the same system. I am forty-nine now, *dolmuş* are still at the doorstep. They go through Hoşdere. Those *dolmuş*. (...) The number of them that would work was fixed. Weren't very frequent. But we would take *dolmuş* when we were going, and walked the way back."

Similar to the previous generation of women, the following generation also made many of their daily trips around the city on foot, and the central location of their neighborhoods was certainly influential in this. As stressed by a majority of the women, walking was an everyday habit, and, distance and time permitting, was preferable to public transport. It is necessary to consider that everyday life back then was not as complicated as it is today, and the flow of time was slower. The two quotes below from Seval and Gülden illustrate this point very well:

⁴³¹ Among the interviewees, wider ownership of private automobiles began in the 1970s, although it was not common until the mid-1980s.

“Since our house was close, we could easily walk to *Kızılay*. It’s rather because of that simply walking from Yüksel Street down to Sakarya.. I remember taking that route always.” (Seval 1963, *Küçükkesat*)

“Every, walk..., unless you were, we were in a hurry I mean unless we were rushing, (...) I would definitely walk between *Kızılay* and *Ayrançı*. If I was not supposed to catch something, if I was not, you know... Because it was a habit. Getting everywhere on foot. We’d go everywhere possible on foot. It was such a pleasure, a habit. I mean it was natural. Not sure how to explain it, as if you had no other options, something like that.” (Gülden 1955, *Aşağı Ayrançı*)

Travelling to university was a major part of the daily commuting activities of the women in this group when they were young. Aside from a few exceptions, most of the city’s universities were located some distance from the center, and so shuttles or bus services were provided; but for the rest, the women could carry out most of their daily activities without need for public or private transport. Unlike the first generation, they seldom used taxis, and even regarded their use as a little strange. While they may have recalled taking a taxi as a family to go somewhere, this form of transport was not part of the everyday lives of the women of the second generation, as reflected in the words of Sinem (1954, *Küçükkesat*): “Seriously, it was meaningless taking a taxi unless it was an emergency, and people would find it odd. I mean, everybody would walk, yes. Yes, like that, they would walk.” Similar anecdotes on this issue were made by several of those interviewees from this generation, with general agreement that the use of taxis as a means of daily transportation began after they started work or had children. This was no doubt the case in particular for those who did not possess a private car or who were single mothers. At this point, it should be kept in mind that the movement and mobility of women within the city across generations had noticeably expanded under the influence of several factors. It can thus be argued that the changes in the use and perception of the streets and the means of daily transportation were dependent upon, but not limited to, the women’s ability to access and experience urban life as an individual, apart from the family, which was the case for most of the second-generation interviewees. Similar to their mothers, they chose to walk around the city, but the fact that they were able to experience the streets more freely and openly is readily apparent, as expressed in the following quote from Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrançı*): “That was for example the most amusing thing for us, we would

get off the service bus in Necatibey, till home, (...) imagine by foot, walking idly..., you come walking. You come across many of your friends, greet so many. Stop somewhere idle for a while, and go on walking but it is not fun like it was anymore.”

V.2.4. Politicization of the Public Space

The period between 1960 and 1980 saw many social and political upheavals in Turkish society. All around the world during the 1960s, workers, students and other social groups were engaging in protests and political activities, and were becoming mobilized in great masses. This resulted in the politicization of everyday life, bringing new uses and meanings to urban public spaces, and this was certainly true for Ankara. In particular, the city centers and main squares like *Kızılay* and *Tandoğan* had taken on a new character by the 1960s, although by the mid-1970s, societal opposition in the country had increased to a very serious degree. The protests by workers and university students began spreading all over the city, into the neighborhoods, schools, workplaces and coffee houses, as well as the city squares and streets. In most public places, violent demonstrations erupted, with *Kızılay* Square in particular witnessing sporadic urban violence. The driving force behind this political use of public spaces was the growing economic and social inequality, uneven development, and the inequitable distribution of urban facilities and sources.

The effects of the vivid political atmosphere that marked the period were manifested in all aspects of urban life. It was not only those who were actively involved in political activism and movements that were affected. As the city's public areas turned into arenas of political struggle and contestation, the entire population of the city was disrupted. Whether commuting to work, sitting in a café or going shopping, it was very common to encounter a political protest or clash, and this was reflected in the narratives of the women interviewed in this study. Aside from a few exceptions voiced by women from the second generation, the interviewees were not significantly affected by such incidents, although almost all

women had anecdotes related to the time. While the women of the first generation would have lived and known these events through their children, many of the second-generation women would have had first-hand experience of such incidents, as most were in university at the time. Their memories, however, would come mostly from their lives from the late 1960s onwards. Among the second-generation women were those that were actively involved with, or sympathetic to, leftist political groups, as well as those who preferred to stay away, though in less numbers.⁴³² Based primarily on the narratives of the second-generation women, this section will focus mainly on the political use of public places, and in what ways everyday urban public places were politicized.

One of the most prominent aspects of the politicization of urban public spaces in Ankara was the use of city centers, and especially city squares, for demonstrations and protests, and this occurred at both local and national level from the 1960s onwards. While *Kızılay* was a central public space that was known for its luxurious consumerism and entertainment activities for the affluent, it also became a social and political arena for students, workers and other oppositional groups and political activists.⁴³³ The mass rallies and marches that filled the streets and squares with people were public events that left an indelible mark on the memories of most of the witnesses of this period.



Photo 48: University Students' Protests, 1969



Photo 49: A March of Cinema Laborers against Censorship, 1977

⁴³² For further information, see Chapter IV, Section 1. A Sociological Profile: Drawing Generational Figurations.

⁴³³ Batuman (2002), op. cit., pp. 57–59.

The interviews brought to light many vivid recollections of the time; for instance, Hülya, who was involved in political activism as a member of a syndicate and a leftist political group at the time, spoke about her participation in rallies and marches, highlighting the importance of public places:

“Workers' Party of Turkey of that time. It held demonstrations. Tüm-Der attended some of them for example, *Tandoğan* was crucial then. I mean, we used to walk from *Tandoğan* to the Kurtuluş Square or gather in *Kurtuluş* to walk to *Tandoğan*. Some of it we could pass through *Kızılay*, too, then, but it is impossible now. Alternatively we would march from the back side, those places are now train stations and all... We walked around there.”⁴³⁴ (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Among the interviewees, Hülya was one of the two women who were actively involved in political life at the time, and is still involved in a political party and women's organizations today. Participation in public demonstrations and rallies, however, did not necessarily mean involvement with a certain political group or movement, as university students and even members of the general public could take part on their own account. As Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) remarked, these things were within everyday life for a certain part of the city's population: “But in our times you know, it was all very common for a group to distribute leaflets, put up posters and like, attending demonstrations.” Gülden said that she was never very politically active, but would often join in marches or demonstrations in Ankara: “You see, we used to attend demonstrations of course, so did I, I used to attend or wellll, I could attend demonstrations in down town only. For upstate, for example Bloody Sunday in 1970, that one I... Istanbul, I never had the chance, no way.”⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ Tüm-Der, of which Hülya was a member, was a political association under which all public officers in the country were organized. It should be added that, as the foundation of a syndicate was not allowed by law, public officers organized under the name of an association instead.

⁴³⁵ It is important to not that calls for action were common throughout the country, urging people to meet in one of the big cities, usually İstanbul or Ankara. During the interviews, some women mentioned some of the more significant ones in İstanbul, although their own participation was usually limited to the events in Ankara. What she referred to here as “Bloody Sunday” was the event in which tens of thousands of left-wing students demonstrating against American imperialism in Taksim, İstanbul, were attacked by right-wing groups. In this event of 16 February, 1969, two people were murdered and 114 were injured. “ABD karşıtı gösteriye tekbirli saldırı” in *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi 1923–2000. Vol.3* (İstanbul: YKY, 2002 [3th edition]): p. 215.

The associations, clubs and trade chambers established by occupational groups were highly influential in urban public life in this period, with the majority being located in the *Kızılay* district. Their meeting rooms, event halls and other facilities served the important function of bringing people together for discussion, and from the interviews it can be understood that they were quite busy places, where people would stop by and spend time engaged in various activities. As a result, *Kızılay* came to be a crucial location for political activism, as expressed in the words of Esra (1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*): “(Associations etc) were all in *Kızılay*. Again, we'd go to the association. We'd stay there for a while, do whatever work was there to do and leave.” While talking about the political atmosphere of the time, Esra emphasized the impact of the leftist ideology on their lives, starting from their high school years. Along with her sister, who she suggests was the militant of the family, she would go to these venues in *Kızılay* to listen to speeches or to sell leftist magazines, or some other related activity, at every opportunity. Similarly, Hülya (1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*), while studying at university and working as a public officer, was often mobilized by the association of public officers, and became greatly involved in public activities organized by the social and political groups of the period. She recalled those days with great enthusiasm: “...this Chamber of Mechanic Engineers had a premise in this Konur Street, somewhere around there. There I remember listening to Behice Boran a lot at the indoor saloons. It would be so crowded. And, when I was at school, was with; I was with leftist groups anyways.”⁴³⁶

It is certain that the enlargement of the political arena into the public sphere to such an extent brought about a politicization of everyday life in the city, permeating into various aspects of urban public life and culture, including leisure, entertainment and shopping. For instance, if one wanted to watch a movie, cinemas were not the only places to go, as film screenings were organized also in the clubs and

⁴³⁶ Behice Boran, who was a politician and sociologist, was a well-known political figure in the period. She was a deputy in the Workers Party of Turkey (TİP) in Turkish Parliament between 1965 and 1969, and assumed the leadership of the party in 1970. Boran was arrested after the military coup of 1971 and sentenced to 15 years in prison. She was released following an amnesty, and subsequently reestablished the TİP in 1975. For a comprehensive political and intellectual portrait of Boran, see Gökhan Atılğan, *Behice Boran: Öğretim Üyesi, Siyasetçi, Kuramcı* (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2009).

associations, and attracting a great deal of attention from young people. What's more, places that were traditionally intended for leisure or shopping became meeting places for people, especially university students, with an interest in politics and the leftist ideology. In this sense, bookshops were of particular importance, and most of the women from the second generation mentioned them when addressing the political issue. According to the narratives of the women in this group, Zafer Çarşısı, an arcade containing several bookshops, was one of the most popular meeting points: "They would come and sit at Zafer Bazaar; adults had tea. Older sisters and brothers and like, in parkas and all." The point illustrated by Esra (1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) here was reflected in similar anecdotes by some of the other women. It is likely that the use and popularity of Zafer Çarşısı would have continued after 1980, however the atmosphere in the arcade became tense in the wake of the repressive military coup. Among the interviewees from the second generation were a few women who were younger in age, and were attending university by 1980.⁴³⁷ Gülay (1969, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) who would often visit bookshops, described her experiences of Zafer Çarşısı in the early 1980s: "We were generally in that vicinity, at the place in Zafer Bazaar (*Dost Bookstore*) (...) back then there were so many undercovers. Therefore, when you went to a bookstore, depending on the book you got, you know, who's looking; it was sort of a paranoid period." In this way, the lively public life that was shaped by the political culture of the 1960s came to an end as a result of the overwhelming process of control and repression.

By the second half of the 1970s, political opposition and contestation had become more severe and the level of violence in the country increased, first in the larger cities.⁴³⁸ The liberating atmosphere of the 1960s had been interrupted by the 1971 military coup, although the political conflict among the young proliferated, leading to armed struggles between students with different political views. This unrest first

⁴³⁷ The women interviewed from the second generation were born between 1953 and 1969; and, among them, the three who were born more recently were in their forties during the interview, and attended university at the beginning of the 1980s.

⁴³⁸ For further information, see R. Keleş and A. Ünsal, *Kent ve Siyasal Şiddet* (Ankara: AUSBF Bas-Yay. Yüksekokulu Basımevi, 1982).

took root in the universities, but spread to other parts of the city to such an extent that before long, violent and bloody protests were taking place all across the urban fabric. *Kızılay* in particular, as the heart of Ankara at the time, was the first area to be affected by such incidents, and became almost a battlefield.⁴³⁹ The following anecdote from Sinem, who was actively involved in politics as a member of a leftist group during these years, provides a good description of the situation:

“...there is the Gama office block, in its location stood a two-storey building with the American intelligence office. (...) We knew it was where political spies, FBI, place. There was Pıknik restaurant, at the same point as that Melbo place and it had an open terrace, too. We spent a lot of time around there on Saturdays and Sundays. Because there were tea and stuff and dance events inside on Saturday afternoons.. One day when we were just sitting there, there took place a conflict between the right wings and leftist groups in front of Int... In front of National Intelligence; but of course it doesn't sound real now . (...) We, from upstairs, to the right wingers; so that they could not go and beat up that group; cause they were digging up the cobblestones. We threw all the porcelain plates as ammos down on them (*laughing*). Every time I pass that place by, I remember that day sometimes (*laughing*). Had days like that, too.”⁴⁴⁰.
(Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)



Photo 50: *Kızılay, Set Cafe*

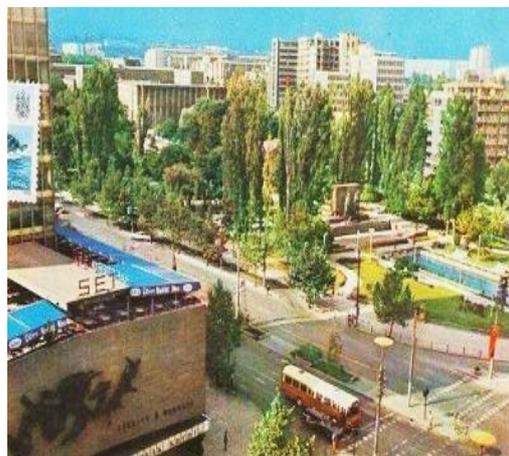


Photo 51: *Kızılay, Set Cafe*

⁴³⁹ Batuman (2002), op. cit., pp. 65–68. See also Yasemin İlkay, “The Political Struggle on and at Public Space: The Case of Kızılay Square,” Unpublished Master of Science Thesis (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2007): pp. 184–194.

⁴⁴⁰ Considering the location Sinem describes, it is unlikely the restaurant mentioned was Pıknik, which was also very famous at the time. It is likely she is referring to Set Cafeteria, which was another well-known café in *Kızılay*, frequented especially by intellectuals and university students with leftist views. The café was located at the top of a high-rise building, referred to as the “skyscraper” among the general public, overlooking *Kızılay* Square. With this feature, Batuman argues, the venue launched a new café typology that created a new kind of relationship between the people and the space, allowing them to see and perceive it from distance without touching it. See Batuman (2002), op. cit., pp. 63–64.

In the above quote, Sinem reveals the implications of the social and political unrest on public life in the city. It is certain that not every incident was like the one Sinem described so light-heartedly above, as there were also bitter memories of loss and pain. During the interviews, the women sometimes mentioned such incidents, but mostly with reference to what their friends or neighbors went through. In that era, young people were killed or injured by the armed forces; by policemen, especially those in plain clothes; or by people with opposing political views. By the end of this period, not only demonstrations or marches, but also meetings or any kind of cultural activity could come under attack. Urban public places and especially the streets became unsafe and hostile, and traces of this could be observed in the women's narratives.⁴⁴¹ Like Hülya, Sinem was also working during her university years, and so was attending school in the evenings. Once, when leaving school with her friends in the late hours, they came under attack from a number of men:

“While leaving school one night -you can find this in the archives of Hürriyet paper, I tell you. That evening four or five people got off of a police car when we were leaving; maybe they were policeman in plain clothes or maybe fanatical nationalists, I don't know. They attacked with chains and I was the only lady in that group. Just as we were going home, I was in the group that got attacked, if you pass by have a look, in front of Akademi there is a downslope for the disabled, it is still there and it was there back then. And I, my foot slipped, I fell facedown and they beat me up with chains right there. And then left in the police car.”⁴⁴² (**Sinem 1954, Küçükkesat**)

The incident left her heavily injured and so she could not work for a while, but more importantly, it brought to an end to her university life. Sinem's story was not exceptional, as it was common for university students to be expelled from school or be forced to leave, due either to the occupation of schools by protesting students, which would result in a suspension of classes, or in fear for one's safety. Some of the women from the first generation said that they were often anxious when waiting for their daughters to return home, and would go out to meet them on the street when it was dark. From the interviews, it could be understood that by the late

⁴⁴¹ Forty percent of the acts of violence that happened between 1975 and 1979 took place in urban spaces like bus stops or streets, rather than in such public places as banks, workplaces or the venues of political organizations. Keleş and Ünsal, op. cit., p. 55.

⁴⁴² The Academy of Trade and Economy, which would later become the Gazi University Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences.

1970s, the city streets were places of fear and uncertainty for much of the general public, which led to the withdrawal of many people from public places.

CHAPTER VI

GOING PUBLIC: WOMEN'S ACCESS TO THE PUBLIC SPACE IN ANKARA

Women's access and participation in public life have been strictly controlled and regulated by patriarchal traditions and cultural norms, preventing them from interacting freely with the outside world. As the interviews clearly show, women's relationship with public space mainly denotes their interaction with the outside world. And in order to limit or prevent their interaction with the outside world, their behaviors and actions have been monitored and interfered with by various authority figures at different levels throughout their lives. Thus, for a better understanding of women's experience of public spaces, it is essential to examine the patriarchal norms and relations they have been subjected to throughout different stages of their lives; as the complexity of women's relationship with public space can only be grasped then and understood thoroughly. Starting from this point of view, in this chapter I will try to illustrate how through specific rules and regulations the women interviewed have been subjected to patriarchal social control mechanisms, which particularly affected the practices of going outside in everyday life. This, I believe, will help uncover and clarify the conditions of access and availability underlying women's experiences of going out and entering the public life. Based on the narratives of the interviewees, the following sections will focus on the analysis of the conditions that enabled women to step outside of the home while revealing and making visible the questions of whom with, where to and during what hours they used to go outside.

VI.1. Parameters of Dependency: Never Alone in Public!

Women's entrance to the public space has always tried to be managed and kept under control through various regulations starting from early age. The activities undertaken by women in the outside world have been determined by different

forms of dependency, and have been shaped by patriarchal mechanisms that produce certain social and moral codes of public behavior. Accordingly, the most influential factors in determining the access of women to the public space are where they are going and who they are with, and, more specifically, if they are alone or with family, or with people from outside the family. The interviews reveal that the issue of women going out and experiencing public space independent of their families has always been an important aspect in the raising of a daughter, whose lives continued to be affected even after marriage, particularly for the first generation of women interviewed. In this section, I will examine how this aspect of women's lives is influenced by different mechanisms or agents, in terms of their access to and experience of public space in their everyday lives.

The majority of interviewees indicated that their experience of public space had always been in the presence of family members or neighbors up until the end of high school, and this was the case for both generations. Although there were variations in the degree and intensity to which the women from different generations were observed, there was a common tendency for them to be very dependent on their families. As can be understood from the narratives of the women, during their upbringing, their relationship with the outside world and their outside activities were determined strictly by their parents. Women from the both generations in the study emphasized that they were not allowed to go out without one of their parents, and any ventures outside the home during the week would be possible only with their mothers or with a close family member, like an aunt. This is readily apparent in the following quotes from the first and the second-generation women:

“She used to study at the Arts Institute (*referring to her sister*), you know. Look, where ever you were going, they would take you; whatever you were wearing... Wasn't possible to go out alone with friends.” (Sündüz 1948, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

“... I mean going out by myself and all never happened. (...) I mean, we're going to the movies by ourselves and stuff was out of question back then. If we were to go to a movie we'd go with family; oh, when I say family I mean back then there were sob stories and Hülya Koçyiğit (*referring to a famous Turkish film actress in the 1960s and 1970s*) movies (*she laughs*), mom would go, that's how we'd go as well you know.” (Ferda 1953, *Cebeci*)

Sündüz and Ferda, who came from successive generations, both used very clear terms when expressing the restrictions imposed on them by their families when they were young, with implications that there were little or no exceptions to the rules. That said, it is worth noting the differences between the narratives of the two generations regarding the degree and extension of the imposed restrictions. The exhaustive pressure and interference observed in the words of Sündüz were not mirrored in Ferda's account of her family's general attitude. In Sündüz's case, all aspects of the activity of leaving the house were taken into consideration, including what it was permissible to wear. This was seemingly not limited to free time activities; as Sündüz indicates, her sister was escorted to school by a family member every day. Significantly, such restrictions were voiced also in the narratives of some other first-generation women, but never in those of the second-generation women. As can be seen in Ferda's account, restrictions were made mainly on her going out alone for leisure and entertainment activities, which was the most prominent feature of the narratives of second-generation women related to this issue.

The spatial scale – whether the destination was in the neighborhood or further afield – was also an important factor in the independent outside activities of women,⁴⁴³ with different degrees of restriction notable in the different generations. The interviews with the second-generation women indicated that they enjoyed relatively more freedom in this respect, being able to go out in the neighborhood with their friends. Additionally, some women in this group indicated that they could sometimes spend time in the city center *Kızılay* with their friends from school or in their neighborhoods when they were at high school, but stressed the difficulty in persuading their parents to allow them to go to the city center.⁴⁴⁴ In contrast, for the second-generation women, regardless of whether their destination was in their neighborhood or in the city center, most were not allowed to go anywhere alone,

⁴⁴³ This issue will be examined in detail in Chapter VII, Section 2. Neighborhood: The Pros and Cons of Living within a *Mahalle*.

⁴⁴⁴ For an examination of how and in what ways the second-generation women were able to get permission to go to the city center, see Chapter VIII, Section .3.1. Going Out as a Field of Contest and Struggle.

even within the limits of their neighborhood. Sevim (1936, *Küçükkesat*) provides a good description of the restrictions to which she was subjected:

Sevim: (in *Hamamönü, close to our house*) There was this, Akalın, ice-cream and cakes

I: Someone else mentioned this patisserie as well.

Sevim: With my sister we would beg please to go and get some ice cream, they wouldn't let us go alone. You know like I said, we couldn't even read a novel at home because of my brothers. I would hide *Hıçkırık* (referring to a Turkish romance novel) under the carpet and read.

I: How come?

Sevim: They'd forbid it. They were that strict (...) For instance, me and my sister, she's three years older than me, would beg mother to let us go and buy just some ice from Akman (referring to a patisserie); you know, I was seventeen, she was nineteen, "no you can't go" she would say. You can't imagine how we'd beg and beg. Well, I got engaged and all, but they wouldn't leave me alone with my husband-to-be, they would have my sister come along with me.

As Sevim describes, the two sisters, despite being in their late teens, were not even allowed to go to a nearby patisserie alone. Aside from her emphasis on how strict her family was, the details Sevim gave of the prohibitions imposed on her tell a lot about the extent of the pressure she was subjected to. It was not only her parents, but her brothers as well, that interfered in what she did or wanted to do; although, while mentioning these briefly, she elaborates more on the restrictions to going out imposed by her mother. This relationship with her mother seems to remain etched in Sevim's memory, and this is clearly apparent in her willingness to talk spontaneously, without being directed by any questions on the issue. It is significant that she recalls this when describing the neighborhood in which she grew up, in which there was a nearby patisserie that her mother would not allow her to go to alone to buy ice cream. As such, the patisserie can be seen to act as a trigger, reminding Sevim of her frustration at the time. Such recollections came up in several of the interviews from time to time, as most of the women, but especially those from the first generation, retained memories related to certain places in their youth, owing to their tense relationship with public space from a very early age. It should be said that this is more obvious and frequent in Sevim's narrative, in that she has been subjected to excessive restriction and control for most of her life, first by her parents, and then by her husband.

Among the first-generation women, it was common to be accompanied in public by male relatives, especially by their brothers, with several of the women in the group giving examples of the necessity of being accompanied when going out as a young woman. Depending on the occasion, the accompanying person may have been their mother or a sibling. For instance, the women's narratives show explicitly that, prior to being married young women would not be allowed to go out alone with their fiancés, being accompanied by younger siblings, as documented by Sevim above. However, for evening activities, or in the case of special public occasions, the parents tended to give permission to their daughters on the condition that they be accompanied by their brothers. Aliye (1939, *Küçükkesat*) explains this point very clearly:

I: So, could you go to the movies at night with your girl friends?

Aliye: No, never. I'd go with my family.

I: Cause I actually wanted to ask about what you were permitted to do when you went out..

Aliye: No, there was no such thing, even though they were not strict. If I went out, I went with my brother, I had an older brother

In Aliye's precise responses to the questions, she underlines the strictness of her family's attitude towards an evening out, and states clearly that she could go out only when accompanied by her older brother, in the absence of her family.



Photo 52: *Aliye with her brother in public park*



Photo 53: *Aliye with her brother in a party*

Although she stated that her family was not oppressive, what Aliye meant was that her family's oppression was not exhausting, and she is right, to a certain degree, especially when considering the narratives of some of the other women who spoke of the overwhelming pressure imposed by their families. Nevertheless, and not surprisingly, Aliye was always kept under control and subjected to certain rules when it came to going out, especially to attend evening activities.

Sevil's narrative represents yet another vivid example of how the interviewed women were accompanied in public by men from their immediate families. As the only university graduate among the first-generation women, Sevil was encouraged into higher education by her parents, especially by her father, who was a judge. That said, she was not allowed to participate in many of the public activities and events that were part of university life. Sevil said that her father was extremely strict, and even faced difficulties in persuading him to let her join a folk dancing class back then. Although her father relented in this particular matter, it was with the condition that her brothers accompany her to rehearsals and performances:

“As a matter of fact, we had this dance thing, umm, the folkdance rehearsals there at the faculty, umm, at the Faculty of Language, History and Geography. We were staging performances; we were visiting several places to perform. I would go to rehearsals at Çankaya Primary School with my younger brother and to dancing performances with my older brother. Only that way I was permitted to go. However, I was able to go in extremely elegant outfits, getting beautifully dressed.” (Sevil 1945, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Sevil's participation in the folk dancing course was arranged meticulously by her parents, with her brothers given the responsibility of accompanying her on specific occasions. What is interesting in this quote is the contrasting tone she uses to relate, firstly, under what conditions she could participate in these events, and secondly, how elegant and beautifully dressed she would be, as if she wanted to conclude on a more positive tone and with a more precious memory of her folk dancing course. Significantly, this approach is not unique to Sevil's narrative, as it can be seen also in the narratives of some of the other women, especially from the first generation, when recalling their negative experiences about going out and their participation in public activities.

It is evident that the condition of being never alone in public had a great impact on Sevil's everyday life in her youth. In our second interview, during which we looked at her family albums, Sevil touched on this issue from time to time while showing me photographs from her university years. Rather than needing to be reminded with questions, certain photographs evoked spontaneous memories and emotions related to the lack of freedom in her youth. In particular, it was photos of her and her brother in public, of which there were many, that stirred the most memories, taken during social activities and school trips during her university years. While explaining the content of these photographs, Sevil mentioned repeatedly with some frustration that she used to go to these places with her brother. For instance, when she saw the photograph below, she said reflexively, as if to herself: "Look here's my brother again. See, see, he's everywhere." It should be noted that her words here did not contain any sense of anger or indignation towards her brother, as she also indicated that she got along well with him. Her reaction could be construed as a mixture of admiration and anger, directed rather towards her father, who played a determining role in every stage of her life, and intervened in even her smallest acts and decisions.⁴⁴⁵



Photo 54: *Sevil on the far left, and her brother on the far right, with his back to the tree*

⁴⁴⁵ The impact of Sevil's complicated relationship with her father, which morphed between feelings of anger, acceptance and admiration, manifested itself throughout the course of the interview.

As illustrated in the examples presented here, being accompanied by a family member was one of the primary conditions for most of the first-generation women to be able to go out and enter the public realm; and this practice was largely carried over into their married lives. The interviews revealed that after getting married, especially in the early years, the majority of first-generation women, including those above eighty, could not go out alone without the accompaniment of a family member. In the absence of their husbands, it was their mothers and mothers-in-law that would take on the accompanying role, which could be attributed to the fact that it was common to live close to the family of one or other of the spouses' families.⁴⁴⁶ From the narratives of all the women interviewed in this group, it can be understood that this was not the case for only a few women who were working, as for most, visiting relatives or neighbors accompanied by their mothers or mother-in-laws was mentioned as a usual daily activity. Saime (1935, *Cebeci*) explains: "We used to go together, we used to pay (*neighbors and relatives*) visits in the evening; going out used to be with our mothers or mothers-in-law. We'd go together, home visits would be made." It is important to note that Saime's personal narrative contains a kind of cultural discourse, reflecting the fact that this was common practice and a general social pattern that shaped the everyday lives of women at that time.⁴⁴⁷ By using the passive habitual form "going out used to be

⁴⁴⁶ In Mübeccel Kıray's pioneering research that she conducted in Ereğli, a small town on Turkey's western Black Sea coast, in 1967 explores, she explores women's dependency on their parents and later their husbands in their outside activities and how it was almost impossible to go out alone, and especially without a family member. As commonly seen in the narratives of the women interviewed in this study, Kıray points out that the women of a small town maintained their everyday lives in a segregated women's world including mothers, mother-in-laws, relatives, and neighbors; and importantly, when they wanted to go out in the absence of their husbands, they always needed the company of someone, who were mostly mothers or younger siblings. Even though Ereğli, as a small town, had certainly a social life where the mechanisms of social control were more effective and pervasive, it is notable that the specific practices and regulations imposed on the women to control their behaviors and movements in public are very similar, when compared to those told by the narratives of the interviewees, who are generally middle-class urban women, in this study. See Mübeccel Kıray, "The Women of Small Town" in *Women in Turkish Society* (Vol.30) by Nermin Abadan Unat and Deniz Kandiyoti (Leiden: Brill, 1981).

⁴⁴⁷ Although the interviews under examination are mainly defined as personal narratives, they cannot be considered with any certainty as independent of the cultural context within which they are created. At many points, the interviewees' personal discourse is shaped inevitably by Turkish cultural discourse, which may be either implicit or explicit. Sevim's narration contains a cultural discourse that makes no personal value statement about the social practice in question; as she explains simply how women used to behave in her youth. She does not criticize or question this social practice, nor does she make an affirmative comment. Nevertheless, it can be said that the way she describes it, and also her inclusion of her own individual experience, reflect a sense of acceptance, which was also felt from time to time in the rest of the interview. For the role of cultural

with mothers ...” along with the subject “we”, Saime implies that it was not only an individual experience, but also a generally accepted social practice at the times.

Similar to Saime, Hikmet (1941, *Küçükkesat*) also mentions being accompanied by her mother whenever she went out after getting married, but refers only to her own individual experience rather than mentioning any general social norms or practices, implying that for her, this was a necessary condition of her everyday life. More importantly, she indicates that it was upon her husband’s insistence that she not be outside alone, and eluding the impossibility of the contrary, stated that she actually maintained a sense of obligation to fulfill his request when going out, as can be understood in her comment below:

Hikmet: We'd go to open-air things, family get-togethers, but we'd go with mom, I mean the neighbors would also come, but my mom would definitely be there with us, cause otherwise my husband wouldn't let me go.

I: Ah, was going to ask that.

Hikmet: Without mom, no, we couldn't go, but with mom..

What this demonstrates is that, despite being married, the first-generation women needed the guardianship of elder women in their families in order to be able to go out and to engage in everyday public activities. Though the elder women were generally happy to accompany their daughters or daughters-in-law in public, most of the time they were appointed by the husbands.

At this point, it is necessary to analyze the significance of marriage in the formation of the women’s everyday lives, and hence, their access to and experience of public space. It can be understood from the interviews that marriage was one of the most important life events for both generations, although in different ways and to different degrees, strongly affecting the women’s relationship with public space. Marriage was certainly more influential in the case of the first generation, in that it played a determining role in the socio-spatial attitudes of the women in the group and their engagement with urban public life. As the narratives of the first-

discourse in the analysis of personal narratives, see Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Divorce Talk* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990): pp. 100-101.

generation women show clearly, getting married led to the expansion of their participation in the social and cultural activities offered by urban living. During the interviews, most of the women depicted, more or less, the urban cultural life of Ankara from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s,⁴⁴⁸ recalling fond memories of the cinemas, theaters, concerts, restaurants, parks and picnic sites they attended in the company of their husbands. It should be also kept in mind that these public places were generally constructed for families' leisure activities. Even though some of them had frequented these public places with their parents before marriage, they would become a part of the everyday lives of the first-generation women through their husbands after marriage. From this it can be understood that the expansion of the women's activities into urban public life occurred in concomitance with the strong dependency on their husbands, in that they entered into and experienced public space through and under the supervision of their husbands. That is, I argue that the women's relationship with public space was formed based on the knowledge and experience of the men; as the public leisure activities the women attended were decided upon according to the interests of their husbands. This can be clearly seen in the fact that the first-generation women often spoke about their husbands and what they liked while talking about their urban public activities, as the following quotes illustrate:

"My husband loved theater very much; we used to go to see plays all the time."
(Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

"There was this place called Bomonti, they'd play music, we'd go there at night. My husband loved theater; we'd always go and watch plays." (Saime 1935, *Cebeci*)

Similar remarks were made by several women from the first generation during the interviews, which shows how there had always been a mediator between the women and public space that would certainly have been the husband after marriage. As the first-generation women interacted with most of the urban public places in Ankara through their husbands, one could certainly assume that they would have had very little chance to get to know these places if their husbands had not taken

⁴⁴⁸ For an elaborate depiction of the women's everyday public places for leisure and entertainment during this period, see Chapter V, Section 2.1. Spaces of Leisure and Entertainment.

them. The following dialogue with Saadet (1942, *Cebeci*) exemplifies how the husband's attitude was determinant in the formation of the women's public habits and behaviors:

I: So, would you go out for dinner with your family, or on Sundays when it was your husband's day off, would you go out anywhere?

Saadet: I didn't really like the food outside, wouldn't go either.

I: Did you not like it when you were young either?

Saadet: No, I wouldn't go back then either. He didn't take me, he didn't do stuff like that. Maybe if he got me get used it we would.

In this dialogue, Saadet begins by stating explicitly that she did not like eating out, but then, when asked one more question to encourage her to speak further, she refers to her husband's attitude towards going out. Her final comment is especially important, in that it reveals the extent of her husband's influence, implying that she might have become accustomed to eating out, and actually enjoy it, if she were taken out by him. It is also notable to see that Saadet narrates her experience in a way that positions her husband as the one in power, the one who knows public life outside and is supposed to take her out and allow her to become familiarized with public places. This form of narration was quite common among the first-generation women when answering this kind of question. This is certainly not surprising, because, as can be seen in most of the examples, the women were treated as if they were incapable of participating in public life independently. One of the clearest indications of this is the common usage of the phrasal verb "take out" for their husbands, which brings to mind a parent-child like relationship rather than the relationship of two adults, which can be observed with some clarity in Ayten's (1943, *Cebeci*) comment: "he wouldn't send me there (*referring to public spaces in the city center*) by myself, he would take me out himself. He would also take me to Gençlik Park himself."

Certainly, to control the interaction of women with people outside the family was a strong driving force behind the husbands' desire to be the one taking them outside. As the interviews with the first-generation women indicate, the expansion of the participation of women in the public space depended on their husbands. During the

interviews, the women in the group often said that their husbands were eager to take them out to the places of leisure and entertainment, but would balk at the idea of them going out alone or with their friends. While the husbands expressed their wish to be the only one accompanying their wives in public, the women were also expected to know and comply without being told, which can be seen in the following quotes:

“he liked everything, but he wanted me to be with him, I mean not with anyone else but with him (*referring to when they went outside*). (...) he didn't want me to be in contact with anyone else. We should go out together, there were people he liked and trusted, he liked us to go out with them, spend time with our families, that's how it was you know.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

“well, this is how it is, my husband is a jealous man, like very. Even though he doesn't get uptight, I can feel it. (...) For instance, he wouldn't want me to go to a night club alone; he wouldn't want me go to the cinema alone with someone we didn't know much, someone I wasn't very close to.” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)

It should be noted that the husbands of both Sevim and Hikmet were very oppressive and possessive, and, in the course of the interviews, they often mentioned these character traits while talking about their everyday lives after marriage. Although Sevim does not refer to her husband as jealous in the above quote, his excessive jealousy was a prominent theme in her narrative. It is notable that both husbands shared the same concerns about their wives, being unhappy with the idea of them socializing with people other than themselves or their families.⁴⁴⁹ The women from the first generation often used the term “jealous” to define their husbands’ attitude, and more importantly, to refer, both implicitly or explicitly, to a more general pattern of male behavior that was prevalent and approved in society at the time. Aside from a few women whose husbands were extremely jealous, most of the women did not speak of their husbands’ jealousy in a complaining or questioning tone, as if considering it to be a natural and ordinary thing. The following statement from Saime (1935, *Cebeci*) can be considered as a straightforward example of this: “...in the past... no, men were, like, a lot more conservative, lot more jealous. Things weren't as easy as today.” What becomes

⁴⁴⁹ For further information about the creation of women’s own social relations, see Chapter VII, Section 3. Breaking the Familial Ties and Expansion of Social Networks.

crucial in this discussion is the fact that the husbands' jealousy was not merely intended to keep their wives away from other men⁴⁵⁰, but also inhibiting their interaction with the outside world, as the broadest sense of public space. Indeed, in most of the narratives of the first-generation women, this jealousy appeared to serve as a social control mechanism for managing the women's everyday lives and their relationship with the public space, and was very influential in the women's compliance with their husbands' rules of public behavior and activities. Accordingly, it would be no exaggeration to say that, for the first-generation women, going outside alone was, at best, very rare, and at worst, almost impossible, especially in the first years of their marriage. In some cases, the restrictions imposed on the women by their husbands occurred to such a degree that they could not even go out alone to run ordinary daily errands like shopping. This is very well illustrated in the following quote by Sevim:

“Look, we got married in 54, and I never went to the bazaar or the market square by myself until 61-62. Back then, (...) there was a cafeteria owned by the state railways. (...) One day, one of my neighbors Nilgün, I hope her ears are burning, said: Come on, let's go together. Refik (referring to her husband), I said, we're going there I said; I'll do the shopping, please, let me see how it feels this one time, see how it feels to go alone, I told him. (*Normally*) we'd go together, and he would buy whatever I wanted, I mean I don't remember a day in which he said that he could not buy this or that you see. So, that day, hon, I was baffled. It is the first time that I went by myself and I shopped like crazy (*she laughs*), I bought the stuff both we needed and we did not need at all (*she laughs*). He came home and looked at what I got and there was full of stuff that we would not normally buy (*she laughs*). He said, see this is why I don't let you go alone; and I said, but you never taught me how. I'll do it from now on. And after that, he pushed it off on me and I would go and do the shopping by myself.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

Sevim's story-form narrative provides a good illustration of several of the issues mentioned so far.⁴⁵¹ In Sevim's narrative, her husband is at the center of the story, being the one who seems to know and decide everything related to the public

⁴⁵⁰ This form of jealousy, which is intended to keep the women away from other men, will be examined in the following section under the title of VI.1.2. Avoiding Women's Encounters with Men: Modalities of Sex-Segregation.

⁴⁵¹ In her analysis of the narratives of divorced men and women, Riesmann identifies four different ways of telling narrative: story, habitual, hypothetical and episodic. In her view, stories, as the classic genre, can be simply thought of “as a specific past-time narrative that makes a point.” Sevim uses the story form here to tell a specific past incident, so as to exemplify her husband's dominating attitude in their lives. See Riesmann, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

space. The aforementioned asymmetrical relationship between the husband and wife also manifests itself here. Through the juxtaposition of the remarks of both Sevim and her husband at the end of the narrative, Sevim reflects the position of her husband as a kind of teacher – as someone who leads her to everyday public activities, including shopping. Sevim apparently bought many unnecessary things with the excitement of going shopping alone for the first time, and when her husband saw these, his first reaction was to explain to Sevim that this was the reason why he had not allowed her go shopping alone before. It is also important to look at Sevim's response, as it conveys a sense of affirmation of her place in the relationship: she was the one to be taught and supervised, and her husband is the mentor and the supervisor. And yet her perception is understandable when the relationship she was in is considered. When Sevim says in a naive tone that he had not taught her how to shop, she in a way defines the nature of their relationship and the basis on which it was built: the husband was the architect and the governor of the relationship, and evidently she had little option but to accept his rules related to public activities. This attitude was not unique to Sevim, being shared by most of the women from the first generation. Additionally, it is also noteworthy that Sevim, after telling how she would beg her husband to let her go shopping without him, continued to say that when they went together, her husband would buy her anything she wanted, as if to compensate for not letting her go out alone. For the same reason, while talking about the constraints imposed by their husbands –and also their fathers– the first-generation women often used this kind of narration that contained contrasting clauses, as seen previously in Sevil's narrative example.⁴⁵² This may be related also to the fact that the majority of first-generation women had lost their husbands, and so they did not wish to talk about them in a negative or accusatory tone. This form of narration can be defined as a feature of generational narrative, and can be considered as a particular way for the women to remember and narrate the constraints they faced in their earlier lives under either their parents or husbands as well as a way of explaining the “obedience”, and show how this has been justified as a matter of “balance.”

⁴⁵² Sevil's narrative is mentioned previously as an example of the constraints imposed upon the women by their fathers when they were young. See p. 5.

What has been examined so far has drawn largely from the narratives charting the experiences of the first-generation women. This is related particularly to the fact that the norms of dependency that applied to the women in this group were present throughout a large part of their lives, and were much more strict and rigid when compared to the era of the second-generation women. There are certainly several factors that contributed to this change across generations, but the women's narratives show that two incidents played a decisive role in the loosening of the norms of dependency in the case of the second-generation women. In the first place, being accepted by a university presented these women with the opportunity to break the constraints imposed by their parents, especially their fathers. Almost all women in this group drew attention in some way to their university experience as having been of special importance in their lives, particularly regarding the expansion of their experience of the public space. The following selected excerpts illustrate the role of university in the women's detachment from the family and their opening into public life:

I: So, how did, for example, your relationship with the outside change after starting university?

Dilek (1969, *Cebeci*): Of course, it became regular. I mean, like, you could go wherever you wanted, by yourself, free.

I: So, university gave you a bit more freedom then, right?

Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*): Absolutely. University, first of all, you are both older and somewhat had your parents accept you more (*as an individual*).

Both Dilek and Gülden give terse and precise answers to the question related to the impact of university on their lives, with both indicating the notions of confidence and independence that they gained by attending university. Dilek's statement is particularly important, since it reflects just how being able to attend a university paved the way for women's participation in the urban public space, alone and free of their families. Similar remarks were made by several of the second-generation women, and represented an important distinction between the narratives of the women of the two generations. Of the first-generation women, only Sevil was a university graduate, however she claims that her father's excessive constraints

upon her did not lessen after she started university. There were also a few women in this group who entered employment, although their dependence on their families, both before and after marriage, was still much stronger and extensive when compared to the women of the second generation. After entering university, it is apparent that some of the second-generation women began to crack open some holes in the constraints and obstacles that prevented them from participating in public life.

Apart from the university experience, marriage was an influential factor in the lessening of the norms of dependency applied to the second-generation women. As mentioned previously, marriage was cited as a significant life event for all the women interviewed, regardless of their generation, but that said, its meaning and function certainly changed between the two generations. The significance of marriage for the second-generation women was that it served to release them from the constraints and pressures imposed by their parents, after fulfilling what was expected of them. During the interviews, most of the women in this group indicated, either implicitly or explicitly, this benefit of the marriage, highlighting its emancipating effect on their lives, as can be seen explicitly in the selected comments below:

Sinem: Well of course, marriage is always freedom; it is a pretty serious freedom.

I: You mean if the man you marry is like...

S: It's so so so much freedom. (**Sinem 1954, *Küçükesat***)

“My husband's very laid back. I mean he's increeedibly laid back. This, jealousy, (*he*) never was. After we got married I got a lot lot more freedom than I had when I was young.”⁴⁵³ (**Gülden 1955, *Aşağı Ayrıncı***)

It is notable that both Sinem and Gülden used the word “freedom” when referring to marriage, while also expressing in precise and emphatic terms that it had been really emancipating for them. Unlike Gülden, Sinem’s account does not rely on her individual experience of marriage, as she prefers to convey her own opinion on

⁴⁵³ During the interview, Gülden mentioned her husband’s permissive attitude from time to time, and said that she had more freedom after marriage with respect to her engagement in public activities of entertainment, and especially going out at night. Her statement can be found in Chapter VI, Section 1.3. *Before It Gets Dark: Time Constraints on Women*, p. 214.

marriage in a hypothetical form of narrative, which also reinforces her precision. Gülden's quote, on the other hand, is important in the sense that it indicates her husband's permissive attitude, before making a comparison of her married life and the days of her youth. This attitude towards the husband was common among the second-generation women, particularly their lack of jealousy, which was mentioned from time to time by most of the women in the group. The second-generation women commonly described their husbands in this way; and from time to time they particularly mentioned that they were not jealous -when compared to other men in their lives at least- while doing so. It is worth mentioning that the second-generation women used the word "jealousy" either when they were referring to their fathers' behavior, or when they were trying to explain what the word stood for and how they perceived it. Unlike the first-generation women, there were women from the second generation that would use the word "interference," reflecting a certain kind of awareness and negative attitude, in that it implied the unwanted involvement of the husband.⁴⁵⁴ In fact, the general tendency among the second-generation women towards the jealousy of their husbands was to imply that there is no such thing in their marriages, which can be seen in the following words of Seval (1963, *Küçükkesat*): "You get a bit protective, like you wish to keep them safe; but not jealous in the sense of being protective; he is like that, so am I. But I've never experienced jealousy in a way that would restrict me, neither with my brother nor with my husband." In her comment, Seval states clearly that she had never experienced jealousy in a form of restriction, that is to say, as a social control mechanism to govern the everyday lives of the first-generation women.

Although the second-generation women chose their own spouses, and, unlike their mothers, had a more understanding and permissive relationship with their husbands, this certainly did not bring them complete independence in their everyday lives. In particular, their participation in working life followed by university had a great impact on expanding their independent experience of the public space, and also the creation of their own social relations. That said, public

⁴⁵⁴ The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines interference as "involvement in the activities and concerns of other people when your involvement is not wanted." <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/interference>.

activities of leisure and entertainment were still undertaken, to a great extent, with their husbands. The interviews reveal that the majority of second-generation women could go out with their own friends only on very rare occasions until their late middle ages, and especially for holidays and travel. Significantly, several women recalled going out at night with their women friends after a certain age with pleasure and enjoyment. But still, like their predecessors, going out as a married couple or as a family with children remained as the common practice for the women of the second generation. Though their marriages were more harmonious in that sense, it can be observed that their husbands' interests and choices were more effective on deciding which public activities they would participate in. For instance, when asked if they, as a couple, used to go to the cinema, theater or concerts, Ferda (1953, *Cebeci*) said: "We loved it, but there was almost never a movie thing, my husband doesn't like much for the cinema, after that we never went to see a movie," adding that she would go to cinema in later life with her daughter or her friends. Even though not explicitly stated by Ferda, most of the women in the group seemed to make an effort to adjusting themselves according to the wishes and interests of their husbands when they wanted to spend time together outside. This was apparent also in the statement of Gülden while talking about their holidays:

“...Because we all have different things that we enjoy. I went along with his plans every holiday. I mean, I have such a strong character, I am very dominant and all, but I also compromise. My time off/holidays, I always went along with his holiday plans; went along with what he liked. Never chose any of them. There is stuff like that, too.”
(Gülden 1955, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

Gülden has a very strong personality, which could be felt throughout the course of the interview, and she spoke of this character trait while juxtaposing it with her selfness when it came to making certain decisions, i.e. holiday destinations; and it is interesting to note that Gülden explains precisely how she sacrificed her own choices to comply with her husband's wishes. This was not unique to Gülden, as most of the women tended to behave in similar manner in their marriages, even though they may not have expressed it as explicitly as her. During the interviews, the women sometimes said that they did this willingly, although their descriptions

of going on holiday or taking journeys with their women friends in more recent years implied that they were experiences during which they felt themselves free, and this tells a lot about how they enjoyed going out and experiencing public space independently. Gülden's (1955, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*) statement expresses this thus: "A vacation without my husband, was six-seven years ago. And, going on a vacation by myself, with my friends, that happened last year. And I fiercely enjoyed it, we knew we would anyways. Like when you give a kid the right to do something, like, you know how it turns into an inherent right, that's the way it is for everyone, for people of any age. Now, automatically (...) we're making our plans for this year with the girls."

VI.2. Avoiding Women's Encounters With Men: Modalities of Sex-Segregation

Social relations between the sexes have long been one of the main features determining the formation of public space and public life in Turkish society. The use of public space together by men and women has always raised problems, and has been considered as an issue that needs to be regulated and controlled through several social mechanisms. Certainly, at the center of this issue is the question of the presence of women in the public space, that is, the question of how and under what circumstances women occupy and use public places together with men. At the heart of this matter is the fact that women are perceived and defined primarily in terms of their sexuality and femininity, which is something they have never been able to escape from, either in public or private space. As the interviews show, the restrictions and constraints imposed upon the movement of women outside the home have been felt most intensively in their youth, especially during puberty and in the first years of marriage. This age range gives us a certain idea of the extent to which women's sexuality is a determining factor in this matter, and, consequently, how the interaction of women with members of the opposite sex is perceived as something that has to be kept under control. The result of this has been significant limitations being placed on the mobility and experience of public space by women, preventing them from participating in public activities that presuppose contact with the opposite sex, and, as presented with some of the most significant features in

Section VI.1 of this chapter titled “Parameters of Dependency: Never Alone in the Public!”, the access of women to public space has been subjected to control mostly because of this.⁴⁵⁵

The interviews reveal that the teenage years marked a crucial period for all of the women in the two generations regarding their relationship with the opposite sex. It is in this stage of their lives that young girls step into womanhood, as their bodies and sexuality begin to develop; and accordingly, families begin to set down rules pertaining to the issue of contact with the opposite sex. The majority of interviewees in the study expressed how they were subjected to strict regulations by their parents during this period in order to limit and control their contact with the opposite sex outside of the family. As participation in the public space carries inherently the potential for encounters with men, it can be seen that families tended to discourage or prohibit their daughters from going out to take part in public activities. Although this tendency was common to both generations in the study, it is no surprise that the older the generation of women, the greater the restriction and control exercised by their families. In addition, the forms of control and discipline can be seen to have changed across the generations. For instance, the narratives of the first-generation women on the question of their contact with the opposite sex when they were young mostly spoke of them being prohibited from going home with men or boys. It can be assumed that this is related mostly to the fact that the women in this group, and especially those above eighty, were already extremely dependent on their families in terms of their public activities, and so going out without them was presumably rare, or even impossible. Accordingly, their contact with men from outside the family was extremely rare. As visits to neighbors and relatives were a key everyday public activity for the women of this generation, the possibility of encountering men would appear to have been an issue on these occasions. During the interviews, this matter was expressed by the women from the

⁴⁵⁵ It should be said that these restrictive practices preventing women from participating in public activities that presuppose contact with the opposite sex is also quite common in Middle Eastern and Mediterranean cultures. To give example to some of the scholarly work on women’s experience of public space in these cultures, see Valerie J. Hoffman-Ladd, “Polemics on the Modesty and Segregation of Women in Contemporary Egypt” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Feb., 1987): pp. 23-50; Jane Schneider, “Of Vigilance and Virgins: Honor, Shame, and Access to Resources in Mediterranean Societies” in *Ethnology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January, 1971), pp. 1–24.

first generation from time to time when asked what rules and regulations they had in their homes when they were young:

“They wouldn't send us to a home where there were men in it. During the time we lived in Atıfbey (*referring to a neighborhood*), a family friend, who worked at the Ministry of Education, and his wife whom we loved very much lived across the street. For instance I couldn't go to their house, (*cause*) what was my business there? But there was their daughter, she was younger, she would say please come and all. But it was out of question, they had three boys, teenagers there (*she laughs*).” (Aliye 1939, *Küçükkesat*)

“For example, from what I recall, mom would say, when you go to a house, to your uncle's house, if a men wear his pajamas you should never stay there. You should leave that house right away, and come home. Well, you should never sit on a men's lap, no matter who; no matter what. I mean, we always were raised to be cautious about men.” (Sündüz 1948, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Both of the above statements make it clear that a home containing men or boys was not considered an appropriate or safe place for young girls, even if they were close relatives. This attitude towards the upbringing of girls indicates that the traditional codes of social segregation were still very effective in the youth of the first-generation women. Moreover, Sündüz makes an important point in the second of the above statements, summarizing in the manner and mindset under which they were raised. As the second-generation women's narratives show, this understanding was carried over into the upbringing of the next generation, with most of the women from the second generation talking about similar rules and regulations regarding their interactions with members of the opposite sex when they were young. Accordingly, they were told to stay away from men and to protect themselves with proper conduct and behavior, as can be seen in the following quote by Dilek (1969, *Cebeci*), who was the youngest of the women interviewed: “Well, for example, we were told to stay away from boys, cause you could never know. Then, you see (*they would say*) isn't he a boy, maybe he's waiting you know for the right time, these were the warnings we were told by the time we were eight, nine graders.” Like Dilek, most of the second-generation women referred to their secondary and high schools as mixed sex environments. However, going out with male friends, even in a group of both sexes, was still forbidden by their families. Seval's remarks below illustrate this very well:

When I was around twelve-thirteen my dad was a bit more controlling, um, like he didn't like it that we would go around with the group (*referring to her friends from the school*) I am talking about secondary school, he didn't really intervene much. You know, we would say we'd like to go to the movies, and he'd say go with the girls. We had a group of friends, and whenever he was told there were boys in the group as well he would get angry. Um, I remember something like that. Then, when my brother grew up they stopped intervening. When the second I said we're going with Nihat, they would say OK." (Seval 1963, *Küçükkesat*)

What Seval expresses here is a commonly shared experience of the second-generation women in their youth, as most of their narratives contain similar anecdotes. As she states clearly, the fact that she had a brother close to her age meant that she could escape from the constraints of her family, as they used to get along well and had common friends. It is important to note that Seval expresses that it was her father who did not want her to go out with male friends, and this restrictive attitude of the male parents regarding their young daughters was echoed by several of the women from the second generation, as seen in the following quotes:

"... , we would go to outdoor cinemas, my father would check around. You know, so that boys (*referring to boys from the neighborhood*) would not come and bother us and all; they were pretty much scared of my father." (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

"The second I saw my father I would go inside, you know we're playing with the boys, so I would go inside. (...) I mean, our father shouldn't see us with the boys from the neighborhood that was how it was done." (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

Both Hülya and Reyhan talk about their father's attitude towards their interaction with members of the opposite sex, and it is understood that both women came into daily contact with boys in their neighborhoods, which was almost never the case in the first generation.⁴⁵⁶ What is more, as can be ascertained from the statement by Reyhan above and the narratives of many of the other second-generation women, their mothers seemed to be aware of their socialization with boys and did not make

⁴⁵⁶ Regarding the daily interactions between girls with boys in the neighborhood, there is only one apparent exception to the common tendency in the first generation. Aysel, whose father was a judge, and who spent her teens in the *Yenimahalle* district, said that she used to play volleyball and engage in other outdoor activities with both girls and boys in front of their homes, while her parents would sit watching them from the balcony. This can be attributed to the fact that *Yenimahalle* was newly emerging middle-class district that had been planned as a modern and secular neighborhood for middle-class families. Indeed, *Yenimahalle* is often mentioned as an established middle-class neighborhood in most auto/biographical and literary narratives. In addition to this, it should be noted that Aysel's father was relatively more permissive and "modern," in the words of Aysel, about the socialization of girls and boys together.

an issue of it, however there was certainly the condition that this would happen only in the neighborhood, and only with boys they knew. What was to be avoided was, however, not to get caught by the father when outside with boys. At this point, it should be noted that for the first-generation of women, such issues were never supposed to be known or talked about by either of the parents. During the interviews, most women in this group stated that they were not used to being “hand-in-glove with their parents”; and were expected to understand how to behave and what to avoid without being told directly. The first-generation women tended to see this relationship between the parents and child as the prevailing mindset of the time.

Furthermore, in addition to the cultural norms of segregation between the sexes, single-sex educational institutions played a significant part in the social relations with the opposite sex of the first-generation women. In contrast to the situation for the second-generation women mentioned above, the women in this group were educated in segregated institutions. Nearly all of the first-generation women who continued their education after primary school, including those above eighty, attended Girls’ Institutes or the Evening Comprehensive School for Girls.⁴⁵⁷ These were single sex institutions at high and secondary school level, where the girls would have very little contact with the opposite sex.



Photo 55: Students in the garden at Girls Evening School (1st gen.)



Photo 56: Students in the canteen at Girls Evening School (1st gen.)

⁴⁵⁷ For further information on educational backgrounds of the interviewees, see Section IV.2.3. Educational Life in Chapter IV. Sociological Profile of Women in Two Generations.

In fact, it can be said that these schools, but especially the Girls' Institutes, emerged as "a policy of compromise" between the state and social norms, allowing female children to be educated, but on the condition of complying with traditional gender roles and not in a mixed sex environment.⁴⁵⁸ This was a common educational pattern among the first-generation women, and as such featured heavily in their narratives. According to some of the women in this group, some regular coeducation schools provided education separately for both male and female students, with the two sexes kept separate either through spatial segregation or different education times. To give an example, Hikmet (1941, *Küçükkesat*) went to a mixed sex public secondary school prior to attending the Girls' Institute, although it could be considered mixed sex only in principle, and not applied in practice, as she explains: "The elementary school was mixed. (...) after graduating from there, we went to *Cebeci* Secondary School. At *Cebeci*, girls would study in the morning and boys would go in the afternoon. It was separated, not mixed." Similarly, Neriman, who was in her eighties, said that the college she attended after primary school separated its male and female students between two adjacent buildings. In the following quote, Neriman explains just how strict the school management was in applying rules to segregate the two sides of the school in order to curtail daily contact between girls and boys:

"... We finished Çankaya School, after 5th grade I went to Ankara College, you know the one at *Cebeci*. (...) It wasn't crowded, and there were two buildings, built back to back. Us girls were in the front one, the back yard saw the boys yard, there was a wire netting in between. We weren't allowed to go near the net, I mean even the siblings had to get permission to go there if they were to pass notebooks, pencils and stuff, it was two buildings that were adjoining." (Neriman 1929, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

The trend of sending girls to single-sex schools for high school education seemed to be carried over into the second generation, though to a lesser degree. A few of the women went to girls' high schools, although not to ensure their segregation from the opposite sex, but rather to receive a good and disciplined education. Ankara Girls' High School enjoyed a very good reputation for its educational

⁴⁵⁸ Dilek Cindoğlu and Şule Toktaş, "Empowerment and Resistance Strategies of Working Women in Turkey: The Case of 1960-1970 Graduates of the Girls Institutes" in *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 31 (2002): p.34.

quality and very strict discipline, especially in terms of female social conduct and dress, and so was very popular among middle-class families. The following quote from Reyhan illustrates this well:

“Yes, and my father said that the daughter of his friend was going there, and well, that it was (*a*) disciplined (*school*), with (*a*) good education; we were young adults right, what I understood was that it was an extremely strict school which would discipline us and monitor and report our every move, and it had good education... For instance, I wanted to attend Ankara Girls' High School.” (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

Another particular form of sex segregation that was prevalent among the first-generation women pertained to the period of engagement. During the interviews, the majority of women, including those above eighty, talked about the strict rules of their parents regarding their meeting with their fiancées before getting married. The period of engagement was of particular importance for the women of the first generation, as nearly all had arranged marriages at very young ages, and this period was their only chance to get to know their future husbands.⁴⁵⁹ In some cases, the women had very limited contact with their fiancées prior to marriage, which can be seen in the following statement of Yıldız (1938, *Küçükkesat*): “When I got married, my husband's relatives came to the engagement, we barely saw each other. And they didn't let us see each other, go out, it wasn't possible.” In most cases, the general tendency was to allow the engaged couple to go out, though accompanied by a third person, most commonly a younger sibling of the woman. As explained in Section VI.1 of this chapter, being accompanied by a family member in public was one of the main preconditions for women being allowed out to take part in public activities. This was expressed clearly by Hikmet:

“(When we were engaged) we did go out, like we could go out together, but we mostly took my sister with us, we'd go out and wander. (...) we'd go to places on Sundays but, I mean, most of the time my sister would come along.” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)

Although in this quote Hikmet mentions that she was able to go out alone with her fiancée, it seems very unlikely when considering her whole narrative, in which the constraints imposed by her family occupy a large place. Her emphasis on the

⁴⁵⁹ For more information on the marriage patterns of the interviewees, see Section IV.2.5. “Marriage and Divorce” in Chapter IV. Sociological Profile of Women in Two Generations.

accompaniment of her sister at the beginning and the end of the quote would seem to confirm this assumption. A general examination of the narratives of the first-generation women reveals that the condition of being chaperoned by their siblings was chiefly a parental requirement, rather than something they wanted themselves. The women often narrated this in a similar way, defining the common attitude of parents towards their daughters in their youth. Although they tended not to use questioning or critical comments, some women, such as Necmiye (1932, *Cebeci*), expressed their discontent clearly and directly:

Necmiye: Dear, when were engaged they wouldn't let us go out like that. (...) My parents wouldn't allow it. Then they said it wouldn't be polite, so they tagged along my sister. See, if I went like this (*moving closer to me to*), a bit closer towards my fiancée, (*my sister would say*) I am going to tell mom and all. She was such a fuss. (...) I mean, we'd go like that, there would always be someone coming along."

I: So, you wouldn't go anywhere else except for that?

Necmiye: No, we wouldn't. He'd buy a ticket for the movies, just so that I could go sit next to him, but someone would definitely come sit next to me, I would be so annoyed. They wouldn't let us talk.

Here, Necmiye relates in no uncertain terms and in detail her experience of meeting with her fiancée in public, and how difficult it was to be with her sister. In her vivid depiction, Necmiye starts speaking using the subject “we”, referring to a common shared experience of her generation; however she immediately switches to speak about her own personal experience. As observed in the comment above, she uses an annoyed and angry tone to show her frustration and discontent, and it is important to see explicitly how Necmiye was precluded from meeting and talking with her fiancée without someone else present. Even though they did not always put this situation into words as explicitly as Necmiye, most of the first-generation women, and also those above eighty, were under the strict control of their families throughout their engagement.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, limiting the encounters of women with the opposite sex was one of the main reasons behind the heavy constraints on the access of women to public space and participation in public activities; and this was not limited only to leisure and entertainment activities, as it affected also their

educational and working lives. Some of the specific examples above illustrate clearly how the families of the first-generation women approached this problem, sending their daughters to single-sex education institutions; however, when it came to the issue of working, it was certainly not that easy to find a middle ground, and so the only solution was to prohibit the women from working altogether. Only a few women from the first generation were able to have a career, and only then, after a struggle with the family. For instance, Uğur lost her father when she was only three years old, after which, her oldest brother took on the duty of providing for the family. Uğur had five siblings and lived in poor conditions, and after graduating from the Girls Institute, she wanted to contribute to taking care of their family. Uğur managed to persuade her brother to let her work only after she told him that she was going to work in a place where all the employees were women. In other words, the condition for her to being able to work was that she would find employment only in a segregated work environment, as she explains in the following quote:

“... I said, brother, please let me work (*she laughs a little*). "No", he would say. "I won't let you work". I knew we needed the money, we shouldn't burden him so much, right? He put us through school, the Institute was a very expensive school; spending money every day. (...) I told him that a friend of mine had started working and that there were only ladies in her office, no men. Cause, I knew him, he kept thinking there would be men, he didn't want men. It is all men, ah I mean, it is only ladies, I told him; all girls, let me go work I said. "Fine, go" he said.”(Uğur 1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Uğur presents two points of views here, and the juxtaposition of her brother's attitude and her own achieves puts these across in an effective way. The persuasive factors in her narrative are her comments between the speech clauses. While relating her conversation with her brother, she makes some interpretive comments after the each speech clause to explain and justify why she wanted to work. In particular, towards the end of the quote, she explains clearly her brother's attitude towards her desire to work through an immediate comment that explains why she told him that it was a woman-only environment. Seemingly, her tactic worked, as he finally gave his approval for her to work outside the home. Uğur continued working after getting married, but had to leave her job after a while after having

children, upon her husband's insistence. Her return to working life became possible only after many years, when a position opened up at her husband's workplace.

Sevim's narrative of her working experience provides another striking example of how women's desire to work was hindered by the fact that it would bring them into contact with men. Sevim had always wanted to work, but was prevented from doing so, first by her parents, and then by her husband. She said that she managed to convince her father only because the school she was going to attend was an institute where she would learn dressmaking, and work from home if need be once she graduated. Apparently, the crisis for Sevim's parents was her working outside the home, and this situation would continue after she got married as a result of her husband's jealousy, as he did not want her working outside the home in the company of men. After working as a tailor at home for twelve years, Sevim somehow managed to learn to type, and convinced her husband to allow her to work in the same place as him, although in a different department. In spite of her happiness with her job, she had to leave after nine years due to the insistence of her husband. During the interview, Sevim talked extensively about the control and suppression imposed by her husband while she worked in the office, and the fact that he was always with her when she socialized with her colleagues. The following quote explains well the extent of her husband's jealousy:

“He would come visit me at my office, at the accounting department, you know. His face would turn pale if he were to see a man there, I mean, me talking to him at the door. I mean, I worked there for nine years, but those nine years wore him out entirely.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

This short quote from Sevim tells a lot about her husband's overbearing attitude towards her working, but primarily her consequent contact with men. Throughout her term of employment, she had to work under the exhaustive control and surveillance of her husband. In the end, she could no longer stand the pressure from both her husband and her parents, and left her job without her retirement benefits. This could be described as one of Sevim's greatest regrets, and one that she would mention frequently in the course of our interview, particularly the duration of her employment. Even at the beginning of our interview, when asked to introduce

herself, this issue occupied an important place in Sevim's self-narration, as can be seen in the following quote:

"My husband was the chief of staff at the General Director Cement Industry. I took the entrance exams there, and won. I worked there for nine years and eight months but because my husband started work early, he would tell me that he wanted to see me at home, and that he could make the salary I got in a day, I can do this and that... (...) Then I underwent a small surgery, and had to rest for 18 days or so; and my parents were narrow minded anyways, they wouldn't let us work when we were single; so when they said, "quit, your husband wants you to stay at home", I quit after nine years and eight months and became a housewife. I've been a housewife ever since." (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

Sevim's story-form style of narration, in which she describes a sequence of incidents using clear narrative clauses, provides a brief summary of her work experience outside the home. While narrating her experience, however, Sevim relates not only how this happened, but also her opinions about the attitudes of both her husband and her parents. Her comments, made with a tone of indignation and discontent, reflect how she became tired of having to cope with the constraints and pressure imposed upon her related to her work. Underlining the definite period of her employment time and time again serves as evidence of how this deeply she was affected by it.

Taken together, most of the examples discussed in this section so far demonstrate that regardless of the generation, the interaction of the women with members of the opposite sex were strictly limited and monitored by their families when they were young, though certainly to a greater degree in the case of the first generation. The main distinction between the two generations appeared in relatively later stages. In the first place, as exemplified in detail in Section VI.1, the dependency of the women on men and the consequent constraints imposed upon them were not maintained in the second generation, not even in their interactions with the opposite sex. Although women in this group were also controlled and monitored by their parents when in their teens, they were not subjected to such treatment by their husbands. It should be noted that the 1960s and the 1970s were marked by a more liberal social and political culture in Turkey. In parallel to the rise of influence of the leftist ideology in society, claims for democracy and freedom were being raised

by different social groups, and especially by the young population, and so it was certain that the status of women and the relationship between genders would be affected in the process. Together with the increased participation of women in public life, especially in higher education and the workplace, the relationships between women and men tended to be more unconstrained and equal in everyday urban life. These changing attitudes in gender roles and relations can also be observed in the narratives of the women through generations. On the basis of the interviews, it is hard to say that any of their husbands had a restrictive and controlling attitude towards them. However, before the marriage, the second-generation women had already had the opportunity to enter public places, and on occasions, to come together with men, owing to their entry into university and their following careers. Accordingly, in addition to their close female friend groups, they had developed groups of friends containing people of both sexes, either in the university or in the workplace. This situation is certainly apparent in the narratives of the women, with most of the interviewees from the second generation talking about leisure and entertainment activities that they used to participate together with groups of friends that would contain both women and men. As an example, Dilek, when speaking of her university years, says:

“Of course, we would hang out in a mixed group. We, for example, had three boy friends and I had three girl friends; six people, together we were very tight. I mean, without thinking of one another as the opposite sex, I mean we were all, we were always there for one another. You know, we were like that.” (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)

Similar remarks were made by several of the other women from the second generation; however, the distinction between the generations in their social relations with the opposite sex became apparent, especially during the photo interviews. Although it was not possible to conduct photo interviews with all participants in the study, it was clearly apparent from those that I was able to conduct that there was a striking difference from generation to generation.⁴⁶⁰ The photograph albums of the first-generation women contained mostly pictures of the interviewees with their families and relatives, with any men appearing alongside

⁴⁶⁰ Ten women from different age-groups agreed to show me their photographs. For further information, see III.4.2. Family Photographs as Visual Encounters between Women and the Place.

them being family members, such as fathers, brothers or husbands, or a close relative. There were also photographs showing the women with their female friends, especially the girls from the Institute. In this sense, the first-generation women's albums can be seen as a record of their lives growing up in a segregated environment and their limited contact with the opposite sex outside of the family. In contrast, the second-generation women's albums revealed a great deal of diversity in terms of both people and places. Not surprisingly, the second-generation women's albums were similar to those of the first generation up until the end of their high school years, in which they were pictured along with their families and relatives. However, from that point onwards, a remarkable change occurs in the pictures documenting their university years, during which they would often be photographed together with their male and female friends in such public places as school canteens, cafes, parks and picnic sites. Examples of such photographs can be seen in selected pictures presented below, from the albums of Ferda and Dilek:



Photo 57: Peers at university (2nd gen.)



Photo 58: University peers in picnic (2nd gen.)

These two pictures show that the circle of friends of the second-generation women contained both men and women, and that they would engage in mixed sex social activities in public places. It is readily apparent that by the time they entered university, they had become far more comfortable in their relations with the opposite sex. This represents a stark contrast to the albums of the first-generation women, in which it is almost impossible to find photos of women in close contact with men in public places, even in the albums of those few women who went on to

higher education or who started careers. The photo albums documenting Sevil's time at university, as the only university graduate in the first generation, contain mostly pictures of her with her female friends. While there are a few in which she is pictured at mixed sex social gatherings, there is no evidence of any closeness with her male friends. One significant factor that stands out when looking at Sevil's photos is that in the case of any contact between women and men, a strict distance seems to be observed, with the men in particular seeming to be standing away from the women, as can be seen in the photograph below:



Photo 59: *A trip organized by the university*



Photo 60: *A home party*

The Photo 59 shows Sevil and her friends during a trip organized by their university. This was the only trip that Sevil was able to attend during university, and her father had allowed her to go only because attendance was mandatory. As can be seen in the photo, there is some distance between Sevil and her male friend, and this way of posing for the photo drew my attention. Although I did not comment or ask any direct questions, my words caused her to open up on this issue:

I: He is, like standing away a bit.

Sevil: Oh, of course, boys couldn't stand too close to girls, they couldn't.

I: was it like this during university as well?

Sevil: At university, sure sure. We wouldn't get too close; we'd keep a certain distance.

Sevil explains here how women and men would interact with each other in their youth. Using her habitual form of narration, she reflects a cultural context in which social relations with the opposite sex were supposed to be conducted with a certain

distance between them. Referring to the distance that was maintained between her and her male friend in the picture, Sevil begins by speaking specifically about the conduct of men (See also Photo 60). Yet, when asked about her university years, she starts using the pronoun “we”, indicating that women too would behave in the same way, maintaining a certain distance from men. Even though she did not speak about the matter specifically in the above comment, the women had a greater responsibility to ensure proper social conduct and the management of social distance and to not act in a seductive manner.⁴⁶¹ Failure in this regard, as attested in no uncertain terms in Sevil’s narrative in general, could lead to her being accused of improper behavior and social transgression.⁴⁶²

The above photo is not the only picture in Sevil’s album showing women and men behaving in this way, and she wasn’t alone in this regard, as several of the women from the first generation showed me pictures in which the distance that was maintained between sexes was apparent. Among them, one photograph in particular deserves comment in the present context, owing to its strong composition and also the impression left on me as a researcher of the relationship of women with the public space.

⁴⁶¹ In a study based on oral history interviews with women from the Republican period, Durakbaşa and İlyasoğlu took into account the question of social distance between men and women in public life, stressing that the maintaining of social distance was the responsibility of young women rather than men. Unlike the women interviewed in this thesis, the women interviewed in Durakbaşa and İlyasoğlu’s study were mostly from higher class families, and some even had semi-aristocratic backgrounds. As such, they would have had the opportunity to attend more prestigious recreational activities, like Republican Balls and tea parties, where the social mixing of men and women of elite society would be possible. It is apparent from the narratives of these women that they differed from the research subjects in this thesis in terms of their upbringing; and accordingly, the authors note that these women, as members of the upper classes, were not brought up following traditional codes of sexual segregation, which is in stark contrast to the case in this thesis. This reflects the fact that there was a significant distinction between the middle and upper classes in term of gender roles and relations. Ayşe Durakbaşa and Aynur İlyasoğlu, “Formation of Gender Identities in Republican Turkey and Women's Narratives as Transmitters of 'Herstory' of Modernization” in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 35, No.1 (Autumn 2001), pp. 199-201.

⁴⁶² For the examination of how the interviewed women perceived and experienced the moral codes of public behavior, see Chapter VIII, Section 1. Morality of Obedience: “Our parents said so.”



Photo 61: Saime with her friend going to Girls' Evening School

This above photo of Saime (1935, *Cebeci*), who was one of the first few women interviewed in the first months of the field research, captivated me very early on in the study, and maintained its effect throughout the research. While looking at Saime's albums together, this photograph caught my eye due to the ambiguous distance between the two women and their male friend walking down the street. It was an engaging photograph for me and led me think further on the ambivalent and uneasy relationship between women and men in public. This specific visual encounter between me, as a researcher, and Saime's photograph is close to what Rose (2000; 564) describes as the relationship develops with the photographs while working in the archive: the photographs "mattered greatly to me, in ways I know I cannot fully explain; they gave shape to a desire I was struggling to write, a desire not entirely reducible to academic demands, a shape that actively helped me."⁴⁶³ Similarly, this visual encounter I have experienced has enabled me to think and

⁴⁶³ Gillian Rose, "Practicing photography: an archive, a study, some photographs and a researcher" in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 26, Issue 4 (2000), p. 564. For an inspiring example to the integration of photographs into an academic research, with a particular emphasis on the issue of visual encounter, see Jaana Loipponen, "Telling Absence: War Widows, Loss and Memory" Unpublished Diss. (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 2008).

write through photographs, which act as a tool for explaining the things which cannot be easily defined or described.

This photo was taken while Saime and her friend were going to the Girls' Evening School. Saime and her friend are walking arm in arm in the street, but do not seem to be looking directly at the camera while walking towards it. In particular, it is hard to tell whether Saime is looking at the camera or not, as she rather seems to have a faraway look in her eyes. The man walking with them on the left seems to be eating sunflower seeds with a half-smile on his face, and appears to be very aware of the camera. However, it is not clear if he is actually with the two girls, or just a passerby who smiles when notices the camera in the street. When we looked at this photograph together during the interview, Saime talked only about her friend, making no reference to the man in the photo, as if he does not exist. It was only later, when I shared with her the impression that the photo had left on me, that she identified the man as the cousin of her friend. Saime gave a slight laugh at this, before explaining to me that this was how things were in the past. Sharing most of the first-generation women's form of narration, she referred to the general social practice that was prevalent in their youth, implying that girls would never be seen outside alone with men from outside the family, as it was regarded as improper and immoral. These kinds of narratives relating cultural and moral values were heard quiet often from the first-generation women, and, as exemplified in the photographic records, were supported by visual narratives.

VI.3. Before It Gets Dark: Time Constraints on Women

Time is a leading factor regulating the movement and mobility of women in their everyday life, and it is not possible to understand the interactions of women with the public space and the outside world in general without taking it into consideration. Time arrangements in terms of the outside activities of women have always been a contested terrain between women and their authority figures – whether their parents, brothers, husbands or mothers-in-law – and this seems to have changed quite slowly down through the generations. The interviews

undertaken for this study document that the majority of women from both generations were subjected to overwhelming pressures of time when they were outside and free from the family. Regardless of where they went or the level of tolerance of their families, the women were expected to be at home at the proper time, as one of the major conditions of their being permitted outside the home and experiencing public space. Significantly, time, along with space, serves as a key determinant in the experience of public space of women. In this section, I will examine how and what kind of time constraints were imposed on the women in their everyday activities outside the home.

The regulations and norms concerning the appropriate times when women should be at home are almost the same, with only small differences apparent in putting it into practice in general. The right time for women means, primarily, before the menfolk of the family come home, whether it be the father, husband or father-in-law, depending on the family structure. The general tendency among the interviewees was that the first-generation women referred largely to their husbands, while the women of the second generation mentioned their fathers more. There are certainly anecdotes told by the first-generation women about the time constraints imposed by their fathers, but they tended to recall more vividly the situations in their marriages. It should be noted that the second-generation women made almost no mention interference from their husbands in this issue. In other words, the women in the group did not experience this problem in their marriages, which stands out as the major difference between the two generations. In the interviews, the women focused rather on their fathers' attitudes towards their mothers and/or themselves. For instance, Hülya, whose father was a lawyer father and whose mother was a housewife, described her father's strict insistence that her mother be at home before him:

“My father used to close his bureau and come home immediately, and when he was home, he would like to see mother at home. Anyhow, mother had to be back from the neighbor's, I mean, from an afternoon tea party, and that would be at the next-door neighbor or a friend's house across the road, so and so, before the father arrived. She absolutely had to be home (*before him*).” (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

As Hülya points out, her father insisted that her mother be at home when he came in from work. In providing details about her mother's going out, Hülya used a very precise expression to refer to her mother's duty, which tells a lot about the degree of pressure from her father. Significantly, these restrictions, imposed especially by the husband, and, moreover, the way they were explained with expressions of certainty and emphasis, was common in most of the narratives of the first-generation women. The same situation is identifiable in Saime's (1935, *Cebeci*) statement, that her husband insisted that she be home before him: "I would go to reception days for example, but on time ... he'd be at home at 6:00 pm, I'd definitely get home at six (*p.m.*), when he arrived he had to see me at home, otherwise there would be the hell to pay (*laughs*) he'd say get in 5 minutes ahead of me but you open the door for me." It is worthy of note here that immediately after mentioning attending women's meetings, Saime raises the subject of time, but more specifically, the time that her husband would come home. This is clear evidence that her activities outside the home were closely dependent on the time of her husband's return from work. Similar to Hülya, Saime used repeatedly expressions of certainty to explain her husband's insistence in this matter.

Certainly, the time constraints imposed by men were not only intended for their wives, as the same rules applied to their children, especially their daughters. The anecdotes explaining their fathers' approach to this issue occupy an important place in the narratives of the second-generation women, particularly up to the age of puberty. As the majority of the interviewees indicated, their fathers, as "the head of the family", were strict about finding the whole family at home upon their return from work, serving as a concrete sign that time spent outside had ended for the day, as the following quotes from the second-generation women illustrate:

"... We'd throw the thing, the bag (...) we'd spread margarine on bread and sprinkle some sugar on it (*laughs*). We'd take it and go outside, my dad would arrive exactly at seven thirty (*p.m.*) and if weren't in before he arrived we'd be in trouble, he'd beat us."
(Ferda 1953, *Cebeci*)

"The public housing life was like, you had to be at home after sunset, after my dad got home. he was sensitive like that, he wanted to see us at home when he arrived, but ..."
(Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)

As seen in the words of Sinem above, the arrival at home of the father or husband also meant in the evening hours, which was something that was also mentioned frequently by the women interviewed while talking about how conventions of time shaped their behavior and experience. Being home by dusk was a condition of going outside for women, regardless of where and with whom they went, and this rule was always in effect for women in family life. For instance, Hikmet (1941, *Küçükkesat*) from the first generation said: "... I try to get home by evening, I mean, I try really hard to get home; no matter where I go, I try to get home before the evening prayer, I won't be late." Hikmet thus underlined how it was important to be at home on time, before the evening arrived. Moreover, in using the expression "to try" again and again, she implies that it was something that was demanded by somebody other than herself, though without naming them. As mentioned by Hikmet from time to time during the interview, both her father and her mother were strict about when she should be home.

It is significant that, while talking about time constraints imposed by the husband, most of the women from the first generation made no critical or questioning remarks, as their narratives, especially on the requirement of being home on time, reflected rather a tone of approval and affirmation. For the women in this group, this was a duty that was supposed to be fulfilled by every housewife, and so the assumption was generally that there was nothing wrong with such a duty. As such, it was often mentioned during the interviews that they did their best to comply with the demand. Hayriye (1933, *Aşağı Ayrancı*), from the second generation, had a relatively less possessive husband, but illustrated how she would plan her outside activities to suit her husband's schedule and expectations:

I: Okey, for example, your husband has a life of his own, and you have a convenient, at least a relatively more comfortable marriage. He was not an interfering husband (**Hayriye: No, no, he didn't**) as far as I can tell. So, for instance, what time would you get home, what time did you have to get home?

Hayriye: I was an anxious one, I would be afraid that he would get angry. (...) sometimes the bus wouldn't come. But, I would definitely have a friend with me if I was going somewhere distant, I wouldn't go alone. Back then, we had telephones. I sometimes told him that I was running late. I sometimes went home late. But not always. (**I: I see**) Once in a while. Occasionally. (...) I would get home on time, yes, would be at home timely.

I: But, I suppose you didn't have any problems because of those, right?

Hayriye: No, no, I haven't. I knew my, I mean I knew the way things should be. How did I know? I had figured out his character. I would go and come back on time.

What is notable in Hayriye's dialogue is her emphasis on how she was conscious of the attitude she was to maintain, and how she managed to act in accordance with it. It is clear in her repetitive expressions of self-awareness that she made a conscious effort to be at home on time. When asked if she had any trouble with her husband related to her timing, Hayriye's answer was quite clear: she never faced any problems, because she never crossed the line. Although she started answering the question with a comment about her husband's anger, she then focused on mentioning the fulfillment of the duties of being a wife. Hayriye wanted the listener to know that she was a good wife, one who knew what time she was supposed to be at home, and one who would adjust her own program to meet the requests of her husband. This is an attitude that was shared by many of the first-generation interviewees, who, when asked about their time constraints, expressed either implicitly or explicitly that they never had a problem or argument with their husbands on this issue, as they were careful not to overstep the time limit allowed.

The narratives of the second-generation women on time constraints, on the other hand, reveal a quite different approach. Women in this group tended to express their experience of the time constraints imposed upon them by their parents in a rather complaining and cynical manner. Unlike their mothers, who felt that they were supposed to be at home before it got dark, the second generation saw it as a burden that they had to contend with. Although they were relatively more comfortable during the day, and would manage to find a way to escape and spend time outside, they could not bargain their way out easily when it came to going out

in the evening. This was the case even during their university years, as exemplified by Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*): "... now that I was in college, mornings were mine. Nights were a problem, but the mornings were mine. I could do whatever I wanted during the day. (...) If you cannot go out at night, you cannot hide this or that anyways. But during the day, even if they/she said 'I don't want you going there', you still could." Similar accounts were given by several of the interviewees from the second generation, reflecting a similar tone of discontent. Moreover, and of equal importance, was that the way they narrated was also shaped by the same attitude. Gülay's (1969, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*) narrative, which contains elements of irony, provides a very good illustration of this:

I: So, how were the hours settled on?

Gülay: (*Laughing*) It shouldn't get dark, until it got dark. Like in summer time and winter time (*referring to daylight saving time*). What mattered was that it didn't get dark, cause nothing (*bad*) happens on the planet in the morning, they only happen at night... (...) But, I don't recall breaking it that much. If it was six, you'd be home at six.

It is significant that, when asked how the hour at which she was to return was agreed upon, Gülay's first response, with a laugh, was "before it gets dark." Gülay repeatedly emphasized the importance of nightfall, but openly ridicules the irrationality of her parents on this issue. That said, Gülay's final comment above indicates that she always obeyed the rule, and was always home before nightfall, as was the case with most of the interviewees from her generation. It was only after marriage that the second-generation women could escape the time constraints that had restrained them throughout their youth. The majority of the interviewees in this group stated that after marriage, they had more freedom in regards to time and going out at night, which Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*) narrates with particular emphasis on the idea of freedom: "...well after I got married, I got a lot more, a lot more freedom than when I was young... I was single and I couldn't go out with my boy friends; then I started going out, having dinners and all that with them after I got married, even though I was married and all."

Although time constraints on everyday activities of the first-generation women lessened gradually in the later stages of their lives, their narratives show that they

still followed the curfew hours, to a large extent, and made sure they were home before it got dark. In particular, nightfall had a bounding affect on their activities outside the home, as they had practiced the “after dark” rule for many years, never being outside alone when it became dark without a family member present. This inevitably turned into a habit and routine behavior, and remains a decisive factor in their everyday lives even today. Often, the interviewees admitted that they still tried not to be outside after dark. Rather than this being because of any restrictions on their movement, they actually felt uneasy about being out after dark, as can be seen in the following conversation with Aliye (1939, *Küçükkesat*):

I: For instance, when was deemed appropriate for you to go out?

Aliye: No, (*during*) daytime, daytime.

I: You mean before nightfall..

Aliye: Right, right. I still do this, Once it gets dark, I feel antsy cause I have to be at home, I still feel this way (*laughing*). (...) See, for example I didn't let my daughter go out at night either...

When asked when she was allowed outside, it is important to note that Aliye’s first response was to make it clear that it was supposed to be during the day. It was after I used the word “darkness” that she expressed how it became a deep-seated habit that was carried over also into her daughter’s upbringing. Similarly, Sevim, another woman interviewed from the first generation, reflected on her experience of darkness, describing it in terms of habituation and compliance. However, unlike Aliye, who did not refer to any specific person imposing time constraints upon her, Sevim provided a detailed account of how she became accustomed to being home before it got dark as a result of her husband’s insistence. As a result, Sevim, who throughout her marriage was never allowed to be outside after nightfall, still experiences feelings of anxiety when alone after dark. The remarks of Sevim (1936, *Küçükkesat*) in the following dialogue reveal how the pressure and constraints imposed by her husband became internalized and integrated into her own habits:

Sevim: ..., my husband made me accustomed so. For example, now my spouse is dead, he's been dead for 20 years... My late sister, she passed away in 2005, lived in Bahçeli (*referring to a neighborhood*), there is a bus from there to my place, (...) There is one at 10 after 5 and one at 10 to 7, it passes through here, I have to get on the 10 after 5 bus. And my sister would get angry with me; she would say: Why in the world would you think that your husband is at home? I won't open the door once it's dark; it shouldn't be dark, I told her I felt kind of guilty (*if I didn't*). My husband had so ingrained it in my mind... He used to say, I want to see you at home when I come home, no matter where you've been to; you open the door to me and this is the greatest happiness in the world, he used to tell. I was accustomed that way so I think it's still the same, no matter wherever I go. (...) yesterday, I was out when it got dark, but I called my daughter-in-law, she was with me and she drove me here, so family is... I just cannot stay.

I: So was time constraint, you know, always like this in the family when you got married?

Sevim: Of course, I was to be at home before he came, it was like this even if I was at the neighbor's. He'd like it, it was his character, you see, he got me to accept it and I wouldn't feel offended even a bit, with mutual understanding and all, my dear. When there is mutual understanding it doesn't burden you; at first his jealousy exhausted and saddened me very much.

A distinctive feature of this dialogue is that Sevim puts her husband at the center of her narrative, as the person who is responsible for how extremely cautious she has become about when she returns home. Using terse and clear expressions, particularly in the first part, prior to my question, Sevim builds a narrative that leaves no room for doubt about her husband's overbearing attitude. Also, her repetitive use of "he" as the subject, and her quoting of the comments made habitually by her husband, accentuates his overwhelming impact, which causes her feelings of guilt, even today, whenever she breaks from the routine he forced her to become accustomed to. This can be seen in its clearest form in the statement, "My husband had ingrained it in my mind." It should be noted that, however, Sevim makes no discernible accusative tone when she narrates her experience, as she is merely talking openly about what she went through. In the closing lines of the dialog, she actually justifies her husband's behavior, and it is significant that, after making unfavorable comments about her husband, although without a direct sense of resentment, Sevim implies that they lived together based on a mutual understanding. This does not mean that she was not troubled by her husband's time constraints, but it is worth noting that she does not express it explicitly, as she

accepted and internalized the demands of her husband to an excessive degree.⁴⁶⁴ Sevim's use of this kind of narrative should be seen as a means of coping with the traces of her tough relationship with her husband as a part of her past reality. This becomes more probable and understandable when considering the fact that her husband died of cancer, spending his final ten months in great pain.

It is worth mentioning another particular form of time constraint that was influential in the everyday lives of the women across the two generations, which was that they were never allowed to stay elsewhere overnight. This was a common feature in the upbringing of almost all of the women, including those above eighty, that participated in the study. Regardless of whether it was with a friend, neighbor or close relative, for the young girls, sleepovers appeared to be strictly prohibited by the parents from an early age, especially during puberty. As the following statements attest (one from each generation), this was a culturally transmitted and maintained practice throughout the generations, including the oldest age group born before 1930, as an imperative family rule that could not be easily transgressed:

"We would if it was somewhere in the city, of course. And, I had an aunt, they lived somewhere, one night they insisted that I stay, but my parents weren't comfortable with it, they came and picked me up. The door rang, I hadn't slept yet, god rest his soul, my aunt's husband said, "they're here to pick her up". We couldn't stay anywhere. They came and picked me up, didn't let me stay." (**Leman 1929, *Aşağı Ayrancı***)

I: Well, for example, like you go to your friends' houses, right, so would they allow you stay at their houses?

A: No...I've never spend the night. They would come and stay at our house, especially after my father went to the East, all my friends (*would come and stay at our house*)... (**Aliye 1939, *Küçükkesat***)

"But, you definitely had to be at home in the evening. It was difficult to go out in the evening. I mean, you could go to your friends house next door, they could come, but, staying over, my dad would allow everything, but not that. He wouldn't even let me stay with my cousin (*referring to a female cousin*) **I: Stay overnight?** -he hated it. (**Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı***)

⁴⁶⁴ It should be noted that this situation as it appeared in Sevim's case was not only limited to the time constraints presented here. One of the major themes shaping her narrative was her husband's extreme jealousy and, because of this, the things that she had to endure throughout her marriage, especially in the early years. Thus, one should consider the arguments on the specific examples given here in this context, that is, in the context of the general scope of her narrative.

The statements above, and how they were narrated in such precise terms, reflect how there was no room left for even the slightest possibility of spending the night in someone else's house, that is, even in private spaces other than home. The first excerpt, narrated by Leman from the women born before 1930, offers a very good indication of just how common this practice was among families. Leman relates one particular time when she was staying over at her aunt's house: the doorbell rings and her aunt's husband guesses immediately that Leman's parents must have come to pick her up. Moreover, as seen in the second excerpt, Aliye said that her friends would stay over at their house for the night, which reflects another common practice that was mentioned frequently by the interviewees.⁴⁶⁵ Interestingly, most of the women interviewed said that their friends would come over to their house for sleepovers, but that they were never allowed to stay with their friends. Since all the interviewees came from middle-class families, one would assume that their friends would also share a similar socio-economic background, raising the question of how these sleepovers ever happened, and who those friends, who were allowed to stay at their houses, were. This can be clearly observed in the following excerpt, which is taken from a conversation with a second-generation woman, Banu (1959, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*):

“For example my parents always had this desire to know all my friends. Because (*they wanted to know*) who (*I*) was seeing, who (*I*) was friends with. We were a tight group of ten. Families knew one another. Kids would come and go, but we weren't allowed to stay with other families, at our friends' houses. They would come and stay at our place, but we couldn't. How awful. We'd be miserable. "Please mom, please convince dad." But no, dad wouldn't let us. I still haven't figured out the logic behind it.”

I: But, you know, no one wanted to let their kids to go to sleepovers either...

Banu: I still haven't figured out why. It's about wanting to protect your child. Let me keep my child safe and close.

At this point, it should be noted that even though the mention of such a practice was common in the narratives of both generations, it was indicated the most by the second-generation women. This was especially the result of the fact that it became

⁴⁶⁵ While speaking of sleepovers, Aliye also refers to the presence of men at home. She states that her friends (from the Girls Institute) used to come and stay over at their house, especially when her father was away. That is, their house became more suitable for young girls as there was no man at home. Even though this factor seemed to be an important in getting permission to stay over at a friend's house, it is nevertheless not uttered specifically by the interviewees, especially those from the second generation.

a matter of debate when they wanted to spend the night at their friends' houses. It can be said that the street was out of the question; even to go to someone else's home was an issue, and Banu's statement, in this sense, can be considered as representative of the comments made by most of the second-generation women. Banu talks about trying to obtain permission from her parents, especially from her father, in order to be able to stay at her friends' houses; however, such an incident, in which a young girl would articulate her wishes, would be very unlikely in the narratives of the first-generation women, as they did not have the grounds to make such requests. Moreover, in the last sentences of Banu's statement, she moves from a habitual form of narrative to a hypothetical one, stating her opinion on the motives of her parents and why they would not allow her to stay at her friends' houses. Although she believed that her parents' intentions in this regard were to protect her, she did not consider it a sensible approach, which was a common thought among most of the second-generation women when speaking on this issue. The general tendency was to regard this practice as an issue of family politics, as something that did not make sense, but still could not be questioned. As the study was made of successive generations of women, it was possible to see both sides of the story. Significantly, as seen in the excerpts below, both the mothers and daughters emphasized that keeping the children in sight and at home was a parental strategy:

“usually, let me keep an eye on her, figured out my mom's policy later on, let her be before my eyes and she can do whatever the hell she wishes, like, just as long as I know (*she would say*). We couldn't stay, though there would be so many who stayed at our place (*she laughs*). Us, nah, I don't remember staying (*elsewhere*) much. (...) But, well, my parents' policy was that our friends should stay at our house, I mean everyone should come to our place. We, like just like that, I don't remember us staying elsewhere much. **(Gülây 1969, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)**

“Well, and also, as husband and wife, when he was still, rest his soul, wouldn't accept staying at anyone else's house. He'd say "she shouldn't even stay at her mother's; I don't want night life" he would say, Ibrahim*. They can go wherever they want during the day. I would have my friends over. I would have his male friends, too. They... I wouldn't sit with them either. I would prepare the table, but at home. **(Hayriye 1933, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)**

Both quotes reflect how important it was for the parents to have their children at home, where they could keep a close eye on what they are doing and which friends

they are with. Accordingly, sleeping over at a friend's house was considered something that had to be avoided at all costs. As observed clearly in the second excerpt, related by Hayriye, allowing her daughter to entertain friends at home served as a means of compensating not being allowed to stay over at friends and keeping them in their sight. It is also important to note that in Hayriye's case, it was her husband who set the rules in this matter, but it was left to her to put it into practice.⁴⁶⁶ This was a common situation in many of the narratives of the second-generation women, and can be seen in the earlier examples of Banu and Esra. Although neither parent seem to be willing to allow their daughters to stay at their friends' houses, the narratives of these women show that it was their fathers who were more effective in making the rules. This situation, in which the men of the family played the lead role as decision makers, can be seen in many of the examples in this section, and any time constraints they imposed quickly became a pivotal rule of conduct.

Throughout this chapter, I have discussed certain patriarchal rules and regulations which strongly shaped the women's access to and experience of public space in everyday life. Having placed the concept of "public space" in a broader context, that is, as the outside of home, I tried to illustrate how the women's interaction with public space outside the home is something fearful and needs to be regulated. The interviews significantly reveal that the women's mobility and their public presence has always been a contested issue being perceived as a threat to the social order, and in peculiar, to family life. It is important to note that the examples given from the women's narratives so far actually give us a certain idea about how the women were ought to be, drawing the contours of their proper place in relation to time and space. That is to say, they reflect where and when women were supposed to be. Accordingly, on the basis of the interviews, it can be said that almost all experience the women had with public space underline the endless effort to attach women to

⁴⁶⁶ Hayriye was among the mother-daughter pairs participating in the study. She was one of the women I also interviewed her daughter, Esra, who was in the group of the second generation. What Hayriye told about sleepover was very similar to those expressed by Esra on this issue, as presented in the beginning of this topic. Like her mother, Esra, too, emphasized on her father's decisive role referring him as the one did not allow her stay over at somebody's house. And, in some part of the interview, she mentioned that, after her father passed away, she sometimes could go to sleep at her friend's house.

the home and keep them away from the outside and encountering people other than family. As the essential part of true womanhood, I argue, this strong affiliation with home and domestic life, which is deeply rooted in patriarchal culture, is central to the women's access and experience of public spaces. This has resulted in overwhelming male control and restriction on the women's movement and mobility outside the home, which has changed quite slowly across generations. The strong dependency of the women on their families and particularly on men gradually lessens in the later stages of their lives, and the second-generation women have managed to break the forms dependency particularly owing to their participation in higher education and working life. Their narratives of everyday life indicate that, after starting the university, the second-generation women become capable of accessing to and experiencing public space more independently and create their own social relations. These were, in fact, very significant achievements for the women that make a real difference in their lives. It is evident that there is a noticeable increase in the women's participation in higher education and employment through generations and this paved the way for the improvement of the women's status in society, and in parallel to this, the expansion of their participation in the public world along with their increasing activity and movement out of the home. When considering the time span covered by the generations, the achievements obtained by the women are, in fact, quite fast, which is certainly closely connected to the large-scale transformation realized in Turkish society during the period between the 1950s and the 1980s.

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACES IN ANKARA

This chapter focuses on the use and perception of everyday urban public spaces by women in Ankara. I will illustrate how the interviewed women experienced different scales of urban public space in Ankara, and how they associated their everyday lives with urban public space in relation to their different needs and activities. To explore the women's socio-spatial practices at different scales, such as home, neighborhood and city, will provide further insight into the diverse forms of "publicness" experienced by the women and the different sense of belonging they developed in their relationship with city life.⁴⁶⁷ Moreover, the role of the social networks in which they are involved in their everyday lives is of equal importance in understanding their relationship with the city. As each spatial scale suggests a different form of relationship and mode of encounter, the analysis of the women's social relations and interactions in the urban public space will allow the degree and extension of the women's participation in urban public life to be revealed. Therefore, through the investigation of women's spatial practices and social involvements in everyday urban public space, this chapter will provide a comprehensive picture of the women's relationship with urban public spaces, revealing the extension of their perception and experience of the city.

⁴⁶⁷ Publicness and privateness refer to the quality of being public and private in various senses. I use these two concepts in order to address to the uses and functions of the public and the private space in social life highlighting the role of social relations and activities in the formation of the public space. Also, these publicness and privateness provide us a useful means for examining experience of public space in everyday life as they range so widely over various disparate aspects of social life. Stanley I. Benn and Gerald F. Gaus, "The Public and the Private: Concepts and Action" in *Public and Private in Social Life* ed. by Benn and Gaus (London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1983): pp. 3-27. Also, for a very good discussion of the public and the private space in this respect, see Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "Mobile Transformations of 'Public' and 'Private' Life" in *Theory, Culture & Society* 20.3 (2003): pp. 107-125.

VII.1. Between Public and Private: Women and Negotiated Spaces in Urban Everyday Life

Since women associate with the city at different levels, their use and attachments occur at a variety of scales of urban public space. Each scale in urban everyday life represents different activities and functions, comprising distinct social and spatial features. In this regard, depending on the spatial scale they attain, there appear a variety of uses and experiences of the urban public space. More importantly, the different spatial scales and the social relations they contain correspond to different degrees of public/ness and private/ness; and the divisions between the public and the private realms lie at the heart of the organization of urban everyday life.⁴⁶⁸ These divisions are constructed not only spatially, but across the entire variety of places, people, activities and relationships that constitute public and private dimensions of urban everyday life. Since the public-private divisions are also inherently gendered, they are of particular importance for understanding the women's experience of urban everyday public spaces.⁴⁶⁹ In relation to socio-spatial activities and relationships, urban space in general can be categorized under the titles of home, neighborhood and city.⁴⁷⁰ I argue that each urban public space at these three spatial scales involves different forms and levels of public/ness and private/ness in everyday life, and can be ordered from the most private to the most public. In addition, they should be conceived as mutually interdependent and interconnected activities rather than being in a dichotomous relationship. In broader terms, the home can be defined as a private space, separated and protected from outside world. Being a physical unit that provides shelter, the home signifies mainly privacy and intimate relations. It is also a gendered space, being associated

⁴⁶⁸ McDowell, Linda, "Towards an understanding of the gender division of urban space" in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 1 (1983), pp. 59–72; Gerda Wekerle, "A Woman's Place is in the city" in *Antipode*, 16, (1984), pp. 11–20.

⁴⁶⁹ Liz Bondi and Hazel Christie, "Working out the Urban: Gender Relations and the City" in *A Companion to the City* ed. by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003); Suzanne Mackenzie, "Building Women, Building Cities: toward gender sensitive theory in the environmental disciplines" in *Life Spaces* ed. by Caroline Andrew & Beth Moore Milroy (Vancouver. University of British Columbia Press, 1988), pp. 13–30.

⁴⁷⁰ Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

with love, caring and belonging. The neighborhood can be considered as a space that is both semi-public and semi/private. It is, in a sense, mediating between the home and the city. With a certain degree of familiarity, the neighborhood represents familial or communal practices and interpersonal relations. As the last category, the city serves as a space for public and impersonal relations, and is used for a range of activities and functions, such as leisure, entertainment, shopping and meeting. It should be noted that this categorization is employed for practical reasons in the empirical analysis, but certainly without neglecting the interrelations of the home, neighborhood and city. On the basis of this framework, the following sections will demonstrate a variety of forms and levels of associations with the city developed by the women participating in this study in their everyday lives.

VII.1.1. “I have always been domestic:” Home as a Woman’s Central Place

This study shows that, contrary to what is often asserted, an analysis of social relations and everyday practices within the public space requires crossing the boundaries between the private and the public, and the personal and the impersonal, and cannot be limited only to the public space. Since these two domains are mutually constructed, and the boundaries between them are multiple and intersecting in everyday life, women’s experience of the public space cannot be thoroughly understood without considering their relationship with the private or domestic realm. This is certainly valid for the opposite side of this equation, as home, as the site of the family and close relations, is the primary territory in which privateness is created, and is also an intimate space that is separate from the outside world that protects its inhabitants from the public impersonal world.⁴⁷¹ Home is the primary link in the relationship between the personal and the social, and serves as a mediator between the inside and the outside, and the private and the public. It can thus be argued that the home has a determining role in people’s relationship with the public space. As it is always in interaction with the outside world, home is at the same time a social place, where its inhabitants socialize and interact through

⁴⁷¹ Madanipour, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–74.

meetings and visits. As such, it may sometimes be turned into public space, depending on the context and the type of activity that takes place within it; and, inside the home, there is a continuum of relations, activities and places that can be described as from the most private to the most public.⁴⁷² In this section, focus will be on the complex and intense relationship of the women interviewed with the home, revealing their different forms of attachment and the meanings they attributed to it. Moreover, I will examine how and in what ways the women used the home and its extensions, and the consequent implications of this on their access to, and experience of, public space in their everyday lives.

As a substantial body of work from a variety of academic disciplines has demonstrated, the home constitutes much more than merely a physical structure. In addition to its primary function of providing shelter, it signifies safety, pleasure and belongingness. That said, the home plays an essential role in the formation of identity and a sense of belonging.⁴⁷³ What's more, and more importantly in the context of this study, home is one of the most strongly gendered spaces, creating and reflecting cultural notions of femininity and masculinity.⁴⁷⁴ Both literally and metaphorically, home has always been intimately involved in definitions of womanhood. Traditionally, women are primarily associated with home, and their ideal place is seen as being at the heart of the home. In Turkish society, the home has always been associated with notions of femininity, and has always been considered a woman's place.⁴⁷⁵ The examples presented in Chapter VI demonstrate

⁴⁷² Madanipour, op. cit., pp. 75–77.

⁴⁷³ Linda McDowell, "Home, Place and Identity" in *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999). For a comprehensive discussion, see also Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, translated from the French by Maria Jolas (New York: Orion Press, 1964); Iris M. Young, "House and Home: Feminist Variations on a Theme." in *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy and Policy*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997): pp. 134–64. For a good review the relationship between woman and home in terms of identity question, see Didem Kılıçkıran, "Woman, Home, and the Question of Identity: A Critical Review of the Feminist Literature" in *Kadın/Woman 2000: Journal for Women's Studies*, No. 14 (June 2013).

⁴⁷⁴ For a good account of the "home" as a gendered space, see Mona Domosh and Joni Seager, "Home" in *Putting Women in Place* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 2001): pp. 1–34.

⁴⁷⁵ For some of the important works on the gendered construction of the home in Turkish society, see Ferhunde Özbay, "Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernization" in *Gender & History* by Leonore Davidoff et al. (eds.) (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Serap Kayasü, "Women, Homeproduction, and the Home" in *Housing Question of the Others* ed. by Emine M. Komut (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 1996); Gülsüm

clearly how consistently women tried to be confined to domestic space, and to maintain this confinement throughout their lives. Heavy and time-consuming housework and childcare activities are another important factor binding women to the home, however these conventional associations alone remain insufficient to explain women's varied relationships with, and meanings attributed to, their homes. It is clear that they go beyond merely work or a compelling obligation, as there is also something connected to the self and one's identity.⁴⁷⁶ As illustrated in the following examples in this section, the women themselves seem to invest a strong part of their identities in the home and domestic life, certainly more so when compared to men. This situation certainly cannot be separated from the constraining aspect of women's association with the home, and it is argued here that this has a decisive impact on women's experience of public space.

Before elaborating upon the question of the women's association with the home, it would be appropriate to begin by depicting the spatial structure of the houses the interviewed women inhabited. The common tendency among the first-generation women, including those above the age of eighty, is that they grew up in one- or two-story houses with large gardens.

Baydar, "Tenuous Boundaries: women, domesticity and nationhood in 1930s Turkey" in *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 7 (Autumn 2002): pp. 229–244; Gülsüm Baydar, "Room for A Newlywed Woman: Making Sense of Gender in the Architectural Discourse of Early Republican Turkey" in *Journal of Architectural Education* (2007), pp. 3–11.

⁴⁷⁶ Domosh and Seager, op. cit., pp. 2–3.



Photo 62: *Hacettepe, A traditional Ankara house (renovated) (Zehra, the oldest gen.)*



Photo 63: *The garden of an old Ankara house (Zehra, the oldest gen.)*



Photo 64: *The Courtyard of an old Ankara house (Zehra, the oldest gen.)*

Most of the women in this group narrated with excitement and pleasure the houses and their surroundings where they spent their childhood and youth, as can be seen in following quote from Sevim (1936, *Küçükkesat*):

I: What was the house like (*the one in Dışkapı*), can you remember?

Sevim: Was with a garden, a one floor house with three bedrooms. We had a big garden. There were fruit trees, acacia trees and all, it was a lovely place. (...) Dad got it made (*referring to the house*), it was a big garden, I don't know the acre of course, but it had a beautiful and a big garden. The house was beautiful as well, but it had heating stove naturally. The rooms were like, I do remember now, there was a big hallway and we had a heating stove. A heating stove made of stone that worked with coal. It would burn and all the rooms would warm up like that.

Stove-heated rooms and surrounding trees and plants were most vividly recalled when the first-generation women talked about their memories. The doorsteps and courtyards that were commonly used by several households also occupy an important place in the narratives of the women in this group. Although, as will be elaborated in the following section, these outdoor spaces generally served as the site for women's daily interaction, this might not always be the case. For instance, the narratives of the women whose families were relatively well-off or especially natives of Ankara (*yerli*) draw a quite different picture of their houses in this sense.

Since old classic Ankara houses, especially those belonging to notable families, were surrounded by very large gardens or vineyards, they consequently remained isolated from their surroundings. Thus, as pointed out by several women of the first generation, but especially those above eighty, these houses were separated from other houses by large areas of trees and plants and, therefore, the households had limited interaction with the outside world, and the opportunity for spontaneous daily encounters with people other than the family were fewer when compared to houses built in clusters. In addition, high walls or fences around the houses prevented women in the family from going out and interacting with neighbors whenever they wanted. Unlike the housing clusters with courtyards or small gardens, it would seem that, in these houses surrounded with vineyards, the realm of the women could not easily extend to the street and the rest of the neighborhood. Sündüz's (1948, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) depiction of the house in which she lived, even after marriage, is very illustrative of this:

Sündüz: The Ankara house... It was a beautiful house... Our house... All our houses were beautiful. Because my mom would do everything she could to make that house beautiful. An amazingly beautiful house, I mean, clean, tidy and shining. It was surrounded by a garden. We had chickens. We had ducks, dogs, cats. Back then, we also lived there when we were married. When we were married we lived there, too. And actually, they would say the prince has locked in the princess in the castle, cause the walls were so the garden, so high that you couldn't see it from the outside. The main part of the garden faced Ankara Castle. Most sides faced Altındağ. And, it was a like a manor decorated with glass, I mean it was very beautiful.

I: Well, did it have any connections to the other houses (*in the neighborhood*), or was it like segregated, by itself?

Sündüz: It stood alone. It stood by itself. I mean other houses stood outside the walls, that's why they would say that.

Sündüz's remarks show clearly how their house, where they followed a kind of pastoral life, was separate and detached from its surroundings. Particularly, the use of the metaphor of "castle in which the princess was entrapped" reveals the degree of isolation of the household, but especially the women, from the outside as well as how she romanticizes that isolation. It should be noted that Sündüz's experience is exceptional in the sense that she continued living there after marriage, as almost all of the women interviewed moved to another house with their husband after they

got married.⁴⁷⁷ With the replacement of single houses with gardens or vineyard houses with low-rise apartments during the 1940s and 1950s, the first-generation women started to inhabit a new type of built environment. The apartments into which they first moved were generally three-story buildings with small back yards and front lawns. These extensional spaces around the apartments seemed to substitute the courtyards of single houses:

I: You've always lived in houses with gardens, (**Yıldız:** Yes, yes.) that you call beautiful (**Yıldız:** Sure). How did you like it when you first went to live in an apartment building?

Yıldız: But the front side of the apartment was all open, it overlooked a main street. It had a small garden. We used to go to the backside, it becomes our own garden, no one would pay attention. Since it belonged to us there was a feeling of ease.

I: Well, it still is an apartment, did it feel different to you, living in an apartment, you know?

Yıldız: No, no. It was exactly what I was looking for, maybe cause of that. I liked it, the front side being open and that it had a garden at the back. (...) There were people at our age. Our houses were on the mid floor, they had built small walls, like the size of a cushion, in between the houses of the women that lived on the same floor, the same level as I did; like you could jump from one (*balcony*) to the other; so, she there, me at my own house we would get the chance to chat.



Photo 65: A backyard of the house, Cebeci district (1st gen.)



Photo 66: Yenimahalle, A Garden of the three storey apartment (Yıldız, 1st gen.)

⁴⁷⁷ In Sündüz's case, there is a particular reason for her maintaining her life in her family house after getting married. Sündüz lost father at a very young age, leaving her mother as a fairly young widow. As her brothers started to study outside Ankara, the family came to the decision to marry the older daughter off, with the idea that there was a need for a man in the house. As a result, Sündüz, at the age of fifteen, had to marry an acquaintance of her family who was much older than herself, and stayed in the home instead of moving out with her husband.



Photo 67: *Yenimahalle, A Backyard of the Apartment (Yıldız, 1st. gen.)*

Yıldız's comments reflect that she experienced a smooth transition from the single detached type of dwelling to apartment living, and this was quite a common experience among most of the first-generation women, several of whom narrated that their first apartments had similar characteristics, with balconies, windows and also corridor spaces inside the buildings serving as semi-public/semi-private spaces opening to the outside. Balconies and windows in particular were highlighted as the only places where women could take a look at the outside and also talk to each other without leaving their house, and so were the primary places for their interaction with the outside world. For that very reason, their use of these spaces would sometimes be prevented and restricted by their fathers or husbands, which was the case especially for the women born before 1930, although a few women from the first generation also experienced this kind of restriction. The following conversation with Ayten (1943, *Cebeci*) reveals the extent to which men could impose restrictions on women's movement, even in the domestic space, to deter interaction with the outside world:

Ayten: It was a new place, I got bored there. (*He*) wouldn't let me go out by myself cause (*he*) was jealous. Not even to my neighbor's house downstairs.

I: (*You mean*) your husband's jealous?

Ayten: Yes he is jealous. (*She lowers her voice*) he had gone to the military; he was at the military then.

I: You're at *Emek*?

Ayten: He came. I mean back then at *Emek*, he came. And after he came back, ay yai yai, my God, he never let me go anywhere. He didn't even let me go to my next door neighbor's house. He said, no, you're not going anywhere. I was scared for eight years; he didn't let me open the curtains or the door.

Ayten's case reveals a quite extreme form of male control and supervision over the daily acts of women that were rare among the first-generation women. However, it should be said that, even though it was not oppressive as such, the idea of keeping women at home and away from the public realm was quite influential in the everyday lives of almost all women in this group. As highlighted in the narratives, they often spent a large part of the day at home in the absence of their husband, especially in the early years of marriage. At this point, it would be appropriate to focus on the forms attachment the interviewed women developed with their homes. Certainly, the constraint they experienced, especially by their husbands, cannot be expected to affect the women's relationship with their homes. It is significant that most women of the first generation indicated explicitly the strength of their attachment to the home, but the way they narrated this reflected the complexity of this attachment. During the interviews, while the women talked about how they loved being at home, they often also mentioned their husband's attitude or expectations. A juxtaposition of the individual perceptions with the feelings related to the treatment by their husbands appears in several of the women's narratives, as exemplified by Yıldız (1938, *Küçükkesat*): "No, I wouldn't go out. I mean I wouldn't even if he said go. I wasn't unmindful just because he would allow me. Me, I mean, I like home more, I don't really like outside." From Yıldız's life narrative, it can be inferred that she had a relatively less possessive husband, but nevertheless, as seen in this quote, she still did not seem to feel comfortable or free to spend time outside without him. This cannot be interpreted merely as her internalization of the traditional roles of women, as it may also be related to the fact that Yıldız was conscious of her husband's expectations, and also his limits. What's more, and

more importantly in this context, just after her comment on her husband, she expressed her liking of the home, as if to imply that she herself also wanted it to be this way. In this type of narration that the first-generation women used while expressing their sense of the home, the person they referred to was not always their husband, as some also spoke about the attitudes and opinions of the people around them, such as neighbors, relatives and friends. These remarks generally reflect the cultural norm that was prevalent in society regarding women being seen in public alone. To give an example, Saime, when speaking of her strong association with home, says:

“I wouldn't go out much. They'd say, you've married your house (*senin nikah evine kıyılmış*). Eyes would be on us. In the past, if you've lost your husband, if you are widowed... If you went shopping once, you had to go shopping, right? I would use different streets so that they wouldn't (*say*) why is this lady... Everybody knew (*me*), they knew, cause they knew... In case they would say why is she wandering outside I wouldn't go out much. It's still so, I don't go out much. I like sitting at home. My husband didn't like it either though. He would (*like to*) take me out himself, and I was used to it. Like I said, I had to be at home when he came. This is how it was then.”
(Saime 1935, *Cebeci*)

Similar to Yıldız, as quoted previously, Saime first brings up the comments and attitudes of the people around her, and significantly, her narration contains references to the cultural discourse that was prevalent in society at the time, reflecting that a widowed woman was not supposed to go out so often and be seen outside alone. As I will discuss similar situations in Section VII.2 of this Chapter titled “Neighborhood: The Pros and Cons of Living within a *Mahalle*”, her remarks indicate how the community in which she lived had a constraining impact on her going outside the home and engaging in public life.⁴⁷⁸ The expression of “marrying her house” (*nikahı evine kıyılmış*) told by Saime is a clear and concrete indication of her strong dependency on the home.⁴⁷⁹ Besides, at the end of her quotation, Saime juxtaposes her love of being at home with the negative attitude of her husband towards her engaging in outside activities. Thus, as seen in the previous

⁴⁷⁸ This issue will be discussed in detail in the following section, VII.2. Neighborhood: The Pros and Cons of Living within a *Mahalle*.

⁴⁷⁹ For an English expression of the phrase Saime used “*nikahı evine kıyılmış*”, I borrowed this phrase from the work of R. Seidenberg and K. Decrow, which is titled *Women Who Marry Houses: Panic and Protest in Agoraphobia* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1983).

example, this contrast once again serves to reflect that there is something more than her own desire to be invested in her relationship with the home. After expressing her contentment at staying at home, she implies that this is also what her husband wanted.

Another important feature often observed in the first-generation women's narratives of their associations with home is that the women in this group tend to regard their homes as a place in which they made their own world. In one way or another, several women expressed how they liked staying at home and being busy with various things in their own worlds. It should be noted that, similar to the previous quotes, these comments by the women also touch on the role of their husbands. This can be observed in the following excerpt, taken from a conversation with Sevil (1945, *Aşağı Ayrancı*):

I: For instance, where do you like going the most, or where do you like spending your time outside?

Sevil: I really like sitting at home. At home, myself, ooh, after I got married, Bilal (*her husband*) started... started to go out (*for business*). I figured it out right away, created myself a world. I created my own world, unbelievable. A world together is always created, I also built myself another one. I am very happy in that world of mine. Very... I do things I like. Read books, draw, write, I liked to sew things, I cannot produce anymore. (...) I used to sew, I did many things"

When asked what places she liked to go and spend time, it is significant that Sevil's immediate answer was that she liked to stay at home, after which she passes on to her life after marriage, mentioning that her husband was often outside. Sevil here does not imply a direct cause and effect relationship between these two things in her narration; but, from her remarks, it can be inferred that when she realized her husband would be outside so often because of his job, she chose to make her own world at home and find a way to be happy in it. Her touching from time to time on her husband's workaholicism during the interview supports this assumption. Thus, even though she does not say it explicitly, there is a sense of acceptance of the situation that is clearly apparent in Sevil's attitude, and a willingness to turn her home into a world of her own, which can be seen in her emphasis on herself many times in her narration. Some of the other first-generation women's narratives reflect

a similar sense of acceptance about their relationship with home, as well as the outside, and this is sometimes expressed in a very clear and direct way, as can be seen in the following statement from Yıldız (1938, *Küçükkesat*): “Even if I was by myself I didn't feel much, I mean I didn't feel lonely. I accepted it. Mostly, you know cause I was busy, my days would be full. Going out once in a while, because I went with my husband, that was enough for me as well.” All of Yıldız's statements express a certain degree of acceptance in some way, and she seems to have accepted and adjusted to the circumstances in which she found herself. More importantly, Yıldız expresses her acquiescence clearly, and what is notable about this is that Yıldız manages to fit in a one-word sentence “I've accepted” (*kabullendim*) her partial state of solitude at home and her contentment with going outside only with her husband. Yıldız and Sevil's examples both demonstrate how the first-generation women used to create a world of their own within the boundaries of domestic space, and developed strategies to spend time on their own when at home. It can be argued that this played a critical role in the formation of their attachment to their homes.

The narratives of the second-generation women also feature a fairly pronounced and strong attachment to the home. Similar to their predecessors, the majority of the women in this group also highlighted how much they liked spending time at home on their own, though of course in different forms and to different degrees. As they expanded their relationship with the outside world, particularly with their entry into working life, the second-generation women were able to develop an attachment to their homes much more independently and freely than the women of the first generation. What's more, as a result of their having a more understanding and permissive relationship with their husbands, the home ceased to be a space of confinement and restriction for the second-generation women, and they sometimes expressed a longing to be at home under the strain of a demanding work life and also their increased participation in social life. According to their narratives, the women of this generation felt themselves confined to home mostly after having children, especially during the early years of their parenthood. Unlike the previous generation, they rarely mentioned their husbands while talking about their

association with the home. It is interesting to note that the mothers appear to take the place of the husbands in the narratives of the second-generation women, with most women in this group tending to have a sense of their own home after getting married, and speaking about this generally with reference to their mothers. What is significant is that the women's comments about their mothers reflect a sense of discontent and tension, and they often expressed, either implicitly or explicitly, that they were not happy with their mothers' involvement in their domestic space. The following remarks from Reyhan (1958, *Küçükkesat*) show how she constructed a sense of home and subjectivity after her marriage by leaving her mother outside: "It happened like this; as far as I can understand my mother... I didn't let her in the house much, I mean emotionally. How can I explain it, some things are not told but felt. (...) Like, I was like I could do it, this is my home and my space of freedom..." Here, Reyhan recalls that she developed her sense of belonging and home identity center around the house she inhabited with her husband – and later, her children – and made it her own, that is, in her own words, a place of freedom, and kept her mother outside.

Another common form of expression that the second-generation women used while explaining about their relationship with their homes was that they tended to distinguish themselves from the traditional role of the woman as a homemaker, underlining that this was not the case for them. Immediately after saying that they liked their home, they often felt the need to indicate that this was not in the sense of a typical housewife. Although most of the women declined to openly name their mothers, the specific features of housewifery they avoided identifying were mainly those that they associated with their mothers, such as being house-proud and having neighbor visits or reception days. This is clearly evident in the following selected quotes:

“I love home. Even though I cannot enjoy home; I work seven days a week and get home exhausted. At home, I mean, I cannot enjoy being at home, not not not not at all, I mean I miss my home. (...) I like to arrange things in the house, I like decorating it. I told you I wasn't a typical housewife. I lived in the house for fifteen years, and I still was not a typical housewife.⁴⁸⁰ I didn't host gatherings, or I wasn't neighborly either. Never did any of those. But, I was always busy with something. I painted, I sculpted, I played with the house, changed it (*referring to rearranging things in the house, redecorating and etc.*).” (Gülden 1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“I mean, to love home and to keep it tidy, yes. But, being a housewife and not leaving home for a week, I didn't have a life like that. Retirement scares me in that sense. (S: I see.) I must be busy with something, I must have a connection with the outside.” (Seval 1963, *Küçüksevat*)

Gülden and Seval both use very clear terms to distinguish themselves from the position of traditional housewife. It is notable that they are keen to describe the form of their attachment to home, indicating how they used the home space and the activities they took part in, or did not. That said, none of the activities Gülden mentions in her narrative refer to classically defined female skills like tailoring, knitting and ornamental works, which are mainly associated with the notion of traditional housewifery. Through leisure time art activities like painting and sculpture, she presents herself as a woman who spends her time at home for her own enjoyment and pleasure. Similar remarks were made by several of the women from the second generation, who also tended to express their desire for interaction with the outside world while relating their sense of home. As can be observed in the words of Seval above, they liked being at home to the extent that they remained connected to the outside world in some way or another.

Furthermore, the domestic realm had the potential to generate a great deal of tension in the mother-daughter relationship when they both had to stay in the same house, and this situation seemed to occur mainly in the event of either the daughter's divorce or the mother's loss of her husband. Since the second-generation women developed their own sense of home after getting married, as illustrated in the above examples, the incidents of divorce and separation had a dramatic impact on their relationship with the home, undermining their sense of place and belonging. The interviews with the women who had divorced or

⁴⁸⁰ Gülden here mentions the time she would stay at home before starting a business. After fifteen years of marriage, she opened a boutique in a shopping center.

separated in this group revealed that one of the most troublesome parts of this process was that they were obliged to return their parents' home for a certain period of time in the beginning. The husband's absence from the home due to work or military duty can also be a reason for the women's temporary return to their parents' home. It is worth noting that the women interviewed defined this phase of their lives as a return to the mother's home indicating the necessity of complying with her mother's domestic rules, as can be observed in the following quotes:

"For example, when my husband was at the military, because I had a home for three months, we had a home, and then going back to my mother's house, that was a difficult period. I wanted to be at my home for example, but because of economic troubles (...) Well, from being a free woman you go back to staying at your mother's house . You haven't left the dishes out, but for example from having the freedom of doing so, there you have to wash the dishes and go to bed there, that's the rule... I mean, you are like a guest there, during that period this is the way it was." **(Reyhan 1958, Küçükkesat)**

"(when me and my husband were separated) I had to go back to my mother's house, because I couldn't afford (otherwise), I went to my mom's. Those were some bitter days, in *Ayrancı* (referring to her neighborhood), I went back to *Ayrancı*. Where I knew. (...) I stayed at my mother's for six months. The separation didn't last long, It all happened quickly, the separation and getting back together. (...) Very, of course it was difficult my mother's rules and things. That friend of mine from the neighborhood too got divorced and came back to her mother's house. And then, the pains of growing up started, difficulties appeared." **(Esra 1960, Aşağı Ayrancı)**

In both of the above statements it is clear that returning to the parents' house meant re-entering the mother's domain and living according to her rules and regulations. Reyhan and Esra both returned to their mothers' homes for economic reasons, and it is notable that none of them used any expression of attachment or intimacy towards their mother's home, where they had grown up. Even Reyhan, using the word "pensioner" to describe her position in her mother's house, underlines her detachment and disassociation from it. That said, as can be seen in their emphasis on the rules imposed by their mothers, both women expressed their sense of constraint and confinement in their mother's home. It should be noted that these rules pertained to outside activities as well as domestic tasks, as their mothers may have been used to intervening in their daughters' outside activities, but it is observed that this situation may be reversed when the mothers are unwilling to share the domestic space together with their daughters. This is rather likely to occur

in the event of the mother and daughter having to share the same house for a long period of time. For instance, Sinem, a second-generation woman, had to take in her mother when her father passed away, and they lived together as a family for a very long time until her mother's death. At first, Sinem saw little problem with sharing the home with her mother. As mentioned explicitly in the course of her interview, the presence of her mother provided comfort and facilitated her everyday life, as Sinem not only had a full time job, but was also actively involved in politics. However, when she wanted to spend more time at home after retiring, it led to the rise of a great conflict between them, as her mother was reluctant to give up her role as the main keeper of the domestic realm. In the following quote, Sinem gives a good description of this situation:

“Something like this happened, my mother's.. Well, after I grew up, or after I grew old and after having finished off with some things, the control of the house for instance. Once I retired, my mother grew very uncomfortable. Because, we couldn't share the kitchen. She didn't want me there. I mean, I wanted something like this; the revolution didn't happen, the streets had settled down, kids were getting their education, um, there aren't any changes in our lives and loves... I wanted to cook some meals besides baking cakes, cook for example. I started missing those, too. I wanted to try those, cause all my friends talked about them. My mother got unhappy because of this, she really didn't want me in the house. It was like my mom always pushed me out, cause of that I went to so many courses.” (Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)

As Sinem points out, her mother had claimed the domestic space as her own; but after years of a very active public life, Sinem wanted to involve herself in domestic life, but could not find a space for herself due to her mother's insistence. This is most apparently observable in the phrase “*we could not fit into the same kitchen*” that Sinem used to describe the source of her mother's displeasure. It is also notable that her mother's exclusionary attitude in the domestic space seemed to have had a strong impact on Sinem's relationship with the outside world and her participation in the public realm. That is, who would be the authority at home was crucial; the women appropriate and adopt the home to the extent that they considered it and otherwise they became estranged from it. Therefore, it is evident that it was not about if the authority was man or not; what is at issue is the authority in managing the home and the conflicts over this authority arose between the women of the family. It also should not be overlooked here that Sinem's mother

was able to have authority at home; she undertook domestic chores and childcare responsibilities when her daughter wanted to engage in political activities that required her to spend a lot of time outside the home in her youth so that she believed she had her right to claim the domestic space on her own. Therefore, it can be argued that performing domestic tasks serve as a means of gaining the authority at home; Sinem could not find a place for herself in her later ages as she did not fulfill her home responsibilities. Thus, as her mother discouraged her from being at home and spending time doing domestic activities, Sinem's attention was turned towards the outside of the home and, seemingly, until the death of her mother, public space and outside activities became the center of her life. She became released from her responsibilities at home, albeit not always willingly, and, therefore, her interest in the public world even more increased. It should be noted that even though the second-generation women's engagement in public life increased noticeably after retirement, the home space always retained a central position in the lives of these women. In this sense, Sinem, among others, was more attached to and involved in the public space than in the home space in this period of her life, and her experience provides a good example of how public and private space are mutually and relationally constituted, and how their relationship changes continuously through everyday conditions and practices. This point is of particular importance when questioning how and in what ways the women were able to go out of the home and enter the public space because it reveals how the women's relationship with her home and her status there in relation to other family members played an important role in their access to and experience of the public space in their everyday life. It should be also underlined as most of the research focuses on either one of these realms, home space or public space, it is likely to miss this point, or at least, not pay a sufficient attention to it. Besides, as also illustrated in the examples presented so far, the interviewees, regardless of the generation, retain a complex relationship with the home space that has never been stable; it varies consistently and takes new forms in the course of life, and has a significant impact on their experience of the public space. Depending on the spatial form of the houses in which they lived and, more importantly, the attitudes and actions of other actors in the home, that is, the husbands in the first generation and the mothers in

the second, the interviewees developed differing forms and degrees of attachment to their homes; and these played an important role in either limiting or expanding their relationship with the public space.

VII.1.2. Neighborhood: Pros and Cons of Living within a *Mahalle*

The neighborhood plays a central role in the everyday activities and relationships of urban life, and having an intermediate position in the continuum of public and private spaces, it has multiple dimensions that convey different meanings and functions for the inhabitants. As an interactive and permeable spatial unit, the neighborhood stands between two distinct domains of social life, and serve as a mediating zone between the house and the city, that is, the private and the public. It is a very important administrative unit in the organization of the city, but beyond this, neighborhood is also a form of social living and social order. One of the most prominent features of the neighborhood is that it has a variety of semi-public/semi private characteristics and, in this sense, reflects similarities with the extension of the house in terms of its social uses and functions. It should be noted that the spatial boundaries between the home cluster and the neighborhood cannot easily be drawn, as the former is a constitutive part of the latter, and more importantly, as presented in Section VII.1 of this chapter, the house and its immediate vicinity acted as a substitute for the neighborhood for most of the women. In particular, the lives of the first-generation women were centered mostly around their homes in everyday live, and so their conception of the neighborhood was the home and its surroundings. Nevertheless, it is evident that neighborhood space, with all of its peculiarities, embodies different forms and degrees of publicness and privateness in urban everyday life. Public spaces within the neighborhood have the potential to serve as sites of familiar but impersonal and less intimate relations and encounters; and, hence signify different forms of social experience and social identification. Accordingly, in order to reveal how, and to what extent, the interviewed women use and experience the neighborhood space, this section will examine the social activities and everyday relations they were involved in and the forms of attachment they developed in their lives.

In the traditional structure of Turkish society, the neighborhood (*mahalle*) has always been an important component, occupying a significant part of the experience of public space of women in everyday life.⁴⁸¹ Through casual meetings, occasional talks and chance encounters, the neighborhood operates as a place of social interaction and development of social bonds in the daily lives of women. Women use and experience neighborhood space every day for several reasons, like visiting neighbors, going shopping, doing household errands and taking the children to the park or school. In this respect, neighborhood can be conceived as the most public of the women's space. In fact, women's use of the neighborhood space as a site for socialization and engagement in daily public activities is not peculiar to Turkish society, being quite common in Middle Eastern and Mediterranean cultures,⁴⁸² and today with the exception of metropolitan cities, but especially new urban residential areas of the professional upper-middle classes, it can be said that neighborhood life still maintains its importance and function for women in their daily lives, to a certain degree. In this study, the time period under examination, between the 1950s to the 1980s, was an era in which social life was shaped by a vivid neighborhood culture along with a sense of togetherness and solidarity,⁴⁸³ and there are clear traces of this in the narratives of nearly all of the women interviewed, regardless of their generation. Certainly, the forms of social relations within the neighborhood, and also the degree of attachment to it has gradually changed and decreased throughout the generations. It should be noted

⁴⁸¹ For some historical accounts of the mahalle, see İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000); Cem Bahar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (New York: State University of New York Press). For everyday life and culture in the mahalle in the early period of Ankara, see Kemal Bağlum, *Beşbin Yılda Nereden Nereye Ankara* (Ankara: 1992); Hamit Koşay, *Ankara Budun Bilgisi* (Ankara: Ankara Halkevi, 1935).

⁴⁸² As a subject of study, the *Mahalle* has always been an important dimension of Middle Eastern urban studies and it has been considered as an integral element of the Islamic city. See I. Lapidus, "Traditional Muslim cities: Structure and Change" in *From Madina to metropolis: heritage and change in the Near Eastern City* ed. by L. C. Brown (Princeton, NJ, Darwin Press, 1973). For the gendered spatial structure of Islamic cities, see J. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence and Contemporary Relevance" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19 (1987), pp. 155–176.

⁴⁸³ It is certain that the neighborhood culture used to be shaped by the formation of class and regional characteristics, and so the way of living and social practices would vary depending on the location of the neighborhood, as well as its class attributes. It should be kept in mind that the neighborhoods under examination in this study were the traditional middle-class neighborhoods of the times. For more information on the selected neighborhoods in the study, see Chapter III, Section 1. Setting the Field: Three Traditional Middle-Class Neighborhoods in Ankara.

that the narratives of the first and the second-generation women overlap regarding the peculiarities of the neighborhood life they experienced in most respects, as the time periods they address are either similar or the same. Not surprisingly, however, these narratives reflect two different points of view: one from the perspective of adult mothers for the first-generation women, and the other from the standpoint of children and young girls for the second-generation women. Accordingly, examining the women's narratives about their neighborhood life following a relational perspective will permit an understanding of how and in what way the neighborhood space was used and experienced by the women of different positions in their daily lives, and to what extent this varied down through the generations.

When considering the two generations of women together, a noticeable change can be observed between the generations in the ways the women used the neighborhood space and their spatial mobility within its boundaries. It can be said that the majority of first-generation women and those above eighty had a limited mobility in the neighborhood, and tended to stay close to home and made less use of the neighborhood space. There exists, however, one important difference that distinguishes the women born before 1930 from the women born between 1930 and 1950 regarding their appropriation of the extensions of the home. The interviews show that the women aged over eighty used and appropriated outdoor spaces around the house, like the front door, garden and courtyard, for gathering as groups and doing household chores together. That is, these semi-public/semi private places operated as shared places for women living in close proximity for communal interactions and domestic activities. Additionally, the degree of intimacy between neighbors was significantly high, meaning that they would openly and frequently come and go into each other's houses. The following two anecdotes illustrate this explicitly:

“Our life there (*Hacettepe*) was quite good, we had, like, neighbors there and she had been helpful so much because, alas, my kids were little. (...) Then she used to even wash quickly my four kids' dresses, she used to wash their heads, there was no machine or something then. But she had it, she was rich, they were so rich. She would take and wash the laundry; she would bath the kids and bring back to me. When I was about to roll, like, *dolma*, she would whip it up right away.” (Necmiye 1932, *Cebeci*)

“They used to have day gatherings, women and so on together, they sit and ate. (...) We had our garden... our courtyard, you see, and they used to come and for example sit altogether there, for example they would say, let us clean tripe and they sit and collectively clean it. Everyone would take it and bring to home. They had such sort of mutual cooperation.” (Aliye 1939, *Küçükkesat*)

It should be noted that the first of the two quotes was made by an eighty-year-old woman, Necmiye, who was a young married woman with children; whereas the second one was related by a woman aged sixty-seven, Aliye, who witnessed the collective rituals through her mother’s involvement in these activities. Both of the above statements paint a picture of the communal everyday life engaged in by the women of close neighbors in the near vicinity of their houses. As can clearly be seen in the words of both Necmiye and Aliye, the outdoor spaces around the houses, as well as the neighbors’ houses themselves, were considered as female spaces, being an extension of the women’s own domestic spaces.⁴⁸⁴ This is certainly related to the spatial structure of the old neighborhoods, in which two- and three-story houses fostered the development of such spaces in which women could socialize and sustain their daily lives. The use of outdoor spaces around the houses for these kinds of communal activities, however, disappeared from the narratives of the first-generation women, as nearly all of the women in this group had moved to apartment-block housing in the middle-class areas of Ankara after getting married. At this point, it should be reminded that the three neighborhoods under examination in this study, namely, *Cebeci*, *Küçükkesat*, and *Aşağı Ayrancı*, were newly developing middle-class districts of the given period, where a modest living culture was maintained in three- and four-story apartment blocks.⁴⁸⁵ At the time, the women used to meet and interact with each other in their homes, especially through casual visits and reception days,⁴⁸⁶ although the nature and type of social interactions and relationships among women changed over time, and

⁴⁸⁴ Arzu Öztürkmen, “Space: Domestic Space: Turkey” in *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures* (EWIC) ed. by Suad Joseph. (Leiden: Brill, 2006): p. 528.

⁴⁸⁵ For the development of the three selected neighborhoods in the study, see Chapter III, Section 1. Setting the Field: Three Traditional Middle-Class Neighborhoods in Ankara.

⁴⁸⁶ The theme of reception days will be discussed in detail in the following section VII.2. Breaking the Familial Ties and Expansion of Social Networks.

instead of dropping by each other's houses unannounced, their visits became more or less formal events that were arranged beforehand.

It is important to note that these communal forms of interaction, which seemed to mark neighborhood life in the time of the women born before 1930, appeared to be a matter of class in the narratives of the first-generation women, and even sometimes in those of the second-generation women. The appropriation of outdoor spaces around the houses by women in their daily lives has continued in the *gecekondu* neighborhoods or lower-class residential areas of the cities, where the back yards, gardens and front doors of the apartments operated as a place for the gathering and socialization of women.⁴⁸⁷ Accordingly, these kinds of practices were attributed to lower-class neighborhoods, and would be regarded as inappropriate for middle-class women. These class-based differences in the way of life often arose in situations when the interviewees moved from one neighborhood to another of different socio-economic status, and in the course of interviews, several women mentioned this while comparing the differences between the neighborhoods in which they have lived. The two quotes below, one from the first generation and the other from the second generation, offer clear examples of this:

“It was never been intimate, I mean like there (*Gazi neighborhood*). Here (*Kocatepe/Küçükkesat*) it was never like that, there was such a distance. I mean even if we would go, it was not likely for them to say, ah come on, let us eat and so on. (...) There we used to come to our neighbor; I used to cross the garden even with my pyjamas.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

“There (*Emek district*) is more decent. I'm telling you, people used to sit on the balconies, you see, sit in the house, you couldn't see anyone sitting so, at the doorstep or here and there. We used to reprove it, I mean. We came here (*Demirlibahçe/Cebeci* district) and we say oh, here they sit at doorstep, here and there, oh well, you have your garden, well, your arbor and it is ok. But at the doorstep, I mean, we just find, we used to find it odd.” (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)

Sevim and Dilek, who were from successive generations, both describe feeling out of place when they first moved from one neighborhood to the other, as the ways of

⁴⁸⁷ For the accounts of migrant women living in city squatters, see Tahire Erman, ‘The meaning of city living for rural migrant women and their role in migration: The case of Turkey’ in *Women Studies International Forum*, Vol. 20, No. 2, (1998): pp. 263–273; Women and the Housing Environment: The Experiences of Turkish Migrant Women in Squatter (*Gecekondu*) and Apartment Housing” *Gender & Society* 12 (April, 1998): pp. 146–167.

life, and especially the forms of daily interaction and relationships, were different between the neighborhoods. Their reactions and comments regarding their new situation, however, are not the same, as their moves were in opposite directions: Sevim moved from a working-class neighborhood to the middle-class district; whereas Dilek was previously living in an upper-middle class neighborhood and had to move to a lower-middle class neighborhood with her mother. Therefore, Sevim's complaints about her new place of residence as being formal and distant in terms of neighborhood relationships is replaced with a sense of disdain in Dilek's narration. What is noticeable here is the common discontent in both statements related to the form and degree of publicness. As is clearly observable in the quotes above, both women dwell on the ways women used the outdoor spaces around the houses, as well as the levels of intimacy and interaction between households; and these are the major elements that constitute the women's conception of the neighborhood.

Although the semi-public/semi-private spaces in the vicinity of the homes had a central place in the everyday lives of women, there were also public leisure activities they used to attend as a group of women or with their families in their neighborhoods. According to the interviews, the most frequently visited public spaces of the women in their daily lives were indoor and outdoor cinemas, nearby parks and other suitable open spaces, and these spaces contributed to the strengthening of the social interaction between women, while also allowing them to extend their spatial mobility and engage in everyday public life. In the time of the first-generation women, there existed at least a few cinemas in each neighborhood in Ankara, as discussed in Chapter V.⁴⁸⁸ Neighborhood cinemas, particularly in the absence of television, were one of the most prominent public spaces, serving as a central point for social interaction and collective entertainment, as can be seen in the following two quotes from the first-generation women:

⁴⁸⁸ See Chapter V, Section 2.2.3. Cinemas, Theatres, and Music Venues.

“And we used to gather the entire neighborhood. There were two outdoor summer cinemas. (...) They were at the place where Esat bazaar was set up. (...) We used to go there about every other night. The entire neighborhood gathered but then we were all young people living here so, close to each other... There were tenants in the same step with us. There were my uncle's family, my aunt and so we used to gather like that, my mother and us, my uncle's family and my aunt's family, we used to get arranged with the sunflower seeds on our hands and go to outdoor cinema.” (**Hikmet 1941, *Küçükcesat***)

“There was only that outdoor cinema, up there. A lot, we used to go there very much. In addition, here it was all over the vineyards. We used to gather, everyone prepared something, under the trees toward the evening, (...) we used to go all the family. Sometimes their husbands could also come, we used to have breakfast or something, and it was so good. Well, it lasted shortly; they quickly erected those buildings, built them right away. There was no other apartment building before, we used to gather and knock around, take a wall together.” (**Hayriye 1933, *Aşağı Ayrıncı***)

Both of these statements highlight the sense of togetherness and community when engaged in leisure activities. As they expressed explicitly, visits to the cinema and picnics were not only a family event, but also a neighborhood activity. As such, it can be argued that neighborhood public spaces served as the sites where the inhabitants developed a sense of community,⁴⁸⁹ although it should be noted that these public places, especially cinemas, where women matinees would be shown, would be predominantly female spaces during the daytime, as the husbands would generally be at work.⁴⁹⁰ Picnics, mentioned by Hayriye in the second quote, were also gatherings for women and children, yet, this practice rather belonged to the earlier times of the neighborhood, because, as Hayriye explains, above, green open spaces came to be occupied by apartment buildings in a short time.⁴⁹¹ As a result, small neighborhood parks and playgrounds, as well as nearby city parks like Kurtuluş Park and Kuğulu Park, came to be used more and more by women in their everyday lives. While the women would go occasionally to nearby city parks to socialize together as a group of women, they tended to frequent smaller

⁴⁸⁹ Madanipour, op. cit., pp. 136–162.

⁴⁹⁰ The first-generation women often recalled the women's matinees offered by the neighborhood cinemas. For some examples of the women's narratives about this, see Chapter V, Section 2.2.3. Cinemas, Theatres, and Music Venues.

⁴⁹¹ It should be noted that the neighborhood areas under examination were previously vineyards, but were gradually replaced with apartment buildings from the 1950s onwards. *Aşağı Ayrıncı*, where Hayriye lived, was the neighborhood that changed most recently. For the transformation of the neighborhoods from vineyards into city neighborhoods, see Chapter III, Section 1. Setting the Field: Three Traditional Middle-Class Neighborhoods in Ankara.

neighborhood parks for short walks to get fresh air, taking the children to the playgrounds, as the following quotes illustrate:

“There is Kurtuluş Park. We used to go to Kurtuluş Park, kith and kin gathered and took something along with them and we used to cook outside and eat and drink there.” (Necmiye 1932, *Cebeci*)

“(The Park) there was a lot nearby us. There were parks just this close by or a little ahead of us. (...) Even if we did not go with our neighbours, we used to go with my mom or so. We could meet with people there. I have so many friends whom I met like that. We kept company with the people we met in the parks previously, for so many years in this way.” (Ayten 1943, *Cebeci*)



Photo 68: *Kavaklıdere, Kuşulu Park* (2nd gen.)



Photo 69: *Kurtuluş Park*, 2000s (1st gen.)

As seen in the words of Ayten, neighborhood parks played an important role in allowing women to interact with other women of the district. As most women would often visit these nearby parks, more or less at a similar time of the day, they eventually became familiar with each other and found a chance to develop new friendships, and their roles as mothers certainly contributed as a ground for interaction among the women. It can be said that this function of nearby parks as places for meeting and socializing for women continued into the time of the second-generation women. Most of the interviewees in this group, however, stressed the inadequacy of park areas and playgrounds in and around the neighborhoods when they were older, especially after getting married and having

children.⁴⁹² Moreover, it can be observed that the use and functions of the parks for the women changed and diversified over time. Particularly those offering regular sport and recreational activities to women helped increase their social interaction and the development of different extended social networks (See Photo 69), as can be seen in the following statement by Sinem (1954, *Küçükkesat*): “I walked to Kurtuluş Park for years and I had a circle there. I mean there, there had been formed a group of people, everyone brought a mattress and did gymnastic. This gymnastic group, they used to go out to eat or to cinema and so on. (...) Each walking group started a group of its own. There is a strong network there.”

Most of the matters discussed so far demonstrate that the women of the first generation engaged in public activities in the neighborhood as either a women’s group or a family, but that their lack of spatial mobility led them to use the neighborhood space to only a limited extent. When looking at the situation of the second-generation women, it can be seen that this situation changed significantly with a noticeable expansion in their mobility within the vicinities of the neighborhood, and unlike their predecessors, the women in this group tended to use and experience the neighborhood space more comprehensively. Moreover, during the interviews they often highlighted particular outdoor public spaces in the neighborhood, such as streets, empty spaces between apartment blocks, gardens, parks and walls. This is certainly related to the fact that, as mentioned in the beginning, their experiences of neighborhood life came from the times when they were teenagers or young girls. Their growing up in a safe and familiar environment where community ties were strong and supportive is also influential in their fullest relationship to the spaces of the neighborhood. This can be seen explicitly in the following selected quotes from the second-generation women:

⁴⁹² This is related particularly to the fact that the establishment of urban parks and green areas for public recreation had fallen short of the demands of a rapidly growing population. During the 1970s, the proportion of urban green areas in Ankara was dramatically inadequate. For the urbanization of Ankara and the development of urban public places, see Chapter V, Section I. Changing the Capital, Changing Cultures of Public Space.

“Well a lot, I mean I told you already, we took our bag and go. We were always out. (S: I see.) We were always out.” (Ferda 1953, *Cebeci*)

“The surroundings were so peaceful. I mean we grew up in the streets. We used to play in the street all the time, we used to go to school by ourselves.” (Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“...here, it was like a huge house or something. I mean, including the side streets... I mean as from starting the primary school, people living here in general used to become friends in the school and thus, everyone used to come and go to each other's house.” (Gülay 1969, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

It is notable that all the three women used the word “street” in their narrations, and spoke about their neighborhood areas with great comfort and familiarity. As a result of their frequent daily use of the streets and other surrounding outdoor spaces, they were able to develop a sense of familiarity and belonging. This is articulated clearly by Gülay in the third quote above, in which she describes the neighborhood as a big house, and other women from the second generation made similar remarks, in which they used the notion of the home for their neighborhoods. Accordingly, it can be argued that, for these women, the outside was transformed into the inside, and in a sense, public space became an extension of the home, and that through everyday encounters and experiences, the second-generation women gained a comfort with the neighborhood space and confidence to act within it.

It should be noted that “the home-like feeling” highlighted by most of the second-generation women regarding their experience of the neighborhood does not necessarily mean the complete domestication of the public space. Significantly, the neighborhood space, with its own distinct character and sense of place, served as a communal public space in which the women could contact with the outside and interact with others, comfortably and intimately. As expressed by several women in this group, either explicitly or implicitly, spending time together with their peers within the neighborhood was enough for them. The following statement from Ferda (1953), who lived in the *Kurtuluş* district prior to getting married, is a clear example of this: “I mean not *Kızılay* (city center) but, I don't know, our own milieu was sufficient to us. I mean in the high school or so, in the neighborhood, well we used to sit on the top of the wall even at nights or so because we were there when my mom checked upon us. I mean there would not be any problem.” The act of

sitting on the wall mentioned in this quote appeared in the narratives of some other women from the second generation, and deserves comment in the present context in that it provides insights into the interplay of gender and spatial relationships. Considering the frequency of similar anecdotes in the biographical recounts, it can be assumed that this was an everyday ritual among the youth of the neighborhood at the time.⁴⁹³ For instance, Seval who grew up in the *Küçükkesat* district, described the act of sitting on the wall as a part of the prevalent neighborhood culture in her youth, which can be seen in the quote below:

*“(My boyfriend and his chums) they sat on top of the wall and crack seeds. (...) There was such a culture then; the boys, the anarchy period was began. They sat on top of the wall, played soccer, cracked seeds. The biggest scene was their play of leapfrog, they played buck and so on. But the girls had no chance to play outside. I mean, not because of conservatism of the families but since there was no space... even now, a girl sitting on top of a wall in a street where the cars whirl is not nice.” (Seval 1963, *Küçükkesat*)*

Seval’s statement reflects how gender plays an important role in the use of public spaces and certain sites, like the walls in the neighborhood became a part of everyday life. In her narration, Seval moves away from her depiction of the daily neighborhood life of her youth into a more general kind of moralizing, she justified not being allowed to play in the street with references to social codes of public behavior for young girls, and concludes with a moral message about a girl’s proper place in public. Despite this, Seval mentions the neighborhood wall as a socializing spot for boys, although the related statements of several other women from the second generation reflect an opposing tendency. During the interviews, they told how they would enjoy sitting on the wall and chatting with other girls in the neighborhood, as can be seen in the following quote from Reyhan:

*“Sitting side by side with our boyfriends just like that and cracking... Cracking seeds was such a joyous thing, we used to do that a lot. (...) Sitting on top of the wall is fun for me even today, also (...) there were bars, we used to cross our legs behind the bars, I mean sitting in between the bars. In a sense, I’m telling you, tomboy, but we all were like that, I mean” (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)*

⁴⁹³ As an example to the tradition of sitting on the neighborhood wall, which was a popular everyday practice among the youth of the 1970s, see Süha Ünsal, “ABD”nin Gözü Bizim Mahalle’nin Üzerinde”. *Kebikeç*. Sayı 20 (2005), pp. 165–189.

It is important to note that Seval and Reyhan lived in the same neighborhood, *Küçükkesat*, and even on the same street, only a few buildings apart. Nevertheless, as can be observed in their narrations, they seemed to have quite different experiences and accounts of the wall. Unlike Seval, Reyhan recalls sitting outside on the wall with pleasure, but what is notable in her statement is that she defines herself and her female friends who used to sit on the wall as “tomboys”. Addressing maleness through this expression, Reyhan implies that this practice was essentially a boyish thing, and therefore, that the wall was a space that belonged to boys. In this sense, it can be argued that the wall was a gendered space that tended to be reserved primarily for young males, and symbolized a masculine space in the neighborhood outdoor area. However, it should not be overlooked that, as seen in the examples above, the girls seemed to gradually appropriate these public places within the second generation, which can also be inferred from a comparison of the narratives of the women of the two generations. Besides the significant absence of outdoor spaces in the neighborhood in the narratives of the first-generation women, the statement of one interviewee in this group, Saime (1935, *Cebeci*), reveals how gender codes were strict regarding the use of space by women: “Boys would, for instance, sit on the wall but girls would be at home.” Saime summarizes social constructions of gender and space, expressing the “proper” place for women and men at the time, however such expressions of strict gender codes would not appear in the narratives of the second-generation women.

Public spaces in the neighborhood that served as sites of social interaction and activity for women, at the same time, operates as a means of their; in other words, the neighborhood is easily controlled by all the inhabitants, based on the fact that everyone knows each other, at least by face, and are connected to one another in some way. The sense of familiarity and intimacy, as essential components of neighborhood life, can easily turn into a means of social control. That is, the home-like feeling that was often mentioned by the women in their interviews brings with it concomitantly a means of control and surveillance, which is felt especially in public spaces. This unfavorable aspect of the neighborhood as a social community is expressed in one way or another in the narratives of all the women interviewed.

When considering the contexts in which the women speak about their experiences of social control in neighborhood life, it can be said that the women felt the impact of social pressure most strongly in specific situations and life stages, such as when growing up as a young girl, losing a husband at a young age or starting a new life alone after divorce. That is, in situations in which the women were more fragile, the pressure they were subjected to highly increased, and this shows us in what conditions the women were supposed to be kept under tighter control; and certainly, this had a direct influence on the women's relationship with public space as well as private space.

It is notable that the comments related to social control felt in neighborhood life appear more prominently in the narratives of the second-generation women, which can be attributed to the fact that the first-generation women, including those above eighty, had limited spatial mobility, even within the neighborhood area, and were already subject to constraints and restrictions imposed by their husbands, and so their primary emphasis was on what they experienced at home while recalling outside activities. As the interviews demonstrate, social mechanisms of bonding in the neighborhood tended to come into play as a means of controlling the outside activities of women and their presence in the public space, that is to say, how often and with whom the women could go out, and also how they were to be dressed or behave in the street. For instance, Saime's statement in Section VII.1 of this chapter, discussing women's association with the home, offers a very good illustration of how gendered forms of social control were put into practice in everyday neighborhood life: "In those days if your husband is dead, if you are widow, it came somewhat to people's attention, if too much, when you just go out like that. If it requires you to go shopping, once you go, you would take another street so that they shouldn't say this is the same lady, why I mean. Because they knew you, everyone knew, they were familiar..."⁴⁹⁴ Saime, a first-generation woman living in Demirlibahçe, a lower-middle class neighborhood in the area of *Cebeci*, made this statement while explaining the reason for her strong attachment

⁴⁹⁴ For consideration of Saime's narration in the context of women's association with their homes, see the previous section, VII.1. "I have always been domestic." Home as a Woman's Central Place, p. 228.

to the home. What is significant in her remarks in the present context is that her neighborly relationships, which contributed to a safe and familiar environment, operated also as a means of control and monitoring of the everyday activities of women, and, particularly, the frequency at which they would go outside. As can be seen explicitly in Saime's words, the appearance of a woman alone outside, in the public spaces of the neighborhood, could be considered improper behavior, and could lead to the questioning of a woman's respectability in the neighborhood, especially if she was a widow. Accordingly, in order to negotiate with the control of her surroundings, Saime would try to not draw attention to herself by staying at home most of the time, and when needed to go out more than once, she used the tactic of not using the same streets.

The second-generation women's experiences of social control in the neighborhood mostly centered on their interaction with the opposite sex in the public space, where, as girls, they would be under the watchful eyes of neighbors as well as their parents from their early teenage years. Hence, for a young girl, to be seen outside with male friends was something to be avoided, as news of such an interaction would immediately be delivered to her parents. This would be an even greater issue if they were seen alone with some unknown person from outside of the neighborhood. The following two quotes, from Gülay and Reyhan, illustrate this well:

"My grandmother used to tell me, well, I mean, "say goodbye at one street away in coming home, look they say this and that, do not give those people an excuse" (...) She would warn me that, you know, if you walk with your friends say goodbye at one street away (*laughing*) and enter the neighborhood normally." (Gülay 1969, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

"...See, for example when I started to date my husband, I told myself that I should let everyone know because there was pressure in the neighborhood, they could see you anytime and you are wandering around a little place at the end." (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

The above statements show how a young girl being seen with her male friends within the neighborhood could pose a problem. It is clear in both quotes that neighbors acted as controlling agents over not only young girls, but also their families. The familiar environment that had embraced them as "a big family" in

their childhood would gradually become a source of pressure as they grew up and became young women, as several women of the second-generation expressed clearly,

Another specific form of social control that occupies an important place in the narratives of the second-generation women relates to the situation where a woman started to live as a single mother after getting divorced. It is observed that the women tended to prefer to go back to live in their old neighborhoods, close to their parents, as familiar and safe place. As the post-divorce women carried on their lives as working single mothers, they were offered solidarity and support by the neighborhood inhabitants, including shopkeepers, but at the same time, they become subject to their monitoring and control. Esra's (1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) statement below illustrates very well how the neighborhood served as an important support system in everyday life: "For example, when I got divorced, the seller of dried nuts downstairs looked after my son. Let me see, the DVD seller looked after him. The barber across the street came to help me with his shuttle car, helped him to cross the street. The wife of the doorman let him in. (...) I mean whole neighborhood helped me." This collective atmosphere in the neighborhood indicated in the words of Esra is certainly related to the fact that she was known by the inhabitants, having lived there before; yet it was also very important that she followed the codes of proper womanhood. Esra articulated this in her interview while speaking of her relationship with the neighborhood after her divorce, stressing the need to behave in accordance with what is considered proper womanhood in her receiving support from the neighborhood, which is readily apparent in the following quote: "One day the seller of dried nuts told me that, Miss Esra, he said, we know whose your visitors are, we know you well. I mean they loved me in this respect but if I were kind of femme fatale a little, perhaps they wouldn't help me that much (*laughing*). At least I'm sure of that." In this quote, from what one of the shopkeepers told Esra it can be inferred that they tended to keep an eye on her in the neighborhood. As she underlines at the end of her statement, women are able to acquire some support and help from the inhabitants of their surroundings on the condition that they comply with the socially accepted

notion of women's behavior and their proper place. Accordingly, when a woman lived alone, without a husband or parents, the neighborhood may take on the role of her family in both the provision of support and in the control of their lives. The juxtaposition of these two sides of neighborhood life marked most of the women's narratives, as can be seen in the following quote from Gülay (1969, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*): "On one hand, you are safe, you are on the safe ground, people you know, at least you know where could come the danger but on the other hand they mess with your life a lot."

VII.1.3. Breaking the Familial Ties and Expansion of Social Networks

Women's social relations have important consequences on their use and experience of urban public spaces and their spatial behavior patterns in urban life. Women associate with the urban space for different purposes and as part of different activities, and so engage in diverse forms of social relations and networks in their everyday lives. Through different uses of the urban public space and various forms of spatial practices, social relations are embedded in space and place. As Benn and Gaus (1983) suggest, the realm of the public and the private is at the same time the realm of social relations;⁴⁹⁵ that is, spatial associations and social involvements are mutually constitutive components of the experience of urban public space. As women access and experience different parts of urban public life depending on their social roles and situations, the characteristics of social relations and networks they develop and are involved in indicate the forms and the degrees of public/ness and private/ness they experience in everyday life.⁴⁹⁶ In other words, women's relations and networks reflect in what ways, and to what extent, they participate in urban public space, making it necessary to examine the form of their involvement in these relations in their everyday lives. This is also particularly important for understanding women's experiences of public space because, as the interviews

⁴⁹⁵ Benn and Gaus, op. cit., p. 6.

⁴⁹⁶ For a good empirical study in this respect, see Eda Ünlü Yücesoy, *Everyday Urban Public Space: Turkish Immigrant Women's Perspective* (Amsterdam: Spinhuis Publishers, 2008).

demonstrate with some clarity, one of the primary reasons for the prevention of women from participating in public space is to limit and control their involvement in social groups and networks other than the family. As elaborated in Chapter VI, there was a clear effort to keep the women primarily within the social boundaries of the family and kinship, their interaction with other people independently, in most cases, being considered undesirable and threatening. In this section, I will examine what kinds of social relations and networks in which the women interviewed from different generations were involved. Accordingly, I will explore to what extent and in what ways they engaged in different groups and alternative networks outside their familial ties, and how, and on what basis, the forms and levels of their social involvements changed across the generations.

The conceptualization of urban space in the spatial scales of the home, neighborhood and city necessarily involves the study of the different forms and degrees of social relations that are embedded at each scale.⁴⁹⁷ Although this is not constant, and is subject to change depending on the relational context, it can be said that the relations and networks of women are shaped mainly by the spatial scale in which they most often appropriated, and hence have become more attached to. This situation becomes more visible when examining the experiences of women of different generations. Accordingly, the first-generation women generally made use of primary-group relationships, such as family, kinship and neighbors, as they tended to be home or neighborhood-bound in their everyday lives, to a large extent. Their interactions and relationships were based on a strong sense of familiarity and intimacy, as well as a shared sense of place, and since almost all of the relationships they were engaged in would take place within the social family environment, they had a little chance of escaping this closed network, being bound by strong ties.

In contrast, for the women of the second generation, participation in urban public life was much greater and more diversified. They were able to develop a strong relationship with the city as a whole, being involved in a large variety of activities,

⁴⁹⁷ Madanipour, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-242.

and this enabled them to create their own social networks, free from family influences. In fact, aside from their families, school and/or work friends comprised the greater part of the social networks of the second-generation women, especially after marriage. The following two quotes (one from each generation) illustrate this point very well:

“I did not much need it (*to go outside with a friend*) because I was surrounded by too many people. I had my aunt’s daughters, my aunts, I mean, I had too many relatives around me, strangers’ turn did not come. Believe me, I mean it. We are a big family and strangers’ turn did not come much. And then with my mother and my brothers...” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)

“I love to be in different milieus, now for instance, I am an executive of social democratic people’s party. I have a political milieu there. There is an association called association for strengthening the social life and I am a member. I have a different milieu there and now we work more with mentally retarded children. Well there, there are ceramic courses and like that and I have such a milieu. I have a milieu like the one in the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life (...) Also, I taught literacy for nine years in the squatter neighborhoods. As I taught literacy in all the squatter neighborhoods from *Yenimahalle* to *İlker*, I have this kind of milieu.” (Sinem 1954, *Küçükkesat*)

The major reason for the distinction between the generations and the expansion of the social relations and networks of the second-generation women is certainly connected to the increased participation in higher education and employment of the second-generation women.



Photo 70: University Canteen (2nd gen.)



Photo 71: Workmates at the office (2nd gen.)

It is evident that their mobility and the expansion of their movement in the city are closely connected to their level of education and employment status. Based on the interviews, I argue that the more the women participated in an educational and

working life, the more their social roles and relationships became diversified, and the more their spatial conceptualization and experience of urban public space expanded. This is clearly evident in the narratives of the women of the both generations. The general tendency among the first-generation women was to develop relationships with neighbors and relatives, however this pattern changed significantly in the case of the three women in this group who worked in permanent full-time jobs, who stated that they did not have much of a relationship with their neighborhood circle. Being faced with the “double burden” of working and family care, socializing with neighbors and entertaining guests at home would surely represent an additional burden for these women, and in their limited leisure time they tended to prefer to see their own friends, as can be seen in the following quote from Sevil:

“I don’t like those reception days not one bit, it was burden to me, burden to me. And well, the gossip. I’m not like my mom. I don’t need people, like, all the time, I don’t see neighbors or anybody all the time. See, maybe I see seldom my friends, if ever; anyway when we sit together we talk about ourselves and then we go and get immersed in our own business. We get into our own thing.” (Sevil 1945, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

Similarly, when considering the second-generation women, only one interviewee, Dilek, who quit her job after getting married, developed a relationship with her neighbors. Unlike her predecessors, however, Dilek was not so tightly tied to her neighborhood circle, as she also maintained contact with her friends from university and work. Nevertheless, Dilek represents a divergence from the general pattern of her generation of women, given the fact that, besides her family and close relatives, her social relations and networks centered around her neighborhood environment, to a large extent. It is significant that none of the remaining women in the second generation mentioned their neighbors as part of their social networks.

Work life, more so even than educational life, seems to have played a substantial role in the women’s development of their own social relationships and bonds. As seen in the narratives of most of the working women, their work life provided an opportunity to meet different people and creating new friendships. The second generation in particular highlighted the advantages of work life in this respect,

expressing how much easier it was to meet new and different people, and how their social circles extended, leading to good friendships. The following quotes by two women from the second generation illustrate this point very well:

“(Working life) increases your familiarity with people. When you do not work, you only, you meet with the people you choose, you have time together with the people you choose but it is not like that in working life. You do not only know the people you choose, but you also know those you haven’t chosen. The types of people.., the types in your mind about the people you see, people you know become different. Plus, your milieu becomes much, much larger. You can be with a lot more people, the number of people you love increase much more. And this is a very good thing.”
(Gülden 1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“(In the place I used to work) there were a lot of people from Turkey, I mean, take the most well-educated kids from Ankara with double master degrees, take the aircraft engineers, and this and that... the culture thing, education, it was a place of high profile in terms of training. I had superb friendships (...). A lot. For example Ela, she is my business partner. For twenty years, she is also from the same workplace. Together out there, I mean we did together sculpture or something. Besides that I had other strong friendships too.”
(Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

The statements of both women indicate that their social interactions and networks became much more open due to their work. In addition to the expansion of their social circles, which was underlined explicitly by Gülden, it should be noted that the characteristics of the people in the workplace, that is, their being well-educated and highbrow, constitutes an important part of Esra’s statement. Similar remarks, though not always as clear as in this example, were made by women from both generations, with implications that they were able to engage in a new social world that was different to the social environment of their family and neighborhood. This tendency can also be seen in their attempts to distinguish themselves from their mothers in terms of their forms of social relationships. As mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter, the characteristics of social networks have a significant effect on one’s experience of urban public space, and, in this sense, the social networks of the working women plays an important role in providing opportunities for their participation in urban public activities. The interviews show that the women usually met with their work friends – aside from a few close female friends – outside the home, and that it was common to attend cultural public activities, such as the theatre, opera and ballet, collectively as work colleagues. As the

following two quotes demonstrate, this was common for both generations of women:

“For example, concerning knocking around, we used to do it. For example, in my working life, see, our friends, well we had a leading friend, I mean who led us. See, for example he would buy tickets for a theatre play and come to say “Come on lads, I bought tickets for theatre play on Sunday”. Back then, in our time, this Erol Büyükburç or like that, they were all popular. We used to go to their concerts, buy ticket and go collectively with friends.” (Güngör 1946, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

“And our social life became like this. (...) Those theater, opera and ballet tickets would be bought collectively for it was both beneficial, economically and by force, well, I mean when I say by force, coaxing. They tell you if you buy ticket for this and that day and the ticket is in your hand. Now I am doing its organization in our working place, the Ministry, (...) if my schedule is available, an opera, and ballet and theatre performance once a month in average. ..” (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

In a similar way, education, especially university, played a significant role in the women’s participation in cultural activities and events in the city. As the interviews show, women from the second generation in particular indicated that, when studying at university, they would often attend cultural events, such as the theater or concerts. Although quite relevant, this was not based wholly on the fact that university life provided a means of access to these women to such events, nor that they could more readily get permission from their families. What was equally important was that the women could find companions with whom to attend these activities, given the chance for them to meet people with similar interests at university. This can be seen explicitly in the following words of Gülay (1969, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) while talking about her interest in classical music: “The university provided the chance to attend them more easily because you have now your friends with you. I mean going with them and waiting there (*especially referring to the concerts of Presidential Symphony Orchestra*) even when you cannot find ticket, it was exciting to sneak in or stand for hours.”⁴⁹⁸ In the above statement, Gülay emphasizes clearly the role of the university in her being able to make friends, and increase her participation in urban public space.

⁴⁹⁸ For further information on Girls Institutes and Girls Comprehensive Evening School, as the main educational institutions attended by the first-generation women, see Chapter IV, Section 1.3. Educational Life.

It is important to note that the personal social relationships the women formed in their educational lives were maintained in different forms into their later years. Most of the women mentioned that they had kept in contact with their closest school friends, and met regularly as small intimate groups of friends. Such reunions seemed to occur during certain periods of the women's lives, especially after their children had reached a certain age, when their parental responsibilities would be less. It should be also said that these meetings of old friends, which are still carried out today, to a great extent were arranged among women, meeting in each other's homes every one or two months. This practice shows a close similarity with the tradition of reception days that were especially common among the first-generation women, as will be discussed later. This analogy was made by several women of the second generation regarding their meetings with friends from either school or work. For instance, Reyhan defined her meetings with high-school friends as 'home meetings' in the following quote:

"It is like the reception days, my friends from high school and from my workplace I work now. We have a group left over from high school, about four to five people. For example I make a start with them first in September and we schedule the next meeting in our every other meeting and the year goes like that. But when I do not kick the start... I said one time I won't do it, come on let us have them to do it. Then it becomes interrupted, we have such a home meeting." (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

Meeting with old school friends was not only common among the second-generation women; as it appears in a particular form also in the case of the first-generation women, with meetings of the graduates of Girls Institutes and Girls Comprehensive Evening School.⁴⁹⁹ As the most popular girls' school of its time, the Institute trained several generations of girls, and it would appear that many of its graduates would continue to keep in touch with each other, especially with classmates, bound by a strong sense of belonging and identity.⁵⁰⁰ As discussed previously, the Institutes were the main sources of education for the first-generation women, several of whom spoke about their ongoing relationship with their classmates, with whom they had started to meet regularly "as girls" in their

⁴⁹⁹ For the role of their affiliation with the Girls Institutes in the formation of the first-generation women's generational identity, see Chapter IV, Section 1.1. Generational Belonging: Convergence and Diversity.

advancing ages. In fact, this would appear to be the most important, and often only, social circle in which the first-generation women were involved outside of their families. It should be also added that most of the women in this group usually referred to their schoolmates as “girls”, and explained to me cheerfully that they still call each other “girls”. Aliye, who graduated from the Girls Evening Comprehensive School, and in later years attended several handicraft courses at the Institute, speaks about the meetings of her old school friends:

“Honestly, before there were some twenty-five to thirty people and we used to gather quite a lot, we gathered in home. Well, we gather about since the 80s, I did not work though, but after our working friends got retired. We had a friend working at Retirement Fund and she invited people and they let me know. Every month, except the three months in summertime, whoever wanted received us and we gathered in their homes. Now we find making preparations and everything difficult and there is a local of Central Bank towards Farabi. Two of our friends got retired from there, they organize it and we meet there. It is quite like a family environment. Now we became less, some of them because of their sickness, some of them deceased and some of them moved to other cities. So we can meet now about ten people or so and it suffices us, I mean seeing each other.” (Aliye 1939, *Küçükkesat*)

As Aliye describes, as school friends they have been meeting for a very long time, and that their main meeting places had been one or another person’s home, until recently. As entertaining guests became difficult for the women as they got older, a social club with which some of them were affiliated arose as a good meeting place, given its family-like atmosphere. In fact, Aliye’s remarks represent, to a large extent, a common experience among the first-generation women, as the recent trend has been to hold their reception days in public eating places like clubhouses, patisseries or restaurants (See Photo 72).⁵⁰¹ This is well readily apparent in the comments of Uğur, a retired first-generation woman who now lives alone in newly developing upper-middle class district of Ankara:

“Now, we have been eating out for two years, we have doing like, out, we came to our home and drink coffee; we paid, it was paid (...) for example we went down, our coffee downstairs is very beautiful. We used to go to much nearer places, near places. Liva... We went one time to Liva. (...) But now it is over, we finish our (*reception*) day once a year. They said: “Well, it is no go, outside like this. Let us have it at home”, they said; it will be home, no way!” (Uğur 1935, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

⁵⁰¹ In order to see the changing pattern of eating habits over time, and accordingly, the gradually increasing use and experience of public eating places in the everyday lives of the women, see Chapter V, Section 2.2.2. Restaurants, Cafes and Patisseries.



Photo 72: *Gençlik Park, A Women's Reception Day, 1980s (Leman, the oldest gen.)*

At this point, it would be appropriate to discuss the tradition of reception days,⁵⁰² which was the most common social activity among the women interviewed. As the women's narratives reveal, reception days are a social practice that have been maintained into the present day, spanning the two generations of women, and therefore merit a closer look. Despite the central importance in women's everyday life of these events, there have to date been only limited studies addressing the subject of reception days.⁵⁰³ In general terms, reception days can be defined as periodical social meetings organized by the women themselves, with one woman in the group hosting the meeting in her house. Although reception days appeared to be a special occasion for women of the more elite families in the mid-1950s, by the mid-1970s, they had become popular also among middle-class women in urban

⁵⁰² I use the word "tradition" in the sense of a set of practices, which is invented for the purpose of "establishing or symbolizing a social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities." See Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" in *The Invention of Tradition* ed. by E. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): p. 9.

⁵⁰³ Some of the limited empirical researches on reception days are as follows: Peter, Benedict, 'The Kabul Günü: Structured Visiting in an Anatolian Provincial Town' in *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (1974); Barbara Wolbert, 'The Reception Day: A Key to Migrant's Reintegration' in *Turkish Families in Transition* ed. Gabriele by Rasuly-Paleczek (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, c1996); Berna Ekal, "How a Kaynana Should Behave? Discussions on the Role of Mothers-in-Law in Two Gün Groups" in *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 4 (2006); Gulsun A Sonmez, Metin Argan, Turkan N. Sabırlı, Tuba Sevil, "A different leisure activity for Turkish women: Invitation Day" in *World Leisure Journal*, No 2 (2010).

areas.⁵⁰⁴ In today's Turkey, reception days are a widely accepted social practice, with their own rules and norms, and "a traditionalized cultural element" that is a part of everyday life.⁵⁰⁵ As is also apparent from the interviews, women have today come to shorten the expression *kabul günü* (reception day), referring to their meetings merely as *gün* (day).⁵⁰⁶ It is important to note that even though they are both based on common ground, the *kabul günü* (reception day) and *gün* (day) cannot be considered as identical. *Kabul günü* would be organized among the elite and upper-class women in the 1950s and onwards, and would be more formal in character; whereas *gün* (day) has been practiced by urban middle class women from the late 1970s onwards. It can be said that the former transformed into the latter over time, with certain changes in the form and function. Ekal recognizes this continuity between the two forms of association, but argues that they differ in terms of "the regulation of reciprocity involved in both occasions". By her account, it is the practice of collecting money that differentiates the meetings of *gün* from that of *kabul günü*. Although this is true in a certain sense, it is not always the case every time and in every locality. The interviews conducted in this thesis show that the women use both names interchangeably.

Moreover, most of the women chose not to mention the practice of collecting money from the participants while speaking of their *gün* meetings, preferring to touch on this feature when referring to a gold day (*altın günü*), which is a specific form of *gün* meeting in which each participant contributes a certain amount of gold or an equivalent sum of money. One interviewee from the women born before 1930, Necmiye, as can be seen within the main text, made a distinction between the two *gün* meetings she attended, defining one as a "normal *gün*" and the other as a "money *gün*". Recognizing the distinction between the two forms of association, I nevertheless decided not to make a strict distinction between two. Since the most common usage among the interviewees was the term *gün*, as the shortened version

⁵⁰⁴ Berna Ekal, "How a Kaynana Should Behave? Discussions on the Role of Mothers-in-Law in Two Gün Groups" in *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 4 (2006): p. 5.

⁵⁰⁵ Mahmut Tezcan, *Türk Ailesi Antropolojisi* (Ankara: İmge Yayınları, 2000): p. 203.

⁵⁰⁶ Berna Ekal, op. cit., pp. 4-6. For an informative account of reception days, see Ferhunde Özbay, "Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernization" in *Gender and History*, Vol. 11, Issue 3 (1999), pp. 555-568.

of *kabul günü*, I prefer to use it when referencing their meetings, although I sometimes use the name of “reception day” to refer these meetings in a more general sense. Among the women interviewed, only a few used the term “reception day” and, as expected, they were all from the first generation. It should be also noted that, although these *gün* meetings are held in a similar way, more or less, they have diversified, depending on the purpose of the meeting, the characteristics of the participant women and the meeting place.⁵⁰⁷ Accordingly, certain specific purposes may include working women days, gold days (*altın günü*) and money days (*paralı gün*),⁵⁰⁸ and it is possible to observe this diversity of the *gün* meetings in the women’s narratives, as illustrated in the following two quotes:

“Your pal, kith and kin, family members, those people would not attend (*the reception days*), they would come to sit in special occasions. (...) You call them once a month, on the 17th or on a reception day and help them to cake and cookies, (...) (*Before*) that was normal, I mean to receive the guests like that. But now there is money day. Gold days came out, we know both money days and the other, and we know gold days as well. I do not attend to those gold days sometimes since I do not want to go so far away, but my bride organized a day and she attends to those receptions.” (**Necmiye 1932, Cebeci**)

“We had for example our (*reception*) days. We had (*reception*) days with my friends from the bank, we used to go to the locals, the locals of the banks, I mean the local of Halkbank or so. I used to stay in Halkbank housing and there were housing groups, we used to go to this thing a lot, see, to the locals or home, I mean this was twenty years ago... I have such (*receptions*) days or something since the last twenty years, we have reception days with our friends from summer resort.” (**Ferda 1953, Cebeci**)

Both quotes indicate the fact that *gün* meetings occupy a central place in everyday life and in the formation of their social networks. Necmiye and Ferda, who are a mother and daughter, illustrate in their statements how *gün* meetings, as special social occasions, have been transmitted down through the generations, from mother to daughter; and also how they have become diverse over time and have taken new forms, especially in the second generation. It is evident that the profile of the

⁵⁰⁷ Tezcan, op. cit., p. 203.

⁵⁰⁸ On money day and gold day, the participants would be required to contribute a certain amount of money or gold. Money contributions would be generally in a currency other than the Turkish Lira, like the Euro or Dollar. In reason for donations being in gold or a foreign currency is to protect against inflation, so that the women are not affected in the event of depreciation of the Turkish Lira. For a detailed account of the economic aspect of reception days, see Jane Khatip-Chahidi, “Gold Coins and Coffee ROSCAs: Coping With Inflation the Turkish Way in Northern Cyprus” in *Money-Go-Rounds: The Importance of Rotating Savings and Credit Institutions* ed. by , Shirley Ardener and Sandra Burman (Oxford, Washington D.C.: Berg, 1996).

participant women has changed considerably, with work colleagues replacing neighbors and relatives in Ferda's account. During the interviews, both Necmiye and Ferda stated that they would attend the *gün* meetings of their relatives together. Another point that should be considered here is the change in meeting places, as inferred from the above two quotes. Considering the fact that similar remarks were made also by some of the other women interviewed, it can be said that there is a tendency among working women to meet at the social clubs connected to their workplace; but that said, the interviews in general indicate that home still retains a central place as the primary location of *gün* meetings. What is especially important in this context is that home, as the location of the most private and intimate acts and relations, has been transformed into a place for socializing for the women through these meetings, that is, as a kind of public space that is primarily for women.⁵⁰⁹ On these occasions, women spend their time talking about a wide range of subjects, such as family issues, child-rearing practices, relationships with spouses, fashion and women's health, problems related to their working lives. Women organize and participate in social activities and gatherings in their everyday lives, creating a world of their own that is distanced from the world of men, and this issue was examined and discussed at depth in sociological and anthropological case studies of Turkish society of the mid-1960s and 1970s. In particular, it was the separation of the sexes in social life and how women

⁵⁰⁹ In her article examining the formations of gender and space in Turkish modernization, Ferhunde Özbay argues that, in the first decades of the Republican era, reception days acted as schools for the modernization of middle-class women. In her account, since the participation of women in the public sphere was limited in these years, reception days, which were organized in private spaces, provided for women a space where they could engage in public activity. According to Özbay, however, the significance of reception days has lessened, having lost its function as a public space, as urban middle-class women have become able to go out and enter public life more often and more easily over the course of time. As Özbay claims, it is true that its earlier form and function have changed, and it is no longer a school for the modernization of women anymore, I however do not agree with her argument that its significance and character of women's public space have declined. The women's narratives in the present study, as exemplified above, show clearly that the meetings still occupy a central place in their everyday lives. They differ from the reception days that Özbay recounts from the urban middle class houses of the early Republican period in the fact that they are more informal and friendly, but this does not necessarily mean that it is not a women's public space anymore. In fact, it can be said that the change in the nature of reception days has led to the expansion of this public space, created by women, since it has spread to different layers of society, no longer being unique to upper and upper-middle class women. Therefore, I argue in this study that the informal and friendly environment of these women's *gün* meetings carry a feature of publicness to these special occasions that take place within the boundaries of the private space. See Ferhunde Özbay, *op. cit.*, pp. 561-562.

socialized with each other that attracted the attention of foreign researchers.⁵¹⁰ Accordingly, it has been argued that the regular reception days involving neighbors, relatives and friends served as the most prominent public activity engaged in by women in what was defined as the private realm. Yet, what is of critical importance in the present context, as can be clearly seen in the women's narratives, these meetings served as a means of going out for the women. Held in the home of one of the participants, such gatherings as a women-only activity were well accepted and considered a legitimate way of leaving the home and enjoying a social life.

As the above statements illustrate, most of the women have several *gün* meetings that they used to attend on a regular basis. They are generally defined by the characteristics of the participant women, with each representing a different form of social relationship and network, which can be classified into three main groups: neighbors, relatives, and school or work colleagues. At the same time, these different forms of social ties reflect important spatial associations regarding the women's experience of urban space at different scales. As a result, the women were able to name their meetings according to the characteristics of their spatial locations, such as "neighborhood day", while sometimes the spatial extent might be even smaller, limited to a single apartment building. A number of the women's accounts show that "apartment days" for the neighbors inhabiting the same apartment are another common practice, and this represents the smallest spatial unit in which the *gün* meetings are organized, as exemplified in the following quote from Dilek, a woman from the second generation:

⁵¹⁰ For some prominent examples of these studies, see Mübeccel Kıray, *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1964); Lloyd A. and Margeret C. Fallers, "Sex Roles in Edremit" in *Mediterranean Family Structures* ed. by J. G. Peristiany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Deniz Kandiyoti, "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women" in *Signs*, Vol. 3, No 1 (1977), pp. 57-73. For a more recent work, see also Nancy Tapper, "Ziyaret: Gender, Movement and Exchange in a Turkish Community" in *Muslim travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination* ed. by Dale F. Eickelamn and James Piscotari (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

“We have (*reception*) day in the apartment building. Our (*reception*) day for the apartment, we met once a month anyway. I have further another (*reception*) day and it is with my friends working. They are all at different and dispersed places. One of them lives in Eryaman. The other, well, in Zirvekent. One lives in Batkent... There is one who lives in Çiğdem...” (Dilek 1969, *Cebeci*)

As stated by Dilek, she attended periodically several different *gün* meetings at different scales. In addition to meeting with her apartment neighbors, as well as her friends from her old workplace, she would also attend “relative days” with her mother and mother-in-law. It is significant that, as can be clearly inferred from her depiction above, her participation in the “relative days” and “working woman days” enable Dilek to get out of the neighborhood and experience other parts of the city. Considering the fact that the neighborhoods she mentions are quite far from her own, it can be said that these meetings serve to increase her mobility around within the city. This is certainly not unique to Dilek, as visits to relatives who have dispersed to different parts of the city were found to be of particular importance for most women, especially those of the first generation, as this was their only means of appropriating the city space. It can thus be argued that these special social activities, organized by women among themselves, and which require regular attendance, play an important role in increasing the mobility of women and allowing them to experience parts of the city space other than their own neighborhoods.

CHAPTER VIII

ACROSS GENERATIONS: SHIFTING MORALITIES AND COST OF FREEDOM

The central concern of this chapter is the transmission and transformation of culture down through generations, regarding particularly the experience of public space by women. This necessitates an analysis of the social codes and norms of public behavior for women, which are extremely influential in their access to and participation in public life. The intention here is to address the processes of learning and reproducing the prescribed meanings and norms related to women's relationship with public space and public life, and to this end, I will examine how specific notions of proper womanhood related to the access and use of public space by women emerge and are transmitted both through and between women of different generations. This will help uncover the continuities and ruptures in the transmission of these notions, revealing how the social codes of public behavior have been drawn up, and, as a result, how the gendered social boundaries for women were formed and reproduced by women. It should be noted that the main focus will be the accounts of women related to how they perceived and operated under these social and moral codes, and how they interpreted them, which led to changes in the perception and reactions to these practices across different generations of women. Afterwards, on the basis of women's narratives on the notion of proper womanhood, I will examine how the demand to go outside has become one of the most contested issues between mothers and daughters. To this end, I will analysis the contests, cooperations and negotiations between mothers and daughters related to their use of the public realm and the expansion of their social lives. Based on the fact that women play a major role in the transmission of notions of proper womanhood, the mother-daughter relationship can be considered as very fruitful for capturing and exposing the complicated and contested processes that determine women's access to public space in their everyday lives.

VIII.1. Morality of Obedience: “Our parents said so.”

As clarified in the two previous chapters of analysis, it is clear that the participation of women in public life through education and employment has seen a remarkable increase down through the generations; however the control and limits on the freedom of movement of women and their mobility in everyday life have witnessed a slight change. This is almost certainly related to the fact that particular traditions and patriarchal relations have maintained their influence in everyday life in line with modern practices and ideals. Indeed, as the interviews reflect, even though the social norm expectations about gender roles have changed substantially across the generations in favor of women, and the most elementary aspects of social life have continued to be arranged according to traditionally and religiously determined roles. It can be seen when passing from the first generation to the next one, women were encouraged to work outside the home and have a professional career, although this would almost certainly be contingent on them continuing with their domestic duties, as well as maintaining their virtue and honor. Considering the fact that the second-generation women lived their youth during the period between the late 1960s and the early 1980s, it can be assumed that the nationalist approach, defining the ideal Turkish woman as modern but virtuous, still persists in society at large. This dualistic construction of women’s identity, which is deeply rooted in the patriarchal culture that is prevalent in Turkish society, played an active role in shaping the relationship of women with the public space, that is, the outside world. In order to understand how this cultural framework has been embodied and reproduced, it is necessary to look at women’s responses to all of the rules and regulations they were subjected to, and the ways they internalized or resisted certain social codes of public behavior for women. This is especially important for understanding generational patterns, since it allows us to see at what points a common sense idea regarding the relationship of women with the outside has been changed, and to what degree it has been transmitted across generations through performance and discourse.

The interviews indicate that, regardless of generation, various social norms and moral standards are imposed upon women, though certainly operating to different degrees and in different forms across the generations. The main distinction between the two generations, however, appeared in the women's responses to constraining cultural practices they underwent in their everyday lives. It can be observed that the coping strategies of women were much related to their perceptions of cultural norms regarding proper womanhood. Accordingly, the women from each generation found different ways of coping with oppressive mechanisms, depending on the peculiarity of their individual conditions. That said, it is interesting to note that there existed a significant change in the discursive level reflecting their attitudes towards traditional gender norms. This section will focus in particular on the narratives of the first-generation women regarding their perception of the cultural norms and practices they were required to comply with, although the accounts of the second-generation women will also be addressed when relevant. The most prominent feature of the first-generation narratives is that their statements generally reflected an affirmation and acceptance of the given gender codes. During the interviews, when asked about the moral norms and values they were subjected to in their lives, their responses point primarily to family manners and customs; but more importantly, their narratives express, to a great extent, a kind of cultural discourse that reflects and sustains aspects of the prevailing mindset of the time. The way they were raised and treated by their parents when they were young was a common theme among the women of the first generation, with the notion of respect and its manifestations occupied a central place in their narratives. They spoke often of respect of one's parents as being a generally accepted social value in their youth. Accordingly, while speaking about such unpleasant situations as the discipline imposed by their fathers, jealousy or their mother's authoritarian attitude, they tended to attribute their silence or acquiescence to their parents with reference to the manner and respect given by the family. The following quotes below illustrate this well:

“(with our parents) we were quite good together. My mother was like, I mean, authoritative. I mean, they were not very open-hearted so that they would protect us a little and teach us. They were the kind of parents that didn’t show their love. And since we learned respect from them, we couldn’t talk back. We would hold ourselves back, I mean.” (Yıldız 1938, *Küçükkesat*)

“None of us was slapped by my father, not that I know of, never beat us down my father, but I was married for example, I was sewing and I crossed my legs cause I was going to hem, I apologized from my father then and asked his permission beforehand, that was how much we respected him.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

The statements above indicate that the notion of respect was central to the relationship the women retained with their parents. Significantly, both Yıldız and Sevim express explicitly their respect for their parents, regarding this attitude and behavior in a positive light. It can be seen more clearly in Sevim’s claim that she would behave in a respectful manner towards her father willingly, not due to force or pressure. This is important, in that Sevim was one of the women from the first generation who had endured the pressure and control of her parents throughout her life. Yet, using mainly the subject I, she seemingly prefers to narrate the respect she showed to her father in such a way that indicates it was her own voluntary act, and in fact this was a quite common characteristic of the first-generation women. The women often spoke of the manners and values taught by their parents with a tone of affirmation and praise. It is important to note that during the interviews they were hesitant in relating their subterfuges and efforts to escape the constraints of their family so as not to give the impression of breaking the rules of conventional morality. Accordingly, it is no surprise that the first-generation women’s statements were generally in line with the traditional gender codes and male hegemony, as Sevil (1945, *Aşağı Ayrancı*) explains: “... with the manners I was taught, I mean, there is a man in the house, it’s the most important thing, there is this idea. He is the head of the household, there is this opinion, and I showed the same respect. I carried on the same tradition and impressed this idea on my children, as well.”

Sevil’s above quote demonstrates clearly that the manner and respect given by the family played a central role in the women’s conception of womanhood and appropriate female conduct. In her account, she learned these values from her family, and was supposed to put them into practice throughout her life and transfer

them to her children. It should also be noted that Sevil was the only woman who graduated from the university and had a professional career, but nonetheless her viewpoint has much in common with those of most of the other women in this group. This shared attitude among the first-generation women, which can be defined as a generational pattern, offers a strong indication that the women in this group were deeply involved in the reproduction of traditional gender norms through their performance and transmission to next generations. The adoption of the given norms could not be expected to occur without conflict or questioning, but as can be seen in the aforementioned examples, the women declined to challenge directly and explicitly these gender-imposed norms of propriety, preferring to get round them in a more tacit and ambiguous way. Their discontent and frustration appears more in the form of their narration, that is, the way they express themselves, rather than in the content. The following statement from Necmiye, who was a woman above the age of eighty, offers a very good example of this:

“He was taking me around himself anyway. I never went around myself. Even my mother... he was taking around. I wouldn't say “What will I do?” wouldn't say such a thing... I wouldn't, wouldn't say nothing... (...) For us, I mean, for example, we were scared of men, you cannot say anything, and it doesn't occur to us, neither a fight nor a quarrel, none of them occurred to us.” (Necmiye 1932, *Cebeci*)

What Necmiye expresses here is notable for several reasons. Her remarks and the way she narrates in such precise terms reflect the degree of pressure she was put under to not go out alone. Necmiye, in using repeatedly the expression “I wouldn't say...”, is indicating clearly her inability to oppose and resist the constraints of either her husband or mother. In using the expression, she means that, in a sense she was not in a position to say anything against them. Another point that is worthy of note is that when relating her own personal experiences, she uses the subject “we”, referring to a common shared experience of her generation. Furthermore, her use of the habitual form in her narration implies that obedience to one's husband was a generally accepted social norm regarding the proper conduct of women. What is crucial here, however, is Necmiye's expression that the sense of fear was inherent in her obedience to the male members of the family. This attitude could be observed also in Yıldız's expression “We would hold ourselves back...”

(*çekinirdik*) in the abovementioned quote (last sentence). Accordingly, I argue that it was an intricate mixture of fear and respect that made the first-generation women obey without question their parents and, when married, their husbands and their husbands' families; and significantly, it could also be said that this constituted the essential basis for the formation of proper womanhood and female morality.

The strong commitment to family values shared largely by the first-generation women played a central role in the internalization of the given socio-cultural norms and practices. As they were established and served as the condition of proper womanhood, feelings of guilt and the fear of making a mistake were notably manifested, implicitly or explicitly, in the narrations of the first-generation women. Not coincidentally, this was the case primarily in matters related women's activities outside the home. Since they were taught that a good woman was supposed to be committed to her home and family, any potential act or desire that went against the social norms caused the women to suffer feelings of confusion and self-doubt. In this sense, even an ordinary everyday activity like going out with friends might result in anxiety and stress for the women, as can be seen in the following remarks of Sevil:

"I had a burr under my saddle sitting there in cafes. With the men I didn't know. (...) I used to be so anxious that someone would see me and say something to upset my father; so I didn't go there so often (...) there was a big movie theater. We had a student discount, it was 1 lira, adult fare was 2.5 and student 1 lira. We used to go there. Of course, I always had a panic in me, always a fear; am I doing something wrong, am I doing something bad... Always this fear, I always lived with this fear. So I acted very carefully." (Sevil 1945, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

As a university graduate and working woman, Sevil was one of the few women from the first generation who were able to go out and spend time with their friends; yet her statements demonstrate how restless and full of fear she was when venturing outside without her family. As she was imbued with the strict norms and values of proper womanhood, particularly those related to honor and virtue, from a very early age, and had developed a deep sense of guilt, being afraid especially of being seen in public with unrelated men. It is notable that Sevil's fear was not derived primarily from her father's anger, but from a concern that somebody may

see her and say something that would upset her father, as such act would bring shame on her family. This indicates how cultural norms related to purity were adopted and internalized by the women, and how greatly this affected their experience of public spaces in their everyday lives. It is important that the sense of fear and guilt was internalized by the women to such an extent that they came to follow the social norms and rules of their own accord, and this played an active role in ensuring the transmission and continuity of social norms related to the acceptable behavior of women across generations.

The interviews reveal that a significant proportion of the socio-cultural norms related to the conduct of women and female morality were concerned with their relationship with public space; that is, their outside activities and their behavior and presence in public, and fall under two main categories: one, related to the sexual virtue and honor of women, and the other related to their public dress and behavior, and the appearance of the female body. Needless to say, these two areas are mutually and simultaneously constructed, together defining the proper place and the proper moral conduct of women in public, and have been socially and culturally established to control and regulate women's dress codes, bodily presentation and conduct, and their contact with the opposite sex. The following two sections will make an analysis of the specific social codes of public behavior that the first-generation women were expected to fulfill when going out and experiencing public space, with the aim being to reveal how the women perceived and interpreted these codes and meanings, and the specific ways they reacted and adapted to them.

VIII.1.1. Woman's sexual virtue and honor

There has always been a symbolic association between the presence of women in public and sexuality within social and cultural discourse. Public space serves as a site for the production and display of sexuality, as well as its potential subversion. Traditionally, women are seen primarily as belonging to the domestic realm, and their ideal place is supposed to be the home. In this regard, her sexuality is defined within the limits of her domestic roles, that is, motherhood and wifedom, and so

when a woman enters the public space, it is assumed that her sexuality becomes out of control, and that she is in danger, having left the place to which she supposedly belongs. For this reason, women are taught to control any behavior that might put them in a situation in which they may be judged as sexually loose or immoral. To know how to behave in public and how to control one's self is what made a woman virtuous. What is more, the honor of the family is rooted in the sexual behavior of women,⁵¹¹ and so any public transgression by women of acceptable social behavior and norms were thought of in terms of sexuality, and would be considered as a potential threat to the family and to social order, and so judged as immoral. As the interviews also indicate, the protection and control of sexual virtue and honor is always of critical importance in the raising of a daughter, and there is little doubt that this has a strong and direct influence on women's experience of public space.

The interviews reveal that the female sexuality and related issues of purity have always been a sensitive and controversial topic for families down through the generations. During the interviews, most of the women talked about the control and restrictions imposed by their families in the name of honor, respectability and modesty, and it is evident that such rules and practices were first, and most strictly, applied in their teenage years, as their bodies and sexuality begin to develop. As voiced frequently by the women in the course of the interviews, their going out and being engaged in public life was strictly controlled and regulated by their parents, with the primary concern being to limit and prevent contact with unrelated men and keep their sexuality under control. However, it should be noted that even though the social and cultural norms related to sexual virtue were influential in the lives of almost all of the women, regardless of their generation, the notion of honor and shame played a more prominent role in the upbringing of the first-generation women, several of whom indicated explicitly their parents emphasis on this issue, as is apparent in the following dialogue with Güngör (1946, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*):

⁵¹¹ The issue of honor and sexual virtue is discussed in detail in the theory chapter. See Chapter II, Section 3. Parameters of the Formation of Public Space in Non-Western Context: Gender, State and Culture.

I: How was your relationship with your parents?

Güngör: Of course, some things, I mean, their wish was... ‘Let our children grow up with, as the saying goes, their honor; let me raise that kind of a child.’ That was their goal. Thank God that we didn’t have the slightest thing to put our mother and father to shame. That’s how our youth passed.

I: On the other hand you are two girls and there is not much age difference between; how were you raised especially since your teenage years?

Güngör: (...) People of that time were more, how can I put it, careful about this honor thing. So was my father. For example, he didn’t approve of a male friend of mine, to be honest.

Güngör’s remarks illustrate how the protection of the girl’s honor, and hence that of the family, was the predominant issue in the parents’ attitude towards their daughters. Güngör’s father was relatively less possessive and overbearing when compared to the other women in the first generation, and she was one of the only women in this group who was encouraged to find work after finishing the girls’ institute.⁵¹² She was also allowed to go out and engage in public leisure activities with either her cousins or friends from the neighborhood; although as she indicates above, her father, too, shared the common social attitude of families related to honor and chastity. That said, while speaking about her father’s attitude, Güngör does not refer merely to her father, as her statements cover the mindset of society as a whole at the time, using the expression “people of that time” (*eski insanlar*). It is also worth noting that Güngör, after describing her parents’ general attitude and state of mind and emphasizing the notion of honor, states immediately that she would never think of engaging in any act or behavior that would shame her parents. This was, in fact, a frequently observed feature of the narratives of the first-generation women, and is one of the concrete manifestations of their affirmation and compliance with cultural norms and the values imposed by their families.

Having adopted the values of honor and virtue, the first-generation women tended to follow what they had learned from their parents in their married lives, and, importantly, tried to transfer the same values to their daughters. This tendency is manifested to a great extent in the women’s narratives related to the raising of their daughters, and it can be observed that the women felt a great responsibility in the

⁵¹² It should be noted that diploma is equivalent to the degree of the High School since the type of education and its curriculum changed when she started the Institute.

moral upbringing of their daughters that tended to be over-protective, leading, of course, to disagreements and conflicts between mothers and daughters. It should be noted that the increased participation in higher education of the second-generation women had significant influence in this process. In attending university, the women's outside activities and their participation in public life increased, and the resulting free movement in the city and greater mobility gave rise to tensions in the family. In particular, the mothers who had been brought up to protect their daughters' virtue were seized by worry and fear, based on their own limited relationship with public life and unfamiliarity with their daughters' experiences. Several women reflected this while speaking of their relationship with their daughters. For instance, Yıldız (1938, *Küçükkesat*) from the first generation expressed her concerns for her daughters as follows:

Yıldız: Now (*my daughter*) she says sometimes “you have taught us a lot and we are now so used to these things.” I used to say take care of your home, know your job and duty, I mean, a girl is like a fine white cloth, once stained there is no way back, that's why.

S: you said so?

Yıldız: Yes I did, can you remove a rust stain? God forbid, wrong things can just happen, after all you go to school and all, and you make friends. I used to be afraid of these things.

In this dialogue, Yıldız states explicitly how she tried to teach and transfer to her daughter the traditional norms of womanhood, including the domestic roles and those related to virtue and honor. It is notable that her daughters' virtue is central to her concern, using repetitively the metaphor of a “stain” to express the loss of honor and chastity. That said, Yıldız's final comments indicate that the reason for her concern about her daughters is that they were going to school – referring to the university – where they could freely interact with unrelated men and make friends with them. What worried her most was the possibility that their daughters' may enter into emotional and sexual relationships with men.

Similar remarks were made by several of the women from the first generation during the interviews, and terms like “stain” and “purity” were mentioned frequently in their narratives. It is of course not surprising that the daughters would

be unwilling to follow these norms, as unlike their mothers, they did not necessarily agree with the family values and principles of morality. When asked how their mothers approached them regarding their public behavior and conduct, the second-generation women tended to voice their discontent and opposition to their mothers' attitude, mostly in comparison to their own relationship with their daughters. It is also important that they did not merely complain about the constraints and limitations put on their everyday lives when they were young, but also criticized and negated explicitly their mothers' mindset, referring to their mothers as very conservative and very traditional. This is illustrated very clearly in the following quote:

“... (*my mother*) was very strict. She's still cross with us saying 'how did you raise these kids, how come they come home so late' etc. Now she tells Eda (*my daughter*) 'you will come out smelling like roses with your bride's veil; it's not an easy thing to do in this day and age.' I mean, she is very conservative.” (Ferda 1953, *Cebeci*)

In this short quote from Ferda, she explains explicitly the different approach of her daughters' generation towards raising a girl. According to her narrative, Ferda developed a very good relationship with her daughter, who had a more permissive upbringing, with little reference to the notion of honor and virtue, and her own mother's attitude, being very strict and conservative, can be seen as a decisive factor in her going out and experiencing public space when she was young.

From what has been discussed so far, it is apparent that most attempts to keep women away from public life emanated from the traditional concern of protecting and controlling their sexuality. The examples provided by the women during the interviews reveal how socio-cultural norms related to the virtue of women and female morality were deeply influential in their upbringing, and moreover, how they were to be shared and transmitted across generations through performative and discursive practices within the family. In this sense, the notions of proper womanhood and the ways the women perceived and interpreted them had a critical role in the process of learning and reproducing prescribed meanings and norms about the proper place and proper conduct of women in the public space. At this point, it should be noted that the norms of public behavior and morality for women

were socially and culturally defined and accepted in the society, meaning that the proper moral conduct of women in public, especially regarding their sexual virtue and honor, was also subject to the control of the society in general. If a woman engaged in any act or behavior that deviated from the accepted norms in the public space, she would face the risk of bringing her virtue and respectability into disrepute. As improper female behavior and conduct were conceived in such a way that they would pose a threat to social and moral order, women were always at the center of social control and monitoring in their everyday lives. Their bodily appearance; their means of contact with other people, especially unrelated men; and their movement in public were constantly watched and regulated by their surroundings, that is, their neighbors, relatives, people at school and work, and the like. In this context, one particular form of social control appeared in the women's narratives is worthy of particular attention. During the interviews, women of all generations mentioned being followed by men in public under certain conditions who may have been family members, close relatives or people from their neighborhood or workplace. According to the women's narratives, this could happen either when they were acting in a way that aroused suspicion about their morality and virtue, or when it was required to attain information about the women regarding their suitability for marriage. I will illustrate these with two cases taken from the interviews.

It should be noted that at least one woman from each generation, including the women born before 1930, spoke about an incident in which she was followed by men in public, and generally narrated their experience through anecdotes and using a story-form narrative, reflecting the exceptional or unusual character of the experience. These anecdotes were generally brought up by the women incidentally while talking about unrelated topics, like how they got married or how they met their husbands, or under what conditions they worked. For instance, Sündüz, a first-generation woman, recalled an incident of being followed by her male workmates while talking about her working hours and conditions. After getting divorced, Sündüz started to work in a state institution. As a single mother of a baby girl, she arranged her overtime payment in such a way that, instead of getting paid, she

would leave about one-and-a-half hours earlier from the office, which led to, in her own words, “a very interesting incident:”

“I experienced a very interesting thing. I mean, I am a person who takes good care of herself, who looks after herself, and who dresses well. (...) Well (Short silence) of course, you attract people’s attention cause I take good care of myself. The woman goes out, goes out at 3.30, and gets into a cab and leaves. I mean, it’s not just one day, two days in a row, 3 or 5 days in a row, this happens every day. They followed me for 6 months. The men, among which there were my late husband’s friends, followed me. They made a bet on what I was doing and where I was going assuming that I had a boyfriend or something; otherwise I wouldn’t have gone out that easily, they thought. For those 6 months, I had gone to my sister’s house in Bahçelievler where she got married. I went to my sister’s and the rest I always came home and Mr. Yalçın, who is now deceased, came to my room one day. (...) A room of my own... I had a room, a thing. Well, Mr. Yalçın came there. Then the man confessed. He said ‘We did something like that Sündüz, please forgive us.’ ‘Why’ I said, ‘Why did you have the need to do something like that?’ I mean, why? He said ‘Cause. We, men are like that. We made a bet on it. And we followed you. Such and such happened. Please forgive us Sündüz.’ I said ‘Why should I? May God forgive you.’ I said ‘I mean, let’s say I had a (boy)friend, it would have been unusual not to have one, it’s so natural to have one.’ (...) Isn’t it? (Laughter) It’s such a natural thing, like law of nature.” (**Sündüz 1948, *Aşağı Ayrıncı***)

Sündüz’s story-form style of narration, in which she describes a sequence of incidents using clear narrative clauses, explains how her leaving the office early raised questions among her workmates, and resulted in her being followed as a particular form of male control in the public space. The reason for her being followed was related closely to the fact that Sündüz was a divorced woman of a considerably young age, and that some of her colleagues believed she was meeting a boyfriend. This becomes even more significant when considering the fact that some of her workmates were friends of her ex-husband, and it can be assumed that they felt the right to control her behaviors and movements in public as if acting on behalf of a friend. It is important to note that one colleague confessed what had been done to Sündüz after their suspicions were found to be baseless, showing a sense of shame was certainly derived from the fact that, contrary to their suspicions, Sündüz was greatly connected to her home, which was surely the foremost sign of a virtuous woman. If the suspicions were found to have been true, however, it is not hard to imagine the unpleasant and even painful consequences on Sündüz.

Another example of an incident of being followed was expressed by a woman from the second generation, in which the motive was to find out if the woman complied with the norms of proper female conduct in public, and so could be considered suitable for marriage. It is apparent that the act of following a woman for this reason was common, and was regarded as more usual and expectable in the eyes of people.⁵¹³ It is important here to note the belief that the proper behavior of a woman in public suggests that she would make a good and virtuous wife, as can clearly be seen in the example of Dilek, who was followed by her husband before proposing marriage. During the interview, when asked about how she met her husband, Dilek said that her husband had followed her while she was commuting to work. As they lived in the same district, the two were acquainted, although they had no contact with each other until her husband wanted to meet her to ask her to marry him. In the following dialogue, in which Dilek (1969, *Cebeci*) tells about their first meeting, she explains how being followed by her husband was influential in his decision to marry her:

Dilek: ... so he says 'I definitely do not want to fool around and do stuff, I mean, I'm very serious about my intention to get married.' (...) He convinced me in 2-3 hours. (*Slightly smiling*) he was decent (*short pause*), his family was also notable, I mean, a dignified family of the neighborhood for years, these are also a plus (*slightly smiling*) (...) He said 'You can investigate me in all kinds of ways.' (*Slight laughter*) He said 'We didn't do anything like an investigation but I like you very much, I mean, I have no intention of getting married with anyone but you.' He convinced me that day.

I: Didn't he ask you anything about, I mean, like your boyfriend?

Dilek: But he followed me!

I: Ahhh.. I was going to ask how he got the info..

Dilek: He followed meee (*smiling, with an emphasis*) he says 'you don't have any boyfriends, you have a decent curfew.' So he did an investigation.

I: Ah, by himself?

Dilek: He did it by himself.

⁵¹³ The act of following a woman to find out if she is suitable for marriage was common particularly as a social practice in the times of the first-generation women, including those above the age of eighty, and during the interviews, most anecdotes relating this practice were told by the women of this generation. I prefer to quote from Dilek, a second-generation woman, because her remarks are very revealing in this respect. It should be also added that Dilek was living in a district that could be defined as lower-middle class, where community relations were relatively more prevalent in their lives when compared to the experiences of the rest of the second-generation women. As a result, her specific experience on this issue should be considered in this framework. Significantly, all the other women in this group met their spouses at school or work.

Dilek provides a good description of her husband's proposal, and how she was convinced to accept it. It is notable to see that she recalls the incident of being followed by her husband as an enjoyable memory rather than an unpleasant or disturbing experience, and laughs about it while telling the story. It is noteworthy here to see how her behaviors and movements in the public space served as a sign for her virtue and morality. According Dilek, it was the intention of her husband, while following her, to see not only if she had a boyfriend, but also how she behaved in the public space. In this sense, his statement "you have a decent curfew" (*sizin geliş gidişleriniz düzgün*) implies that Dilek behaved appropriately in public, fulfilling the requirements of proper female conduct, and this includes her physical appearance, dress, bodily gestures and, most importantly, the places she frequented, that is, if she went straight home after finishing work. As can be seen in the examples provided by both Sündüz and Dilek, the public behavior and conduct of a woman were central to her being regarded as good and virtuous.

VIII.1.2. Women's dress and formation of the female body

The dress, body language, gestures and appearance of women are of equal importance in defining female virtue and morality. What she wears, how much make-up she wears and her way of speaking have always been an issue, meaning that the woman's body has long been controlled and regulated through various mechanisms and social actors. Such restrictive practices on the women's body were inherent in the female modesty code, which was certainly of critical importance to the women's experience of public space. That is, with special emphasis on dress and bodily appearance, the presence in public of women is designated within the frame of modesty. The interviews show how the women were subjected to various restrictions related to dress and the presentation of their bodies in public from an early age. Regardless of their generation, almost all of the women talked at length about the pressures imposed on them by their parents, husbands or teachers in terms of what they should wear and not wear, make-up and how they wore their hair. Their narratives reflect an endless effort to keep the women modest, avoiding any hints of femininity or sexuality, and this was common to both generations,

including the women above eighty, although the forms of female modesty changed down through the generations, depending on the socio-cultural conditions of the particular time. This section will focus primarily on the experiences of the first-generation women, and how they perceived and interpreted the implications of the norms of female modesty in their everyday lives, but referring to the second-generation of women when necessary. As mentioned in the beginning, there is a clear sense of affirmation and acceptance that is observable in their narratives on the norms and values related to dress and the presentation of the body.

For the first-generation women, there were a number of social actors who were influential in their mode of dress and bodily appearance in the public space. They were taught the codes of modesty as a girl in the family, and this was backed by a disciplined education at the Girls' Institute or Girls' High School; but after marriage it the women's husbands who played the most decisive role in what they wore and their appearance when going outside. It should be kept in mind that the first-generation women lived through their youth in the 1940s and the early 1950s when there was still a concerted effort to set in place the secular reforms of the Republic in everyday life. Accordingly, although women no longer had to be veiled, they were inculcated with the requirement that they should be modern but modest in terms of their public dress and appearance, and were expected to refrain from any extreme use of make-up and ornamentation in the public space, and to be modest in dress. In particular, as the women's narratives show, make-up such as nail polish and rouge was considered inappropriate for a young girl, and it can be observed that both families and schools were very strict about this. For instance, Hikmet who was a Girls' Institute graduate, related an anecdote about how her uncle got angry with her when she wore nail polish:

“When my great uncle visited us some day, he said ‘What is it on your nails?’ I said ‘I don’t know uncle, I applied nail polish.’ He said ‘Take them off, I won’t see them again.’ I guess I was 17 or something. But I didn’t have a remover, I mean... I guess I couldn’t think of getting a nail polish remover then; he said ‘take them off with something; I don’t want to see them.’ I scratched it with a razor; I was a well-behaved child. I didn’t say ‘why should I?’ I sat down and scratched them off with a razor. So, of course there were warnings, how come not?” (**Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat***)

As seen in the words of Hikmet above, it was not only her parents who had a say in her appearance, but also close family relatives. It is important to see the level of intolerance of Hikmet's uncle regarding her nail polish. He asked her to remove it immediately, and as she had no nail polish remover, she had to scrape it away using a razor blade. It is notable that Hikmet complied immediately with her uncle's request, without question, and that there was no sign of negation or complaint in her narration. Contrarily, Hikmet underlines her compliant attitude by saying with a kind of pride that she was an obedient child. Similar remarks were made by several of the interviewees from the first generation, reflecting the same tone of affirmation. In fact, nail polish was mentioned very often by the women of both generations when speaking about the issue of make-up, and it is worthy of note that it was predominantly male members of the family, especially the father, that raised objections to it being worn. Several women indicated that their fathers and/or husbands tended to give a lot of importance to a women's naturalness, and when they put on make-up, they were often told that a woman's beauty lies in her naturalness, which was something to be preserved.

As mentioned above, the Girls' Institutes and Girls' High Schools had strict rules regarding how their students dressed and the presentation of their bodies. From the interviews it can be understood that the education given in these schools had a tremendous impact on the formation of the women's conduct and bodily appearance in the public space. Most of the women from the first generation mentioned the strict and intolerant attitude of the schoolmistresses towards their public conduct, the school clothes they wore, particularly their skirts and socks, and how to do their hair. As an example, Sevil, when speaking of her high school years, says:

“The teachers and principals there (*girls' high school*) were very strict and unpermissive; so it seemed natural to us. As I said, they would ask questions like ‘why do you wear your hair in a bun?’ One day, I was late again, I looked in the pink. The hall monitors asked ‘did you put blush on your cheeks?’ and tried to take it off like this as I was trying to get in the class. Forbidden, everything was forbidden.”
(Sevil 1945, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Sevil explains here the extent to which her schoolmistresses would impose control and pressure upon them related to their appearance. No allowance was made for any hint of make-up or ornamentation that might emphasize their femininity, which was clear from her suggestion that everything was forbidden. Sevil states that they did not find this strict form of discipline to be unusual in her youth, and in using the subject “we”, she implies that this was common social practice at the time. Nevertheless, while recalling those days, she did not hesitate to express her discontent at the imposing attitudes of their teachers, which was quite common in the narratives of the first-generation women when recalling their school years. That said, whenever discontent was voiced, it was always followed by praise for their teachers in terms of the education they received. This attitude adopted by the women in their narratives can be interpreted as a desire to justify the pressure and strictness they endured from their teachers; and this shows that, even though they complained, the women of this generation on the whole agreed with the teachings of their schools related to what constituted proper womanhood and female modesty.

Apart from the different aspects of bodily appearance, such as make-up, ornamentation and hairstyles, women’s clothing, and especially the degree of exposure of the body was surely the main element defining proper female conduct in the public space. The women’s narratives indicate that wearing clothes that exposed too much skin or displayed the body inappropriately would constitute a violation of the code of female modesty. Accordingly, skirts that ended above the knee and off the shoulder blouses or dresses were the most troublesome issues that arose in the women’s narratives. It can be observed that the women’s mothers and female teachers played a prominent role in defining how they dressed, although this was certainly not limited to them, as men always had some say in these matters. It is apparent that the dress codes imposed on the women by their mothers very much corresponded with those of their teachers, as can be understood from the following comment from Hikmet when speaking about the issue:

“For example, my mother told me “your skirt should always...” That was also our teachers’ piece of advice, they would say ‘wear a skirt below the knee; above the knee is never appropriate for a woman. We even had a sewing teacher who would say ‘cover here if you like, let the woman’s thing, hollow of the knees not be visible, here is the worst part of a woman.’ We have seen these at school; since I graduated from institute for girls, I had several warnings from school (...) then my mother would say ‘I don’t want you to wear sleeveless outfit ever; but you can loosen up your collar.’ In all my pictures, I have open collars but I don’t have sleeveless outfit except my engagement dress.” (Hikmet 1941, *Küçükkesat*)

As Hikmet points out, both her mother and her needlework teacher warned her about the hemline of her skirts, suggesting that a woman should not expose the hollows of her knees, and this was mentioned by several of the first-generation women using very similar expressions. It is important to note that, can be seen in Hikmet’s remarks, a woman’s exposure of the hollows of her knees was not only considered improper, but also failed to comply with the codes of traditional female beauty. From the interviews, it can be understood that the issue most often raised related to suitable attire was the length of hemlines and sleeves. Hikmet was not allowed to wear off-the-shoulder blouses, but did not resist, choosing instead to wear an open neckline, as suggested by her mother. Sleeveless (*japone*) garments were seemingly very fashionable when the first-generation women were young, which was often voiced as an issue not only between mothers and daughters, but also between wives and husbands. The majority of first-generation women had jealous and possessive husbands, which could easily cause trouble in their everyday lives. In some cases, wearing sleeveless or low-cut blouses hindered the women from going out and participating in the public realm, as their husbands did not want to take them out in such attire, as explained by Sevim:

“When I was married, for example, I wore sleeveless outfit and left without socks, and he would say ‘take a coat with you and we’ll leave.’ I would say “Then I’m not going’, and he said ‘it’s up to you’ and stayed in. After that, I started doing my own dress fitting. At first, he would criticize my skirts saying ‘If I chase after her, she won’t be able to run away.’ Then I started doing my own skirt fittings and taking in my skirts towards their hem but too little, too late.” (Sevim 1936, *Küçükkesat*)

Sevim’s comments tell a great deal about the degree of influence her husband had over her in her everyday life, which was to such a degree that she even had to sew her clothes while in his company, and failure to fulfill his requests could have resulted in him refusing to take her out. That said, Sevim’s final remark indicates

that her husband's influence regarding her attire was most strict in the early years of their marriage, that is, when she was still quite young. Her use of the expression "too little, too late" at the end reflects the frustration and regret she felt at being restrained when she had the greatest desire to dress up.

The interviews show that restrictions on the attire and their bodily appearance of women were carried over to the second generation, though certainly to a lesser degree. The codes of female modesty that were strong in the period of the first generation were gradually relaxed as time went by, meaning that the second-generation women were subjected to relatively looser and more flexible rules and regulations about their attire and how they presented themselves. Setting aside a few anecdotes related to the wearing of nail polish during puberty, the oppression imposed on the women of this generation was concentrated mainly upon clothes that exposed too much, with the length of skirts and dresses most commonly highlighted as a troublesome issue in the women's narratives. The fashion of the period, when mini-skirts were common, had an undeniable effect in this, and during the interviews, the women of this age group would often underline this issue without being asked. It is notable that, unlike their predecessors, who in general did not break with the restrictive norms to which they were subjected in their narratives, the way the second-generation women spoke about their parents' interventions related to their clothes implied that it was a problem for them. Often mentioned were the conflicts related to the height of hemlines during their youth, which they would speak about in a complaining and angry tone, as the following two quotes from the second-generation women illustrate:

"We were wearing miniskirts back then and arguing with my mother about 1 centimeter or 2 centimeters. Below the knees when I went there! A skirt below the knees in Ulus and of course I didn't agree on it; it was above the knees. My teacher even reached out for my skirt and ripped it down saying 'you won't come again like this.'" (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

"My brother was very jealous. I mean, very jealous and conservative; he gave me a hard time during my youth. I loved miniskirts and wanted to wear a mini skirt a lot. He would cut my skirts an all. It cut me to the quick most in my youth, I mean my brother." (Gülden 1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

Both Hülya and Reyhan talk about how their attempts to wear mini-skirts or skirts that finished above the knee, resisting either their teacher or brother. Their words reflect clearly that the issue of the shortness of their skirts was a common source of conflict within their family or school when they were young. That said, it is apparent that apart from a few women like Reyhan who attended girls' high school, the second-generation women were primarily restrained by their families in this respect. From their statements it can be understood that this issue was very important for them, and they recall vividly many of the conflicts and disagreements experienced in their youth. This was expressed clearly by Gülden in her final comment, in which she claimed that she regretted not being allowed to wear a mini-skirt when she was young. It is interesting to note that the second-generation women's narratives contain many expressions of resistance and opposition to the pressure and control imposed on them regarding their dress and bodily appearance in the public space. The women in this group did not simply talk about the prohibitions imposed on them, which were not possible to break in any way, as they also made specific comments about how their families interfered when they chose their own dress or put make-up. In summary, the sense of affirmation and acceptance that prevailed in the first-generation women's narratives seemed to be replaced with one of opposition and negation in the narratives of the second-generation women. Accordingly, the discourse of the narrative altered across the two generations, from "s/he did not allow me to ..." to "s/he interfered when I did ...". This indicates that, unlike their predecessors, the second-generation women often chose not to comply with the notions of proper womanhood imposed primarily by their families, and, therefore, they did not hesitate to break the traditional norms of public dress and behavior. This change in attitude of the women interviewed towards the social and cultural norms will be elaborated upon in the following section.

VIII.2. Shifting Codes of Behavior: "Never without a Lie!"

Taking a broad overview of the women's life stories, it can be seen that, when passing from the first to the second generation, the women were strongly

encouraged to complete higher education and find a professional career, although certainly not at the expense of their feminine roles and their virtue and honor. Considering the fact that the second-generation women lived their youth during the period between the late 1960s and the early 1980s, it can be assumed that the nationalist approach, defining the ideal Turkish woman as modern but virtuous, still persisted in society at large. The issue for the second generation was that education and work necessitated their access to the public space and increased their activities and movement in urban public life, although this did not occur without problems or conflicts. While families, and especially fathers, encouraged their daughters to go to university and find a good job, at the same time they were not comfortable with their daughters' participation in public space as autonomous women. As a result, they had to come up with new modalities and regulations to keep up with the social expectations of the times so as not to abandon the traditional cultural norms of everyday life. It is evident that gender played a central role in this process, as the participation of women in education and work would doubtless imply a violation of the traditional sexual behavioral codes through the mingling of the sexes. As a result, the families were closely concerned with their daughters' entry into the public realm and participation in urban public life. Wanting to keep under control their movements and activities outside the home, they tried to keep them attached to the home and family. This resulted in the second-generation women finding themselves torn between the traditional values and modern expectations of their parents. The important point here is that women of this generation appeared to be aware of the opportunities and constraints of their respective circumstances, and tried to extend their limitations through processes of negotiation and persuasion.

The narratives of the second-generation women in this regard are in significant contrast to those of their predecessors, in that their interviews reflect a remarkable change in the women's perception and articulation of social and cultural norms and the restrictions imposed by their families. To understand the transmission and transformation of the traditional gender culture, especially relating to the experience of women of the public space, it is illuminating to see how differently

the women of the younger generation defined their activities and posited themselves with respect to the given norms and practices that were influential in their everyday lives when they were young. One distinctive feature in the narratives of the women in this group is that they did not approve or show easiness with the prescriptions and demands of their parents, and moreover, it is significant that they did not necessarily agree with many of the social norms. Unlike the first-generation women, those of the second generation were very comfortable when questioning and criticizing family values. When asked about how they coped with their parents' restrictions and control, almost all of the women in this group talked about how they would deceive their parents to get round the rules, both directly and explicitly. For instance, asked what she would do when she needed to go out, Ferda (1953, *Cebeci*) replied: "Well, we used to sneak out of the house, what else could we do? (*laughing*) Secretly escaping, telling lies ... but making calculations for time, of course ... You see, saying things like 'we'll definitely be home at 7 o'clock'." In her comment, Ferda states clearly that the only way she could go to the places she wanted was to hide her movements from her parents.

As seen in Ferda's example, going out secretly when necessary and lying to her family about where she was going and what she was doing was quite a common practice among the second-generation women. More importantly, they do not narrate their experiences in such a way that they considered they were doing something wrong. Contrarily, their narratives contain expressions that imply they saw these acts as perfectly normal and usual. It should also be noted that according to the interviews, the women's deceptions and evasions seemed to begin in the middle of their high-school years when they were engaging in their own social relationships and activities independently outside the home. It is certain that the first-generation women did not have the same opportunities, as most were married when they were young after studying for just two or three years at the Girls' Institute. This, however, enabled the second-generation women to develop their own social relations and networks and participate in the public space, free from their families, with little concern about breaking the rules and prohibitions when

necessary. This is all too apparent in the following excerpt from a conversation with a second-generation woman, Esra (1960, *Aşağı Ayrancı*):

Esra: The social life ever meant friends. We used to read a lot, I used to go to the (political), association. I used to go there secretly.

I: I was just going to ask that..

Esra: Yes, it was a secret. (...) Our friends, our male friends and all came together and they bought us (drinks). (...) We used to go to taverns and drink but I mean, barely drink one glass of beer for example, but all that was a secret.

I: How did you use to make sure of this secrecy?

Esra: How did we? Let me tell you... We used to tell many lies, I mean a lot. But white lies...

I: How so? How did you coordinate it with your family?

Esra: for example, I was saying 'I'm going to my friend Işıl's house.' If my mother calls me from their house, and it's a home phone, there was no mobile phone, she would handle it. I mean, she would say 'We went to Ela's', things like that. (...) We used to do everything secretly. My mother knew though, I mean, I guess she felt it.

Esra begins by stating explicitly that her social life was built on relationships with her peers, and her use of the subject “we” implies a common shared experience of her generation. Then, she switches to speaking about her own personal experience, and what is notable in her dialogue is her emphasis on how she used to do certain things behind her family’s back. This is clearly seen in her repetitive use of the words “secret” and “lie” while recalling where she would go with her friends and what they would do together. In her comments, Esra highlights taking part in certain activities and going to places without the knowledge of her parents, as they would not give permission, including the office of a political association, meeting boys and going to places that served alcohol, such as pubs and taverns. When asked how she managed to keep her activities secret, Esra’s first response was very clear: they told many lies; although she adds at the end of her answer that they were white lies, implying they were harmless, and expressed no discomfort or shame while telling this to me during the interview. This was quite unlikely in the case of the first generation, as the interviewees from this group were generally unwilling to speak of incidents in which they broke rules or prohibitions. This was, I believe, related to the fact that they generally identified themselves in their narratives as a good proper woman who fulfilled the requirements of propriety, and so did not

want to appear to be in conflict with this. Additionally, Esra's use of the pronoun "we" again suggests that it was not only her who engaged in these activities, but also her friends, and, as she explains in her last answer, they often used to do this acting collaboratively. It can thus be stated that, unlike the first-generation women, lying to the family was a quiet common among young people in the times of the second generation, and what is also important in the present context is that, as can clearly be observed in the women's narratives, this form of behavior played a significant role in their ability to go out and experience public space when they were young. In this way, they were able to escape the constraints imposed by their families and access to public space in their everyday lives.

Without a doubt, these secret acts lies were carried out within the boundaries drawn up by the families. From the interviews it is clear that the second-generation women tended to use lies as a means of escaping the constraints and limitations of their families, which would otherwise be impossible. However, there were limits, as telling a lie would work only in certain conditions, and time was a very decisive factor in this regard. As mentioned frequently by the women during the interviews, it was easier in the daytime both to get permission to go out and to hide where they were going, while after dark it was impossible to break the rules in any way.⁵¹⁴ As such, nightfall was the threshold after which women were definitely not supposed to be outside. This was especially the case during the women's university years, when they became more comfortable and independent about going out and spending time outside in the daytime, as can be seen in the following quote from Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*):

⁵¹⁴ This issue was examined in detail in Chapter VI, Section 3. Before It Gets Dark: Time-Constraints on Women.

I: So there is a curfew, I mean, there are restrictions as we know it, like you have to be home at this time etc. And you were young after all... (**Gülden:** Was I doing something furtive?) I mean, when you want to do something you want but forbidden, what is the way to handle it?

Gülden: First, you learn not to want it. Second, you fight for it at first, you struggle and then you learn not to want it. I mean, you do not (*with an emphasis*) have a chance to want it anyway. I mean, you don't; what will happen if you want it or have a chance to want it: You will be rejected anyway. So you learn it, you learn not to want it. Then you don't get to be too unhappy; I mean, you adapt yourself to it; 'this (*with an emphasis*) is my schedule.' That's the way it is, I don't have a chance to do it, so there is no need to want it, be rejected and upset for no reason. However, there were some things that we thought 'maybe?' and asked for, but learned our lesson in the end. Or sometimes they were approved and I was very surprised. The day time, I mean, not during high school but when I was going to university, I had the day time for myself. The night time was a problem but the day time belonged to me. I could do the things I wanted during day time. (...) There are things you can do secretly but also things you can't. If you don't have chance to go out at night, you can't hide this and that. But even if s/he says 'I don't want you to go there during day time', you can still go there. If s/he doesn't have a chance to find out, there is no problem..."

Gülden provides here a powerful depiction of how she experienced a strong sense of frustration with her family's intolerant and oppressive attitude towards her going out as a young woman. What is notable in her dialogue is that Gülden reveals explicitly the way she tried to cope with the restrictions she faced, that is, how she came to restrain herself from asking when her struggle came to nothing. Since she did not want to be refused, she preferred not to ask permission for what she wanted to do or where she wanted to go. It is important to note that Gülden, by her own account, adjusted to the situation in which she was placed by learning control herself and not asking. This demonstrates both how and why she gave up asking permission, and instead, if she had a chance, would do what she wanted, but behind the back of her family. That is, rather than confronting her mother or father, she chose to try to create room for maneuver within the given conditions and constraints to be able to go where she wanted. Significantly, even though she experienced a strong sense of frustration in her relationship with her family, Gülden nevertheless did not admit to what she was exposed, but resisted to find a way to escape, though not directly or openly.

As illustrated in the examples presented here, it is significant that there was no hint of hesitation or regret in the narratives of the second-generation women and their forms of expression when talking about their lies and/or deceit, suggesting they

found them to be something very ordinary and indisputable. Even though they were brought up with the manners and morality of their families, the women from the second generation did not hesitate to do what they thought was right or necessary within the given circumstances. This is the most notable distinction between the two generations, which leads to an important rupture in the transmission of the normative definitions of womanhood and female morality. It can be observed that most of the women interviewed from the second generation criticized, and even found ridiculous, their mothers' advice and exhortations regarding the proper place and conduct of women in public space. Furthermore, they said that they chose not to follow most of these rules and regulations while bringing up their own daughters. This certainly signals a rupture in the transmission between generations, even more specifically between women, which led to an important change in the norms and values of womanhood. However, while mentioning this change, a certain point should be underlined so as not provide misleading or false interpretations. Clearly, the rupture and change mentioned here does not merely refer to the mechanisms of oppression and control that the women experienced in their access to and experience of public life outside the home. Instead, what I want to draw attention to is the change in the perception of women and their approach to the family values and given gender norms that they were expected to follow. This is important, in that it had a direct influence on the women's relationship with public space, which can clearly be seen in the experiences of the second-generation women. As the women in this group did not adopt directly what they had been taught by their parents and especially their mothers, they did not make an issue of disregarding them, and, I argue that this gave the women the power to enlarge their maneuvering space and negotiate around the restrictive practices imposed within the family. There is no doubt that the social conditions of the period that tended to enhance the status of women in society through education and work offered a great opportunity the second-generation women to extend their activities and participation in the public space. That said, their critical attitude towards the traditional gender norms played a highly important role in their challenging of the boundaries that constrained them and limited their access to the public space from an early age. This shows also how skilled the women were at adjusting and keeping

up with the social conditions of the time, and more importantly, how they turned them to their benefit.

VIII.2.1. Going Out as a Field of Contest and Struggle

To understand how and in what ways women were able to experience public space, it is necessary to examine the changing dynamics of the contest and struggle in the family, and which actors were involved in this field of contest. It is certain that the dynamics of contest and negotiation over the activities of women in the outside world have changed significantly over time, and when it came to the second generation, asking for permission to go out was one of the main topics of discussion in the family during their youth, with negotiations generally involving the triad of the mother, father and daughter. It can be said that the temperament of mother and father and their mutual relationship played a determining role in the formation of the contest and negotiation, although it is no surprise that the father, in most cases, was the most influential. When the women were asked about their relationships with their mothers and daughters (if any), the role each parent would play in their daughters' activities outside the home was clearly observable. Looking at the women's narratives from this perspective, it can be observed that there were very few women in the second generation with permissive fathers; however the important point was whether the father used his authority to intervene in his daughter's activities in everyday life. In several cases, it was the mother who applied the pressure and constraints on the daughters, but on the behalf of the father, which can be seen in the following words of Gülden (1955, *Aşağı Ayrancı*): "My father was stricter, more authoritative. He wasn't involved in our business much, not involved in anything because he had an agent; my mother was involved instead." In her comment, Gülden explains clearly that it was her father that held the power in the background, but not wanting to be actively involved, he would let her mother exercise it. As she implies at the end of her statement, defining her mother as the representative of her father in a disgruntled tone, Gülden's anger and indignation was directed towards her mother rather than her father, who was in fact the real source of the pressure she experienced. This situation is felt throughout her

narrative, and more importantly, was shared and expressed by most of the second-generation women. When asked about the conflicts they entered into, it was the interventions of the mothers in their behaviors and acts that were most often mentioned, especially regarding their activities outside the home.

It should be noted that a strong attachment to the father occupied a large place in the women's narratives. In fact, many oral histories of women from the first generation of the Republic contain similar narratives to those of the first-generation women interviewed in this study related to the influence of their fathers in their lives.⁵¹⁵ Accordingly, despite their authoritarian manner, it can be said that the fathers were considered to be role models for their daughters, being far more educated and enlightened than their mothers. Importantly, this situation manifests itself also in the narratives of the second-generation, though to a lesser degree. The difference between the two generations is most clearly observable in the fact that the role of mother was more visible in the second-generation women's narratives. The women of the younger generation, when talking about their relationships with their parents, would speak often about both the friendship and conflicts they had with their mothers. What came to the fore in their statements was that in the case of any mistreatment or violence of the father or/and his family against the mother, a strong sense of solidarity and mutual support would emerge between the mothers and daughters, as the following quotes from the second-generation women illustrate:

“... I don't remember having that kind of a conflict with my mother; since I was in a situation where I was protecting my mother all the time, I mean, all three of us had the same thing, backing up my mother, she was always right, she was a being that needed to be protected. (...) so we don't have that kind of a conflict within.”⁵¹⁶
(Gülay 1969, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

⁵¹⁵ To give an example, Ayşe Durakbaşa and Aynur İlyasoğlu, who made oral history interviews with the women of the same age as the Republic in their study, indicate that in the narratives of the women they interviewed “the mothers were considered unimportant and trivial when compared to the modernist fathers and the daughters, the so-called 'new women' in the making.” Accordingly, the women do not tell much about their mothers but they emphasize the influence of their fathers in their modernist outlook and personality. See Durakbaşa and İlyasoğlu, “Formation of Gender Identities in Republican Turkey and Women's Narratives as Transmitters of 'Herstory' of Modernization” in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Autumn, 2001), pp. 195-203.

⁵¹⁶ Gülay was among the mother-daughter pairs participating in the study. She was one of the women I also interviewed her mother, Güngör, who was in the group of the first generation. I firstly interviewed Güngör, and

“Those times, we didn’t have much conflict with my mother. Not a conflict but, I mean... (...) we were more like sisters with my mother. More against my father; since my father was very harsh, my mother had to be soft mother.” (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrancı*)

When asked about which issues were the most common source of argument with their mothers, both Gülden and Hülya indicated clearly that there would never be any confrontation in this regard. Gülden in particular points out that she had a protective attitude towards her mothers, which was quite common among women in similar situations. It should be said that all of the women who maintained a good relationship with their mothers had very authoritarian fathers, and this would have a significant and direct influence on their ability to go out and experience the public space in their youth, as one of the main topics of discussion in the family. As their narratives reflect, most women tended to avoid putting their mothers in a difficult position against the oppression of their fathers, but at the same time, unlike their predecessors, they did not refrain from arguing with their fathers to get permission to go out and engage in public activities. This would result in their mothers being torn between their husbands and daughters, and having to attempt to satisfy the demands and expectations of both sides. As mentioned by Gülay, the daughter of a very timid mother and an authoritarian father, in her interview, the mother served as “a buffer zone”. The mother would attempt to fulfill her husband’s requests in the control and discipline of her daughter, as it would be considered her responsibility to deal with any problems that arose in this regard, however she would also be expected to pave the way for her daughter to obtain permission from her father in certain issues. Importantly, the main conflicts seemed to appear when the mother chose not to play a mediating role between her husband and daughter, or if any of her efforts were unsuccessful. Several women from the second generation stated that their mothers were tolerant, but would say no when asked for permission to go by their daughters, not wanting to go against the father. In this way, male control was exercised through the agency of the mother in the family.

she depicted a good and harmonious family aside from ordinary problems which can be seen in every family; but in the subsequent interview with her daughter, it was revealed the situation was quite contrary; Gülay spoke of quite troubled and turbulent family environment, especially due to the jealousy and pressure of her father. As a result, she, with her brother and sister, always tried to protect their mother from the oppression and violence of their father.

What is notable is that the fear of men, either the father or husband, and the desire not to enter into an argument of confrontation with them, which was seen largely in the first-generation women's narratives, was much less apparent in the narratives of the women of the second generation. When the mother did not – or could not – intervene in her daughter's attempts to get permission from her father, as Gülay expressed, the daughter would have to take matters into her own hands. In the following quote, Banu, a second-generation woman, explains how she would often argue with her father, and that her mother was torn between the two:

Always, always caught between two fires my mother was, until the death of my father. 'Mom, please don't get involved, please. Let me argue with my father.' 'Please don't fight.' 'Mom, we are not fighting, we're arguing.' Cause we grew up arguing with my father and I always liked arguing with him. My mother was a woman, who was (made to be) accustomed to live without arguing. That's the way she was accustomed to." (Banu 1959, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

As Banu points out, arguing with her father was an everyday practice for her, but implies how this situation made her mother unhappy and anxious. It is noteworthy that Banu considers her mother's attitude by reminding the fact that she was a woman who was accustomed not to argue with anyone. Indeed, this attitude was common among the women of the first generation, as most of their narratives contain statements expressing a desire to avoid arguments with both their husbands and fathers. It can be noted from the interview with Banu's mother, Uğur (1935, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*), as a woman of the first generation, that their narratives regarding the mother–daughter relationship mostly support and complement each other. In this sense, Uğur explains openly how she was torn between her daughter and her husband, and how unhappy she felt when they argued:

Uğur: Her father was very conservative. He used to want her not to go anywhere without his knowledge and to come directly home from work. I used to wait by the door and windows thinking "Let Banu comes home before Orhan does" (laughter). That's why they argued a little, we didn't have anything else.

I: What kind of a position did you hold when that happened? I mean, when the father was strict...

Uğur: I was caught between two fires, of course, I was the one who was upset. Mot...she used to get angry at me, Banu. She used to say 'Why do you get upset, I and my father are talking and arguing; this is very normal.' But I used to shake like a leaf, with the fear that there would be a scene."

In this dialogue, Uğur voices explicitly the difficulty of her position between her daughter and husband, and her fear of an escalation of the arguments. It should be noted that, even though not mentioned explicitly, many of these arguments were related to the desire of the daughters to go out in public to such venues as the cinemas, cafes and concerts, independent of their families. It is clear that the arguments and disputes between the second-generation women and their parents occurred predominantly in their high-school years, but, as the interviews also show, they continued throughout university, though to a lesser degree. It is evident that going out and experiencing public space increased significantly for the second-generation women, but it should be underlined that this was due only to the daily efforts and struggles of the women.

The dynamics of the conflicts related to going out and participation in the public space changed and varied as time passed, and in addition to conflicts and arguments, collaborations and alliances were also present in this process. When the daughters reached middle age, their relationships with their mothers tended to become more positive and supportive. The interviews indicate that, especially after getting married and having children, they became closer to their mothers, forming a relationship that was based more on friendship. As expressed by Gülden, after years of fighting with her mother in her youth, they started to relate to each other as two women rather than as a mother and daughter in later years. One of the more positive aspects of this was that they were able to act together in solidarity against the authority of the father, developing tactics and strategies to be able to go out and participate in public space in their everyday lives. The following dialogue with Hülya (1953, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*) exemplifies how she and her mother would go out together behind the back of her father:

I: Did your mother also get her driver's license?

Hülya: Yes she did. Then my father helped my mother practice. Then we started going out with my mother and all.

I: I was just going to say that. Going out with the mother begins a little at least, right?

Hülya: Yeah, yeah, we did all that, we did that very often. Some of them maybe without my father's knowledge (*laughter*)...

I: I guess a car is a freedom for a woman a lot....

Hülya: Of course, I mean, taking and bringing the car, I mean, parking like my father parked so that my father wouldn't realize it, we did that kind of naughty stuff a lot, of course.

Hülya had a very strict and possessive father who, as mentioned from time to time during her interview, intervened strongly in the acts and movements of both her mother and her in everyday life, and her father's controlling attitude towards her mother was maintained even after she was married. As can be seen in the dialogue above, the mother–daughter pair would make small deceptions and evasions when they went anywhere that her father would not approve. It is evident that these everyday alliances between the women of subsequent generations created for them space for maneuver, allowing them to go out as they wanted. Unquestionably, this helped the women of their mothers' generation in later years to go out more often and take part in everyday public activities, such as meeting friends, shopping and dining out. It can be seen that the daughters, after a certain age, came to motivate their mothers to get out of the house, and if the opportunity arose, they would take their mothers out to engage especially in cultural activities like the theater and concerts. Several women, from both the mothers' and daughters' generations, mentioned this while talking about their activities as mother and daughter. Moreover, it can also be observed that the daughters would encourage their mothers to challenge and resist the authority of their fathers. When considering the fact that the second-generation women were living through their youth in the 1970s and early 1980s, this can certainly be regarded having been influenced by the feminist and women's movements that arose in the mid-1980s, and several of the second-generation women had affiliations, either directly or indirectly, with women's movements and associations. As such, it can be said that the second-generation women tried to help enhance their mothers' position in the household

and their participation in the public space. While the women of the mothers' generation would be happy at their daughters' efforts to take them out, they did not, however, seem very willing to change their roles and standing in the household, being attached strongly to the traditional norms of womanhood. This is very well illustrated in the following quote by Hülya from the second generation:

“My mother couldn't resist authority much or she could do it just that much. (*Short silence*). We had that kind of conflicts now and then. We used to encourage our mother, how can I put it, to rebel. But in the end, I realized that, I mean, what will happen if I tell my mother about feminism and rebellion, cause she will be unhappy. The woman built a different kind of happiness. Would they break up after all those years? It's not possible, wouldn't happen anyway. But she managed it so far; now she's rebelling at him a little. Thank God, I mean (*laughter*).” (Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

Hülya, a feminist who was actively involved in the women's movement, mentioned from time to time during her interview how she and her sister would encouraged their mother to challenge the oppression and control of their fathers, revealing that she and her mother held a thoroughly different view and understanding of the world. Although she was aware that she would unlikely be able to change mother's point of view or standard of living, as can be seen clearly in the example above, she attempted to enlarge her mother's room for maneuverability within the constraints imposed by her father, and this was manifested most prominently in her participation in the public space. As remarked by several of the women, the daughters were able to have a positive influence on their mothers' experience of the public space in later years, increasing their movement and mobility, meaning that the conflicts and contests that were prevalent in their youth were replaced with mutual support and alliances between the two as adults in later years.

VIII.2.2. Between Mothers and Daughters: Domestic Work as a Compromise

The mother-daughter relationship is certainly very complicated and multifaceted, including not only support and closeness but also conflict, anger and regret. It is also a very dynamic relationship, in that both mothers and daughters change together over time, and experience changes in their relationship with each other

throughout different stages of life. Although it is likely that the mother-daughter relationship grows closer and more understanding over time, this does not necessarily have to be the case.⁵¹⁷ As shown in Section VIII.2.1 of this chapter titled “Going Out as a Field of Contest and Struggle”, some of the women interviewed from both generations developed a friendship as mother-daughter, especially in the later stages of their lives; however there were also women whose relationships with their mothers never got better or more intimate, but continued relatively unchanged in terms of their conflicts and disagreements. This was openly expressed only by the women of the daughters’ generation, and particularly those who had negative and unpleasant relationships with their mothers in their youth. As a result of their previous experiences, they were unwilling to enter into close and intimate relations with them later in life, and in particular, did not want their mothers interfering in their personal and domestic spheres. This resulted in a situation in which the two would be supportive and helpful to each other, but would maintain an emotionally distant mother-daughter relationship.

It is evident that the daughters’ desire to go when they were young was one of the main issues of contention between mothers and daughters. The restrictions the mothers placed on their daughters in terms of them going out and spending time in public occupied an important place in the second-generation women’s memories of their youth. That said, the mother-daughter conflicts were not limited to this, and neither was the father always involved in this field of contest. Of the areas of conflict that occurred only between mothers and daughters, not surprisingly, it was domestic and household work that was the most prominent. As discussed in the previous analysis chapters, domestic life was a central component of the first-generation women’s lives and identities. With primary responsibility for the domestic realm and its management, they were able to call the shots here more than anywhere else, serving as the main arena in which they could exercise control and restrictions over their daughters. The majority of first-generation women were

⁵¹⁷ The empirical researches on the mother-daughter relationship show that “the shared sense of femaleness” increased by daughters’ experience of being wife and mother and this led to the development of greater empathy and understanding between mothers and daughters. To give example of the empirical research in Turkish context, see Sanem Aliçlı Mortram and Nuran Hortaçsu, “Adult daughter aging mother relationship over the life cycle : The Turkish case” in *Journal of Aging Studies*, No. 19, Issue 25 (2005), pp. 471-488.

educated at the Girls' Institute, where they were taught skills in home management and household chores, and as a result, they became fond of cleanliness and orderliness in their homes. During the interviews, most of the women in this group mentioned this aspect of themselves with pride, whereas this was the thing their daughters disliked and complained about most when speaking about their mothers. The main conflict centered around the mothers' desire to transfer their domestic knowledge to their daughters, as they believed that every woman should know how to manage the home and family. Accordingly, they pushed their daughters to carry out domestic chores with them so that they would get their hand in and learn the skills at an early age. This was regarded, however, as a burden that was undertaken by most of the second-generation women with great reluctance, as illustrated in the following quote by Reyhan:

“For example, I had this thing with my mother. My mother is very house-proud. I mean, since her life was built around cleaning; she made us that way as well. In my high school yearbook, someone wrote about me: ‘her walls have worn thin because of being wiped too much.’ We were passing through Kocatepe and sometimes came there and you know you can see our house from there; the girls made fun of me saying ‘see, the house with the thin walls is Reyhan’s.’ You know what I mean? Our life was built on cleaning. When I was going to meet up a friend during high school, you know on Saturdays schools are half time, I couldn’t go out anywhere before cleaning up. I mean, it was not possible to say ‘I’m going out sit at a café.’ Did she lock the door or beat us up or something? No, she didn’t even make a face about it but it was a rooted feeling. With the father, as I said, since I was the first child and my father used to go out a lot... I felt more identical with my father, I mean, with my mother, I was obeying her rules. That is to say that her rules bored the ass of me. For example, I wanted to get up at ten in the morning, cause I’m fond of sleeping but my mother wanted to wake me up earlier saying ‘let’s tidy up the house’ etc. I was on a point of saying ‘let it not be tidied up. (Reyhan 1958, *Küçükkesat*)

Reyhan’s vivid narration, in which she describes her mother’s addiction to cleaning using self-reflexive comments, provides a good illustration of her relationship with her mother. While narrating the domestic rules that her mother imposed upon her, she voices her opinions and feelings about her mother’s attitude. Her comments, made with a tone of complaint and discontent, reflect how she became tired of her mother’s rules in her youth, like waking up early, tidying the house and cleaning at the weekends. Reyhan’s mention of her father at a certain point of her narrative is significant, expressing that she felt closer to him than her mother, and it is important to note that Reyhan chose her father as a role model in constituting her

identity, referring to her father's outings in opposition to her mother (domestic) rules. In short, Reyhan identifies the home as a place where she had to obey the rules imposed by her mother rather than one of comfort and intimacy, and this was the reason for the estranged from her mother. In contrast, she emulates her father implicitly, associating him with freedom.

It is also worth mentioning another important feature of Reyhan's quote, specifically her brief mention about her compulsion to tidy up before going out to meet her friends. In fact, this was not unique to Reyhan, being a shared experience of the second-generation women in their youth, and many of the women in this group gave examples of the need to do domestic work if they wanted to go out and spend time outside with their friends, being expected to meet the expectations of their mothers in terms of household duties before being allowed to go outside the home. As such, domestic work became a tool of negotiation between the mothers and daughters, providing a means for the daughters to go out and engage in public activities. The following two quotes from Hülya and Esra illustrate this explicitly:

“... Hmm, now thinking about it, I remember stuff. For example, we used to help my mother a lot. I mean, she used to say, even though she was a housewife, ‘one of you will wipe the doors, and one of you will wipe the windows this Saturday, Sunday.’ We couldn't go out before doing all that. I mean, that was how we got the permission. We used to make our own bed, our own duvet etc. but now I and my daughter are not like this. I do everything since I'm home. I mean, she comes home late and all; we used to help our mother much more and my mother was more authoritative about that. She would say ‘clean the windows and go.’ Cause we were the girls of the house.”
(Hülya 1953, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)

“You would go *Kızılay* and come back on foot. Then, you would try hard and get permission; they were long stories. For example, my mother loved the way I wiped the floors; because the parquet floors of the living room would be wiped first damp and dry. First, you would wipe them damp and then dry. Since I wiped them so well, we could screw out of cinema or *Kızılay*. I mean but there was a price. Everything had a price.” **(Esra 1960, *Aşağı Ayrıncı*)**

Both of the above statements demonstrate how domestic tasks, especially cleaning, served as a means for the daughter to be granted permission from their mothers to go out when they were young. As can be ascertained from the statements of Hülya and Esra, the chores they were set were generally part of the regular cleaning of the house from top to bottom that was supposed to be done at the weekends, with their

main tasks being cleaning the windows and doors and mopping the floors. Similar remarks were made by several women who had such experiences with their mothers and, in this sense, this was a commonly shared experience of the second-generation women.

In the first quote, Hülya compares her own relationship to her mother with her relationship to her daughter, who does not do any household chores, and she underlines their position defining as “the girl of the house” (*evin kızı*) who was supposed to do these.⁵¹⁸ It should be also noted that Hülya’s mother was not so strict and intolerant in other fields, and, as can be seen in the examples above, even supported her daughters and acted in solidarity with them against their father, in contrast to her attitude in the domestic realm, which resembled that of other mothers. For this reason, Hülya felt the need to mention her mother’s authoritarian nature in this field, from which it is evident that the domestic realm constituted one of the main fields of conflict between the mothers and daughters. Esra’s comments are significant in this issue, in that they reveal what this situation meant to them. Unlike Hülya and Reyhan, she mentioned her compulsion for domestic work not specifically as part of her relationship with her mother, but when answering the question of how she would get permission to go out and spending time outside with her friends. After describing the household chores that she was expected to do, Esra states that doing them was necessary for her to be granted permission to go to *Kızılay*, the city centre, or to the movies. As she stated from time to time during her interview, going somewhere close to home was relatively easy, but going to the city center was always troublesome. To use her own words, “it had a price”, namely, domestic chores. Accordingly, for Esra, and presumably for most other second-generation women, domestic work became a compromise for going out and entering public life in negotiation with her mother. Significantly, Esra does not end her narrative here, and proceeds to imply that this was not limited to obtaining

⁵¹⁸ Here, Hülya uses the phrase “the daughter of the house” to imply the traditional female category “house girl” (*ev kızı*) which is generic term pervading the Turkish society. In their empirical research, Çelik and Lüküslü argue that the category of “house girl” refers to an unmarried young girl who is neither working nor studying and supposed to help her mother with domestic chores. See Kezban Çelik and Demet Lüküslü, “Spotlighting a Silent Category of Young Females: The Life Experiences of “House Girls” in Turkey” in *Youth & Society*, No. 44, Issue 1 (2012): pp.28-48.

permission to go to *Kızılay*, but for everything, which is most clearly seen in her last comment: “Everything had a price.” This powerful expression made by Esra in a resentful tone mixed with an element of sourness reveals just how hard the second-generation women had to struggle to get what they wanted.

What has been discussed so far expose how the women of the mothers’ generation were generally authoritarian in issues related to the domestic realm, and accordingly, how this was a source of conflict between the mothers and daughters. As also illustrated in the examples above, a substantial amount of domestic work fell on the daughters’ shoulders when they were young, and most stated explicitly how much they hated doing household tasks at those ages. What is crucial is that the daughters turned them into a means of negotiation for going out and entering the public life, meaning that domestic work became a condition of the women’s experience of the public space. Here, certainly, the issue is not simply about being obliged to do something that is disliked, and neither is the main reason for the compromise. Domestic work was compromise for the second-generation women because that it was the essential core of the traditional and proper womanhood, which was imposed by their families and especially their mothers, and they did not adopt most of the traditional gender norms being strongly disagree with them. As illustrated in the examples of the second-generation women’s narratives given throughout this chapter, the women in this group openly and directly express their disregard of what had been taught by their mothers regarding the notions of proper womanhood. They also did not want to resemble to their mothers; their role models were generally their fathers. However, apparently, this was the only way to be able to go out and experience the public space. That is, the second-generation women had to compromise by fulfilling the requirements of traditional womanhood to enter the public life outside the home, and therefore, domestic work became a compromise for the public space between the mothers and daughters.

This shows also how the private and public spaces became inseparably linked, and how they were interactionally constructed and negotiated by the women in everyday life. Moreover, it is important to see how the meaning of the domestic

and public spaces changed for the women down through the generations. When they were young, the home was a place where the second-generation women fulfilled their responsibilities, and from where they wanted to escape at the first opportunity, while no such traces of this can be found in the narratives of the first-generation women. As examined in the previous chapters of the analysis, the mothers' generation began forming a strong attachment to the home at a young age, and this was something that they wanted to transmit to their daughters. Their insistence that their daughters become adept at domestic work was one of the most prominent implications of this. It should be noted, however, that in most cases, this attitude, along with the restrictions on going out, led to a great distance between the mothers and daughters that could not be easily overcome. Several of the women from the second generation talked about their mothers' imposition of domestic tasks, as well as their restrictions of their movement in everyday life with a sense of resentment, and this was relevant even for those who developed a more friendly relationship with her mother over time.

At this point, it also needs to be considered that viewing the past from the perspective of the present might induce a change in the women's perception of their mother-daughter conflicts. Even though the second-generation women tended to develop an empathy with their mothers in several other aspects over time, it would appear that their perception of their mother's past restrictions related to their experience of the outside world would not change so easily. On the other hand, when looking at the first-generation women in this respect, it is interesting to note that some of the mothers expressed their regret for their restrictive attitude in the past towards their daughters. This was relevant especially for the women whose relationship with their daughters became more positive over time, and thus led to changes in their perception of their earlier behavior, especially under the influence of their daughters. The remarks of Yıldız (1938, *Küçükkesat*) in the following dialogue illustrate this very well:

Yıldız: If I had one more daughter, I would be more tolerant.

I: Well, I mean, you raised 3 children, and there are grandchildren. When you look back the way you raised them, is there anything in your mind or, I don't know, do you say I wish I had done this or that?

Yıldız: I would leave them alone. I can't think of anything else.

I: I see. What about looking back to the way with your own mother?

Yıldız: When we look back with my own mother, my parents were too strict with us, of course. We were not much free.

What is notable in Yıldız's dialogue is her consideration of her relationship with her daughter and mother in relational perspective. It is clear in her self-reflexive comments that she regrets not being more tolerant and setting her daughter free; and when asked about her relationship with her own mother, Yıldız, referring to her parents' strictness, indicates that they were not so free. At some point in her interview she also tried to justify her restrictive attitude towards her daughters, saying that that was how they had learned from their parents, and as such did not know any different. The story changes, however, in that her daughters did not adopt her habits, nor did they maintain them in their relationships with their own daughters. So unlike their mothers, the second-generation women opposed and resisted their parents when possible, and tried hard to create space for maneuverability within the given conditions and constraints. This was almost certainly related to their ability to access knowledge and experience other than what they had learned from their parents as a result entering educational and work lives, which had not been the case of the first-generation women, as Yıldız indicated. Nevertheless, it should be underlined that these opportunities did not directly and immediately open all doors for these women as they sought to evade and overcome the boundaries set by either their families or society. Most importantly, they were tempted to take risks and pay the price of their freedom when necessary.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The status of women in society and their participation in the public realm has been one of the most important discussion topics in studies on the experience of modernity in Turkey. A large body of critical material on gender and women's issues in the early Republican era has accumulated over the last several decades, with most studies based on an analysis of official or other public written discourses, including Mustafa Kemal's speeches, the writings of male Republican elites and ideologues, newspaper articles and literary writings. In this body of academic literature it is only recently that recourse has been made to women's oral histories and written life documents. These personal narratives have made a valuable contribution to uncovering the perceptions, definitions and personal accounts of the lives of women, and have enabled scholars to grasp and understand how women perceived and experienced the enormous social changes and transformations that were occurring in a newly developing society. Still, very little is known about how women coped with the new identity bestowed upon women in their everyday lives under the emergent Republican regime. This study has employed a similar approach to analyzing the relationship of women with the public space during the process of modernization in Turkey, taking women as active social actors and giving voice to their everyday experiences and concerns. By examining their use and appropriation of the urban public space in their daily lives, I have aimed to present the women's accounts of public space in their most inclusive sense, that is, the ways they perceived and associated with the public realm, outside the home. The main issue that this study has attempted to explore is how women went out and experienced public space in the years preceding the launch of the Republican modernity project, in which the transformation of the position of women in society in accordance with the new secular regime was one of the most ambitious goals.

Women's participation in public space, as the core of this study, is one of the central notions of the Turkish experience of modernity. Ever since the first modernization attempts in the Tanzimat period in the 19th century, but especially with the foundation of the Republic, the increasing access of women to public life and their presence in the public space side-by-side with men has always been a major issue in the organization of modern social life. The newly emerging national ideology attempted to define social and moral standards while assigning a position for women in public space, which entailed a series of new gender assigned codes of public conduct for women. The aim was to promote a modern urban culture where men and women participated equally in society; however the increasing access of women to the public realm posed a great challenge to conventional thinking regarding the proper place and role of women in public. It should be recalled that, as evaluated in Chapter II, the new public space established by the Republic was inherently gendered, being designed primarily by men and for the benefit of men. Addressing this issue, a significant body of feminist work has pointed out the paradoxical construction of the identity of the Turkish woman by the Republican regime, suggesting that while the "new" women were encouraged to participate in the public sphere, they were nevertheless still associated primarily with the traditional notions of domesticity and femininity. As such, the Turkish national modernity project posed no real challenge to the traditional gender roles, and therefore women were defined essentially as good wives and virtuous mothers, but in order to enter the public space, they were expected to be de-gendered and were encouraged to erase their female sexuality. This study has asserted that the notion of domestication, especially of women, was linked irrevocably to the national ideology in Turkey, like in other non-Western societies, which meant that women's sexuality was to be domesticated, either by defining them in terms of familial roles or by downgrading their femininity. It is upon this base that women's participation in the public sphere was promoted. What is crucial in the context of this study is that this process of domestication was not only realized at institutional and structural levels, as indicated largely in earlier studies, but was also strongly influential in the micro-politics of everyday life. Accordingly, I have tried to

explore how women's access and experience of public space was controlled and regulated through different forms of domestication in everyday life.

Feminist scholars have tended to debate how the Turkish modernity project provided new opportunities for women while at the same time producing new coercive forms of regulation. A substantial body of literature has emerged on the position of women in Turkish society, with the majority of these works concentrating on women's participation in the public sphere, including political life, education and professional careers. That said, only a limited number of researches have addressed how women participated in a newly developing modern urban life and in what ways and conditions they experienced public space in the course of everyday life. With little paid in literature to the actual impact of social reforms on the processes of either the construction of culture or of the formation of women's everyday life, this study has assumed that the formation of the Turkish nation-state and the Turkish process of modernization needs to be examined in a cultural context by taking into account the interrelations of nationalist and gender ideologies, along with their implications in everyday practice. Consideration of culture here is important in that it is culture that gives meanings to the construction of gender and womanhood, and this can have an immediate and significant impact on women's experience of public space. When the cultural dimension is included in the analysis of modernity, the relationship between gender and public space in non-Western societies becomes more complicated, in that gender boundaries concerning the public-private dichotomy have been shaped through cultural and historical dynamics. This study argues that the gendered formations of the public and the private realms are central to the processes of state building and national citizenship, but in a non-Western context, particularly in Middle Eastern and Islamic cultures, a specific type of public-private dichotomy has been constructed, along with dichotomous notions of modernity/tradition, West/East, secular/religious, and the like. Without doubt, these combine to create complex, multi-dimensional and dynamic constructions of gender and modernity that can only be understood through a comparative and transnational historical approach. There is also a clear indication of how the forms of engagement with the discourses of Westernization

and modernization play a decisive role in the constitution, formation and redefinition of the relationship between women and public space in non-Western societies. Accordingly, this study has sought to investigate the organization of public life, and accordingly, defining the place of women in the context of Turkish modernity in the light of discussions on local politics, cultural practices and everyday life.

There are only limited works devoted to the socio-spatial dimension of the Turkish modernity experience, particularly from the perspective of gender, and as such, there is a big gap in Turkish literature analyzing the interrelation between women and space from a historical perspective, considering space, as well as gender, as the main research category. This gap is also certainly related to the fact that existing studies of Turkish modernity have emphasized its macro-structural processes and dimensions, leaving aside the everyday life experiences that shed light on the daily struggles of women to enter the public realm. In this regard, this study assumes that the impact of the Turkish modernity project has, by and large, been measured by penetrating into the everyday lives of women and transforming it, which should be read and examined with particular focus on the micro-processes and practices of everyday life, since this would reveal how gender relations are sustained and (re)produced. Accordingly, the intention here is to develop a critical understanding of the Turkish modernity experience from the perspective of gender and space relations on an everyday level. To this end, by examining women's everyday socio-spatial practices I have tried to explore how women experience urban public space, what kinds of relations and identities they produce in terms of their gender roles and what meanings it has embodied for women in the context of the Turkish modernization process. The women's narratives of their everyday lives reveal significantly that the mobility and public presence of women has always been a contested issue, being perceived as a threat to the social order in general, and to family life in particular. As a result, the women had to endure constraining patriarchal traditions and cultural practices that affected their access to and participation in public life in their everyday lives, and this has changed quite slowly down through the generations. On the basis of the women's narratives, it can be

argued that almost all of the experiences the women had with public space reveal a persistent effort to attach women to the home and regulate their relationship with the outside and their encounters with people other than family, especially from the opposite sex. In general, they were able to establish relationships with the outside only with the mediation of a third party, especially the elder family member or husband, and as a result, as was revealed in the interviews, either explicitly or implicitly, the women tended to be timid or uneasy when they wanted to go outside, and were unable relate to the public space independently.

Unlike the tendency in existing literature to concentrate upon the early Republican era, the primary focus of this research is the period between 1950 and 1980, when Turkey's modernization path was relatively mature. This period merits a special place in the history of Turkish modernization owing to the great changes seen in the economic and political realms that put Turkey on a new path towards a Western-style society. It was in this period that social and legal reforms were institutionalized and became widespread in Turkish society to a significant degree, especially in the urban centers. The multi-party system was introduced, and political efforts to establish a modern and European Turkey were top of the agenda. The rise of the Democrat Party, identifying itself with peasantry and small-town people, mobilized the periphery, and its liberal economic policies led to massive migration from rural areas to the country's larger cities, which resulted in a significant change in the composition of the urban population as diversified to include many different social groups. Another turning point in this period was the arrival of a more liberal and democratic social and political climate with the enactment of the new Constitution in 1961 following the ousting of the ruling Democrat Party in a military intervention. These were the years in which leftist ideologies were on the rise and the desire of liberty and freedom came into play in Turkish society. The Turkish polity had been strengthened by new civil rights, leading to an increase in political participation as society became further fragmented among various ideological views. Owing to shifts in the constitutional rights and regulations, as well as the growth in the size of the workforce in the cities, these two decades paved the way for the organization of labor, which

became the backbone of the struggle for civil and democratic rights. Scholarly literature focusing upon these decades consists primarily of studies on migration and its consequences on urban areas, and on the labor movement, trade and leftist histories, exploring the changing social, economic and political dynamics of the period. To date, little account has been made of gender relations and the rapidly changing roles and status of women in society, despite the fact that this period brought significant changes to women's lifestyles in their participation in public life through higher education and employment. It should be underlined that the ideology of gender, promoting higher education among women and allowing them a profession, started to become widespread as part of the secular modernization model that was being promoted in these decades. Also, under the rather liberating social and political culture, women began being able to express their claims and desire to participate in public life. As discussed in Chapters V and VI, the movement and mobility of women within the city across generations expanded noticeably in parallel with the noticeable increase in higher education and employment. Their narratives of everyday life indicate that the second-generation women claimed to access and experience public space more independently and take part in social, cultural and political activities. By studying gender and women's issues in these decades, an important gap in the scholarly literature is filled, revealing how and under what circumstances women's achievements were obtained in society, which no doubt had a direct and significant impact on their access to and experience of public space.

In order to observe and understand the transformation of the urban public culture through women's oral narratives within this period, I conducted a generational research on the experience of the urban public space of women. Following Mannheim's (1952) account of generation denoting a historical location and experience, the two generational units selected for research as generational groupings are composed of women who were born at a given time and shared a similar location within the social and historical context. The majority of women interviewed came from successive generations spanning the time period between 1950 and 1980 in the capital city of Turkey, Ankara. Arranging the sample this way

guarantees that the members of each generation more or less experienced their young ages within the defined period. A certain number of women between the ages of eighty and ninety provided information on the early Republican period, which enabled an understanding of the historical continuity down through the generations. In studying the experiences of urban public spaces by women of different generations, I was also able to examine the transformation of urban life and culture in Ankara during the given historical period. It should be noted that the intention here, rather than being to compare the characteristics of the two generations, that is, two different historical periods of time, is to develop a comprehensive historical understanding of the experience of public space by women down through generations by adopting a relational perspective. This kind of analysis prevents the peculiarities of the each time period from being overlooked, and serves to avert the study from becoming a progressive linear historical account of modernization and Westernization that throws light only on larger institutional contexts and macro-societal processes, and misses the social experiences and micro-politics of everyday life. By considering the notion of generations in their multiple and complex forms, I have tried to uncover how certain cultural norms and practices relating to the access and experience of public space by women were performed and transmitted through and between different generations of women. This enabled the continuities and ruptures in the transmission of these notions to be captured, exploring how the social codes of public behavior have been drawn up, and, as a result, how the gendered social boundaries of women were formed and reproduced by them.

Moreover, studies charting the experience of modernity in Turkey have tended to concentrate on the fathers-son and father-daughter relationship. While the “fathers and sons” metaphor features a great deal in both scholarly and literary narratives of the early modernization efforts of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, it was the relationship between fathers and daughters that came to prominence in the narratives of the Republican modernization process (Çakır, 1991; Durakbaşa, 2000; Sirman 2000; Bilgin 2004). Being more educated than their wives and more representative of the modernization project, the fathers played a crucial role in the

raising of children, and especially the education of their daughters. For this reason, public narratives of the Republican modernization stress the influence of modernist fathers in the making of the so-called “new woman”, and this is also echoed in the oral narratives and in a number of auto/biographical and literary works of Republican men and women. In contrast, the relationship between women, specifically between mothers and daughters, has generally been overlooked in academic literature, and there is little information on how they related to each other and the kind of relationships they developed. This has resulted in a void in our knowledge concerning the transmission and reproduction of the norms of gender and sexuality promoted by the national ideology down through the generations. Although it is often claimed in discussions on the interrelation between nation and gender that women were the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation (Yuval-Davis, 1997; McClintock, 1995; Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989), how women performed this in their everyday lives has not yet been explored. Based on this assumption on the role of women in cultural reproduction, this study has attempted to investigate the transmission and transformation of cultural norms of gender and womanhood between different generations of women, with particular attention on the relationship between mothers and daughters in this regard. Accordingly, while conducting the field research I preferred, whenever possible, to interview women from the same family, and was able to speak to seven mother-daughter pairs in total, although I asked all of the interviewees about their relationships with both their mothers and their daughters.

Regardless of the generation to which they belong, the narratives of the interviewed women tended to follow the line of the common public narrative that exalts the notion of fatherhood, emphasizing the influence of their fathers in their lives and the development of their personality. Apart from a small number of the women who mentioned a special relationship with their mothers, the majority of the interviewees tended to focus on their strong attachment with their fathers and how they contributed to their lives. This was particularly common among the first-generation women, although the prominence of the father was also apparent in the narratives of the second generation, though to a lesser degree. The differences

among the narratives were apparent mostly in the women's tendency to mention their mothers as well as their fathers. While the role of the mother was mentioned in the women's narratives, in contrast to their descriptions of their fathers, the mother-daughter relationship came across as more complex and controversial among the second-generation women. The mother-daughter relationship features in the narratives as an important supportive mechanism, but it is clear that it wasn't without its controversies and conflicts, and this was a common characteristic of the narratives of the women in this generation.

The interviews reveal that the mother-daughter relationship played a decisive role in the learning processes and the reproduction of the prescribed meanings and norms related to the relationship of women with public space and public life. There is a strong indication that, in the first generation in particular, women were deeply involved in the reproduction of the notions of proper womanhood through their performance and their transmission to the next generations. With great feelings of responsibility in the moral upbringing of their daughters, the women tended to follow what they had learned from their parents in their lives, and tried to instill the same values into their daughters. The strong commitment to family values, shared largely by the first generation, led, inevitably, to persistent disagreements and conflicts between mothers and daughters. The narratives of the women from both the mothers' and the daughters' generations demonstrate clearly that the relationship of women with public space and the desire to go outside was one of the most contested issues between mothers and daughters; and this is derived mainly from the remarkable change in the perception between the generations, and their approach to the given gender norms that they were expected to follow. Unlike their predecessors, the second-generation women's narratives contain many expressions of resistance and opposition to the pressure and control imposed upon them. As the women in this group did not adopt directly what they had been taught by their parents, and especially their mothers, they did not make an issue of disregarding them. Accordingly, I argue that this gave the women the power to enlarge their maneuvering space and negotiate around the restrictive practices imposed within the family. This factor is important, in that it played a highly significant role in

their challenging of the boundaries that constrained them and limited their access to the public space from an early age.

It should be underlined that the research group in general carried the characteristics of traditional middle class. That is, the women interviewed in the study belonged more or less to the same social class, attained the same education and were imbued with the cultural values and norms of their respective generations. Considering the time span covered by the interviewees, with the oldest generation dating back to the mid-1930s, it can be said that the experiences and narratives of the interviewed women trace the rise of the traditional middle class and its gradual formation in Turkish society. It is important to note that the 1960s and the 1970s, as the primary focus of this research, saw a rapid acceleration in Turkey's modernization, alongside the development of the traditional secular urban middle class. As presented in Chapter IV, the socio-economic patterns and cultural practices surrounding the lives of the participants reveal some notable implications of this deep-seated transformation process for the formation of gender and class codes. Examining the specific experiences of middle-class women in Ankara, the object of this study has been to develop a critical discussion on the reproduction of a middle class as part of the nation-building project in Turkey. With focusing on the creation of a new modern society, I have tried to explore how the formations of gender and class occurred with the emergence of secular middle-class families. Creating a new society means establishing and incorporating into everyday life a collection of manners, patterns of behavior and values, as well as a set of ideas about society, individuals, family and gender, which were certainly derived from those of the Western middle classes. In this regard, the transformation of society was strongly linked to the emergence of the middle class in Turkey, as was the case in many other developing countries. In this framework, this study has argued that the nation-building project of the Turkish Republic assigned a special role to the state and state apparatuses, leading to the historical development of the middle class hand-in-hand with the state-led modernization. In this study, I have attempted to explore the gendered forms of these newly emergent modern class codes in the Turkish society of the 1960s and 1970s. In the national project, in which the institution of the

family, specifically the middle-class family, was given a central place, women and men were both expected to contribute to the creation of a new modern society in accordance with the gender ideology of the Republican regime. It should be noted that members of the urban middle class were highly receptive of this transformation, and were eager to inscribe into what they saw as the new society as modern people. As discussed in Chapter IV, the families of the interviewed women welcomed the services offered by modern urban life, and would often frequent public places to engage in the leisure and entertainment activities organized by the state. It was these people that were among the earliest owners of such consumer technologies as television, telephones and automobiles, which were considered essential in the modern middle class.

A key feature of the research group is that each generation of women in the study reflects a certain phase of the middle class, concomitant with Turkey's social and economic development. Spanning a period of fifty years, with interviewees aged from forty to ninety, the women participating in the study witnessed the acceleration of modernization in the post-1950 era, as well as the founding stages of the Turkish Republic. The first-generation women, including those aged eighty and above, were educated at Girls' Institutes, which occupied a distinct place in the state education system, and played a significant role historically in the development of the secular middle-class ideology. The second-generation women, on the other hand, had grown up under the influence of their educated Republican fathers and their Girls' Institute-graduate mothers, meaning that they were brought up with a good education and were encouraged to enter a profession, while at the same time being competent at housework. It can thus be assumed that the women participating in this study are among the groups that adopted the Republican modernization project, and thus did not challenge modernity; that is, they were adherents to the Republican ideology that saw the rise of a new modern and secular middle class. It should be noted, however, that the development of the middle class, particularly in urban areas, was a very uneven across the country, as their specific character was derived from their historical and geographical location. In this regard, while the narrated interviews of the women draw a general picture of an important part of

this process, they cannot be regarded as fully representative. One distinctive characteristic of the study group is that the majority of interviewees was born and spent a large part of their lives in Ankara, as the capital of modern urbanization project in Turkey, and at the center of the social and structural transformations carried out by the Republican regime. Accordingly, the two successive generations highlighted in the study trace the emergence and development of the secular traditional middle class in Turkey through the specific experiences of women in Ankara.

In this context, as most of the interviewed women emphasized often, what shaped their experiences of the public space was the complex whole of the conditions of the period in which they lived, which can be understood as a combination of social and political conditions, as well as their family backgrounds, the class to which they belonged, their place of origin, etc. In order to provide a better understanding of the complex relationship women held with public space at this specific time and location, this study concentrated upon the historical and contextual features of the Turkish case, and tried to locate the specific experience of the study within this general social and historical framework. Accordingly, when considering the time span covered by the generations, it can be observed that the women made significant achievements that had a direct influence on their everyday lives, which is certainly related to the promotion of the secular modernization model that marked the period between the 1950s and the 1980s. The interviews demonstrate with some clarity that a noticeable increase was experienced in the women's participation in higher education and employment between the generations, and this paved the way for the improvement of the status of women in society, allowing an expansion of their participation into the public world, while also increasing their activities and movement outside the home. It can be seen that the first-generation women tended to maintain a strong affiliation with home and domestic life, as well as a high dependency on family, particularly the male members of the family. In contrast, the second-generation women's narratives indicate that after starting university, they were able to access and experience public space more independently and create their own social circles. This meant a break-away from

the forms of dependency, resulting most significantly from their participation in higher education and working life. Based on the interviews, I argue that the more the women participated in education and careers, the more their social roles and relationships became diversified, and the more their spatial conceptualization and experience of urban public space expanded. This is clearly evident in the narratives of the women of the both generations.

However, it is important to note that the improvement of the status of women in society and the opportunity for them to participate in the public realm cannot be attributed solely to the success of the Republican modernity project and its social reforms. While it is true that there has been a considerable improvement in terms of their participation in the public space and the struggle against sex segregation in society, as the interviews reveal, these women fought meticulously for these achievements, which were reflected in the improvement of their everyday lives. Moreover, attaining a higher education and engaging in a professional career does not result necessarily in the emancipation of women. The modernization process in Turkey, like other non-Western countries, needs to be approached with a critical eye, and should question its immediate equation with the notions of progress, liberation and the empowerment of women. As the narratives of the women are clear to show, the greater participation of women in public life is limited or may be misleading if the different means of social control and pressure that women encountered in their everyday lives are overlooked. The women's narratives are full of examples of how their behaviors and actions were monitored and controlled by their parents, older siblings, spouses and others at different levels throughout their lives, and this overwhelming male control and restriction on the movement and mobility of women outside the home changed quite slowly across generations.

It is important to note that the participation of women in urban public life became much greater and more diversified across the two generations. Although they were subjected to various limitations and constraints related to their movement outside the home, the second-generation women were able to develop a strong relationship with the city as a whole, being involved in a broad range of activities that allowed

them to create their own social networks. However, it should be underlined that it is not the intention in this study to make a comparison of the women of two generations that questions whether progress was made in terms of the participation of women in public life. In contrast, the main aim here is to explore how attempts were made to manage and control the access and experience of public space by women through the different forms of domestication produced within the patriarchal relations of everyday life. Taking women as social actors and giving voice to their experiences of public space, the interviews demonstrate clearly the existence of a level of control over their movements and their entry into the public space, and while participation in higher education and a career changed little at an everyday level, it did give the women a means of resisting and challenging the restrictive practices imposed upon them. It should be underlined that, regardless of their generation, the interviewees struggled to participate in public life, though in their own specific ways, and within the given conditions and constraints of the time period in which they lived. In the rather liberating social and political environment of the sixties and the seventies, the second-generation women with increasing desire and claims to participate in public life, they gained the opportunity to evade and overcome the boundaries set by either their families or society. Most importantly, they gained the power to take risks and pay the price of their freedom when necessary.

Certainly, this represents a significant change in terms of the status of women in society and their participation in public life, and can be regarded as rapid when considering the time span covered by the generations. That said, from the interviews it is inferred that there was a greater change in the generation that followed, that is, for the daughters of the second-generation women. As most of the women from the second generation indicated, there is a huge difference between their own experiences and that of their daughters in many aspects of their lives, including their relationship with public space. As they were brought up in a more tolerant and friendly and less traditional environment, the women of the next generation, who are now in their thirties, enjoyed greater freedom of movement and were able to experience urban public space much more independently and freely

than their mothers and grandmothers, as the focus of this study. Accordingly, it will be interesting in further studies to consider the next generation, that is, the young women of today, which could serve to expand this examination of the experience of women in public space across a broader historical perspective.

The relationship of women with public space is a complex issue, and as such should be understood in its many dimensions from a comprehensive perspective. This study has revealed that developing a better understanding of the experience of women in the public arena in Turkey requires further research, and focusing on everyday social relations and practices in particular would contribute to the understanding of the various forms and degrees of the experience of women in public space. Moreover, further studies examining gender and space relations that consider the potency of the concept of space as a research unit would provide a new and different perspective on the complex relationship between women and public space, and would enrich our knowledge of the social and cultural constructions of gender and womanhood.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1. Distribution of Women among Neighborhoods

	1st generation (the mothers' gen.)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.)	TOTAL
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born 1950-1980	
Küçükesat		4	3	7
Aşağı Ayrancı	2	5	5	12
Cebeci	3	3	2	8
TOTAL	5	12	9	27

Table 2. Distribution of Age in Three Neighborhoods

	AGE RANGE	Küçükesat	Cebeci	Aşağı Ayrancı	
1st Generation (the mothers' gen.)	btw 80-90		3	2	5
	btw 60-70	2	2	3	12
	btw 70-76	2	1	2	
2nd Generation (the daughters' gen.)	btw 40-50	1	1	3	9
	btw 50-56	2	1	2	
TOTAL		7	8	12	27

Table 3. Type of Profession for Women's Fathers

	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born 1950-1980
Member of Parliament		1	1
Military Service		1	2
Higher Level State Officer		2	2
Judge		2	
Special Agent (Parliament)		1	
Accountant (privately held factory)		1	
Bank employer	1		1
Lawyer (self-employed)	1		1
Embassy Officer			1
Public employer	1		
Craftsman (3 Self- employed, 1 State Institution)	1	2	1
Self-employed (trade)		1	1
Landlord	1		
Worker (State Institution)		1	

Table 4. Level of Education Attained by Women

	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.) The women born 1950-1980
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	
Postgraduate Education			2
University		1	6
Girls Institute	1	4 *	
Girls Evening Comprehensive School (2 years)	1	2	
High School Diploma	1	1 **	2
Left High School		1	
Left Middle School		1	
Primary School Diploma	2	2	

* Of the four women graduated from Girls Institute, one women's diploma is equivalent to the degree of the High School since the type of education and its curriculum changed when she started the Institute.

** The only woman who graduated from High School attained her diploma later through examinations for external students, as she was not sent to the school and instead married off in very early age.

Table 5. Type of Profession for Women

	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.) The women born between 1950-1980
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930- 1950	
Not Working	5	5	1 **
Working at home		2	
Public employee		3 *	2
Teacher (at University Language Course)		1	
Bank employee		1	
White-collar factory labourer			1 ***
Television programme editor (State channel)			1
Biologist (Ministry of Environment)			1
Higher Level Bank Officer (Expert and Manager)			1
Personal Development and Consultancy (free-lance)			1
Self-employed (boutique owner/art gallery owner)			2

Additional Note: In the table, the profession of women from different generations is shown without indicating their statue of retirement. Since they were in their late ages, all women between the ages of 60 and 76 were retired. In the next generation, there are only two retired women, one is a public employer and the other is a higher level bank officer.

* One of the three women working as public employer started to work at state institution after being a tailor at home for twelve years. However, she had to leave her job after nine years before retirement due to the pressure of her husband and family.

** She worked as an accountant in a small company for a few years; then, she quitted her job after getting married.

*** After her retirement from the factory, she set up a ceramic atelier which is still running.

Table 6. Marriage Age of the Women

AGE RANGE	1 st generation (the mothers' gen.)		2 nd generation (the daughters gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born between 1950-1980
below 15		1	
15-18	2	4	
19-22	1	6	2
23-25	1	1	2
25-32			5

AGE	1 st generation (the mothers' gen.)		2 nd generation (the daughters gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born between 1950-1980
14		1	
15	1		
17	1	2	
18		2	
19		3	
21		2	1
22	1	1	1
23		1	
24	1		1
25			1
26			4
32			1

Table 7. Type of Profession for Women's Husbands

	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' generation)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930- 1950	The women born between 1950-1980
Higher level State Officer		5	
Member of Parliament		1	
Embassy Officer		1	
Military Service		2	
Engineer		2	
Tradesman	2	1	
Higher level Bank Officer			2
Architect			2
Ballet dancer			1
Public employer			1
Driver			1
Worker (state institution)			1
Press member (media)			1
Self-employed (electric installation)	1		
Craftsman	1		

Table 8. Distribution of Children among Women

Number of Children	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born between 1950-1980
0	1		
1		1	5
2	1	5	5
3	1	5	
4	2	1	

Number of Daughters	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born between 1950-1980
0	1	2	3
1	2	6	6
2	1	3	1
3	1		
4		1	

Table 9. Level of Education and Type of School of Adult Children

	1st Generation (the mothers' generation)				2nd Generation (the daughters' gen.)	
	The women born before 1930		The women born between 1930-1950		The women born between 1950-1980	
	Women (7)	Men (5)	Women (16)	Men (13)	Women (7)	Men (4)
Post Graduate	1		2		2	
University Diploma	5	3	9	5	3	2
University Student					2	2
Open Education Faculty				2		
High School	1	2	5	6		

Table 10. Age of Coming to Ankara for Women who were not born in Ankara

AGE	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born between 1950-1980
2-6	1	3	2
9-12		1	1
15-18	1	2	1
22		1*	
35-37	1*	1*	

* Of 15 women in total, three women came to Ankara after marriage.

Table 11. Place of Birth of Women

	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born between 1950-1980
Ankara	2	4	6
Ankara/Çınar		1	
Ankara/Ayaş	1		
Central Anatolia			
Çorum		1	
Afyon	1		
Inner Aegean			
Denizli/Tavas		1	1
Sinop/Ayancık		1	
Marmara			
İstanbul		2	
Çanakkale (village)		1	
East and South East Anatolia			
Kars		1	1
Erzurum	1		1
Batman			1

Table 12. Type of Birthplaces of Women

	1st generation (the mothers' generation)		2nd generation (the daughters' gen.)
	The women born before 1930	The women born between 1930-1950	The women born between 1950-1980
Big City	2	6	5
Small City (Provincial)		2	3
Village/Rural area	1	4	1

**Table 13. General Profile of The First-Generation Women
(The Women born before 1930)**

Name	Neighbor hood	Date of birth	Place of birth	Age of coming to Ankara	Education	Work experience	Father's profession	Husband's profession
ZEHRA	Cebeci	1919	Ankara/ Ayaş	12-13	Primary School	Not Working	Lawyer	Tradesman
NECMİYE	Cebeci	1932	Afyon	6-7	Primary School	Not Working	Craftsman	Craftsman
NERİMAN	Ayrancı	1929	Ankara	-	Girls Institute	Not Working	Public Employer	Tradesman
ŞÜKRAN	Cebeci/ Kızılay	1929	Ankara	-	Girls Evening Comprehensive School	Not Working	Bank Officer	(Not married)
LEMAN	Aşağı Ayrancı	1929	Erzurum	38	High School	Not Working	Landlord	Self Employed (Electric installation)

Table 14. General Profile of the First-Generation Women (The women born between 1930 and 1950)

Name	Neighborhood	Date of birth	Place of Birth	Age of coming to Ankara	Education	Work experience	Father's Profession	Husband's Profession
ALİYE	Küçükesat	1939	Istanbul	11	Girls Evening Comprehensive School	Not Working	Military Service	Military Service
HİKMET	Küçükesat	1941	Ankara	–	Girls Institute	Not Working	Craftsman at State Inst.	Public Officer
SEVİM	Küçükesat	1936	Ankara	–	Girls Institute	Public Employee*	High Level State Officer	High Level State Officer
YILDIZ	Küçükesat	1938	Denizli/ Tavas	18	Primary School	Not Working	Craftsman	Bank officer
SAİME	Cebeci	1935	Sinop/ Ayancık	15	Girls Evening Comprehensive School	Not Working	Accountant (privately held factory)	Engineer
AYTEN	Cebeci	1943	Istanbul	1-3	Left High School	Not Working	Judge	Military Service
SAADET	Cebeci	1942	Ankara (Village)	1-3	Primary School	Tailoring at Home	Worker	Tradesman
HAYRİYE	Aşağı Ayrancı	1933	Kars	35	Left Middle School	Not Working	Parliament Member/Soldier	Parliament Member
UĞUR	Aşağı Ayrancı	1935	Ankara	–	Girls Institute	Public Employee	Special Agent (Parliament)	High Level State Officer
SEVİL	Aşağı Ayrancı	1945	Çanakkale (Village)	15****	Faculty of Language, History and Geography	Teacher at University Language Course (TOMER)	Judge	
SÜNDÜZ	Aşağı Ayrancı	1948	Ankara	–	High School**	Public Employee	High Level State Officer	Engineer
GÜNGÖR	Aşağı Ayrancı	1946	Çorum	1-3	Girls Institute***	Bank Officer	Self Employed	Embassy Officer

* She started to work at state institution after being a tailor at home for twelve years. Yet, she had to leave her job after nine years due to the pressure of her husband and family.

** She attained her diploma later through examinations for external students, as she was not sent to the school and instead married off in very early age.

*** Her diploma is equivalent to the degree of the High School since the type of education and its curriculum changed when she started the Institutes.

**** Her family was originally from Ankara but they could not fully settle until she was 15, since her father dispatched from time to time to work in different provincial towns.

Table 15. General Profile of the Second-Generation Women (The Women born between 1950-1980)

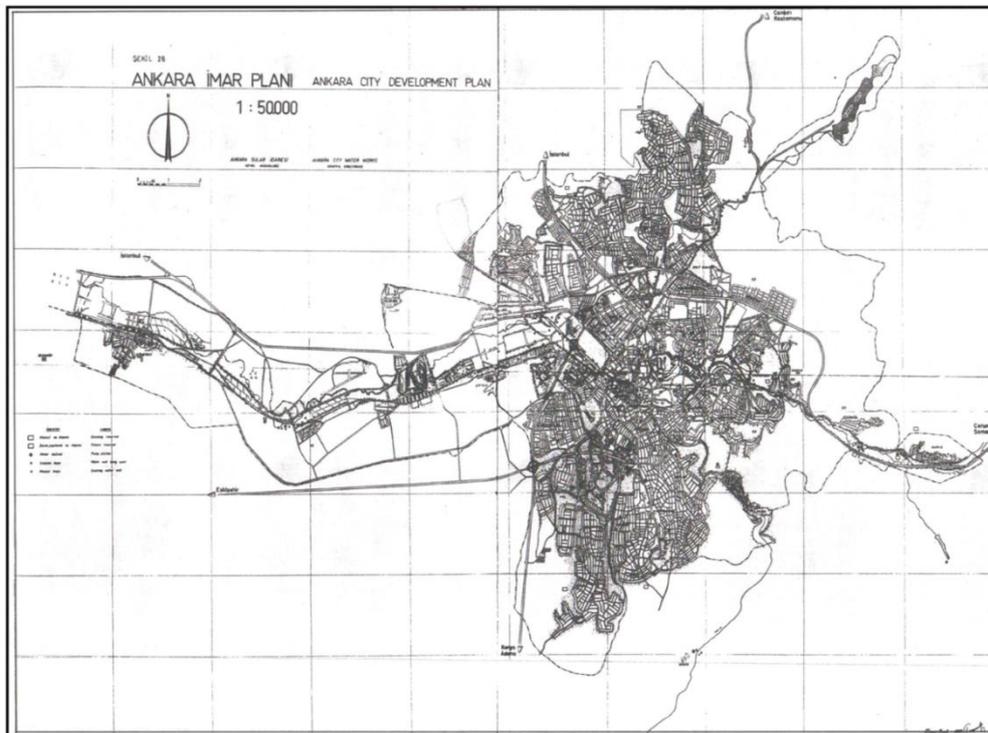
Name	Neighborhood	Date of birth	Place of Birth	Age of coming to Ankara	Education	Work experience	Father's profession	Husband's profession
SEVAL	Küçükesat	1963	Ankara	-	Ankara Univ. Communication Faculty	TV Program Editor	Military Service	Press Member
REYHAN	Küçükesat	1958	Denizli	2	Hacettepe Univ. Department of Biology	Biologist (Ministry of Environment)	Bank Officer	Higher Level Bank Officer
SİNEM	Küçükesat	1954	Batman	19	The Academy of Trade and Economy*	Public Employee	Public Employee	Public Worker
DİLEK	Cebeci	1969	Ankara	-	Hacettepe Univ. Vocational School of Techn. Sciences (2 years)	Not Working	Military Officer	Service Driver
FERDA	Cebeci	1953	Ankara	-	Postgraduate diploma	High Level Bank Officer	Craftsman	Higher Level Bank Officer
ESRA	Aşağı Ayrancı	1960	Kars	1-3	High School	White-Collar Factory Laborer	Member of Parliament	Ballet
GÜLAY	Aşağı Ayrancı	1969	Ankara	-	Hacettepe Univ. Department of Archaeology	Personal Development and Consultation (freelance)	Embassy Officer	Architect
HÜLYA	Aşağı Ayrancı	1953	Ankara	-	Postgraduate diploma	Public Employee	Lawyer	Public Worker
GÜLDEN	Aşağı Ayrancı	1955	Erzurum	11-12	Hacettepe Univ. Department of Statistics	Self Employed (Boutique Owner)	Self Employed	Architect
BANU	Aşağı Ayrancı	1959	Ankara	-	High School	Self Employed (Gallery Owner)	Special Agent at Parliament	(Not married)

*It would later turn into the Gazi University Faculty of Economic and Administrative Science

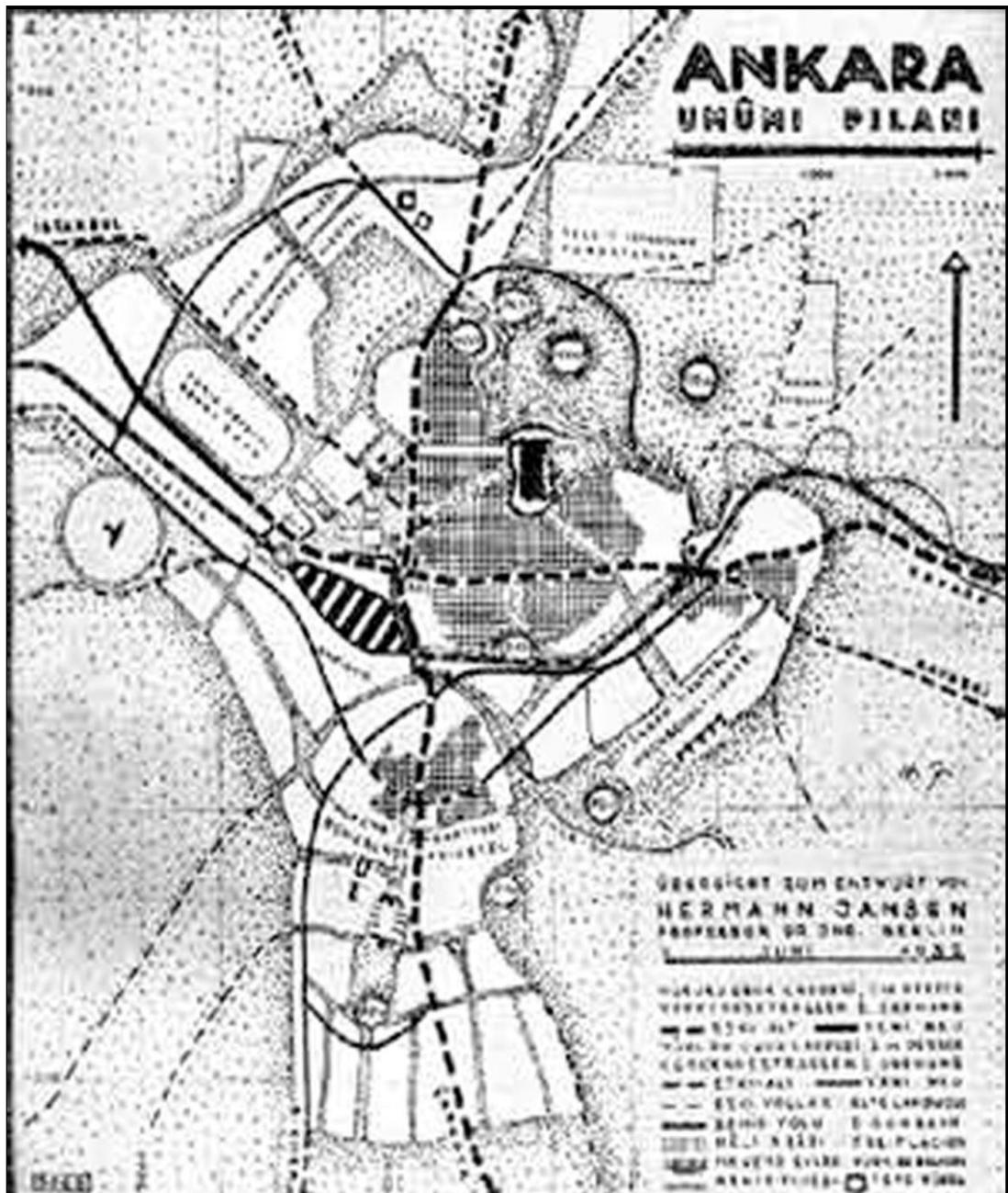
Map 2. Emergence of the City Centers



Map 3. Yücel - Ubaydin Plan for Ankara, 1957



Map 4. H. Jansen's Master Plan for Ankara 1928



APPENDIX C

TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu doktora tezi temel olarak kamusal mekân ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri arasındaki etkileşimi konu almaktadır. Çalışmamda, kadınların kamusal mekânla ilişkilerini Türkiye modernleşme deneyimi çerçevesinde ele aldım. Bu bağlamda, kent, kamusal mekân ve modernite ilişkilerini toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinden incelemeye çalıştım. Ankara’da 1950-1980 arasındaki dönemde kadınların kentteki kamusal mekânlara nasıl eriştikleri ve bu mekânları nasıl deneyimleyip anlamlandırdıklarına ve dönüştürdüklerine odaklandım. Çalışmanın açığa çıkarmak istediği temel mesele Türkiye modernleşmesinin görece daha olgun dönemi olan 1950’li yıllardan itibaren kadınların dışarı nasıl çıktıkları ve evin dışında kalan dış dünya olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz kamusal mekânı en geniş anlamıyla nasıl algılayıp onunla ne şekillerde ilişkilendiğidir. Bu amaçla, kadınların gündelik hayatlarındaki sosyo-mekânsal pratiklerini inceleyerek kentsel kamusal mekânla nasıl ilişkilendikleri, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri üzerinden ne tür ilişkiler ve kimlikler ürettikleri ve bunun Türkiye modernleşmesi bağlamında kadınlar için ne anlamlara geldiğini araştırdım.

Fransız sosyolog Henri Lefebvre’in kent teorisine ve daha genelde mekân çalışmalarına en büyük katkısı mekânı toplumsal olarak kavramsallaştırmasıdır. 1974 yılında yayınladığı *Mekânın Üretimi (Production of Space)* çalışmasında mekânın toplumsal bir ürün olduğunu ve bu nedenle de mekânın bireylerin mekânsal pratik ve algılarını etkileyen karmaşık bir toplumsal yapı olduğunu öne sürmüştür. Buna göre farklı katmanlara sahip olan mekân, üretim ilişkilerine ve toplumsal aktörlerin kullanımına bağlı olarak değişir ve yeni işlev ve anlamlar kazanır. Bu doktora çalışmasında, mekânın toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ve ilişkileri bağlamında nasıl şekillendiği ve deneyimlendiği üzerine kuramsal bir tartışma yürütülmesi amaçlanmıştır. Daha özgül olarak, kamusal mekânın oluşumu ve şekillenmesinde toplumsal cinsiyetin oynadığı role odaklanmıştır. Bununla

bağlantılı olarak, araştırmanın diğer bir amacı da mekânı bir araştırma birimi olarak ele almanın toplumsal ilişkileri ve kültürel yaşamı anlamada bize nasıl açılımlar sağlayacağını tartışmaya açmaktır.

Mekân tarih içinde farklı şekillerde deneyimlenir ve böylelikle sürekli yeni işlev ve anlamlar kazanır. Özellikle kent kamusal mekânları ortak yaşam alanları olarak temsil ettikleri anlam ve imgelerle toplumsal hafızanın şekillenmesinde önemli rol oynarlar. Burada önemli olan nokta toplumsal ilişkilerin mekânsal algılarla yakından ilişkili olmasıdır. Bir yere duyulan bağlılık sadece kişisel değil, aynı zamanda toplumsal, materyal ve ideolojik boyutları da içerir (Setha Low & Irwin Altman, 1992). Bu bağlamda bir yere atfedilen anlam ve değerler de bireysel olduğu kadar toplumsal deneyimlerle açıklanabilir. Bu çalışmada amaçlanan kent kamusal mekânlarının nasıl algılandığı, deneyimlendiği, ne tür toplumsal ilişkiler ürettiği ve buna paralel olarak tarih içinde ne tür anlamlar kazandığını çokyöntemli bir araştırma ile ortaya çıkarmak olmuştur. Kadının kentteki konumu ve toplumsal yaşama katılımı, kamusal mekân ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisi açısından dikkat yöneltilecek araştırma konularından biri olmuştur. Özellikle kendine özgü modernleşme deneyimine sahip Batı dışı toplumlarda bu konu daha da önem kazanır. Çünkü modernleşme projesinin Batılı olmayan bağlamda çok değişik şekiller aldığı gözlemlenmektedir. Türkiye örneğinde de, kadınların erkeklerle eşit düzeyde kamusal yaşama katılma biçimleri modernleşme deneyiminin yapıtaşlarından birini oluşturur. Bunun kaynağı şüphesiz Türkiye’de modernleşme projesinin kadına verdiği merkezi önemdir. Kadının toplum içindeki konumu ve cinsiyetler arası ilişkiler, Tanzimat dönemindeki ilk modernleşme çabalarıyla birlikte, özellikle Batılılaşma eğilimi çerçevesinde, önemli tartışma konularından biri olmuştur. Cumhuriyet döneminde ise laik ulus-devlete geçilmesiyle birlikte kadınlar Batılılaşma’nın sembolü ve medeniyetin taşıyıcıları haline gelmişlerdir. Türk modernleşmesinde başat bir konuma sahip olan bu konu şüphesiz akademik alanda büyük ilgi görmüş ve Türk sosyal bilim yazınında kadının toplumdaki yeri ve kamusal alana katılma biçimleri üzerine önemli çalışmalar yapılmış ve böylelikle ciddi bir literatür oluşmuştur (Özbay, 1982; Arat 1989, Tekeli, 1991;

Kandiyoti, 1988; Göle, 1991; Saktanber, 1995). Fakat bu çalışmaların büyük çoğunluğu toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin sosyo-ekonomik ve politik boyutuna referans vermiştir. Buna karşın, sosyo-mekânsal boyutunu ele alan çalışmalar henüz niceliksel olarak göz doldurmamaktadır. Özellikle bu konuda mekânı temel araştırma birimi olarak kadın ve mekân etkileşimini inceleyen kapsayıcı çalışmalara ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Kamusal mekânda toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerini incelemek için Ankara örneğinin seçilmesi çalışmaya ayrı bir önem katar. Çünkü Ankara, 1923 yılında Cumhuriyet'in kurulmasıyla birlikte başkent olma işlevini üstlenerek ulus-devlet yaratma projesinin en önemli sosyo-mekânsal boyutu olmuştur. Cumhuriyet'le birlikte gelen yapısal ve toplumsal dönüşümlerin gerçekleşmesinde mekânsal stratejiler büyük rol oynamıştır. Bunlardan en önemlisi ulusalcı Batılılaşma örneğini hayata geçirebilmek için Ankara'nın başkent seçilmesidir (Tekeli, 1998). Bu modernleşme projesinde kentsel planlama ve öngörülen kentsel yaşam biçimi, modern ulus ve kimlik oluşturma sürecinin kurucu bir parçası olmuştur. Daha da önemlisi Ankara, Tankut'un da vurguladığı gibi, kamusal insan modelinin Türkiye kentlerinde üretilme sürecinin en önemli ve ilk örneğini oluşturmuştur. Bu bağlamda Ankara'nın çağdaş bir kente dönüştürülmesi planı, salt yapısal bir dönüşümü değil, toplumsal niteliğe sahip kamusal bireyi ve onun mekânlarını da tasarlayabilmenin bir öngörüsü olarak düşünülmelidir (Tankut, 1993; Tekeli, 1998; Sargın, 2002). Şüphesiz bu durum, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet öncesi bir kamusal fikir ve deneyiminin olmadığı anlamına gelmez. Tanzimat'la başlayan sürecin devamı olarak Cumhuriyet'in önemi cemaat sisteminin kırıldığı ve sivil toplumsal örgütlenmenin ve buna bağlı kentsel planlamaların gerçekleştiği bir dönem olmasında yatar (Sargın 2002; Tekeli, 2000).

Türkiye modernleşmesinde oynadığı başat rolü göz önünde bulundurursak, Ankara'nın Türkiye'de kamusal mekân ve kamusal kültürün oluşumu üzerine çalışmak için en uygun örneklerden biri olduğu şüphe götürmezdir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma kadınların kamusal mekân deneyimleri ve söz konusu kamusal oluşumunda nasıl bir rol oynadıklarını anlamak açısından da önemli bilgiler sunar.

Bu doktora tez çalışmasında, temel olarak bu tür bir modern kentleşme tasarımının başkenti olarak Ankara'da kadınların kamusal mekânla nasıl bir etkileşim içinde bulunduğu anlamaya ve incelemeye çalışılmıştır. Burada söz konusu olan basitçe kadınların kamusal mekânda görünürlüğü değil ama daha çok kentteki kamusal mekânlara çıkış ve bu mekânları kullanma biçimleridir. Bu tür bir çözümleme kadınların kent yaşamıyla nasıl ilişkilendikleri ve kamusal kültüre nasıl ve ne ölçüde katıldıklarını anlamamızı sağlar. Ayrıca çalışmanın tarihsel bir izlek sunması, hem kent mekânının ve kültürünün toplumsal dönüşümü hem de bu süreçte toplumsal bir aktör olarak kadının nasıl bir rol oynadığı anlamaya ilişkin önemli katkılar sunmaktadır.

Toplumsal bir ürün olarak mekân, toplumsal ve mekânsal davranış ve pratikler aracılığıyla tanımlanır. Bu anlamda mekân sadece sosyo-ekonomik organizasyon biçimlerinin ürünü değildir; fakat aynı zamanda sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet gibi toplumsal ilişkilerin diğer özelliklerini de yansıtır. Mekân ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisi çerçevesinde düşünersek, bu ikisi arasında karşılıklı bir etkileşim olduğu açıktır. Bir yandan mekân ve yerlerin oluşumu ve düzenlenmesinde toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri önemli rol oynarken, öte yandan kadın(lık) ve erkek(lik) kategorilerinin kültürel kavranışı mekân ve zamana göre şekillenir ve değişir (Linda McDowell, 1999). Bu karşılıklı ilişkiyi anlamak ve incelemek için kent mekânı bize önemli bir kavramsal çerçeve sağlar. Kent, toplumsal cinsiyetin deneyimlendiği ve oluştuğu en önemli toplumsal bağlamlardan biridir. Bu nedenle 70'li yılların sonlarından itibaren kent çalışmaları ve beşeri coğrafya alanında yapılan araştırmalar kadınların ve erkeklerin kent mekânını nasıl farklı şekillerde deneyimlediklerini incelemiştir. Buradaki temel soru toplumsal cinsiyet kategorisinin mekân ve yer analizlerine ne tür bir farklılık sağlamış olduğudur. Buradan yola çıkarak kadınların kent mekânındaki mekânsal pratik ve ilişkilerini anlamak amacıyla kadınların işgücüne katılımı, eğitim, sağlık ve çocuk bakımı gibi hizmetlerden yararlanması, kamusal mekânları kullanımı gibi konularda çok sayıda ampirik çalışma yapılmıştır.

Kent ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi anlamaya yönelik çalışmalarda kentin kavramsallaştırması açısından temel bir bölünme göze çarpar. Bunlardan ilki kent mekânını korku, baskı, sıkıntı ve tehlike gibi kavramlarla ilişkili olarak açıklar. Buna göre, kent mekânı en temelde toplumsal cinsiyet farklılığı ile kurulmuştur ve bu yüzden kadınlar dezavantajlı konumda oldukları gibi temsili olarak da dışlanmaktadır (Wolff, 1985; Pollock, 1988). Diğer yaklaşım ise kentin daha çok özgürleştirici yönünü vurgular. Burada özgürlükle anlatılmak istenen kentlerin topyekün kadınları özgürleştirmesinden çok, çelişkili ve değişken bir mekân olarak kentin kadınlar tarafından (da) deneyimlenip kendilerine mal edilebileceğidir (Wilson, 2001). Bu bağlamda kentteki kamusal mekânların kullanımı büyük önem taşımaktadır. Fakat kadınların kentle ilişkilerini anlamak için kamusal mekânlardaki davranış ve tepkilerine bakmak yeterli değildir; aynı zamanda kadınların kamusal mekânı kendilerine nasıl mal ettikleri ve kentin eşitsiz ilişkilerine karşı nasıl stratejiler geliştirdiklerini de incelemek gerekir. ‘Kendine mal etme’ (appropriation) kavramı aktif özne pozisyonuna işaret etmektedir. Böylelikle, kente ilişkin bu tür bir kavramsallaştırma kadınları kent mekânını deneyimleyen ve kentin içerdiği eşitsiz ve baskıcı ilişkilere karşı direnme gücü olan aktif toplumsal aktörler olarak ele almamıza imkân verir.

Kentin özgürleştirici yanı kent yaşamının sunduğu eğitim, iş, sağlık ve ulaşım gibi çok çeşitli sayıda olanak ve fırsatlarla ilişkili olarak düşünülebilir. Ancak bunların da ötesinde, kent yaşamının kadına sunduğu en önemli özellik ‘anonimlik’tir. Wilson’un (1995) belirttiği gibi, kent deneyimine içkin olan ve kadınlara belirli bir özgürleşme imkânı sağlayan bu özellik kaynağını kentin kalabalığından, karmaşası ve düzensizliğinden alır. Kent yaşamının bu özgün yanı, güçlü baskı ve kontrol mekanizmalarına sahip olan kırsal yaşam veya banliyö yaşamı ile karşılaştırıldığında daha da ön plana çıkar. Kent yaşamı kasaba ve kırsal kesimdeki yaşamdan daha karmaşık ve esnek ilişkilerden oluştuğu için büyük kentlerde yaşayan kadınlar görece daha özgür hareket edebilirler. Böylece küçük cemaat ilişkileri ve mahalle yaşamının getirdiği kontrol ve baskı mekanizmasından uzaklaşan kadın büyük şehirde anonim bir kimlik kazanabilir. Şüphesiz kent yaşamının kadına sunduğu özgürlük göreceli ve sınırlıdır. Kent aynı zamanda

büyük tehlike ve risklere, kısıtlamalara da sahip bir yapıdır. Ama burada vurgulanmak istenen, kent yaşamının, içinde barındırdığı her türlü olumsuzluğa rağmen, kadına direnmesi ve mücadele edebilmesi için belli bir alan sunmasıdır. Oysaki kentin olumsuz yönlerine ağırlık veren çalışmalarda, kadınlar öncelikle korkuyla tanımlandıkları ve sınırlandırıldıkları için iki kez kurbanlaştırılmış olurlar (Rose ve Bondi, 2003; Pain, 1991; Valentine 1989). Ayrıca bu tür çalışmalar, kent mekânına karşılık ev mekânını daha güvenli gösterme ve böylelikle ev içi şiddeti görünmez kılma riski taşırlar. Bu sebeple, kent yaşamının olumsuz ve baskıcı yönlerini incelerken aynı zamanda onun taşıdığı özgürleştirici potansiyeli de göz önüne almak gerekir. Ancak bu şekilde kadının kent mekânındaki deneyimini ve kentle kurduğu ilişki tam anlamıyla anlaşılabilir.

Kadınların kenti nasıl farklı şekillerde yaşayıp deneyimlediklerini anlamak açısından kamusal mekânlar büyük önem taşır. Sharon Zukin (1995) kamusal mekânları kentin ruhuna açılan pencere olarak tanımlar. Kamusal mekânlar toplumsal hayatın şekillenmesinde ve kent kültürünün oluşumunda büyük rol oynarlar. Kentteki kamusal mekânların önemi teorik olarak da olsa herkesin kullanımına açık olup farklı yaş, grup, sosyal sınıf ve cinsiyetten insanların karşılaşma ve bir araya gelme ortamları oluşturmasında yatar. Hem “buluşma yeri” hem de “toplumsal görünürleşme zemini” olarak kamusal mekânlar kenti kavramsallaştırmamıza ve açıklamamıza imkân verir – ve bu durum aynı zamanda “yabancıları içerme eğilimini, farklılığa toleransı ve bir bütün olarak toplumsal hayata girme olanağını sunan fırsatlara ilişkin ideoloji yaratmaya ” da yarar (Zukin, 1995, p. 260). Ayrıca kamusal mekânlar, bu mekânların kimler ve hangi gruplar tarafından hangi amaçlarla kullanıldığı ve bu bağlamda nasıl bir toplum öngörüsünde bulunulduğuna ilişkin olarak bir dizi zorlama, müzakere, çekişme ve mücadeleden meydana gelir. Bu bağlamda kadınların kamusal mekânları kullanma ve deneyimleme biçimleri kritik bir önem taşımaktadır. Tarihsel olarak kadınların kamusal mekânla, sokakla hassas ve problemlili bir ilişkileri olmuştur. Yüzyıllar boyunca kadın ve sokak ikiliği olumsuz çağrışımlarla çevrelenmiş ve sokağa çıkan kadın toplumun düzenine karşı önemli bir tehdit olarak algılanmıştır. Bu nedenle

kadınların kamusal alana çıkışı çeşitli şekillerde engellenmiş, kısıtlanmış veya belirli düzenlemelerle kontrol altında tutulmuştur. Bunun kökeninde toplumsal rollerin cinsiyete göre inşa edilmesi ve kamusal ile özel alanların buna göre düzenlenmesi yatar. Kökenleri çok daha öncelere dayanmakla birlikte kamusal/özel ayrımı 19. yüzyılda üretimin ev dışına çıkmasıyla keskinleşmiş ve modern toplumsal hayatın düzenlenmesinde başat rol oynamıştır. Bu süreçte, mekândaki farklılaşma ile toplumsal cinsiyetin belli mekânlarla özdeşleştirilmesi birbirine paralel olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Böylelikle, toplumda cinsiyet rolleri ve ilişkileri ile ilgili sınıflandırmalar ve sınırlamalar kamusal/özel alan ayrımında vücut bulmuştur. Buna bağlı olarak kadın dolaysızca özel veya doğal olanla özdeşleştirilirken, erkek kamusal, kültürel ya da rasyonel olanla ilişkilendirilmiştir (Davidoff, 2002; Jordanova, 1993; Kerber, 1988). Bunun mekânsal ifadesi olarak kadının yeri evi olurken sokaklar erkeklere bırakılmıştır. Bu alanlar ayrımı şüphesiz başka anlamları ve ikilikleri de beraberinde getirir. Evinde oturan, en azından koruyucusuz ya da refakatçisiz dışarıya çıkmayan kadın iyi ve erdemli sayılırken, sokaktaki kadın ahlaksız ve uygunsuz olarak görülmüştür. Kadınlar kamusal alanda oldukları zaman öncelikle cinsellikleri açısından algılanıp tanımlanmaktadır ve hiç bir zaman özel alana ait olan bu rolden erkekler gibi tam anlamıyla kurtulamazlar (Franck & Paxson, 1989). Bunun sonucunda kadınlar kent yaşamının kamusal kültürünün parçası olan aktivite ve/ya değerlerle kolaylıkla ilişkilenebilirler.

Toplumsal cinsiyet kategorilerine göre kurgulanmış olan kamusal/özel bölünmesi ve buna paralel olarak gelişen mekânsal farklılaşma hem kadınların toplumda “bağımlı konumlarının bir açıklaması olarak, hem de o konumu inşa eden bir ideoloji olarak ikili bir rol” oynamıştır (Davidoff, 2002). 1960’lı yıllardan itibaren feminist eleştirinin merkezine yerleşen bu ayrı alanlar ideolojisi toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin sosyal dinamikleri çerçevesinde incelenmiş, fakat sosyo-mekânsal boyutları uzun süre gündeme gelmemiştir. Oysaki kamusal ve özel mekân ayrımı kadın ve mekân etkileşiminin en belirgin biçimde somutlaştığı alanlardan biridir. Bu ayrım özellikle kentsel ölçekte ele alındığı zaman, kadınların kentteki davranış ve pratikleri ve hareket alanlarının sosyo-mekânsal sınırlılıklarını açıklamada

önemli bir kavramsal çerçeve sunar. Kentsel planlama ve tasarlama süreçleri, temelde üretim ve yeniden üretim ilişkilerine bağlı olarak oluşan mekânsal ayrışmaya dayanır. Buna göre özel alan toplumsal yeniden üretim görevini üstlenen kadına, kamusal ve ekonomik alan üretimden sorumlu olan erkeğe aittir. Bu tür bir bölünmüş kent yaklaşımı şüphesiz hem işyerinde hem de evde çalışarak kamusal ve özeli gündelik hayatlarında birleştirmek zorunda olan kadınların kentsel yaşam deneyimlerini açıklamakta yetersiz kalır (McDowell, 1993). Üretim ve yeniden üretim, kamusal ve özel arasında kurulan kesin ikiliklerin aksine kadınların kent mekânındaki davranış ve pratikleri değişken, karmaşık ve iç içe geçmelidir. Kamusal ve özel alan arasındaki sınırlar toplumsal aktörlerin kullanımıyla gündelik yaşam içinde sürekli değişir ve yeniden tanımlanır. Bu nedenle söz konusu varsayılan keskin ikilikleri birbiriyle karşılıklı ilişki içinde düşünmek gerekir. McDowell'in (1991) vurguladığı gibi kamusal ve özel alanlar üretim ve yeniden üretim karşılıklı ilişkisine paralel bir şekilde bütün bir sürecin parçaları olarak düşünüldüğü takdirde kadınlar mekânsal çalışmanın tüm yönlerine dahil edilebilir. Ancak bu şekilde kadın ve kent mekânı arasındaki etkileşim üzerine kapsayıcı ve açıklayıcı çözümlenmeler yapılabilir.

Kamusal ve özel mutlak kavramlar olmayıp farklı toplumsal, ekonomik ve kültürel yapılara göre sürekli değişmekte, kurulmakta ve yeniden kurulmaktadır. Kamusal/özel ikiliği ve kadının kamusal mekânla ilişkisi sınıf, ırk ve yaş gibi etkenlere bağlı olarak değişmekte ve farklı şekiller almaktadır. Örneğin 19. yüzyılda kadınların kamusal alana girmesiyle ilgili yapılan kısıtlama ve düzenlemeler daha çok üst sınıftan kadınları kontrol ve denetim altında tutmaya yönelikti. Alt tabakadan ve işçi sınıfından kadınlar sokakta tek başlarına görece daha rahat bulunabiliyorlardı (Wilson, 1991). Öte yandan, günümüzde yapılan birçok çalışma farklı ırktan ve etnik gruptan, özellikle göçmen kadınların kamusal mekândaki eşitsiz ve ırkçı ilişkilere karşı iş hayatından ayrılmış ev idealini hayatta kalma stratejisi olarak benimsediklerini göstermektedir (Rose, 1993). Ayrıca kamusal/özel ikiliği kültürlere ve bölgesel özelliklere göre de değişiklik gösterir. Hatta kimi kültürlerde kamusal ve özel kavramlarının karşılığını bulmak bile mümkün olmayabilir. Kamusal ve özel alan ayrımının Avrupa kökenli kavramsal

çerçevesi Orta Doğu toplumlarındaki kadın deneyimlerini açıklamakta işlevsiz kalabilmektedir. Batı dışı toplumlarda, çok daha belirsiz ve anlaşılması güç olan kamusal/özel ayrımı ancak yerel tarihsel bağlam içerisinde ele alınarak ve aynı zamanda karşılaştırmalı ve uluslar üstü (transnational) tarihsel yaklaşımları eleştirel bir bağlamda ele alarak açıklanabilir (Thompson, 2003). Bu bağlamda söz konusu toplumlarda devletin inşa süreci, sınıf oluşumları, Batılılaşma ve modernleşme söylemleriyle ilişkilene biçimleri ve kolonileşme süreçleri gibi dinamikler kamusal/özel ayrımının oluşmasında, şekillenmesinde ve yeniden tanımlanmasında büyük rol oynar.

Toplumsal cinsiyet yapılarıyla ilgili özel-kamusal ayrımının karmaşık dinamiklerini anlamak için kadınların Batı-dışı bir bağlam içinde kamusal hayatla olan ilişkisinde merkezi rol oynayan iki önemli noktayı göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir. Öncelikle, modernleşme sürecine eleştirel bir gözle yaklaşmak ve bu sürecin ilerleme, özgürlük ve kadınların güçlenmesine denk tutulmasını sorgulamak gerekir. Ulusal modernist projelerde tanıtılan yeni fikir ve uygulamalar, aynı zamanda baskıcı yeni düzenleme şekilleri üretebileceği için tamamen özgürlükçü olmayabilir. Bu açıdan devlet, hem toplumsal değişim ve/veya ilerleme mekanizması olarak hizmet etme hem de kadınların toplumsal denetimini gerçekleştirme potansiyeli taşır. İkinci olarak Orta Doğu bağlamındaki özel ve kamusal yapının belirli kültürel ve tarihsel dinamikleri bize, özellikle İslam olmak üzere dini ve dinin kadınların kamusal mekân deneyimlerini etkileme yollarını iyice anlamamız gerektiğini işaret eder. Gelgelelim, modernleşme sürecinde dinin etkisinin azaldığını söylemek aldatıcı olacaktır. Bu bölgedeki modernleşme sürecinden geçen devletlerin çoğu, devlet oluşumunu dinî amaçlarla yürütmemiştir ama bu ülkelerde toplumsal yaşamın en temel öğeleri İslami norm ve değerlere göre düzenlenmeye devam etmektedir. İdeolojik bir sistem olarak İslam'ın, kadının ikincilleştirilmesinde çok etkili “bazı bütünleştirici kavramlar” ürettiği ortadadır. Kandiyoti'nin (1987) Türkiye'yle ilgili çalışmasında öne sürdüğü gibi, bu kavramlar köklerini “özellikle öznel kadınlık ve kadınsılık deneyimlerini etkiledikleri ölçüde, kadın cinselliğinin kültürel olarak belirlenmiş denetlenme

biçimlerinden” alır. Dolayısıyla namus, itibar ve iffet adına halk içindeki davranışları ve hareketleri çeşitli toplumsal denetim mekanizmaları tarafından kısıtlanmasına rağmen kadınlar, belirli yollarla da olsa kamusal hayata katılabilmişlerdir.

Orta ve Güney Asya devletlerinin uluslaşma sürecinde kadınlar, bedenleri ve cinsellikleri kontrol edilerek ve anne ve bakıcı rollerine hapsedilerek açıkça domestik hale getirilmek isteniyordu ve bu, toplumsal ve ahlaki düzeni sağlama yöntemi olarak görülüyordu. Ulusun hem biyolojik hem ideolojik olarak yeniden üretimini sağlayan ve “arzularını kontrol edip ailesi ve ulusu adına fedakârlıklar yapması” beklenen domestik hale getirilmiş kadınlar, kültür ve medeniyetin taşıyıcısı oldular. Ev ve aile yaşamı ideolojileriyle yürütülen kadın denetiminin kendini öncelikle ve en yoğun biçimde gösterdiği alan, şüphesiz ki kadın bedeni ve cinselliğidir ve bu durum, kadınların kamusal mekân deneyimini güçlü ve doğrudan bir şekilde etkiler. Kadınların sembolik statüsü üreme rolleriyle bağlantılı olduğu için, domestik alanı terk etmeleri ve kamusal mekâna girmeleri bağımsızlık ve kontrol altına alınmamış cinselliği ima ederek kadınlık ve annelik niteliklerine tehdit olarak algılandı. Yani, Orta Doğu toplumlarında kadınların eve hapsedilmesinde büyük rol oynayan saflık ve iffetlilik nosyonları, toplumsal cinsiyetin ulusal anlatılarında en önemli izlekler olagelmiş ve kadınların kamusal mekânla kurdukları ilişkide merkezi bir konumda olmuştur.

Pek çok feminist çalışma, Türk kadın kimliğinin Cumhuriyet rejimi tarafından paradoksal bir biçimde oluşturulduğuna işaret etmiştir. Söz konusu çalışmalar, Türk ulusal modernlik projesinin geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini gerçek anlamda tehdit etmediğini ve bu yüzden kadınların aslında iyi eşler ve erdemli anneler olarak tanımlandığını, fakat kamusal hayata girebilmeleri için cinsiyetsiz olmalarının beklendiğini ve kadın cinselliğinden arınmaya teşvik edildiklerini öne sürdü. Bu çalışma ise domestikasyon kavramının, özellikle kadının domestikasyonunun, Türkiye’de de diğer Batılı olmayan ülkelerde olduğu gibi ulusal ideolojiye sıkı sıkıya bağlı olduğuna işaret eder. Bu çalışmaya göre kadınlar

ya ailesel rollerle tanımlanmış ya da kadınsılıkları azaltılmıştır ve böylece cinsellikleri kontrol altına alınmıştır. Kadınların kamusal hayata katılımı ancak bu şekilde teşvik edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın bağlamında altını çizmek istediğim nokta, bu domestikasyon sürecinin, daha önceki çalışmaların da büyük ölçüde gösterdiği üzere, sadece kurumsal ve yapısal kademelerde gerçekleştirilmemiş; fakat aynı zamanda günlük yaşamın mikro-politikalarını da önemli ölçüde etkilemiş olduğudur. Buradan hareketle, kadınların kamusal mekânlara erişiminin ve onları deneyimleyişinin günlük hayattaki çeşitli domestikasyon şekilleriyle nasıl denetim altına alınıp düzenlendiğini görmeye çalıştım.

Kadınların kentsel kamusal mekânlara erişimi ve onları deneyimleyişini keşfetmek ve ayrıntılı olarak incelemek için günlük yaşamın sürdürüldüğü süreç ve ilişkileri açığa çıkaran niteliksel araştırma yöntemleri kullandım. Ampirik veriler gözlemler, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve aile fotoğrafları/kişisel fotoğrafları da içeren görsel belgelerden alınan bilgiye dayanmaktadır. Yine de, ampirik araştırmanın merkezini kadınlarla yürütülmüş derinlemesine görüşmeler oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada, kamusal mekân temelde kullanıcının kavrayışı ve anlamlandırması üzerinden kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Kentsel kamusal mekânların kullanımı ve deneyimlenmesinde kadınları toplumsal aktörler olarak algılayarak, Ankara'nın üç eski semtinde iki farklı kuşak grubundan kadınlarla derinlemesine görüşme yaptım. Söz konusu semtler kentsel alan ve kültür oluşumunda toplumsal tarihin izlerini yansıtmaktadır: şimdiki şehir merkezlerinin etrafında kurulan ve hâlâ mahalle karakterini koruyan geleneksel orta sınıf semtleri *Cebeci*, *Küçükkesat* ve *Aşağı Ayrancı*. Görüşülen kişiler, Ankara'da doğmuş veya en az çocukluğundan veya ilk gençliğinden beri Ankara'da yaşayan orta ve alt orta sınıftan kadınlardır. Saha araştırması kapsamında, görüşülen kişilerin kişisel ve aile albümlerine bakarak kentsel kamusal deneyimleriyle ilgili hatıralarını anlatmalarının teşvik edildiği fotoğraf görüşmeleri de yaptım.

Kadınların sözel anlatılarında, kentsel kamusal kültürün dönüşümünü gözlemlemek ve anlamak adına, kadınların kentsel kamusal mekanları deneyimlemesi üzerine bir

kuşak çalışması yürüttüm. Kuşak kavramının tarihi bir lokasyonu ve deneyimi simgelediğini söyleyen Mannheim'ın (1952) izinden giderek, araştırma için seçilen iki kuşak grubunu, belirli bir zamanda doğmuş ve toplumsal ve tarihsel bağlamda benzeri bir lokasyonu paylaşan kadınlardan oluşturdum. Görüşülen kadınların çoğunluğu, 1950 ve 1980 yıllarını kapsayan bir dönemde Türkiye'nin başkenti Ankara'da yaşamış, birbirini takip eden kuşaklardan geliyordu. Örnekleme bu şekilde oluşturmak her kuşaktan kişilerin gençlik dönemini söz konusu zaman diliminde geçirmiş olmasını sağladı. Ayrıca, seksen ve doksan yaşları arasında belli sayıdaki kadınlar Cumhuriyet'in ilk dönemiyle ilgili bilgiler verdi; böylece nesiller boyu aktarılan tarihsel devamlılığı anlama ve inceleme şansım oldu. Farklı kuşaklardan kadınların kentsel kamusal mekân deneyimlerini çalışarak söz konusu zaman diliminde Ankara'daki kent yaşamı ve kültürünün dönüşümünü inceleme fırsatım oldu. Kuşak kavramını çoklu ve karmaşık şekillerde düşünerek, kadınların kamusal mekâna erişimi ve onu deneyimlemesiyle ilişkili belli kültürel normların ve pratiklerin farklı kuşaklardan kadınlar arasında nasıl uygulandığı ve aktarıldığını görmeye çalıştım.

Mevcut literatürdeki, Cumhuriyet'in ilk dönemine odaklanma eğiliminin aksine, bu çalışmanın birincil odağı, Türkiye'nin modernleşme çizgisinin kısmen olgunlaştığı 1950 ve 1980 yılları arasındaki dönemdir. Bu dönem, Türkiye'yi Batı tarzı bir toplum olma yoluna götüren büyük ekonomik ve politik değişimler nedeniyle Türkiye modernleşme tarihinde özel bir yere sahiptir. Türkiye toplumunda özellikle de kent merkezlerinde toplumsal ve yasal reformların bir dereceye kadar kurumsallaşıp yaygınlaşması bu dönemde olmuştur. Ek olarak, sol ideolojiler yükselişe geçmiş ve toplumda özgürlük ve hürriyet arzusu öne çıkmıştır. Bu yıllara yoğunlaşan akademik literatür, dönemin değişen sosyal, ekonomik ve politik dinamiklerini keşfetmek amacıyla göç ve göçün kentsel alanlardaki sonuçlarını, işçi hareketini, ticaret ve sol tarihleri inceleyen çalışmaları içermektedir. Söz konusu zaman diliminde kadınların yüksek eğitim ve istihdam yoluyla kamusal hayata katıldıklarından yaşam tarzlarında önemli değişimler olmasına rağmen şimdiye kadar, toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri ve kadının toplumdaki değişen statüsüyle ilgili çok az çalışma yapılmıştır. Kadınlar için yüksek eğitimi teşvik eden ve onlara

meslek edinme şansı sunan toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojisinin, söz konusu yıllarda organize edilen seküler modernleşme modelinin bir parçası olarak yaygınlaştığının altını çizmek gerekir. Ek olarak, epey özgürleştirici bir toplumsal ve siyasi kültürde kadınlar kamusal hayata atılma arzularını ve taleplerini dile getirmeye başlamıştır. Bu çalışma kapsamında yapılan görüşmelere dayanarak kent içinde kuşaklar arası kadınların hareketi ve hareketliliği yüksek eğitim ve istihdam artışıyla paralel olarak belirgin ölçüde arttığını söylemek gerekir. Günlük yaşam anlatıları bize gösteriyor ki ikinci kuşaktaki kadınlar daha bağımsız bir şekilde kamusal hayata erişme ve onu deneyimleme şansına sahip olmuş ve sosyal, kültürel ve politik eylemlerde yer almıştır.

“Kamusal mekân” kavramını evin dışında kalan her yeri kapsayacak şekilde daha geniş bir bağlama oturtarak, kadınların ev dışındaki kamusal mekânla etkileşiminin toplumsal sistem için nasıl korkutucu ve düzenlenmesi gereken bir olgu olduğunu göstermeye çalıştım. Görüşmeler, kadınların hareketliliğinin ve kamusal mekândaki varlığının toplumsal düzene ve özellikle aile yaşamına tehdit olarak görüldüğünü ve her zaman tartışmalı bir konu olduğunu gösteriyor. Kadınların anlatıları bize, kadınlar için zaman ve mekâna dair uygun bulunan sınırların çizilip nasıl olmaları gerektiği konusunda belli bir fikir veriyor. Yani bu anlatılar, kadınların ne zaman nerede olmaları gerektiğini yansıtıyor. Aynı şekilde, görüşmelere dayanarak, kadınların kamusal mekânla ilgili yaşadığı bütün deneyimlerin onları eve bağlamak ve dışarıdan, aile harici insanlarla tanışmaktan uzak tutmak için gösterilen sınırsız çabayı vurguladığı söylenebilir. Gerçek kadınlığın esas şartı olarak, ev ve domestik yaşamla kurulan ve kaynaklarını ataerkil kültürden alan bu güçlü bağın kadınların kamusal mekânlara erişimi ve onları deneyimlemesinin üzerinde merkezi bir rol oynadığını öne sürüyorum. Sonuç olarak kadınların ev dışında hareketi ve hareketliliği üzerinde, nesiller boyu oldukça yavaş değişmekte olan boğucu bir erkek denetimi ve sınırlandırılması yaşanmıştır. Kadınların ailelerine ve özellikle erkeklere olan bağımlılığı, yaşamlarının sonraki evrelerinde giderek azalmış; ikinci kuşaktan kadınlar ise yüksek eğitim ve iş yaşamları sayesinde söz konusu bağımlılık çeşitlerini

kırabilmiştir. Günlük yaşam anlatıları gösteriyor ki ikinci kuşaktan kadınlar üniversiteye başladıktan sonra kamusal hayata daha bağımsız bir şekilde erişmeye ve onu deneyimlemeye başlamış ve kendi sosyal ilişkilerini yaratabilmişlerdir. Aslında bunlar, kadınların hayatlarında gerçek farklılıklar yaratabilmeleri adına çok önemli başarılardır. Söz konusu kuşakların içinde yer aldığı zaman dilimi düşünüldüğünde, kadınların elde ettiği başarılar, 1950’li ve 1980’li yıllar arasında Türk toplumunda yaşanan büyük çaptaki dönüşümle yakından bağlantılı olarak, epey hızlı gerçekleşmiştir.

Ayrıca, görüşmeler gösteriyor ki, çeşitli toplumsal normlar ve ahlaki standartlar kuşak gözetilmeksizin kadınlara dayatılıyor; bu standartlar yalnızca kuşaklar arasında farklı derecelerde ve farklı çeşitlerde uygulanıyor. Gelgelelim, iki kuşak arasındaki temel fark kadınların günlük yaşamlarında maruz kaldığı kısıtlayıcı kültürel pratiklere verdikleri cevaplarda ortaya çıkıyor. Kadınların başa çıkma stratejilerinin, münasip kadınlıkla ilgili kültürel normları nasıl algıladıklarıyla yakından ilişkiliydi. Bununla birlikte, geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet normlarına yaklaşımlarını yansıtan söylem düzeylerinde büyük bir değişim olduğunu vurgulamak gerek. İlk kuşağın anlatılarındaki en büyük özellik, ifadelerinin genellikle verili toplumsal cinsiyet kodlarının doğrulanışını ve kabulünü içermesidir. Anlatıları büyük ölçüde kendi dönemlerinin egemen zihniyetini yansıtan ve koruyan bir kültürel söylemi ifade ediyor. Gelgelelim, ikinci kuşak kadınları bir önceki kuşağın aksine ailelerinin dayattığı münasip kadınlık nosyonlarına boyun eğmemeyi tercih etmiş ve kamusal mekânda uygun görülen geleneksel kıyafet ve davranışları kırmakta tereddüt etmemiştir. Bana göre bu durum, kadınlara manevra alanlarını genişletme ve aile içinde dayatılan kısıtlayıcı pratikler konusunda müzakere yapma gücü vermiştir. Söz konusu kadınların geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet normlarına karşı eleştirel tavırları, onları zorlayan ve erken yaştan itibaren kamusal mekânlara erişimlerini kısıtlayan sınırlara meydan okumalarında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Bu da kadınların, zamanın toplumsal şartlarına uyum sağlama ve daha da önemlisi bu şartları kendi lehlerine çevirme konusunda ne kadar yetenekli olduklarını da gösterir.

APPENDIX D

CURRICULUM VITAE

- **Personal information**

Surname(s) / First name(s)	Tuncer, Selda
Address(es)	Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, 06531, Ankara / Türkiye
E-mail(s)	stuncer@metu.edu.tr, sel.selda@gmail.com
Occupational field	Research Assistant

- **Work experience**

Dates	2004 – 2014
Occupation or position held	Research Assistant
Name and address of employer	Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, 06531, Ankara/ Türkiye

- **Education and training**

Dates	2005 – 2014
Title of qualification awarded	Doctor (Ph.D)
Principal subjects covered	Urban Studies, Women and Gender Studies, Feminist Geography
	Title of the Thesis: Going Public: Women's Experience of Everyday Urban Public Space in Ankara Across Generations Between the 1950s and the 1980s
	Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber

Name and type of organisation providing organisation and training Middle East Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology

Dates 2001 – 2005

Title of qualification awarded Master's Degree
Principal subjects covered City and Cinema
Title of Thesis: “The Destruction of A City Myth in Late Modern Turkish Cinema”
Supervisor: Prof. Dr Hasan Ünal Nalbantoğlu

Name and type of organisation providing organisation and training Middle East Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology

Dates 1996 – 2000

Title of qualification awarded Bachelor's Degree

Name and type of organisation Ankara University, Communication Faculty, Department of Public Relations and Publicity

TEACHING ASSISTANCE:

-Graduate Course: “Space, Place, and Gender” taught by Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber (2006- 2011)

-Undergraduate Course: “City and Culture” taught by Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber (2008-2010)

PUBLICATIONS:

-“Küçükmesat: Bağevlerinden Mahalleye” in *İdealkent: Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, No.11 (2014), pp. 202-225.

-*The Destruction of İstanbul City Myth in the 90s Turkish Cinema*, LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, (2013).

-“Beşeri Coğrafyaya Feminist İtirazlar” in *Fe Dergi: Feminist Eleştiri* 4 Sayı 1, 2012, pp. 79-91.

- “Behzat Ç: Kent, Kimlik, Yerellik Ekseninde Bir Ankara Hikayesi” in *Cumhuriyet’in Ütopyası: Ankara* ed. by Funda Şenol Cantek (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2012): pp. 605-631.

-“Kentte Fabrika, Fabrikada Kent: Dokuma İşçilerinin Yaşam Öyküleri” in *I. International Economic History Congress Proceedings Vol 2* (İstanbul: İstanbul Ticaret Odası, 2011): pp. 511-523.

“The Social Forum: Towards a New Counter Hegemonic Bloc? Revisiting Gramsci’s Theory of Hegemony in the Case of the WSF” in *International Symposium on Globalization, Democratization and Turkey Proceedings March 27-30 2008* (Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Yay.), pp. 184-194.

CONFERENCES:

- Türkiye Coğrafyacılar Derneği Uluslararası Coğrafya Kongresi (Muğla, 4-6 Haziran 2014).

Presentation Paper: “Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Mekan ve Kimlik”

-VIIIth International Cultural Studies Conference: Memory and Culture (Ankara, 5-7 September 2013).

Presentation Paper: “Gender, City and Memory: Women’s Narratives of Ankara”

-Türkiye Coğrafyacılar Derneği Uluslararası Coğrafya Kongresi (İstanbul, 19-21 Haziran 2013).

Presentation Paper: “Feminist Coğrafya”

-“Changing Feminist Paradigms and Cultural Encounters: Women’s Experiences in Eastern Mediterranean History in the 19th and 20th Centuries” organized by *Journal of Women’s History* (İstanbul, 7-9 June 2013).

Presentation Paper: “Going Public: Women’s Everyday Experiences of Public Space in Turkey”

- NABS (Narrative and Auto/biographical Studies) Seminar Series, Edinburgh University, October 2010.

Presentation: “Women in Public: Gender Experience in the Formation of City Culture in Modern Turkey”

Discussant: Prof Dr. Liz Stanley

- XVII ISA World Congress of Sociology (Sweden, July 2010)
Presentation Paper: “Invisible-yet-Impenetrable: Shifting Meanings and Boundaries of Women’s Access to Public Space in Turkey”
with Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber

- 3. Karaburun Science Congress: Understanding Today
(Karaburun, 5-7 September 2008)
Workshop Title: “The Situation of Academy in the Face of Social Struggles” (with Meral Akbaş and Görkem Dağdelen)
Coordinators: Cem Terzi and Ahmet Öncü

- International Symposium on Globalization, Democratization and Turkey (Antalya, March 2008).
Presentation Paper: “The Social Forum: Towards a New Counter Hegemonic Bloc? Revisiting Gramsci’s Theory of Hegemony in the Case of the WSF”

- I. International Economic History Congress (İstanbul, 2007)
Presentation Paper: “The Factory in City, The City in Factory: Life Experiences of Antalya Textile Factory Workers”

- Istanbul *Fragmented*, in the 9th International Istanbul Biennale, 2005
Presentation Paper: “The Changing City Myth of Istanbul in Turkish Cinema of the Nineties

- XII. Riverside’s Annual Humanities Conference, Unv. of California, 2005
Presentation Paper: “The (Re)construction of the City Myth of Istanbul in Turkish Cinema”

- IX. Ege University International Cultural Studies Symposium (İzmir, 2004)
Presentation Paper: “The City as the Modern Experience of the Individual:
Uzak by Nuri Bilge Ceylan”

- IX. National Student Sociology Congress (Isparta, 2002)
Presentation Paper: “The Representation of Woman through Man in Hollywood Cinema: the case of the film *Runaway Bride* by Gary Marshall”

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND SEMINARS

- Project Officer/Researcher, “European Project Flying Team against Violence; Combating Honour Related Violence and Forced Marriages” (January 2011- present) conducted by MOVISIE and foundations Welsaen and Kezban in the Netherlands.
- Feminist Biography Seminar, with Prof. Dr Eser Köker, Ayizi Press (March-May 2011).
- Interviewer in the Research on Population and Health in Turkey (November, 2005) Duty: Making in-depth interviews with women on their socio-economic conditions and health problems.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND PRIZES:

- Erasmus: Humboldt University, The Institute of Social Sciences (Fall Semester, 2007).
- Young Social Scientists Award by Turkish Social Sciences Assoc. for the master thesis “The Destruction of A City Myth in Late-Modern Turkish Cinema” (2005-2007).
- 14th International Cultural Studies Workshop on *Urban Cultures* organised by the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta at North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong/India (February 1-6, 2009), awarded by Sephis (South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development), Discussant: **Prof. Dr. Nivedita Menon.**
- Higher Education Council, Doctorate Research Fellowship (9 months), Edinburgh University, Department of Sociology/ Centre for Narrative & Auto/biographical Studies, Supervisor: **Prof Dr. Liz Stanley** (March 2010-November 2010).

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : TUNCER

Adı : SELDA

Bölümü : SOSYOLOJİ

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : GOING PUBLIC: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF EVERYDAY URBAN PUBLIC SPACE IN ANKARA ACROSS GENERATIONS BETWEEN THE 1950S AND THE 1980S

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: