“ The Heart of The World”: Women Negotiating the Gendered Public Spaces of Istanbul`s Grand Bazaar

By

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To,

Berra, Ezo, Ayüş, Güler, and Vahide

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the social and political effects of Istanbul`s gendered public spaces on women in Turkey. More specifically, the thesis aims to unearth how gendered characteristics of the Grand Bazaar, a historical trading center situated at the heart of Istanbul, having crucial social and political preponderance for Istanbul, affect women`s inclusion and exclusion from this space as shop-owners and workers. Drawing upon Doreen Massey`s (1994) conceptualization of the politicization of space, Young`s(2005) frameworks of feminine bodily existence in public space, Michel de Certau`s(1984) concepts of strategies and tactics, Sara Ahmed`s (2010) frameworks of causality between objects and happiness, and Saba Mahmood`s (2001) conceptualizations of docile agency, this thesis endeavors to uncover women`s strategies for negotiating the gendered space of the Grand Bazaar as customers, craftspeople, and manufacturers. The thesis explores how women experience exclusion and inclusion in the Bazaar and how they develop tactics to circumvent the patriarchal heteronormative gendered public space of the Bazaar. The research for the thesis relies on thirteen semi-structured oral history interviews conducted with women and men who work in the Bazaar, in addition to ethnographic observations of the bustling environment of the Bazaar. This thesis aims to shed light on what kinds of difficulties women workers experience in the Bazaar and what kinds of tactics they adopt to be visible, social, and political agents in the Grand Bazaar.

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Introduction

Built in the fifteenth century after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans, the Grand Bazaar has been a vital economic center for the life of Istanbul. Defining the Bazaar just as an economic hub lacks clarity on its functions as a dynamic political and social space where *"state gossip"*(Erçetin,2019,p.71) remains an important part of the Bazaar environment. Due to its cruciality as a political and social center, it has been regarded as a miniature of the society where public opinion could be gauged. As Gülersoy(1979) highlights, Ottoman Sultans used to initiate their reforms first in the Grand Bazaar to get an idea about whether or not the Ottoman subjects were ready for, say, Westernization reforms, among many others. Architecture is an indispensable part of the Bazaar`s dynamic, active political and social environment. As Edgü, Ünlü, Şalgamcıoğlu, and Mansouri (2012) explain, compared to other Bazaars in the region, especially Iranian Bazaars, the Grand Bazaar has a grid structure whereby streets highly interact with each other, paves the way for constant coincidences between workers (p.13). Therefore, unique architecture is a crucial foundation for the political and social environment of the Grand Bazaar.

When explaining the Grand Bazaar, in addition to its economic, political, and social importance, the constant transformation of the Bazaar has to be mentioned as well. Because economic restructurings in the form of neoliberal changes and architectural changes due to fires and earthquakes affect how workers comprehend the Bazaar environment emotionally. As explained by Köroğlu, Eceral, and Uğurlar (2009) and Willams(2016), neoliberal policies, initiated by the governments of the time in the 1970s and the 2000s, started to affect the Bazaar environment starting in the 1970s, when imports rather than specially designed artisanal products started to be seen in the Bazaar. Neoliberal economic restructuring was followed intensely in the 1990s and 2000s onwards. Due to the economic policies of the governments in

those years, imports from China started to rise, which paved the way for the decreasing importance of handmade artisanal products due to their higher price. These neoliberal changes also affected the master-apprenticeship system, which is seen as an ethical base of the Bazaar environment by workers to this day. Because, rather than learning how to make handmade artisanal products, workers used the power of money to bring in cheap imports and sell in the Bazaar.

Architecture has been affected by the above-mentioned factors as well. Earthquakes and fires have become a regular theme in the history of the Bazaar environment. As explained by Gülersoy(1979) and Aygen(2015), fires and earthquakes affected shop size and their design. Before the nineteenth century, the workplace of the owners in the Bazaar did not have a store window, and they had larger streets. However, these natural disasters put store windows and designed smaller streets, which affected the interaction time between shop owners and customers. Due to smaller streets, workers could not have long conversations in front of their shops, as this affected the flow of passersby in the Bazaar. Although seemingly petite changes, these transformations meant different things for the workers of the time. Given the fact that the Bazaar environment has been seen as an interaction and conversation space by workers with the company of their shisha and coffee, smaller conversation spaces and windows between them have been seen as a problem.

Neoliberal changes of the 1970s and 2000s transformed this environment once more. Those who did not know what it meant to be an ethical artisan started to open shops, they made larger shops due to their political closeness to the government and municipality of the time, started to sell fake goods, and used intense advertising as a way to increase their profits. All these briefly explained changes affected how established artisans formed an emotional attachment to the Bazaar environment, as they had lost most of the traditions and values to mainly neoliberal economic changes.

Picturing the Grand Bazaar along economic, political, and social lines needs another layer, that is, a gender layer. As Ottoman and Turkish women were and are still experiencing exclusions from social and political public space of the Bazaar environment, gender is a crucial dynamic for the comprehension of the Bazaar. Additionally, the Bazaar environment is a miniature of Turkish society, through which women`s standings in Turkish society can be understood therefore gender dimension is an essential part of the Bazaar environment to make sense of the perception of Turkish women by society.

Even though Ottoman and Turkish women`s presence in the Grand Bazaar is one under-researched topic, compared to the Republican era of Turkey, there are very few resources on Ottoman women`s visibility in the Bazaar environment. Understanding and making sense of this visibility is important because the Grand Bazaar has been an essential political and social public space. Also, it is a litmus test for the changes that the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic experienced, as these changes have been reflected immediately in the Bazaar due to its political and social nature. In this vein, to ask a question of where were Ottoman and Turkish women in this picture? is scholarly valid and vital. Their tactics and ways of being visible tell a lot about how they understood being in the public space, its dangers, and how they circumvented these dangers by blurring the lines between the public and private spaces through their tactics. Taking this scholarly gap as a starting point, this thesis aims to make sense of the experiences of women workers in the Grand Bazaar contemporarily and to comprehend their tactics, and agency against patriarchal strategies of the Bazaar by taking historical continuities in the form of tactics used by the Ottoman women as a base.

To this end, the first chapter depicts scholarly debates around the Grand Bazaar and Ottoman and Turkish women`s visibility between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in public, private, and *"semi-public" (Çevik,2023,p.111)* spaces. These centuries are chosen as the starting and ending points due to transformations they witnessed in the form of Westernization

reforms of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic thereafter. The second part explains the theoretical frameworks of Michel de Certeau(1984), Doreen Massey(1994), Iris Marion Young(2005), and Saba Mahmood(2001) to make sense of the experiences of the women workers contemporarily, their tactics, and the different, non-liberal agency that they utilize to survive in the Bazaar. In addition to women worker`s experiences and making sense of the Bazaar, to comprehend worker`s understanding of the Bazaar environment, changes that the Bazaar experienced, and their emotional attachment to or detachment from these changes, Ahmed`s (2010) framework of the relationship between affects and objects is explained as well. As a last layer, methodology and what it means to be a woman researcher in the Bazaar environment are delved into in the final part of this chapter.

The second chapter of the thesis describes the tactics and the usage of semi-public spaces, where no clear explanation is possible on these spaces as public or private spaces which gave limited freedoms to the Ottoman noble and lower-class women, by Ottoman noble and lower-class women from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century is explained. Understanding tactics and usage of semi-public space by Ottoman women is an essential historical tool to make sense of women`s experiences in the Grand Bazaar contemporarily. Given the fact that they also use their shops as semi-public spaces and employ various tactics against the patriarchal space of the Bazaar environment, this historical explanation is an important part of this chapter. Additionally, this explanation is put into a broader framework of the social and political changes that the Empire and the Turkish Republic experienced. This framework is crucial to make sense of a rupture, Turkish women`s move to private spaces once more, and their absence in the Bazaar, which seems to have happened with the coming of the Turkish Republic.

The third chapter of the thesis delves into the gendered experiences of workers in the Bazaar environment contemporarily. The first part of this third chapter endeavors to get a sense of how workers make sense of the Bazaar environment and how they explain their emotional

attachment to the Grand Bazaar as an object that witnessed a vast amount of the above-mentioned changes. In other words, by drawing upon Ahmed's (2010) framework of the relationship between affects and objects and how changes in the objects cause a detachment from the objects, the experiences of the workers are tried to be analyzed. Followingly, the second and third parts of this chapter focus on the experiences of women workers, their usage of tactics, docile agency, semi-public spaces, experiences of *"double spatiality"* (Young, 2005, P.40) and objectification through the theorization of Certeau(1984), Massey(1994), Mahmood(2001), and Young (2005). In the last part of this chapter, the shisha café within the Grand Bazaar is explained as a gendered and active political space and its implications for Turkish women`s agency and place in this patriarchal yet political environment.

CHAPTER ONE: Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, and Methodology

1.1 Usage of Semi-public Spaces and The Tactics by Ottoman Women

This chapter provides a review of relevant literature on the architectural, social, and political space of the Bazaar from the Ottoman period until now and the basis of the theoretical and methodological questions that the thesis puts forward. Relevant review is explained through two discursive framings. Firstly, Ottoman noble and lower-class women`s usage of semi-public spaces in the form of horse-drawn carriages, public bathhouses, neighborhoods, and balconies and their tactics are explained. This review helps to make sense of the second chapter and Turkish women worker`s usage of semi-public spaces and tactics in the Bazaar similar to the Ottoman women between the sixteenth and intensely nineteenth centuries. Secondly, scholarly debates around the conceptualization of the Grand Bazaar as a social, political, and complex architectural space are delved into to draw a picture of the Bazaar environment through different framings.

There are two primary debates concerning women´s current roles in the Grand Bazaar that are useful to note, the first is the changing visibility of women within the Bazaar`s public spaces, and the second is the architectural and neoliberal economic and political changes to the structure within the Bazaar. Tactics put in place by Ottoman women are one common recurring theme among many others. As Sümertaş(2006) and Ergin(2014) explain through their work on architectural and acoustic patronage in the form of mosques, schools, baths, and hospitals by Ottoman noble women during the sixteen and seventeen centuries; these women circumvented rigid patriarchy through their sponsorship of various types of architectural buildings to reflect their economic, social, and political agency in the public spaces of the Ottoman Empire. This tactic of employment by Ottoman women has a grounded history. In

conjunction with the employment of tactics, discussion on the importance of semi-public spaces in the form of horse-drawn carriages covered with curtains, public bathhouses, neighborhoods, and balconies, is a preoccupation of a number of scholars (Semerdjian (2013); Kırlı (2009); Mikhail(2007); Cora(2018); Çevik (2023)). This concentration takes the attention of the literature frequently because the usage of these semi-public spaces confuses what is public and what is private therefore providing a space for agency to the Ottoman noble and lower-class women. Contrary to the European context, the above-mentioned semi-public spaces are not strictly divided along the public vs. private lines. The Ambiguity of semi-public spaces provided an opportunity for Ottoman women to manipulate and blur the lines between public vs. private differentiation.

As Semerdjian (2013) and Kırlı (2009) illustrate through public bathhouses, although seen as private sacred spaces, Ottoman women used this space for political conversations and gossip. Similarly, Mikhail(2007), Cora(2018), and Çevik (2023) exemplify this point through neighborhoods and balconies, which are seen as private spaces, but Ottoman women manipulated them through their tactics to be visible in the public spaces of the Empire. Therefore, the existence of such semi-public spaces not just for Ottoman noble women but also for lower-class Ottoman women opened a way for them to claim a space, blur the lines of the public and the private division, and to exert their economic power and social, political agency in the Ottoman Empire.

Together with the importance of semi-public spaces for Ottoman women`s visibility, the secondary literature also concentrates *on "counter-public"(*Atamaz,2014,p.41) in the form of literary spaces whereby Ottoman women focused on Westernization reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and quested for their rights to education and employment, among many other social and political rights. As Atamaz(2014) and Yıldız (2018) mention, although Ottoman women fought for their rights to education and employment, they also underlined the

importance of family structure and the Ottoman role within this structure. A different form of tactic was employed by Ottoman women in order not to get patriarchal attention. As the context changed with the nineteenth century Westernization reforms, the usage of space also changed from architectural and acoustic patronage to the occupation of the literary space by Ottoman women.

However, with the coming of the Republican era of Turkey during the twentieth century, there were social and political transformations that were also mirrored in the secondary literature on the topic. With a focus on private spaces and Turkish women`s assigned duties and roles in private spaces, the earlier literature gives way to a shift in focus to the era of social and political rights for Turkish women who gained access to public spaces. As Van Dobben(2008) and Toprak(2017) underline, as their social and political rights are institutionalized in the Republic, kind of a missionary role is assigned especially to the upper-class Turkish women to present newly founded Republic as modern and Western through their outfits, attitudes, and way of dancing in the Republican balls organized by the government of the time and dance parties organized in the lavish homes to perform modern dancing. Not just upper-class Turkish women once again moved to private spaces, the appearance and outfits of the lower-class women in public spaces are also regulated through this Westernization medium.

As Adak(2014) reflects upon with regards to indirect secular government control over veiling through municipalities, her scholarly works endeavor to underline how the Turkish Muslim women`s presence in public spaces of the Republic was dependent upon their Western look without veiling. Here, compared to earlier centuries, literature notes that a rupture happens through Turkish women`s misionary roles to present the Republic's modern and Western, especially through their outfits and dancing moves mostly at the private space in the balls and homes as private spaces. In other words, the literature notes and examines the Republic`s concentration on private spaces. For the concern of public spaces, literature reflects upon

how Turkish women`s presence in public spaces is regulated through their outfits in the form of veiling rather than their tactics to be visible in public spaces like earlier explained centuries. Therefore, literature for the Republican era, more often than not, concentrates upon the Western look of Turkish women through their outfits in public space and their presence in private spaces through modern dancing.

1.2 How To Conceptualize the Grand Bazaar?

A second debate within the literature is conceptualized around depicting what kind of changes the Grand Bazaar has experienced through time; how the Bazaar is understood as a social and political space; and how Ottoman noble and lower-class women in the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries were visible in this patriarchal heteronormative public space. Gülersoy`s (1979) book on the history of the Grand Bazaar as an important social and political space and the architectural, economic, and social changes that this crucial public space has experienced through time is an informative and comprehensive scholarly work. Similarly, in pointing out architectural specificities and how these architectural differences affect social and political organizations in the Bazaars as public spaces, Edgü et al. `s (2012) article on the comparisons between the Grand Bazaar and the Bazaar in Iran as commercial spaces with different architectures is vital to understanding how the architectural composition of the Grand Bazaar as a grid system, meaning streets intersect therefore highly interconnected with each other, affect the social and political organization and people`s interaction with each other in the Grand Bazaar.

Somewhat along the same lines, ethnographic research on the journey of upward mobility of Kurdish family in the Grand Bazaar by Williams(2016) is much more micro, but also, as Gülersoy (1979) heavily points out, the neoliberal changes that the Bazaar has experienced

through time. Filling the gap left by Gülersoy (1979) and Williams(2016) in explaining how the Bazaar has been perceived by the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, Erçetin (2019) endeavors to focus on the social and political life of the Bazaar retrospectively and how the Bazaar has been perceived as a democratic public space by the subjects of the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century. Although these scholarly works and books conceptualize the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul as a social and political space, they do not quite point out women`s visibility, how they became visible, and what kinds of tactics they employed in countering patriarchal strategies in the Bazaar. Özçakı (2021) fills this gap by concentrating on how Ottoman noble and lower-class women were visible(i.e., through match-making) in the Grand Bazaar during the Ottoman times. Lastly, somewhat differently, Aytar`s (n.d.) article on the Grand Bazaar perseveres to answer the question of how the Grand Bazaar´s durability through time can be comprehended, what its peculiarity is, and what the difference is between shopping malls of the neoliberal system and the Bazaar.

There is a gap in the literature in terms of situating Ottoman and especially Turkish women`s visibility in the Grand Bazaar. The tendency is to write Ottoman and Turkish women`s social history and the Grand Bazaar`s history separately. For the scope of this thesis, the aim is to situate Turkish women`s contemporary experiences of the patriarchal heteronormative Bazaar environment within the broader context of the Grand Bazaar and make historical connections between Turkish women now working in the Bazaar and the Ottoman women through semi-public spaces and tactics employed by Ottoman noble and lower-class women to claim a social and political agency within patriarchal structures. Making historical connections is crucial to make sense of how women now working in the Bazaar use their shops as semi-public spaces and employ different tactics to be social and political agents of the Bazaar environment, just as Ottoman women did earlier. Through this scholarly purpose, the thesis aims to fill the above-mentioned gap in the literature.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical concepts of this thesis mainly come from conceptualizations of Doren Massey (1994), Iris Marion Young (2005), Michel de Certeau (1984), Saba Mahmood (2001), and Sara Ahmed (2010). As I endeavor to research the relationship between gendered spaces and their subsequent social and political effects on the social and political consciousness of women in Istanbul, Massey`s (1994) understanding of space and time as two intertwined phenomena and her understanding of space as socially and politically important ground is key for my research.

1.3.1 Politicization of The Spatial

For the academic inquiry into the relationship between gender and space, Massey(1994) is a key researcher, and indeed she is a pioneer in seeing cartography, geography, and space as affected by and affecting political and social ideologies, projects, and imaginings. Therefore, women`s confinement to private space or their location to peripheries in city planning are not mere coincidences or a result of objective and purely scientific cartography and geography–making or space-planning. Through the space-planning framework, Massey(1994) concentrates on how in the nineteenth century, when intense industrialization of European cities was taking place, women were situated in the peripheries of the cities because they were seen as signs of sexual liberation, feminine danger which would disrupt neatly organized cities and confuse the minds of the hardworking men. In other words, these seemingly scientific, objective city and space plannings were not purely scientific cartography and geography-makings but they had an important gender dynamic to confine women to the peripheries of the cities. Thus, this space planning was affected by social and political projects (i.e., women`s confinement to peripheries and private spaces ), and they affected women`s lives in the nineteenth century intensely. Due

to all her examinations of the period, for Massey(1994), space-planning is a gendered and political project. In Massey`s(1994) words:

" The spatial and social reorganization, and flourishing, of urban life was an essential condition for the birth of the new era. But that city was also gendered. Moreover, it was gendered in ways which related directly to spatial organization"(p.233)

One of the most recurring themes that came up during the interviews among women respondents in the Bazaar is the inadequacy of toilets for women workers in the Grand Bazaar. Through Massey`s(1994) theorization of the gendered and political nature of spatial organizations, the Grand Bazaar`s spatial organization can be interpreted as gendered and political, which affects women workers in the Bazaar immensely.

Another crucial aspect of Massey`s(1994) theory is her contention against pre-modern and, to some extent, modern physics, as they differentiate space and time to varying degrees. More explicitly, she points out the assumptions that equate space with cyclicity and immanence and time with a real change, transcendence, and temporal, and this creates a dichotomy for Massey(1994). As with other dichotomies, such as body and mind, this dichotomy also regards space as a feminine realm, whereas time is a masculine realm where real change happens and history is written. Analyzing theories on the feminization of the spatial, Massey(1994) highlights this phenomenon as: *" ... is it entirely a matter of coincidence that space and the feminine are frequently defined in terms of dichotomies in which each of them is most commonly defined as non-A"(p.257).* In other words, the space is regarded as where the time writes history. Thorough scholarly evaluation of the solutions proposed against the gendered nature of spaces, disagreeing with Beauvoir, Massey(1994) prescribes that we, as women and feminists, must not adopt temporality, hence masculinity as our identity; we must get rid of these kinds of dualisms, the problem lies down in the very differentiation. Adopting Beauvoir`s solution to space and time gender construction is to continue on this dichotomy, therefore empowering it.

Frequently reflecting upon the theoretical frameworks of Straus and Beauvoir, Young`s (2005) frameworks form another layer to understanding how women relate themselves to spaces as objects and subjects along the spectrum of temporality and immanence that Massey(1994) focuses on her explanation of the politicization of the space.

Young (2005) criticizes the frameworks of Straus because he explains the reason for the difference in bodily moves, especially in sports, between women and men as based on biology, nature is therefore unconnected to patriarchal, social, and political positioning women as objects. Like Massey(1994), Young(2005) moves on to delve into the frameworks of Beauvoir to explain that the category of women is drawn by patriarchal, social, and political ideas and explanations. In other words, Young (2006) does not only analyze the bodily existence of women as a burden but moves forward to explain what this means for women`s perceptions of what they can do with their bodily existence in the spatial.

Young (2005) posits the term " feminine bodily existence"(p.38) to describe that women, from a very early age, are taught to be cautious of their actions, certain about what they can`t do, and ambiguous about what they can do. Simultaneously, they are taught to be aware of the fact that their body is delicate and crucial to be taken care of as a marker of femininity. According to Young(2005) this causes women to go back and forth between temporality and immanence, when they tend to take a step towards those objects and targets that are defined to be too heavy or too difficult to perform, like sports. Although they want to exert their bodily existence in the spatial, they are also ambiguous, which is termed as " bodily timidity" (Young, 2023, p.43), due to women`s definition as delicate and cautious.

This patriarchal discourse affects how women relate themselves to the spatial. Young (2005) posits that women experience "double spatiality" (p.40) which signifies those spaces that are for others, meaning, men and need strength, immanence, and decisiveness, and those spaces that are defined as " enclosed spaces" (p.40) that women experience through their bodily

existence in this prescribed, ambiguous, and protected spaces. In Young`s (2005) words: *" Feminine existence lives space as enclosed or confining, as having a dual structure, the woman experiences herself as positioned in space"*(p.39). Not just their places in the spatial are defined through patriarchal objectification of women, but this also affects how their body is gazed upon by men when they are in public spaces, spaces of the other hence men. By explaining how women are defined as objects in the public space and how this affects the objectification of women`s bodies in public spaces through patriarchal gaze, which Young (2005) terms as " objectified bodily existence"(p.44), Young(2005) draws a framework of women experience of being in the public space.

In addition to the frameworks of Massey(1993), Young`s (2005) theories help to understand how women workers in the Bazaar have this ambiguity that their bodily strength is not enough to perform some of the tasks in the Bazaar, how they experience a double spatiality by working in their shops as protected private spaces and by being public in the streets of the Bazaar when they want. Although they use their shops as semi-public spaces to circumvent the Bazaar structure, this double spatiality also paves the way for comprehending women worker´s spatial experiences in the Bazaar. Additionally, Young`s (2005) conceptualization of the objectification of the female body when they are in public spaces is an useful tool to analyze the harassment that women workers experience in the patriarchal Bazaar environment.

1.3.2 Causality of Objects and Emotions

Part of the thesis is also about uncovering what kind of affective attachments workers in the Grand Bazaar have for this gendered and political space and how they interpret the changes the Bazaar experienced throughout the time. Ahmed`s(2010) framework of intertwining bodily experiences, affections, and objects is utilized to make sense of these narratives. Ahmed`s

(2010) significance for this research is her analysis of how people attach emotions to objects, though it does not have to be just material things since the experience of pleasure can also be a cause for bodily intentionality towards a pleasure. Through examining people`s closeness or *"awayness"(Ahmed,2010,p.32)* from things that make them happy or grieved, Ahmed (2010) situates objects as important tools for experience and past remembrance of this experience. In other words, how we are affected by the things(material and non-material) that are close to us, to wit, *" how we are touched by what we are near"(Ahmed,2010, p.30),* and how these define our evaluations of them in defining our closeness or awayness is a crucial dynamic. The worker`s definitions of the authentic Bazaar and shisha café sacrificed to the neoliberal economic and political restructurings, their usage of affects in the form of emotions while defining the material Bazaar environment, and their resistance, kind of awayness, to shisha café as a sign of response to neoliberal changes and survival mechanism in the form of preservation of their earlier memories about the shisha café, all are relevant to examine them through the framework of Ahmed(2010).

1.3.3 Non-liberal Docile Agency in the Bazaar

To understand women`s agency in the Grand Bazaar environment through a non-liberal lens, I adopt Mahmood's (2001) redefinition of the agency along the lines of docility, patience(sabr), and perseverance within the patriarchal structures or specific contexts(i.e, Islam). Mahmood (2001) evaluates the liberal definition of agency against power structure in the form of resistance, the creation of some kind of a dichotomy, as a *"politically prescriptive project"(p.206)*. This liberal notion of agency even within poststructuralist frames creates a kind of dichotomy between active opponents vs. docile, hence passive accepters. But this definition of agency as a prescriptive project for every context and every woman is problematic

and limits our potential to analyze different kinds of agencies that women perform around the world, such as in the Grand Bazaar. In Mahmood`s (2001) words: *" ...we think of agency not as a synonym for resistance to relations of domination, but as a capacity for action that historically specific relations of subordination enable and create"(p.203).*

This framing of agency along the non-liberal lines is essential for women workers in the Grand Bazaar. During the interview period, most of the women whom I interviewed did not define agency as an overt resistance against power. Rather, most of the time, they explained how this kind of agency definition does not fit the Bazaar environment because this would get the attention of men working in the Bazaar quickly. This would also put them in danger as they would be those who disrupted the traditions and norms of the Bazaar, which are patriarchal. As a tactic, they employ docility in order not to put themselves and their standings in the Bazaar in danger.

By using Mahmood`s(2001) agency definition in non-liberal ways or through *" continuity, statis, and stability"(p.212)*, women worker`s agency in the Bazaar can be understood outside of a liberal framework. Because these women do not always perform their agency overtly in the form of resistance against the gendered and political space of the Bazaar and shisha café. This move would have been catastrophic, as it could have shaken their positions as merchants and craftspeople within the Bazaar. Rather, the women that I interviewed negotiated their agency through silent tactics that did not disrupt the general flow of business and used the deployment of sabr.

There is also a generational and educational difference between the women workers in the Bazaar environment. While much older and less educated women workers perform their agency covertly through tactics and deployment of sabr; the much younger and educated generation sometimes perform their agency much more overtly by being *"feminist kill-joy" (*Ahmed,2010,p.38), to wit, by exposing those social goods, which are believed to be the basis

of the Bazaar environment in the form of traditions, as patriarchal and problematic. Although Ahmed(2010) does not use the terminology of feminist kill-joy as a means of advising women on how to navigate patriarchal spaces, her terminology is one possible tool to analyze the experiences of young and more educated women workers. Because, after they are accepted that they are not a possible danger to the patriarchal Bazaar environment through their utilization of sabr and docility when they get angry and kill the patriarchal and sexist joy in the Bazaar, they are not seen as threats but their move sometimes causes silences and changes in their streets. They, therefore, in a way, kill the patriarchal joy overtly and become *"affect aliens"(*Ahmed,2010,p.30), by showing their absence in and overt content against the formation of social goods in the form of patriarchal traditions in the Bazaar environment. Therefore, although this is not what Ahmed(2010) points out in her theory, this framework is vital to give a sense of rare waves of anger that women workers show towards patriarchal men workers.

So, while depending largely on Mahmood`s(2001) non-liberal agency to interpret women worker`s agency in the Bazaar, Ahmed`s(2010) definition of feminist *" she might even kill joy because she refuses to share an orientation toward certain things as being good because she does not find the objects that promise happiness to be quite so promising"(p.39),* will be also another line to define young and educated women worker`s agency in the Bazaar.

1.3.4 The Manipulation of Patriarchal Strategies

Lastly, with regards to how women workers use their agency in the form of tactics against patriarchal strategies will be analyzed through Michel de Certeau(1984). Certeau`s (1984) conceptualization of strategies and tactics is vital and informative for my thesis context. As I look for the effects of gendered spaces of Istanbul, mainly the historical trading space of Istanbul, the Grand Bazaar, on women, I also quest for how they cope with and circumvent this

patriarchal and heteronormative public space as social and political agents. In Certeau`s (1984) terms, I look for their tactics in circumventing patriarchal strategies imposed upon them in the Grand Bazaar. Certeau(1984) conceptualizes strategies as: *" It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats can be managed"(p. 36).* In my context, the Bazaar`s spatial occupation by men and claiming this socially and politically active public space as belonging to them and their rules imposed on their targets(women in the Bazaar) and their threats fit in Certeau`s(1984) conceptualization of the strategy. In response to this strategy, his conceptualization of the tactic is*:*

" By contrasting with a strategy, a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus, it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power"(p.37).

Certeau`s (1984) explanations of tactics in the form of opportunistic actions taken within the power domain of the powerful are essential for the experience of women workers. As has been pointed out by Mahmood(2001), women workers accept that their agentive actions are within the power domain of the Bazaar. If docile agency is one way to circumvent the patriarchal structure of the Bazaar, women worker`s seemingly ordinary moves and attitudes are another way to circumvent the patriarchy. During the interview process, this tactic usage (i.e., women worker`s standings in front of their shops or their using old way of greeting styles) was mentioned quite frequently. Therefore, Certeau`s(1984) definition of tactics as seemingly ordinary opportunistic actions taken within the power strategies is complementary to Mahmood`s(2001) docile agency definition of the experience of women workers in the Bazaar.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Nuances of The Participant Pool

For the scope of this thesis, the multi-modal methodology is utilized. Oral history, semi-structured interviews through snowball sampling, and ethnographic observations are a large part of this multi-modal methodology. For the scope of this research, thirteen semi-structured interviews are conducted in the Bazaar environment. Five of these respondents are women and eight of these are men. Of five women respondents, three of them actively work in the Bazaar, and two of them are retired. My choice of those who still work in the Bazaar and those who worked and retired is used for the male workers as well. In doing so, I observed how workers make sense of the Bazaar environment and their experiences there after they left this space. Of the eight male respondents, only one of them is retired. Regarding their age and education level, three out of five women workers are educated, and know English, and the other two do not have higher education but understand English. Three out of five women are around, and one of them is above their middle age, the other two women are around their twenties. For men workers, three out of eight respondents are educated, and two of them know English. Five out of eight male respondents are above their middle age, one out of eight respondents are around their middle age, and the other two male respondents are below their middle age. The age of the respondents is not directly asked. During their explanations of the Bazaar environment and its importance to them, most of the respondents started referring to how long they have been in the Bazaar. As most of them, especially men, started their journey as an apprentice, they started explaining the Bazaar by mentioning how many years they spent to know this Bazaar environment. In a way, age is put into their narrative as an indispensable part of the Bazaar environment by the respondents.

1.4.2 Intersubjectivity and Meaning-making Process

Since there is little research on the history of the Grand Bazaar, through the usage of oral history as a method, the primary aim of this thesis is to help fill the gaps of the historical transformations that the Bazaar experienced. This provides a way for a better understanding of how workers make sense of the Bazaar environment nowadays. As Abrams (2010) explains, oral history is not about androcentric and objective history writing, it is about narratives that people build around certain themes and their experiences(p.54). Therefore, the utilization of oral history paved the way for how workers understand and build narratives about the environment of the Bazaar.

Semi-structured interviews are another way through which, as a researcher, I make sense of the experiences of women and men workers, together with their making sense of the Bazaar environment. The semi-structured interview is employed to create a kind of egalitarian atmosphere between me, a researcher who has power over questions and their sequence, and the respondents. I endeavored to create *"intersubjectivity*"(Abrams,2010,p.54), which helps to bring in the voices of the interviewee as an active participator rather than as an answer-giving passive listener. One thing that I paid close attention to in this interview process was the request of respondents not to put some of the things they said in my thesis due to the totalitarian atmosphere of Turkey. Thus, in my positionality as a researcher, I gave close attention to our mission *as "meaning-makers"(*Scott,1992,p.32) through which we give meanings to spoken and unspoken words and narratives. In this process, one of the things was, therefore, giving meaning and understanding to recurring cautions that I got from the respondents about what to include and what to exclude.

1.4.3 Being a Woman Researcher in the Bazaar

As has been explained in the first chapter, William`s (2016) ethnographic research on the Kurdish family in the Bazaar is a vital source to get an idea about the Grand Bazaar as an emotional and political space. Not just this part but his way of conducting ethnographic observation became a helpful tool for me as well. Through his work, I also learned to accept to spend time together with workers, accept their Turkish tea offerings many times, and observe the shisha café and the Bazaar without seeming a threat to the patriarchal environment there by mentioning my feminist stances and opinions.

Through ethnographic observation, I was able to observe firsthand what my respondents were trying to explain. With the help of ethnographic observation, I was able to see transformations, as I frequented this space many times during my thesis period. By mentioning transformations, I try to underline women worker`s formation of little conversational spaces in the corners of the Bazaar, just as male workers do. This contact among women workers was not the case during my first fieldwork period. Relatedly, I was able to observe how one specific antique shop owner lets her son take his job. In my first fieldwork period, his son was an apprentice to him, and in my second observation period, I saw how he took over and tries to continue his father`s traditions in the Bazaar. Lastly, ethnographic observation helped me to enter into the shisha café surrounding the Grand Bazaar. In the mornings, I went to the Grand Bazaar, and at night, I went to Çorlulu, a shisha café, to observe how male workers of the Bazaar frequent this space after their work hours. Also, I endeavored to observe how men form networks and talk politics in this shisha café. Although I tried to talk with men at Çorlulu, it was much harder to be accepted into this patriarchal space. I could not talk with men here in order not to be a possible threat to them and put myself in danger as a researcher. I was able to talk to only two men here in the morning, and the rest of the data for this place depends on ethnographic observations that I

made every night. As a woman researcher both in the Bazaar and especially in the shisha café, to protect my safety, I cautioned myself not to show my feminist stances or opinions in the shisha café. As these are also conservative places, this would have put me in danger.

The issue of being accepted as a woman researcher was visible from the first day I started to research. I went from door to door, and often they rejected me. However, on the other days, I took my brother, and everything changed. More generally, first of all, my brother asked if I could explain my research project, and then I went on to explain. Although the men workers who we went to tried to help me a lot after they saw my brother, at times, I felt that I was invisible. Sometimes, I was the one who asked questions, but they tried to explain to my brother without seeing me, which was emotionally hard but a scholarly, valuable experience and observation. One point has to be mentioned, this acceptance problem was also the case for some women workers. Some of them rejected me as soon as I explained my thesis and its relation to women in the Bazaar. But once they accepted me into their protected private shops, once I also shared information about myself and my experience of the Bazaar, they became helpful and explained every detail from the bottom of their hearts, which I could observe in their eyes. As *" knowledge production is a form of information exchange"* (Jones-Gailani, 2020,p.67), my explanations of my experience of the Bazaar environment helped to connect me as a woman researcher with women workers. Therefore, compared to male workers, the acceptance period did not follow invisibility for me as a researcher and as a woman.

Lastly, the consent form was another enormous difficulty within the context of Turkey. Due to the totalitarian atmosphere of Turkey and the very crowded, dynamic Bazaar environment, my respondents did not accept voice recording, only accepted notes that I would take while listening. Also, they did not accept to sign it as well, due to ethical concerns that I explained to them, they only read my consent form and said they did not have any problem with it and the interview process in general. So, this consent form is designed specifically for Turkey`s context

because otherwise I would not be able to conduct interviews, especially after recent protests erupted against the ruling Islamist party.

CHAPTER TWO: The Public Sphere for Women in Istanbul from the Late Ottoman to the Early Turkish Republic

This chapter focuses on the changing public sphere for Ottoman and Turkish women in the public space throughout the late nineteenth century and early-to-mid twentieth century, including their visibility in the many emerging public spaces of this period. Their visibility is one point in the trajectory of the social history of Ottoman and Turkish women; their ways of being visible, to wit, and their tactics, are another crucial point. It is crucial because it paves the way for an understanding of how women workers in the Grand Bazaar today employ tactics against patriarchal strategies in the Bazaar environment. Rather than viewing the contemporary Bazaar environment as one of the regular gendered, political, and patriarchal heteronormative space and women worker`s agency in the form of tactics as one of the ways to survive in the Grand Bazaar; historical trajectory gives a sense of some kind of continuity.

Another crucial point in acknowledging this historical framework is about understanding how public vs. private division is not totally valid for visibility in the Ottoman and Turkish context thereafter. Through their tactics, Ottoman and Turkish women managed to blur the line between public vs. private dichotomy by effectively using semi-public spaces. Semi-public spaces are those spaces where there is no clear understanding is possible, as they can be characterized as private, but they have public features, as in the case of public bathhouses, neighborhoods, and balconies. In these semi-public spaces, boundaries are blurred due to their ambiguity which paved the way for limited freedoms to circumvent the patriarchy by Ottoman noble and lower-class women. Getting a sense of semi-public importance for the Ottoman and Turkish context is therefore crucial to understand how the Grand Bazaar environment also functions as a semi-public space which provides limited freedom to circumvent the patriarchal Bazaar environment to women workers there.

To draw a meaningful picture of the historical trajectory of Ottoman and Turkish women`s visibility in public spaces and the tactics that they used to be present in these spaces, the first part of this chapter focuses on sixteenth and seventeenth century Ottoman noble women and their ways of being visible in public spaces. These noble women are crucial to creating a counter-argument against the orientalist view of Ottoman women captivated behind the Harem or lattices, therefore lacking political and social agency. They are also important to comprehend how these women blur the public vs. private dichotomy, again, through semi-public spaces or their architectural and acoustic patronage, and how this tactic of blurring the lines and using semi-public spaces functions in different ways through the architectural and acoustic power of the Ottoman noble women.

Having established a sense of the tactics and semi-public spaces of earlier centuries, following the nineteenth century which welcomes Westernization, secularization, and urban restructuring reforms of the Empire. This period helps to understand how literary space, which includes Ottoman women`s press and magazine activities, functions counter public space for Ottoman women to be present in the public space. Additionally, this period paves a way to get a sense of how urban restructuring provides more room for Ottoman women in public spaces and semi-public spaces in the form of balconies. Balconies are crucial semi-public spaces, as other semi-public spaces before, because they give a sense of how women workers in the Grand Bazaar now choose when they become public and when they become private by staying in their shops or actively participating in the Bazaar environment by standing in front of their shops.

Literary space is also important as a counter public space to comprehend how Ottoman women used this space to be equal, active social and political agents of the Empire after the reform period. More crucially, it is also crucial to understand that although they used literary space as a counter public to quest for the right to education and employment, they also did not go so far as to get the attention of the patriarchal public. Similarly, women workers in the Bazaar

environment, although they quest for women workers to be equally active agents, they also use would-be explained tactics not to get patriarchal alarm from men workers.

Lastly, focusing on the early-to-mid twentieth century in terms of Turkish women`s visibility in public spaces paves the way for an understanding of a rupture that happened with the establishment of the Turkish Republic. This is a rupture in terms of Turkish women`s move to private spaces in the form of Republican Ballrooms and a ban on veiling. After frequent public appearances in the nineteenth century, Turkish women, now having their social and political rights institutionalized, were assigned a missionary role to present the newly founded Republic as modern and Western through their dances to outfits. This period does not provide tactics, provides semi-public space, and does not provide resources on the visibility of women in the Grand Bazaar. Therefore, this chapter provides insights about all the above-mentioned quests and women`s visibility in the Grand Bazaar.

2.1 Social and Political Agency of Ottoman Noble Women

Ottoman noble women of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are crucial for understanding of following centuries and their importance in comprehending women`s visibility in the Grand Bazaar. As these noble women used their economic and political power together with the power of semi-public space in the form of horse-drawn carriages, they are, in a way, early precedents of what it means to blur the lines of public vs. private through semi-public space and of what it means to employ architectural and acoustic patronage as tactics to circumvent patriarchal men. However, they were not always circumventing the patriarchal Harem and Ottoman public; they were, at times, overtly showing their power, therefore creating a political threat of perceptions on the side of the Sultans of the time. This axis is important to create a counter-argument against Ottoman women as behind lattices or the doors of the Harem, lacking any sort of political and

social agency. The same is valid for the Grand Bazaar environment, where women workers seem to be behind their shops, lacking any political and social agency, but their tactics are different; they have social and political agency just as these noble women.

Drawing on historical sources, Sümertaş(2006) and Ergin(2014) explain that within the royal Harem, Ottoman noble women found ways of navigating the semi-public spaces, as shown in Figure 1, by lobbying the Sultans of Topkapı Palace to install windows so that they could listen and follow the flow of information on politics, economy, and culture(I); by financing the establishment of new mosques, bazaars, schools, hospitals, and public bathhouses(II); by deciding which religious script to be read by the religious authority at mosques that they patronaged(III); and, as shown by Figure 2, by using their horse-drawn carriages, which was covered with curtains, as a semi-public space during their travel from Palace to Istanbul to listen problems of the society and to be part of the lively city life through voices that they heard(IV). In this vein, Dannies(2019) demonstrates, that there is an element of agency in the way that Ottoman women operated in semi-public spaces and architectures where they had political, social, and economic influence through different ways.

As an instance of their acoustic agency and power, Ergin (2014) talks about how during the seventeenth century, the politically influential Princess of Nurbanu's Sultan son was socially and politically ineffective without supplying glory to the Ottoman Public with wars or public appearances himself. As a panacea to this, rather than the political power of the Sultan, in the mosques that she patronaged, the Nurbanu Princess picked up the specific religious script for Friday prayers, which obliged subjects of the Empire not to revolt against religious authority. As the Sultan was also the caliphate, the religious authority of the Empire, her choice of the religious authority of the Sultan was a relevant political choice at the time(p.102).

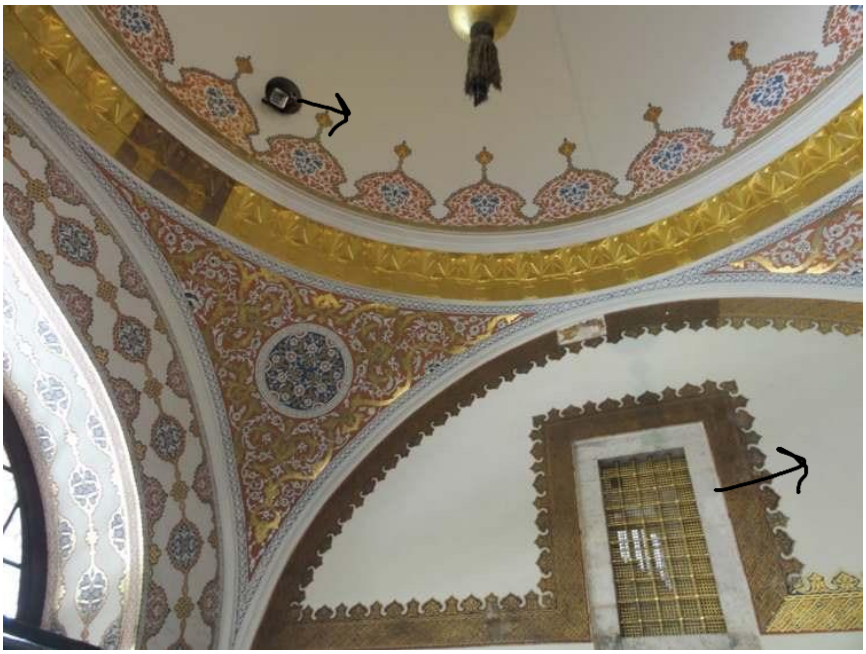

Figure 1

Source: (Ergin, 2014, p. 97)

The lower arrow shows the window of the Sultan; the higher arrow shows the window of the Harem during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

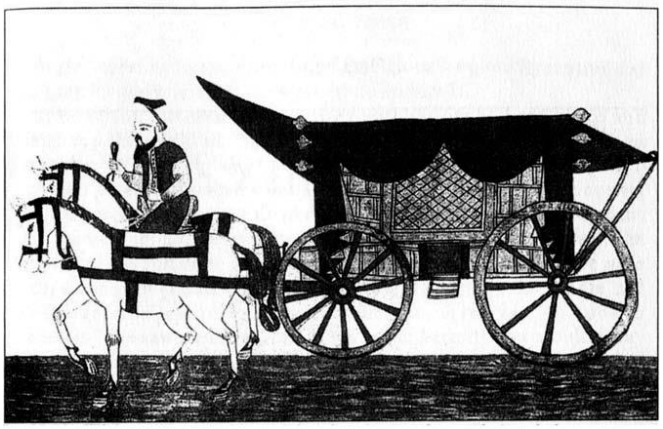

Figure 2

Source:(Ergin, 2014, p. 99; Ergin took this representation from Han- nover: Lafaire, 1925)

Shows how Ottoman noble women were going to the city center of Istanbul during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

In addition to acoustic space, as Sümertaş(2006) highlights, another way through which Ottoman noble women exerted their social and political powers in public spaces was through

the patronage of mosques, public bathhouses, schools, and hospitals. For instance, as an example of the political and economic powers of these princesses, Sümertaş(2006) explains that during the seventeenth century and before, the Eminönü district of Istanbul was economically vital and dynamic. However, Jewish subjects of the population were active traders in this area. Therefore, as shown by Figures 3 and 4, through Yeni Valide Sultan Mosque and Spice Bazaar, Hatice Turhan Princess planned both to Islamize the area by building a mosque (I) and provide a space, through Spice Bazaar, to sell goods the newly arrived from the city to Eminönü (II) (p.119 and p.121).

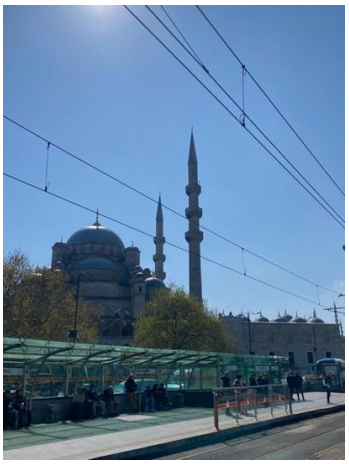

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Figure 3

Source: (Photograph: taken by the author, idea: Sümertaş, 2006, p.119 and p.121)

Yeni Valide Sultan Mosque, patronaged by Princess Hatice Turhan during the seventeenth century

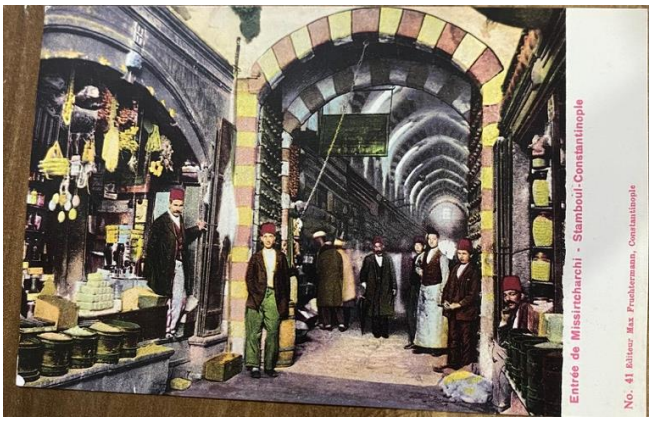

Figure 4

Source: (Photograph: taken by the author, idea: Sümertaş, 2006, p.119 and p.121)

The early twentieth century of the entry of the Spice Bazaar patronaged by Princess Hatice Turhan

Lastly, as a sign of overt countering of Ottoman noble women against the patriarchal establishment to signify how their architectural and acoustic tactics and usage of semi-public spaces are understood as political threats by the Sultans of the time, the minaret problem has to be mentioned. During the Empire times, only the mosques of the Sultan were permitted to have two minarets. However, as Sümertaş(2006) highlights, during the seventeenth century, in the building process of a mosque for Princess Mihrimah, there was a debate going on as her mosque could not have two minarets because this was a privilege for the Sultan(p.113). So, this shows Ottoman noble women`s patronage of mosques is not mere stone and rock; rather, it has political threat perception by Sultans.

2.2 Westernization Reforms of The Empire and The Importance of Semi-Public Spaces

" As soon as men workers start to use slang words, I go back to my shop."

(Selin, owner of the jewelry shop)

This quote comes from my interview with a woman shop owner in the Grand Bazaar. Selin is around middle age, educated, and has an established stand in the Bazaar. She inherited her father`s heritage and perseveres to prolong their family tradition and standing in the Bazaar. While explaining to me how she survives in the patriarchal heteronormative space of the Bazaar environment, together with different tactics, she highlighted how she uses her shop in different ways. One of them is this historical trajectory and continuity of semi-public space usage, she

mentioned how she engages with male workers in her street and merges herself with the lively environment of the Grand Bazaar. However, once men workers start to use slang words, she goes back to her shop as a protected private space where no men worker is permitted to enter without asking if she is amenable.

This example from the fieldwork in the Grand Bazaar is crucial to show the importance of semi-public spaces for women workers and shop owners in the Bazaar environment. Explaining tactics and the usage of semi-public space by Ottoman noble women and the vitality of this historical trajectory for understanding the patriarchal heteronormative Bazaar environment is just one axis. Ottoman noble women underline the class and religious dynamics as they had economic power and noble, as they were also deeply engaged with religious structures such as mosques and religious schools. Therefore, this part of the chapter adds another layer to tactics by explaining literary space as a counter-space and by delving into such semi-public spaces as public bathhouses, neighborhoods, and balconies to show how lower-class Ottoman women were becoming public. Explanations of tactics and other semi-public spaces start with such broader changes as urban restructuring and Westernization reforms of the Empire to contextualize tactics and semi-public spaces in a wider context of what was happening during the nineteenth century. This part is crucial to see the continuity of the usage of semi-public space and tactics as in the case of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to see what was different in a broader sense. Lastly, it is also important to get a sense of what is continuous and what is changing to make sense of the tactics and usage of semi-public spaces in the Grand Bazaar by women workers contemporarily.

As the seventeenth century highlighted the effects of class and religious dynamics on Ottoman women`s visibility in public space, the following centuries are much more equated with the rising visibility of Ottoman women, more importantly, of not just noble and upper-class women but also lower-class. This visibility is equated mainly with Westernization reforms of the

Empire to save it from its eventual collapse during the nineteenth and intensely in the twentieth century (Van Dobben (2008); Baum (2012); Demirakın (2015); Yıldız (2018); Çevik (2023)). These reforms reflect a wide range of spectrum from urban planning, which mainly included Pera (today´s Taksim) district due to its already Western-looking and upper-class, intellectual, foreign residents; changing exterior and interior faces of homes, sacred private spaces for which Empire did not use to interfere or regulate intensely beforehand; women`s education, intellectual progress, and their dress code; redefining sexual practices along the dichotomy of men vs. women, heterosexual vs. homosexual; opening municipalities; and opening of gardens, theaters, and operas.

Two important points have to be mentioned in this Westernization process: the meaning of Westernization (I) and how it functioned(II). As Brummett(2007) mentions, the Ottoman Empire endeavored to follow a path of "Ottoman Exceptionalism"(p.284) by mentioning that the Ottoman Empire did not totally emulate the West but took beneficial sides and recontextualized them thereafter for the Ottoman context. This term mentions how the Ottoman Empire is much more progressive and modern by exemplifying the good situation of women in the Ottoman Empire compared to their European counterparts(p.286). The second point is, as Atamaz(2014), Demirakın (2015), and Toprak (2019) mention, success or the medium through which the Ottoman Empire is regarded as modern or backward is gauged through the status of Ottoman women. Thus, Ottoman women and their visibility in the public space through being in education, literature, theaters, operas, gardens, and parks, therefore by really being in the public space and creating the public sphere through their actions in these spaces, had prime importance. So, compared to the seventeenth century, ways of being visible, therefore public, changed for Ottoman women.

Westernization reforms of the Empire include restructuring the urban spaces, cities, and homes as previously regarded as private spaces and spheres. One of the things is how the newly opened

park as a public space, and the possible formation of a public sphere with a man in the park who is regarded as a possible *"womanizer"* (Çil & Şenel-Fidangenç, 2021, p. 708) is perceived as something to be refrained from and afraid of. For instance, as Çil and Şenel-Fidangenç (2021) exemplify, Ottoman Muslim women`s turning their back to others and looking directly at the scene of Istanbul in the park(p.708) as a form of bodily resistance to being seen is one of the ways to understand how unusual and strange was this kind of being public for Ottoman Muslim women. Here, importance and attention have to be given to semi-public spaces of the Ottoman Empire as well to make sense of the attitudes of the Ottoman women in newly designed public spaces. Public baths, neighborhoods, and cafe houses (in Turkish Kahvehane) are some of these places where Ottoman women and also men could be visible and public.

Public baths were one of the important semi-public spaces whereby Ottoman women could claim public space and be visible. Gendered segregation of public spaces was also the case for such semi-public spaces as public baths, which were not only segregated by gender but also by religion. As Kırlı (2009) highlights, although gender segregation and privacy of Ottoman women were kept at prime importance, Ottoman public bathhouses for women were a place where women gathered, gossiped, smoked, and talked politically(p.289). As an instance of the public nature of this private space, Semerdjian (2013) mentions public bathhouse regulations in Aleppo province of the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century for specifically Ottoman Muslim and non-Muslim women. These regulations especially focused on their body and regulation of their body through segregating Muslim and non-Muslim women in the bathhouses because non-Muslim women were seen as having a male gaze which they could put into use by looking at Muslim women`s bodies. Also, according to claims of religious authority in Aleppo, non-Muslim women could spread body details of Muslim women to other men outside(p.666 and p.667). This example is important to look at the functions of public bathhouses for women in the Empire as an active public space with private functions because

whatever happens outside comes into the chit-chats of the Ottoman women and whatever is seen or talked about does not stay at the bathhouse and goes outside just like coffee houses dominated by men in the Ottoman Empire.

Another semi-public space is neighborhoods, as explained by Mikhail (2007) and Çevik (2023), which was seen as an extension of the home where no stranger was permitted. According to Demirakın (2015), until the end of the nineteenth century, to wit, until the coming of the municipality system, the regulation of neighborhoods and residents's emotional attachment to them was regulated by their community(p.15 and p.16). Since the neighborhood was regarded as an extension of private space, in other words, it was a public space but seen as a private space, this provided Ottoman women freedom of mobility outside their homes. As Cora (2018) explains, Ottoman lower-class women`s duty of collecting water from the fountains in their neighborhoods was one of the ways of interacting with outsiders unknown to them(p.103).

In addition to these semi-public spaces, the nineteenth Westernization reforms affected the changing face of homes. As Çevik (2023) highlights, before the coming of Westernization reforms in the nineteenth century, houses were, more often than not, composed of one room wherein dinners and leisure times were intensely intertwined(p.104). As shown by Figures 5 and 6, with the coming of the reform phase, the compartmentalization of homes from one room to multiple rooms and the building process of balconies, important semi-public spaces of the time, started to be implemented. As a result, Ottoman women started to have more power over the home as a private space by having room for themselves, thereby they could separate themselves from the title of wife, mother, caretaker, and homemaker. In this private space within a private space, they could feel autonomous and emancipated. Another important point is the balconies of these new modern nineteenth century Western-style houses. Çevik (2023) underlines the importance of balconies, as crucial semi-public spaces, whereby one becomes

public by being seen and being able to see others reciprocally; however, one also still stays within the boundaries of private space(p.111). Very similar to the shops of women workers in the Grand Bazaar, these balconies offered a way to navigate patriarchal spaces and functioned as autonomy and emancipation points for these women.

Figure 5

Source: (Çevik ,2023, p.103)

Traditional Ottoman house before the intense Westernization reforms of the nineteenth century

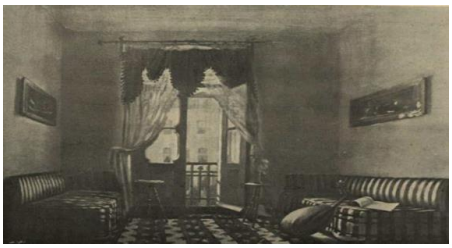

Figure 6

Source: (Çevik, 2023, p.110; Çevik took this representation from Zehra Müfide Hanım, Şehbal, (89), 1915, p. 490)

A modern, Western-style Ottoman house in Pera during the nineteenth century

Here, the usage of tactics to be visible in the Grand Bazaar as a crucial public space has to be made as well. Not just contemporary usage of semi-public spaces in the form of shops by women workers in the Bazaar and their similarity with sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth century semi-public spaces are crucial here. How Ottoman noble and lower-class women used different tactics to be visible in the Bazaar is also another axis to focus on to make sense of the tactics of women workers now working in the Bazaar environment. As the Empire started its urban restructuring mainly in Pera, this district started to become a kind of guidebook of how one could be European, however, it got a lot of criticism from the conservative segments of the Ottoman public.

According to the novels of the time written by speculative Ottoman men writers, Ottoman Muslim women were at the center of criticism directed against Pera. As Çil and Şenel-Fidangenç (2021) explain, Pera was portrayed as a center for moral illness and decadence for Ottoman Muslim women, whereby they could get infected by the European way of living, symbolized by being on the streets, theatres, operas, cafes, and having different way of outfits(p.709). In other words, being *"flaneuse"(*Akyar, 2012, p.3), to wit, being an observer of the modern city through strolling and walking on the streets or sitting at the cafes, was prohibited for Ottoman Muslim women by conservative circles in the nineteenth century.

As Baum(2012) highlights, Beyazıt, where the Grand Bazaar is located, was also one of the places where Ottoman Muslim women were prohibited from frequenting(p.18). Nevertheless, as Gülersoy(1979), Erçetin (2019), and Özçakı (2021) underline, Ottoman women, even noble women, found a way to be visible in the dynamic public space of the Bazaar environment. As an instance of a tactic to circumvent patriarchal radar, Ottoman women used match-making as a way to be in the Grand Bazaar. In other words, as Erçetin (2019) explains, while they were getting some fabric or products, they were chit-chatting with each other as to which women needed a husband or which men needed a wife and what were the characteristics, requirements,

and needs of these youngsters(p.73). Therefore, Ottoman women, especially Muslim women, always found a way to be visible social and political agents in the public spaces of the Empire, both during the intense Westernization of the Empire in the nineteenth century and before.

Another space through which Ottoman women started to be visible in the public space as active social and political agents is the literary space. As Yıldız (2018) highlights, especially after Tanzimat (Reorganization) and Constitutional Reforms, Ottoman women used women`s press and magazines as a public space to be visible, equal social and political agents of the changing yet modern Empire(p.177). In other words, Ottoman women formed a kind of counter public space through which they published women`s magazines. They reflected on Ottoman women`s social, political, economic, and educational emancipation by capitalizing on Westernization attempts of the 1839 Tanzimat Reforms, the 1876 Constitutional Reforms, and the 1908 Second Constitutional Reform period of the Empire. However, one point should be highlighted here: even though Ottoman women`s magazines of the nineteenth century were directed towards the emancipation of Ottoman women by concretizing their place in the public space through education and employment, they were not directed towards the deconstruction of the patriarchal system of the Empire. As Atamaz(2014) and Yıldız (2018) mention, writers of the Ottoman women`s magazines criticized European women and prescribed Ottoman women to refrain from those behaviors which would totally dismantle the family structure of the Empire in their way of being visible, active social and political agents in Empire's public space. So, this was kind of a tactic, one of the ways to keep their hardly won place in the public space, as the tactics of women workers in the Grand Bazaar of not getting the attention of the men workers by invoking contentious points about women`s place in the Bazaar. Together with the historical importance of semi-public spaces, these tactics in the newly opened literary space of the nineteenth century are crucial to making sense of the tactics of women workers in the Grand Bazaar contemporarily.

2.3 They Are Not In The Grand Bazaar Anymore: Visibility of Turkish Women in Republican Ballrooms

After getting the historical background as a base to understand recurring patterns and tactics of Ottoman women to be visible in public spaces of the Empire, in the Grand Bazaar, theatres, operas, parks, and balconies; end of the First World War and the subsequent establishment of the Turkish Republic highlight a different period where Turkish women move to private spaces in the form of Republican Ballrooms and private dance parties at lavish homes to present the newly founded Republic as modern and Western. This period causes a rupture where, after frequent appearances of Ottoman women in public and semi-public spaces through different tactics, are lost to the endeavors of Republican men cadre to present the Republic as modern and Western through dance balls and outfit regulations.

After the establishment of the Republic, Turkish women`s relationship to public space was much more institutionalized by the secular Turkish Republic as they were given more rights to education, employment, and ultimately to political rights to elect and to be elected even before many European countries. With the establishment of the secular Turkish Republic, as in the case of the second constitutional period of 1908, the degree to which Turkey is seen as Western is calculated through Turkish women`s rights and their bodies. Although their rights are much more institutionalized in the Republican period, they are also instrumentalized as a litmus test to show the newly established Republic as Western and hence modern.

For instance, to show itself as democratic, the newly established Republic endeavored to open up a second party to give the Turkish public a democratic alternative, however, the party closed down because it threatened the main secular party as many people started to choose a second alternative to show their dissent to main secular party. As a result, Arat(1994) mentions, that during the atmosphere of the 1930s when Hitler was taking over, a political cadre of the Turkish

Republic chose to differentiate themselves from the fascists by giving political rights to Turkish women(p.67). Therefore, as has been stated beforehand, the social and political agency of Turkish women is quite instrumentalized by the newly established Turkish Republic to show itself as Western, modern, and democratic.

Figure 7

Source: (Köksal & Falierou, 2013, p.265; Köksal & Falierou took this representation from *Karagöz*, no. 1650, december 1923)

Turkish women frequenting coffee houses during the atmosphere of the 1920s

In addition to the instrumentalization of Turkish women`s rights and their presence in the public space through education and employment, it is vital to pay attention to how they were becoming public or what they were doing in the private space at the beginning and towards the middle of the twentieth century. Two points are crucial here: dance balls of modern and western Turkish Republic were one of the important ways through which upper-class Turkish women were becoming public(I); veiling was the second contentious point whereby Turkish Muslim women`s presence and absence in the public space was regulated towards the middle of the twentieth century(II). With regards to the first point, as Van Dobben (2008) highlights, as degree to which the Turkish Republic`s Western, modern, and democratic looking was gauged

through women`s presence in the public space, their outfits and bodies, their presence and confinement to modern, secular, Republican dance balls organized by Turkish Republican cadre(p.100and p. 101).

The agency is defined through how well Turkish women delicately followed the steps of their male partners in Waltz. Figure 8 shows a portrayal of Atatürk`s dance of the Waltz with a woman to symbolize Turkey`s modern outlook on the outside world. Therefore, once again, with the coming of the Turkish Republic, although Turkish women gained much more institutionalized social and political rights, these rights were instrumentalized and their bodies, and attitudes were patronaged in private dance balls. Additionally, although this is not to mention that Turkish women lost their social and political agency, once again, they moved to private spaces through dance balls.

Figure 8

Source: (Van Dobben, 2008, p.86)

Atatürk performing a modern dance at a wedding

Importantly, in addition to top-down regulation of Turkish women´s behaviors in these balls by the Republican cadre, their attitudes were also tried to be regulated by conservative segments

of the society. For instance, Toprak (2017) mentions how at the beginning of the Turkish Republic, various authors were publishing articles, as those Turkish women who were dancing in these private dance balls from late at night until early morning would lose their ability to bear a child(p.287). This patriarchal alarm is raised to signify the immorality and un-Turkishness of young Turkish women`s presence in private dance balls to dance freely with whichever partner they want and whenever they want.

As exemplified through dance balls, the beginning of the Republic marked the move of Turkish women to private spaces once more. As these women were seen to get their social and political rights institutionalized, rather than claiming a public space through various tactics which were the pattern beforehand, the early- to mid-twentieth century marks a point where Turkish women were assigned a role to picture the Republic as modern and Western. Regulation of their presence in private spaces was one way to achieve this for the patriarchal Republican cadre, and regulation of their outfits in the form of veiling was another way to create modern Turkish women.

Veiling and headscarves have been some of the most contentious topics since the beginning of the secular Turkish Republic(Göle(1997); Lou O`Neil(2008); Adak(2014)). They are seen as representatives of orientalism, diminished Ottoman Empire, un-Europeanness, un-Turkishness, un-modernness, backwardness, and close-mindedness. As a result, the newly established Republic started to heavily regulate the religious attire of Turkish women in the 1930s. As Adak (2014) highlights, although government cadre did not formally regulate veiling in the form of peçe and çarşaf in the public space by laws and regulations with a fear that this would reverberate in conservative and religious segments of the population quite intensely; government cadre informed municipalities about proper attire of modern Turkish women which was translated as modern Turkish women without veiling and headscarves in the public space(p.39).

Here, as Adak (2014) exemplifies, those Turkish Muslim women who refused to take off peçe were denied the benefits that the municipality offered in their localities, especially in the Black Sea Region(i.e., Trabzon) of Turkey(p.50). This shows how Turkish Muslim women were not only denied their right to public spaces of the newly established Republic but also signified as problematic, therefore disbelonging to the Republic. Relatedly, it also highlights how differentiation was set between modern, western, educated, upper-class Turkish women in dance balls vs. backward, orientalist, lower-class, uneducated, Turkish Muslim women with veiling and headscarf. In other words, the *" politics of belonging"* (Yuval-Davis, 2016, p.4) was played out in the 1930s as the above-mentioned differentiation is set between those modern Turkish women who have right to state benefits and claim to stand together with the principles of secular, modern hence western Turkish Republic and those Turkish Muslim women who do not have a right to any of these. In other words, it formed a kind of US vs. THEM discourse through politics of belonging and disbelonging to Republican principles and benefits among various segments of Turkish women. As a result, this regulation prohibited a kind of *"lesbian continuum"* (Rich,1980,p. 648) which would pave the way for an alliance, comradeship, and affectionate friendship between various segments of Turkish women to pressure the patriarchal government about their preferences and bodily choices in both public and private spaces.

Conclusion

To conclude, throughout the chapter starting from the sixteenth century to the early to mid-twentieth century, historical continuities and discontinuities due to Westernization reforms and the establishment of the Turkish Republic are presented. Historical continuities occurring in the form of the usage of tactics and semi-public spaces by Ottoman noble and lower-class women to circumvent patriarchal regulations is one recurring theme in this presented picture of

Ottoman and Turkish women`s visibility in the public space. These historical continuities are important to understand discontinuities during the early- to mid-twentieth century Turkish Republic.

Even though Ottoman and Turkish women`s visibility in the Grand Bazaar is an under-researched topic, more evidence is available regarding Ottoman women`s presence in the Grand Bazaar, even if they were prohibited from frequenting this space during the nineteenth century before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Taking historical changes happening at the intersection of gender and space in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic helps to understand or to get a sense of ruptures, such as the absence of sources about Turkish women in the Grand Bazaar through their tactics as a historical pattern to circumvent the patriarchy. In this vein, the founders of the Republican men cadre`s policies regarding Turkish women`s assigned roles and their proper place and outfit help to make a point about the absence of Turkish women in the Bazaar. Taking Turkish women to private spaces in the form of dance balls, and assigning them of duty to present the newly founded Republic as modern and Western through their dance moves to outfits is one important historical juncture to consider here as a possible reason for the decreasing importance of claiming such public spaces as the Grand Bazaar, as these Turkish women were already given their social and political rights by Republican men cadre to present Republic as modern and Western through Turkish women.

Therefore, taking all these tactics and historical continuities, discontinuities, and ruptures as a base, in the next analysis chapter, I aim to turn back to the Grand Bazaar environment to see how women shop owners and workers survive in this patriarchal space, what are their tactics to circumvent or outright counter the patriarchal Bazaar environment. I will also trace how women use their shops as semi-public spaces, and what are the social, and political effects that this historically important and patriarchal space has on them. In other words, I also aim to fill the rupture that seems to have happened with the coming of the Republican period of Turkey to

position Turkish women`s claiming of public space in the Grand Bazaar through their tactics and usage of semi-public spaces against patriarchal strategies.

CHAPTER THREE:The Gendered Experiences Of The Grand Bazaar Workers

This chapter mainly focuses on women and men worker`s experiences and their understanding of the Grand Bazaar. The chapter combines historical reflections with the life experiences of Bazaar`s women workers who navigate the semi-public spaces.

The Grand Bazaar has experienced many economic and political changes in the modern period due to the neoliberal policies of the governments of the 1970s and 2000s in Turkey. In addition to neoliberal changes put in place by the governments of the time, natural disasters including frequent earthquakes and fires are other elements in the changing face of the Bazaar environment. Drawing upon an affective reading, this chapter employs Ahmed`s(2010) framework to understand the emotional attachments that workers experience. Framings of Ahmed(2010) is crucial for analysis because she theorizes about the causal relationship between objects, people, and the happiness or unhappiness that they feel towards the objects. In other words, affect theory is essential to get a sense of how neoliberal changes of the 1970s and the 2000s caused the loss of many values that workers valued and still value dearly. Also, affect theory helps to get a sense of how this loss of values in the form of honor, dignity, and trustworthiness shapes a worker`s attachment to or detachment from the Bazaar environment and the ongoing environmental changes.

In addition to affect theory, this chapter also adopts the principles of Passerini`s(1990) way of using " Soul History" (Passerini,1990,p.57) based on Hillman`s recommendations to move towards gestures, emotions, unspoken, and non-material things during interviews as an oral history method to understand the affectionate side of worker`s attachment to the Bazaar environment. To this end, I endeavor to give several quotes from respondents to create a meaningful picture and common themes around which they define the Bazaar environment and

its importance. The same method is utilized in the last part of the analysis of the shisha café surrounding the Bazaar environment to get a sense and meaningful picture of how enjoyers of shisha make sense of this place and its importance.

In the first part and the last part of this chapter, worker`s emotional attachments to the Bazaar, their understanding of the Bazaar and its importance, and their interpretation of the changes that the Bazaar has experienced are explained through an affective reading by Ahmed(2010). In the second and third part of this chapter, I delve into the experiences of women workers. In addition to reflecting upon their experiences and current making sense of the Bazaar environment, I persevere to make historical connections regarding their use of tactics against patriarchal heteronormative strategies of the Bazaar environment. I endeavor to analyze how they use the Bazaar environment as a semi-public space very similar to Ottoman women`s usage horse-drawn of carriages, architecture, neighborhoods, public bathhouses, and balconies. In the end, what I try to present in this chapter is worker`s making sense of the Bazaar environment and its importance, the current experiences of women workers, and historical continuities in terms of the employment of tactics and the usage of semi-public spaces by women workers.

What holds these parts together is the affectionate and political side of worker`s experiences of the Bazaar environment and the vitality of gender as a determining factor both in past and present experiences. As has been explained, the chapter goes to the gendered side of the Bazaar environment step by step in a way because it is not possible to understand the Bazaar environment without comprehending what kind of values, emotions, and importance workers attach to the Grand Bazaar. Given the fact that both women and men workers inherit their father`s business and persevere to prolong their family tradition in the Bazaar, this affectionate side has prime importance at the beginning of this chapter. Otherwise, the Bazaar would stay just another gendered and patriarchal space in the literature without any peculiarity per se.

3.1 " It is not The Grand Bazaar anymore, it is The Fake Bazaar"

(Dündar, owner of the ceramic works in the Bazaar)

My questions followed the sequence of first trying to understand how workers comprehend the Bazaar environment and the historical changes it went through. The general agreement among my respondents is that the Bazaar experienced gigantic and intense social, economic, and political restructuring that became unrecognizable to them. In a way, for the majority of the respondents, the Bazaar became *" half-ruins*"(Abu-Lughod,2007,p.84), they cannot recognize but they still feel an attachment through their memories of how the Bazaar used to look like in the past. The above-mentioned quote from the interview with Dündar, who is the owner of the ceramic works in the Bazaar and trained through the master-apprenticeship system, demonstrates how workers feel that the Bazaar has experienced such intense neoliberal changes that it is not the Bazaar that they have been familiar but it is the Bazaar filled with those who only think their profits by selling fake goods from very high prices. Only one in ten respondents commented about the changes as something that could be beneficial in the future, which he would not see because he does not expect to see this positive effect very soon. While explaining the past appearance of the Bazaar environment, although respondents in the end gathered around common themes, they explained it in a fragmented way, piece by piece from different angles, going back and forth between the past and the present which is termed by Abu-Lughod (2007) as *" fragmentary outlines of personal memory*"(p.93).

Four themes are observed about the changing face of the Bazaar environment: non-Muslim and intellectual population of the Bazaar environment is lost and replaced by Kurdish population in the form of dollar and Turkish delight shops(I); Master-apprenticeship and the values that this system brought as though respect, honesty, and dignity are lost(II); Related to the third theme, as many values are lost due mainly to lost master-apprenticeship system, the Bazaar is filled

with those who try to sell fake goods and do not have the understanding of craftsmanship and its values(III); and customer type is changed from Europeans to mainly those coming from the Middle East(IV).

Dündar, who works in a very crowded and dynamic ceramic street of the Bazaar interacting with a lot of people at once most of the time, explains the first theme by mentioning that before the recent changes took place in the form of neoliberal policies, the Bazaar was filled with those men shopkeepers who were multilingual, traveled the world around a lot, and wore neatly, paid close attention to how they looked when they were in the Bazaar. Dündar, explaining the Bazaar through his gestures towards his shop where he was once an apprentice, illustrated these points with an example of the Bazaar from the 1990s: *"In the past, there were those shopkeepers who used to read the New York Times in the Bazaar"*. Starting his journey as an apprentice to non-Muslim shopkeepers and craftsmen in the Bazaar, Dündar mentioned how he was excited to learn what the world was like from those shopkeepers who traveled and passed their information about the world to Dündar. As explained by Ahmed(2010), *"Affect is what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and objects"* (p.29). In his explanations, affect is one recurring theme through which he connects himself with the current Bazaar environment and past experiences. Most of the time, Dündar looked at his shop while having a conversation with me and put his chair near his shop to reimagine the past he described as unforgettable. Mentioning frequently the same points with Dündar, Yesav, Armenian, and owner of the antique shop in the Bazaar, underlined how the Bazaar lost its non-Muslim population who were replaced by those who come mainly from Urfa, the Eastern part of Turkey, and who not know what it means to be a shopkeeper in the Bazaar and do not provide trustworthiness to the Bazaar environment. In a conversation between themselves at Yesav`s antique shop which welcomed many people during the interview, Yesav and his long-time friend

Nuh, who worked in the Bazaar as a craftsman of silver, tried to explain the past time meaning of being a trustworthy shopkeeper and worker as *" In the past, the promise was honorable"*.

Nuh gave the example of how in the past, craftsmen and shopkeepers used to buy silver to sell in the Bazaar among themselves without giving money but giving a promise that they would pay their debt promptly and how these debts were paid timely. Similar to Dündar and Yesav, Nuh also makes connections to the Bazaar by understanding it as an *"emotional space"*(Jones-Gailani,2020,p.73) filled with a lot of values and respect. Yesav, by looking at how Nuh explains the past while welcoming people to his shop simultaneously, defines this system of the Bazaar as *" word games"* where you provide your promise, hence your honor to other shopkeepers in the Bazaar, a similar expression that came up from a retired woman worker in the Bazaar. Yaren, a retired woman worker who was raised through the apprenticeship system, thinks that in the past, before the 2000s, *" Friendship was built on promises"* in the Bazaar.

However, after the neoliberal changes of the 1970s and especially after the 2000s, Yaren, Dündar, Yesav, and Nuh think that this trustworthiness was lost immensely. These changes affected the established cadre of the Bazaar in an intensely negative way because they changed a lot of things that they still feel as extremely important for the Bazaar to continue. As Ahmed(2010) explains*, " We judge something to be good or bad according to how it affects us, whether it gives us pleasure or pain"(*p.31). So, from Ahmed`s(2010) standpoint, the negative effects of these changes give a sense of pain to these workers and a sense of recurring nostalgia for the good old days.

Concerning the second theme of the lost master-apprenticeship system, especially the male workers of the Bazaar who were raised through this system find it a valuable system, Dündar, while going back and forth between his shops for customers and his chair to explain the Bazaar, answering his male friends in his street as when this interview would finish and what it was about, defined his Jewish master *" These were the people we sat on the skirts of"*. This means

that they learned everything that they know about being an ethical, honorable, respectful, and trustworthy craftsman from their master. Dündar mentioned that like a child who sits near their parents and watches them to learn how to behave others, he also learned how to be an ethical person from his master by watching him rigorously.

Workers, especially men workers, see the loss of the master-apprenticeship system as one of the reasons for decreasing trustworthiness, respect, and honor in the Bazaar. Nuh also came to the Bazaar during the 1970s as a child and was raised as an apprentice, he remembers that in the past, around the 1970s, fathers used to take their sons to the Bazaar and give them as apprentices to non-Muslim craftsmen to teach them how to be an ethical person and real, talented craftsman. He underlined the fact that fathers even used to give money for this education and mentioned that fathers promised these craftsmen that even their son`s meat and bones belonged to them. However, nowadays, Nuh highlighted that young workers in the Bazaar only do errands. In a sense, they are seen as *" affect aliens"* (Ahmed,2010,p.30) who kill the values, emotions, and traditions of the Bazaar. Similarly, Dündar also came to the Bazaar as a child during the 1990s and started his journey as an apprentice. He mentioned that he learned how to behave properly toward other people, how to save money, how to understand and travel the world, and how to stick to traditions from his master. He said that after every New Year's Day, he opens his shop either by crashing a pomegranate or a glass, a tradition that he learned from his Jewish master. His crash of these objects is what connects him with the past, although good old days are lost and his master is also gone, he continues his attachment to the values of the Bazaar through these objects and traditions, to wit, through *"intimate contact with things"* (Ahmed,2010,p.31). Depicting the Bazaar environment as a school, Yaren, along the same lines as Dündar and Nuh, mentioned how her non-Muslim boss hired her as a woman worker, an Italian and English teacher, for her to interact with customers properly. She remembered this experience with so much respect for her former master.

Dündar pictures the current situation of the Bazaar through the lost master-apprenticeship system as now, rather than respect, honor, and dignity as markers of an apprenticeship, young workers in the Bazaar are hired on the basis that they know English and are capable of selling goods. In his words: *" Now it seems that being an apprentice is about knowing yes and no"*. During the 1990s, Dündar mentioned it was not just about selling goods at higher prices to tourists, but it was about behaving nicely and ethically to customers, especially to tourists, and not selling at higher prices. In other words, the process of selling and interacting, therefore forming an intimate and respectful space with customers, was seen as an apprentice`s talent. As Ahmed(2010) highlights, this point is *" We come to have our likes, which might even establish what we are like"*(p.32). Dündar valued this system so much that he became the embodiment of these values and traditions, to wit, they played a role in what he is like as well. Taha, owner of the ceramic works in a somewhat quiet corner of the Bazaar and trained through the apprenticeship system, also thinks that *" You can`t be a master without being an apprentice"*. These established workers of the Bazaar do not classify those who came to the Bazaar with economic power and opened neoliberal places in the form of Turkish delight and dollar shops as masters, as they were not raised through this master-apprenticeship system and internalized ethical values that they bring. Therefore, with the negative effects of the lost master-apprenticeship system, importance is given to outcome, hence selling at very high prices, and the importance is taken from the selling process, respect, trustworthiness, and intimacy given to customers.

As Buse, owner of the gold-making shops in the Bazaar, indicates *" In the past, The Bazaar used to be a very safe place.",* before the 2000s, it was a place that was built on strong friendships among workers and ethical values. Due to the negative effects of lost ethical values because of the disappearance of the master-apprentice system, another common theme that came up during interviews is how the Bazaar is filled with those who sell fake goods to

customers and have no understanding of what it means to be part of the Grand Bazaar as a shopkeeper and craftsman and craftswoman. Together with this theme, respondents mentioned how the physical space of the Bazaar changed from being an authentic place with, for instance, eloquent and talented barbers and coffee shops to a place where there are now so many Turkish delight and foreign currency shops and fake sellers. Dündar complained about this changing face of the Bazaar environment through his example *" There is no barber shop in the Bazaar where I can get my hair cut"*. Seemingly a minor change, the loss of such authentic places caused sadness for Dündar which I observed from his eyes and silences after he explained this point. Dündar explained that the loss of these authentic places was caused by immigration of the 2010s and neoliberal changes before, the 1970s and 2000s. Because, according to him, those coming from Middle Eastern countries through immigration to Turkey started to buy these age-old places and turned them into shops with a neoliberal look. This theme came up not just once but was reiterated by Dündar and other respondents fragmentally throughout the interview. As Ahmed(2010) underlines, *" Objects are sticky because they are already attributed as being good or bad, as being the cause of happiness or unhappiness"(*p.35). Therefore, as authentic shops of the Bazaar environment are already accepted as good objects, their loss causes negativity, a kind of unhappiness against new shops.

Related to this third theme, respondents mentioned how these authentic places are sold nowadays mainly to those coming from wealthy Middle Eastern countries rather than that craftsmen and craftswomen who have been in the Bazaar for years. Dündar underlined the Syrian War as one of the reasons for the Bazaar`s changing face because, according to him, `wealthy Arabs` are buying important, authentic, and age-old shops in the Bazaar and turning them into whatever they want to sell with a neoliberal look. Complaining about the same point with the same reasoning, Nadir, a special diamond-maker who works in a quiet corner of his office where no newcomer is permitted without reference of someone that he knows, mentioned

that *" Immigration has lowered respect in society.",* migration is perceived to have decreased the respect that Turkish society has for each other and others by workers. In a way, through the changing authentic face of the Bazaar and its values, a kind of US vs. THEM discourse is played out through the politics of belonging which signifies who has a right and legitimacy to claim a space and its values and who does not have. Complaining about the same points, Baysal, owner of the diamond shop in a very crowded part of the Bazaar where no newcomer is permitted to enter without ringing his shop`s bell, mentioned that nowadays money and power are the means through which one becomes a shopkeeper in the Bazaar, in his words: *" The Bazaar is about power games nowadays, the master-apprentice system is over. If you do not have the capital, you cannot start from scratch"*. Rather than respect, dignity, trustworthiness, and honesty, nowadays money is the primary means to have a powerful standing in the Bazaar.

Regarding the fourth theme, a common agreement among the respondents is that customer type has changed face in recent years from Europeans to those mainly coming from the Middle East. Dündar underlined that this change even affected the employment criteria of shopkeepers as they demand proficiency in Arabic from would-be employees in the Bazaar. Nadir mentioned that this change is one of the reasons for the increase of women workers in the Bazaar because some tourist types do not want male workers to touch their hands while they try something on as jewelry due to Islamic teachings that they believe. Abdullah, owner of the antique shop in the Bazaar where he was working with his son, also highlighted how in the past, they used to work intensely and how European customers having purchasing power were coming to the Bazaar. However, nowadays, he mentioned that his job has been affected as he does not sell as much of antiques as before due to the changing face of the customers, decreasing purchasing power in society, and the effect of social media as people look from the social media for whatever they want therefore do not frequent the Bazaar as before. As he was working with his son, whom he was advising *" I am telling my son not to do this job"*. However, during my

last observation period, I saw that Doruk, his son, had taken over his job, and I could not see his father there. He was kind of an apprentice to his father when I first saw him, and after a while, he took over the job. This shows how physical and economic changes affected the Bazaar`s physical and social space so much so that shop owners, craftsmen, and craftswomen, most of them raised through an apprenticeship system, do not even advise this system or being a shop-owner in the Bazaar to their children anymore.

3.2 " I wish I could also get scared of spiders as other women"

(Yaren)

Interviewing women shop owners and workers in the Bazaar was much harder than interviewing men. I was rejected as soon as I explained my thesis topic and its relation to women in the Bazaar`s dynamic space. As Jones-Gailani(2020) explains, *"accessing the female voice is a difficult task"*(p.63), which is reconfirmed in my fieldwork as well. However, once they accepted me to their workspace, they started to get much more confident and proud of what they are doing in the heteronormative patriarchal space of the Grand Bazaar. They explained what they were going through daily, their silences, and their unspoken words and gestures, all of which became another alternative of interaction for us. Additionally, I expected to find a kind of lesbian continuum among women workers against this patriarchal space, as I assumed that women workers who are very few and go through the same difficulties due to patriarchal norms of the Bazaar will support each other. However, later on, I found out that women workers do not have much daily contact with each other, even though they go through similar hardships.

As Edgü et al. (2012) explain, street dynamics are very important for daily interactions and friendships in the Bazaar. The Grand Bazaar is built as a grid system whereby streets intensely

interact with each other, especially those on the same street(p.13). Similarly, I also observed that those who were on the same street and, more or less, doing the same professions were much more supportive of each other, and their friendship bonds were much stronger. However, two women whom I interviewed in the same street of Cevahir Bedesten(Old Bedesten) and who were also preoccupied with the same profession did not have a connection with each other. Rather, they have connections with other male workers of the Cevahir Bedesten Street. Also, while interviewing with me, Zümrüt, a jewelry maker in the Cevahir Bedesten where quite a few women like her work, asked me not to share her experiences with other women shop-owners of the Cevahir Bedesten Street. However, during my second observation period, while I was going through the streets of Cevahir Bedesten, I saw Zümrüt and Selin, a shop owner in a very crowded part of the Cevahir Bedesten Street, talking with each other by occupying a small space in the corner as men do in the Bazaar. I was surprised to see them in that position. As soon as Selin saw me, she hugged me and offered me tea or coffee to have a conversation. Their occupation of the corner of the Bazaar as a public space represents how women workers experience " double spatiality" (Young, 2005, p.40) which signifies those private, closed, and protected spaces matching women`s bodily capabilities that are described as delicate by patriarchy and those public spaces, which need bodily strength, as the space of other hence men. Selin and Zümrüt`s occupation of a small conversation space in their crowded street and women worker`s working style both in their private shops and their ways of becoming public in the Bazaar demonstrates that these women workers experience double spatiality, space of her and space of him.

As women respondents experienced the *" comfortable space of sharing"*(Jones-Gailani,2020,p.70) with me, through which they got proud of what they were doing, they also wanted to spend more time with me as soon as they saw me in the Bazaar. First afraid of interviewing with me, I saw Selin`s and Zümrüt`s transformations from ordinary flaneuses,

observers of the Bazaar environment, to active participants who learned through this interview process that they have a lot to share about the Bazaar and their experiences of the Bazaar environment as a woman. Thanks to soul history, I saw from their eyes that they were happy that their experiences were taken into account, their thoughts were seen as valuable, and their descriptions of the Bazaar as a woman were seen as groundbreaking through this interview and research process.

I also observed how women who worked or still work in the Bazaar environment tend to hide their accomplishments in this extremely patriarchal space and other women who do not experience that kind of hardship. This point is exemplified through Yaren`s description of herself and those women who do begging and prostitution. She said that she is so angry with these women who easily earn their money while she has been struggling in the Bazaar environment as a woman worker. She questioned during the interview while she was working in very hard conditions in the Bazaar, here she mentioned how even though she cleaned the toilets in the Bazaar, these women could not and cannot still do this. She also sees herself as masculine and must not be scared of anything, something that she had to learn while working in the Bazaar as a single mom, and explained at the end of her sentence her wish to have the right to be delicate, right to be cared for by others as other women do. She said that she wish she would also get scared of something as small as a spider without being judged by others as being too feminine.

3.3 Feminizing Space in the Bazaar

During my interview and later on observation period of the Bazaar environment, I realized that both my respondent`s and other women worker`s behaviors and their outfits are monitored by

the Bazaar`s patriarchal environment. They experience " objectified bodily existence" (Young, 2005, p.44), through which their bodies and outfits are seen as objects to be gazed at or controlled in the public space of the Bazaar. However, rather than countering these monitors overtly, they try to play with them through their tactics in the Bazaar. In other words, they employ their docility as a tactic in order not to be finger-pointed and fired from this patriarchal space. Although this may be seen as not feminist enough by liberal understanding, as Mahmood(2001) explains, *" Although we have come to associate docility with abandonment of agency, the term literally implies the malleability required of someone to be instructed in a particular skill or knowledge"* (p.210), this is not the case. This employment of docility is a medium through which they learn to survive in the Bazaar environment without getting too many patriarchal eyes on them.

My respondents also accepted these patriarchal norms as the rules of the Bazaar environment so much so that once more educated women workers of the Bazaar questioned their right to wear whatever they wanted, much older and less educated women shop-owners cautioned them as these were the rules of the Bazaar and nothing to do with anything else. While I was interviewing Selin in her jewelry shop, her close friend Buse, who is educated at the best schools in Turkey and took over her father`s business and works in the quiet corner of the Bazaar, came in. While Buse was looking through new jewelry in Selin`s shop, my questions to Selin took her attention as well, and all of a sudden, she started to answer and participate in the interview. While talking to each other through my questions, Buse complained about her father´s scoldings *" I wore tights today and my dad gave me a hard time"*. As an answer to Buse, Selin found her father doing the right thing because Selin does not also find tights as suitable for the Bazaar`s environment, as she gave her example of how she does not wear short skirts in the Bazaar but cares about being presentable through her make-up. Also, adding to her points, Selin explained

her reasoning for putting on make-up while working in the Bazaar*:" It is in a woman`s nature to be liked, and being honored motivates her to work."*

Similar internalized and normalized patriarchal obligations came out from Yaren`s interview as well. She explained to me that when she first went to the Bazaar during the 1990s, she did not fear this patriarchal space because she underlined that she grew up with four brothers and learned how to behave in a masculine way. She explained this point: *" I was like a boy, it was about my parent`s way of upbringing".* Further, pointing out the same points as Selin and Buse, Yaren also talked about the proper way of dressing in the Bazaar environment. She explained how, for years, she did not have long hair or wear skirts while working in a very man-dominated and crowded corner of the Bazaar in order not to be seen as too feminine in this patriarchal space. In Yaren`s words: *" I didn`t grow my hair long for years, I didn`t wear skirts for years, I still can`t wear skirts, I wear dresses".* Even though she is retired now, she admitted that she cannot wear skirts and very recently she started to grow her hair long. During her years in the Bazaar, she complained about those women who were too feminine there, still finding it unsuitable for the Bazaar environment. Yaren explained her point*:" Even I, when I saw a woman dressed up, I thought she should dress appropriately".*

Even though these women, more or less, have seemed to internalized and naturalized patriarchal obligations of the Bazaar as a survival tactic to counter patriarchal strategies. They also circumvented this structure, disciplined their male colleagues about their behaviors, and sought their rights to exist as women in the Bazaar. In Certeau`s(1984) sense, through their tactics, they seemed they were following the strategies of the Bazaar environment, but they used their tactics so effectively that they paved the way for some important changes in the Bazaar.

Although followed the Bazaar rules and tried to act as masculine as possible, Yaren explained to me how once she went crazy about two men staring at her while she was passing through the street of the Bazaar after her lunch and how she, rather than taking this male gaze as a rule of

the Bazaar, turned back and shouted at them saying she knows them, they are also workers and she is also worker, what is the difference between them and her. In her expression: *" I know both of you, I am also a worker here as you are".* In a way, she became a "feminist kill-joy"(Ahmed,2010,p.38). In other words, she quested for her right to exist as a woman worker in the Bazaar, and still does this day, she does not understand why they saw her as different, even though she made everything to look masculine.

In another instance, Selin mentioned that she acts as a control mechanism in her street which is very crowded and filled with very few women workers. Once men in her street start to speak slang words or harshly to each other, she steps out of her shop, which indicates that she is there. In Certeau`s (1984) sense, she is just waiting in front of her shop when slang words come out among men, nothing else, but as a tactic, she is causing a change in her street. She underlined that they then act much more attentively. Another thing that she taught men in her street was to ask for permission before entering her shop. In her own words: *" I taught them to say, `Are you available?`".* In a way, she is using her shop as a semi-public space where she has her street to interact with male workers and discipline them, but where she also has her private space to which no one can enter without permission. Just as in balconies and other semi-public spaces of the nineteenth century, there is an authority or *"agentive pushback"*(Morrison, 2020,p.162) through which women workers have authority over their private space and have their agentive push to discipline men workers without seeming too much disrupting the system there. In a sense, they play their agentive power within the system, both through their docility and disciplinary agentive push. Plus, they use their shops as semi-public spaces to increase their power, authority, and agentive autonomy, again, within the Bazaar environment.

Similar examples also came up from Zümrüt`s interview. Being in her twenties, educated, and a woman, when she first started taking over her grandfather`s job of jewelry-making four and a half years ago, she was not taken seriously by other men in her street. They were thinking that

Zümrüt would not be able to survive in this atmosphere and would go. In her description of the mindset of men workers in her street when she first started working in the Bazaar: *" We thought she would quit after two months, but now we go and you stay".* As a panacea, she explained how she had to behave rigidly to be taken seriously. However, after other men in the street saw her talent and stubbornness, they started to take her seriously so much so that they started to ask advice on how they could do certain jewelry or to take advice on what they would do if they had problems in their emotional life. During the interview, a male shop owner, who has a shop next to Zümrüt`s workspace, came suddenly and asked Zümrüt the bureaucratic difficulty that he was having with his shop and how he could solve it. I was able to observe what Zümrüt was trying to explain through this example as well. Zümrüt also used her shop as a semi-public space both to create jewelry and then to publicize other male workers every single day to show her stubbornness and talent. However, working in this patriarchal space and listening emotional life stories of men from their perspectives urged Zümrüt to question her relationship as well. In her own words*:" I questioned my relationship with my boyfriend".* She went on and explained that this acceptance period followed a kind of confusion in male worker´s minds as to how to categorize her as a woman or a man. She is so strong and talented to be able to stay in Bazaar`s environment, but she can also make cake and bring it. In her own words: " *I make a cake and they say you didn`t make it, I make a design and they say you didn`t make it".* In Certeau´s(1984) sense, through her tactic of docility, she worked in her private space intensely, just like other male workers, but did not seem to be threatening them by outright countering with men workers. Thanks to her usage of docility as a tactic and her shop as a semi-public space, she employed her agentive power in this system and confused the men workers. Nevertheless, after this confusion phase, she thinks that now she is accepted and feels that her street is part of her family.

All three respondents, Yaren, Selin, and Zümrüt, seemed to follow the rules of the patriarchal environment to survive there. Both Yaren and Selin have seemed to internalized and naturalized the patriarchal obligations of the Bazaar environment. Both Yaren and Selin think that men and women are not equal and that men are much stronger than women, which is, according to them, natural. This perspective causes "bodily timidity"(Young, 2005, p. 43) which is a kind of medium through which patriarchy manipulates women to see that they cannot perform certain works, which need bodily strength and decisiveness, in public spaces because their body is delicate therefore must be taken care carefully to preserve feminine look in the public. Selin exemplified this point as how every morning she has to clean her shop and the cleaning water is heavy, and how, as a sign of respect for men workers to Selin, men workers bring her water to her shop. Through this example, she tried to show me how men and women are not equal. In her own words: *" I understood that men and women are not equal".*

Yaren explained this point through her second marriage, where she had to be one step behind her husband, and how this was not the case in her first marriage, which was problematic. In her own words:

" Women and men are not equal; women can use their intelligence, but a slap from a man is not the same as a slap from a woman. My husband has to be one step ahead of me so that I don`t turn on my strong woman mode. If I do everything myself, why should I respect my husband?"

Zümrüt does not seem to have internalized and naturalized these patriarchal obligations and explanations as Yaren and Selin do. However, Zümrüt also pays attention to what she wears and how she speaks. In Zümrüt`s words: *" I cannot wear leggings and crop in the Bazaar".* She does not wear what she wishes and does not use the words Günaydın (Good Morning) or Hello to greet male workers in the morning to mark her gender, age, and educational level. Rather, she uses Selamün Aleyküm(The old way of saying Hello) in order not to ring alarm bells in her

street. Buse, similarly to Zümrüt, does not seem to have internalized and naturalized these patriarchal mindsets; at times, they even become feminist kill-joys, but she also pays attention to how she dresses in the Bazaar environment.

Nevertheless, although they seemed to have accepted some patriarchal obligations to survive in the Bazaar, they used tactics such as stepping out from their shops to discipline men on how they speak, urging them to ask for permission before they enter their shops, and using their way of speaking by saying Selamün Aleyküm but at the same time acting as talented woman worker without internalizing rigid masculine behaviors by also making cakes sometimes to stay in the Bazaar with their identity as women. Therefore, they can be seen by male workers that they are not a threat to the patriarchal system that they depend upon for their success in the Bazaar, but these women, every time, with their subtle tactics, are disciplining and causing a change in the behaviors of men workers in the Bazaar.

3.4 Politicizing Space: Toilet Problem for Women Workers

Experiencing a patriarchal control mechanism is one thing that women workers feel about the Bazaar environment. Another thing that both Zümrüt, Yaren, and Dündar talked about inadequacy of toilets for women, being subjected to harassing stares, and women`s exclusion from political conversations, which is a part of a daily routine for male workers in the Bazaar. Regarding the toilet problem for women, Zümrüt talked about *" There are five men`s toilets and three women`s toilets in the same place".* She mentioned that male workers have so many opportunities to go to a toilet like mosques and existing toilets in the Bazaar, whereas women do not have the opportunity to go to mosques and wait in long queues or use limited toilets in the Bazaar. During the interview process, I had to visit Zümrüt`s shop three times and each time her male worker friends, who were looking after her shop while she was away, said that she

went to the toilet, which was far away from her shop. Similarly, this problem got the attention of Dündar, while checking the value of the ever-changing dollar with his male friends in his street during this explanation, he talked about how toilets are dirty, which is not seen as a problem for male workers, but he sees it as a serious problem for women workers. While explaining his plans for his daughter as to whether to let her take over his father's ceramic shops or work as a white-collar worker, he used the toilet example as one visible problematic area for which he would not be able to build a special toilet for his daughter. In Dündar`s words: *" What do I do, build a special toilet for my daughter outside?"*

While explaining why the Bazaar`s space is unsuitable for women, Dündar also gave the example of how even women's security dressing room is in front of men`s toilet. From this toilet problem, Massey`s (1994) theory of the politicization of space comes into the picture which highlights seemingly truly architectural and scientific planning of cities hiding the gendered and political nature of these plannings to exclude women from public spaces, as they are seen potential dangers, signs of sexual liberation in newly developed industrial cities of the nineteenth century Europe. Drawing upon Massey`s(1994) theory of the politicization of the spatial, it seems from the interviews that this space is mainly built for the usage of men and the exclusion of women. Through these petite patriarchal signals, women workers are given the signals that this is not their place to be, especially as a woman worker. Nevertheless, despite many hardships, Zümrüt ironed out this problem by asking restaurants in the Bazaar if she could use their toilets by giving reference to his father to highlight that she is not an ordinary woman worker but a daughter of an established male shopkeeper in the Bazaar.

Another problem that women workers live with is being subjected to harassment which Yaren explained through her example of being subjected to these harassing stares which she still cannot comprehend because, according to her, she had made everything to look masculine from

her hair to her outfits to survive in Bazaar environment but she could not escape from this harassment.

Dündar, while toning down his voice during this explanation, also mentioned in the middle of his sentence this problem of harassing stares by men in the Bazaar, which he thinks is one of the reasons for women`s absence in the Bazaar as workers and shopkeepers. Another theme that came out frequently is women worker`s exclusion from men worker`s political conversations. As Dündar pictured, the Bazaar`s space is where they speak politics and football with his friends in his street. Further, although he is a graduate of political science and is open to having political conversations with women workers and shopkeepers in the Bazaar, he explained to me that he would not be as flexible and comfortable having this conversation with women. When I asked the reason, he just said it was a feeling, he does not feel as comfortable. When they speak as a group with his friends, he said that although they speak about politics, his friends start to use slang words after a while, which he thinks can be the reason for women`s exclusion from political conversations running around in the Bazaar environment.

Several of the women declined to speak about politics outside of their private homes and they highlighted the importance of age and status in the Bazaar for entering any political debates. Yaren especially highlighted this point, while she was smoking a lot to relax during her remembrance of the past, by underlining the importance of respect for political conversations old, established, male masters were having while playing backgammon as a reason for her decline from entering into political conversations. After this explanation, Yaren could not explain more but opened her arms to show what else she could have done, this was the rule. However, women workers are aware that the Bazaar is not a mere economic space but an essential political space simultaneously because all of the woman respondents mentioned the political nature of the Bazaar. Yaren pictured this political side of the Bazaar as *" After work hours, they would open backgammon, and they would talk".*

Street dynamics are again important in these explanations because Zümrüt and Yeliz, a former worker of a spinner shop in a crowded part of the Bazaar, found a way to participate in political conversations. Zümrüt mentioned the effect of his father, since she took over her father`s job, she is not seen as an outsider to enter into political conversations with men workers in her street. Similarly, Yeliz also mentioned how she explained her political opinions and hence participated in political conversations with the people in her street, in which she explained that they became part of their family. Therefore, street dynamics and family relations are two tactics used by women workers and shopkeepers to participate political space of the Bazaar.

3.5 The Gendered Nature of The Grand Bazaar Shisha Café

In my fieldwork, I observed the political space of the Bazaar environment at night through a shisha café, Çorlulu, which is like an extension of the Grand Bazaar due to its proximity. The shisha café is in partial ruin and provides a social atmosphere where people can sit for hours next to the bustling streets of the Bazaar. After working hours, male workers generally go there to relax and talk with each other. Dündar explained the shisha café as an authentic place, having a special place in his childhood memories. He started his Grand Bazaar journey in this shisha café because, in the 1990s, as he explained, this place was also the center for carpet- and letter-making for the Bazaar. Dündar started his journey as an apprentice in this shisha café, which, he explained, used to be an intellectual hub to examine neoliberal changes that Turkey was going through. As Istanbul University and the former Turkish courthouse were close to this shisha café, during the 1990s, university students, professors, and judges used to come to this place to relax and talk about the effects of constitutional changes. As an apprentice, Dündar`s participation in these conversations was seen as frowned upon, as Yaren`s conversation was seen as such in the Bazaar later on. He explained how he enjoyed listening to these political and

intellectual conversations. In his own words*: "Çorlulu was like a school. Buying tea for a tourist was a very big thing for us".* Çorlulu is seen as a school that used to prepare apprentices for the Bazaar, for which they had to speak English eloquently. As tourists are also frequenters of this space, he explained how he and his generation tried to practice their English with tourists in this dynamic space.

Speaking about the changes that this place went through, Dündar explained that this place changed so much that he has not been going to this place for ten years in order not to crash his childhood dream place. Like the Grand Bazaar, he mentioned how he cannot recognize this shisha café nowadays and how it seems neoliberal and monotonous to him. In Dündar`s words: *" These were places of character and symbolism. Now we cannot collect memories, everything is monotonous".* As Ahmed(2010) explains, *"Objects become happiness means. Or we could say that they become happiness pointers, as if to follow their point would be to find their happiness."*(p.34). Understanding happiness as something that comes with an effort, with an ability to reach objects that people love dearly, tells a lot about why Dündar wants to keep his childhood dream of a shisha café. In other words, he defines happiness in the past, which he does not have access to right now.

To draw me a picture of his happy past, Dündar talked about how, in the 1990s, there were peddlers who used to sell a sandwich, lahmacun (special Turkish food), chestnuts, and corn and how it was such a huge thing for them to get these foods as a present from their masters. He described this place as having so much color and intellectual accumulation, which he thought was lost to neoliberal changes. Thus, Dündar now defines this shisha café by excluding himself and explaining it as a totally different space. As Ahmed mentions(2010), *"Awayness might help establish the edges of our horizon*"(p.32). So, this awayness now establishes Dündar`s edges of his horizon about this place. I observed that it is now very divided into different firms, although it looks authentic, every corner is captured by different firms, and there are no peddlers

anymore. Therefore, the public space of this shisha café is also politicized both through neoliberal policies and through normative exclusions of especially Turkish women, not tourist women, through the stares of men enjoying their shisha and conversations.

When I interviewed Ferit, who is a government officer and comes to shisha café every day, similar themes came up with Dündar. Although Dündar thinks that the intellectual and authentic side of the Çorlulu is lost to neoliberal changes, Ferit still thinks that it is a place where one can meet with new people, form networks, and relax through conversations. He told me about his one specific experience where he met with a famous business person and got his card at the very end of their conversation. He said that he was surprised at how he was forming networks here with these kinds of famous people. The fact that this person told him his profession at the very end shows how different factors are at play as sitting style and the long time spent there through shisha. Firstly, the sitting style of this shisha café does not resemble neoliberal shisha places where one can sit privately with their friends. At Çorlulu, one has to sit together because sitting is L-style, so everyone has to sit together if they want to enjoy shisha there. Secondly, consuming time of shisha is long, it does not resemble small coffees or cocktails, sitting together for long hours through shisha helps to connect with different people for men there. In Ferit`s words*: "People meet and trade with each other here"*.

Another theme that emerged with respondents was the democratic and flexible atmosphere of the shisha café. Although Ferit mentions the fact that he is a public officer and therefore prohibited from talking about politics, he exemplified the democratic and flexible atmosphere of Çorlulu through the example of how once he was complaining about the Ottoman Empire`s policy of not getting taxes from non-Muslim populations and how was warned that heir of the Ottoman Empire was drinking shisha just behind him by other men. He was surprised that he did not say anything about all of the complaints that he had made. Although he does not prefer to talk about politics, through history, he showed me how he experienced democratic public

space at Çorlulu. Another international customer, Gottfried, who comes to Turkey, especially for this shisha café from Germany quite frequently, mentioned during his conversation with his friend how people do not speak politics in Germany as people do in Çorlulu.

When I asked about women`s place in this public space to Ferit, he mentioned that more than Turkish women, tourist women frequent Çorlulu. Further, he also underlined that women`s inclusion in their conversation depends on the conversation that they are having. If it is about his job, he does not want women in Çorlulu to participate in their conversations. In his own words: *" Women`s participation in the conversation depends on the topic, I do not want them to participate in the conversation about my job".* When I was having a conversation with Ferit, Musa, a worker at the shisha café, came to speak and arrange a shisha for Ferit. After they had their regular conversations, Musa also started to participate in our conversation. He highlighted the same point with Ferit regarding the overrepresentation of tourist women rather than Turkish women at Çorlulu. When I asked about one woman worker among them to learn how she deals with this patriarchal and democratic public space. Musa mentioned that she looks more masculine than other male workers there. He tried to exemplify her masculinity through scoldings and shoutings that she made towards them. As I frequented this shisha café every night, I also had a chance to observe her interaction with customers. Although she perseveres to act as masculine as possible as other women workers in the Grand Bazaar to survive here, I saw that she is still being seen as a woman, which is likely the reason for her exclusion. I saw it through her interaction with a customer who insisted on having a male worker set up his shisha rather than her. When she insisted and came to set up his shisha, first, he did not say much but made gestures towards her to reflect how he was getting annoyed. After she came for the third time to change his coal, he said that he wanted other male workers to change his coal and rectify his shisha. When another male worker, whom he seems to know, came in, he seemed to have been relaxed although he did not do anything different than a woman worker.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter affectionate, emotional, political, and gendered faces of the Bazaar environment are pictured and analyzed. Starting the analysis with an affectionate and emotional attachment of workers to the Bazaar and their emotional responses to the changing face of the Bazaar due to neoliberal policies of the 1970s and 2000s, paved the way to understand why the Grand Bazaar is important and peculiar for them. This affectionate side of the analysis is one common theme among women and men workers, most of whom endeavor to continue their family traditions in the Bazaar.

After having a sense of the Bazaar environment, its importance, and peculiarity for the workers, the gendered nature of the Bazaar environment starts to come up more and more. As the Grand Bazaar has been and is still an essential economic and political space, women worker`s inclusion and exclusion from this dynamic public space is scholarly and socio-politically crucial to analyze in this chapter. In other words, their place in the Bazaar is important to analyze because the Grand Bazaar is not just a dynamic economic and political public space, it is also a miniature of Turkish society. The Grand Bazaar is a litmus test where social and political changes happening in Ottoman and Turkish society are reflected immediately due to its crowded, heterogeneous, dynamic, social, and political features. Therefore, the analysis of women worker`s experiences of the Bazaar environment tells a lot about their standings, social and political achievements, or failures in Turkish society as well.

Throughout the interviews and ethnographic analysis, the above-mentioned gendered, political, and social sides of the Bazaar environment are analyzed. The usage of shops as semi-public spaces, various tactics, and the employment of docile agency as a survival tactic by women workers are several analyzed historical continuities in this chapter. These negotiation styles of

the gendered public space of the Bazaar environment are not without historical bases. Therefore, the explanation of many tactics and usage of semi-public spaces by Ottoman women to circumvent the patriarchy became an essential tool to analyze the experiences of women workers in this chapter.

Although there are historical continuities between the ways of being visible in the public spaces of the Ottoman women and Turkish women in the Grand Bazaar, there are also nuances. Experiences of woman workers are not only analyzed through these historical lenses, intergenerational and educational difference levels among women workers formed another layer in this chapter. This intergenerational and educational difference among women workers played a role in their understanding of and responses to the patriarchal Bazaar environment. While much older and less educated women workers seemed to internalized and naturalized patriarchal Bazaar norms as the rules of the Bazaar environment, much younger and more educated generation of woman workers do not agree with this mindset. Although both generations employ docile agency as a way to survive and circumvent the Bazaar environment, the younger generation, at times, becomes feminist kill-joy by openly reflecting their anger and rage against patriarchal and sexist conversations among men in their streets. But as they manipulated the minds of the male workers through their tactics and docile agency, they are accepted as not threatening the norms and traditions of the Bazaar, which are patriarchal, rather they are seen as they show what annoys them. This causes minute-long silences and short-term changes in the attitudes of men workers. Although they do not employ feminist kill joy figures all the time, the younger and more educated generation puts this figure on the table when they feel suffocated. Therefore, together with historical continuities in explaining the tactics and the usage of semi-public spaces employed by women workers, this chapter, at times, also delved into analyzing feminist kill joy figures among younger and educated generation women workers in the Grand Bazaar.

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to uncover the gendered experiences of workers in the Grand Bazaar. This purpose is scholarly and socio-politically essential, as the Bazaar environment is a dynamic social and political space, in addition, it is also a litmus test to see what kind of social and political changes Turkish society goes through. Therefore, women`s place and their gendered experiences in the Bazaar is crucial to get an idea about their overall standing as a whole in Turkey. These experiences are gendered in a way that women workers now working in the Bazaar experience the hardship of daily exclusions from the political conversations that have been and are still the daily routine of the Grand Bazaar. They have to pay attention to what they wear and how they speak to survive within the Bazaar environment. Also, seemingly a petite unsolved problem, they do not even have enough toilets for them to meet their daily needs in the Bazaar. Through these patriarchal signs, they are given the signals that these spaces are political and gendered therefore unsuitable for them to work.

Women workers deal with and circumvent all these difficulties through the usage of docile agency as a tactic among many others and through the usage of their shops as semi-public spaces. They use docile agency in order not to be seen as those targets that would disrupt the daily functioning and norms of the Bazaar, which are patriarchal. Through the usage of docile agency, they persevere to cause a change within the patriarchal Bazaar environment. In addition to the usage of docile agency, they also use their shops as semi-public spaces through which they have the authority to decide when to engage with male workers in their streets and when to stay away from this patriarchal Bazaar environment. Also, women workers use their shops as semi-public spaces to create handmade artisanal jewelry and then to publicize them to other male workers to show their social and political agency within the system. This usage of tactics and semi-public spaces is not without a historical base, they are similar to how Ottoman noble

and lower-class women used architecture, horse-drawn carriages, neighborhoods, baths, and balconies to circumvent the patriarchy in the Ottoman Empire.

Although this historical connection between Ottoman women and Turkish women now working in the Bazaar is one way to comprehend the gendered experiences of women workers, there are also nuances. These are nuances in terms of educational and age differences between women workers. The more educated and younger women workers sometimes outright explain to male workers in their streets that their sexist and patriarchal conversations are not funny and annoy them. They, in a way, sometimes kill the patriarchal and sexist joy of male workers which causes more attentive and careful behaviors of men workers. They use docile agency as a tactic, but at times they feel suffocated in this patriarchal environment and underline that something is so wrong that they cannot stay silent.

One thing that connects the experience of women and men workers is their emotional attachment to the Bazaar environment as an essential and authentic object. The neoliberal economic and political changes together with natural disasters that the Bazaar has experienced cause unhappiness among many respondents. Because the Bazaar now seems unrecognizable to them, the only way to connect with this environment is through their past experiences. So, this affectionate side of this helps to understand why the Grand Bazaar is so crucial for workers and how its changes affect their emotional attachments and detachments to the Bazaar. As the thesis scope is limited to the gendered experiences, future possible research can focus on the emotional attachments of the workers to the Bazaar environment, how this causes differences in the daily routines of the Bazaar workers, and how gender affects changing routines of the Bazaar workers, in other words, how women and men workers respond these changes through changing their daily routines.

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