ABSTRACT

RECOVERING UNTOLD STORIES: EVERYDAY LIVES OF WOMEN IN REPUBLICAN ISTANBUL, 1930-1960

by
Zehra Betül Atasoy

This research explores the everyday lives of urban women from various social strata in Istanbul between 1930 and 1960. It designates the implications of the Republican reforms in urban spaces and concentrates on untold stories of women who belonged to varying social settings and professions. The everyday life of the city became more complex with the increase in participation of women during these decades. This research examines the myriad ways in which women asserted themselves in the urban fabric, following three threads. First, women's leisure and economic activities in the newly built public squares are investigated. Then, industrial workers and gender interactions on the factory workshop floor are explored. Finally, sex workers, one of the most marginal groups of the society, are examined through public health interferences both in the urban environment and regarding women's bodies.

This dissertation situates women's quotidian urban lives against the background of official positions, revealing discrepancies between the two. It concentrates on reforms that targeted modernization of urban life (open public squares), industrial production (factory workers), and public health (women's bodies and sexuality). The women investigated originate from diverse social groups that include entrepreneurs, professionals, vocal artists, factory workers, and prostitutes. The urban spaces range from central squares to factories and neighborhoods in the margins that were created and reorganized by modernization projects.

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To my parents, Süheyla and İsmail

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objective

This dissertation aims to reveal the underrepresented everyday experiences of women from various social standings in Republican Istanbul between 1930 and 1960. The research has three main components: women's quotidian lives, state-led reforms, and Istanbul's urban spaces. My objective is to recover the untold practices of women through different reformation efforts in separate and seemingly unrelated urban spaces. In a period of transition from a multi-ethnic empire to a nation-state, urban settings come forward as the areas where the implications of these reforms in quotidian practices could be read more clearly. Similarly, the urban environment also allows us to examine day-to-day life comprehensively because it was more documented compared to the private sphere. Further, I designate the state's vision of the everyday for its citizens as denominator and investigate its impact, if any, on women's lives in various urban settings **(Figure 1.1)**. My research also aims to complicate the relationship between material realities and regulations. Although it is not possible to uncover the actual flow of everyday life, I aim to discover a different story than that contained in state-centered narratives. These state-focused narratives create almost an illusion that women were suddenly emancipated and took a great part in economic, social, and professional life with a series of legal rights initiated by the Republican state. It is represented as if women were touched by the state's liberating "magic wand." Hence, I also point out the contradictions between the imagined and reality.

The sites and areas of reform that are examined include the modernization of urban life (open public squares), industrial production (factory workers), and public health (sex workers). It is not argued that these areas of reformation were the only or the most significant ones, but the selections reflect varying possibilities when uncovering different experiences of women from diverse social groups such as entrepreneurs, professionals, vocal artists, factory workers, and prostitutes. While the first part of this research focuses on two public squares, Taksim and Eminönü, the latter sections concentrate on two different groups, industrial and sex workers, and examine their lives in different urban settings. The structure of the dissertation is constructed from visible to less visible women in public spaces. Here, visibility should not be taken in its literal meaning. Certainly, women were not invisible in public spaces, yet some were neither discussed nor appeared in the archival evidence. Additionally, as I investigate various public places in the city, it was inevitable to encounter a great sample of women from diverse social standings. Although the women I study belong to a wide social strata, they were all market participants and economically active agents in urban life.

Chapter 2 examines the presence of women in the secular public spaces reorganized under the Republican regime's control. I present how women from different social spectrums took part in the economic and leisure activities within two open public squares, Eminönü and Taksim. In Eminönü Square, I examine the story of Nimet Özden, a well-known figure in the lottery industry, and women scriveners who had mobile offices in and around the New Mosque. Connecting these two squares, I investigate female public transportation ticket collectors. In Taksim Square, I first examine Nebahat Erkal, a successful seamstress, who was a well-educated "Republican woman." Then, I look at the

entertainment scene in the area through two examples frequented by different groups: Kristal Gazino and Taksim Municipality Gazino. The focus of this section is one of the star vocal artists of her time, Müzeyyen Senar.

Chapter 3 re-conceptualizes the connection between gender and labor. I examine the everyday lives of working-class women under the categories of commuting, safety, health, hierarchy, and sexual harassment in the workplace. I investigate these topics through Defterdar Textile Factory (Feshane) and Cibali Tobacco Factory, where high numbers of women were officially employed. My selections of the topics correspond to the daily lives of laborers. Commuting was undoubtedly one of the important parts of a workday. Analyzing the factory spaces where laborers spent the most time provides insights on the work conditions, and hence the issues of safety, health, hierarchy, and sexual harassment.

Chapter 4 examines the centralization of sex trade regulations and the control of syphilis under the Republican regime, public discussions on the zoning of red-light districts, their relationship with the places of treatment (such as hospitals and private medical practices) in an urban scale. I also investigate how the Republican regulations impacted the streetscape and the rituals of brothel visitations. Finally, to locate individuals in their rightful settings, I investigate criminalized women and spaces and the daily violence they faced from police, brothel managers, and their partners. My case studies are the entertainment hubs of Istanbul, Beyoğlu, and Galata districts.

The focus of this dissertation is the female users of Republican Istanbul. However, as everyday practices are investigated in various urban spaces, men also make up an inevitable and important part of women's stories. First, the authorities who passed the rules

and regulations were men. Hence, on a bigger scale, men intervened in women's lives. Additionally, women encountered the opposite sex on the street, in public transit, at work, and in entertainment venues. This face-to-face interaction with male authority and/or counterparts became a part of women's stories. Overall, men naturally appear as parts of women's narratives in each chapter.

1.2 Historical Background and Selected Areas of Reform

The time period of my research is between 1930 and 1960. A comprehensive series of state-sponsored reforms were broadly aimed to produce a "modern" nation to reinforce the authority and legitimacy of the regime led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Republican People's Party (RPP). Here, it is important to emphasize the continuities with the late Ottoman period in terms of "modernization" efforts. The reforms had predecessors in the late Ottoman period. Modernization was a global phenomenon set in motion almost at the same time, but at a different pace. Ottoman dynastic rule followed by the Young Turk Period (1908-1918) created a legacy with regards to Turkish nationalism and modernization. What is usually described as the Ottoman decline was related to its outdated political and socio-economic structures that encumbered the state to progress, compared to its European rivals. Following the consecutive military defeats in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the call for reform and change to establish a modernized society became widespread discourse among the Ottoman elite, and the reforming rulers pursued interventionist policies to transform the society and political structure.[1] Although early Republican leaders claimed a clean break from the Ottoman past, any study of Turkey's

[1] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993), 23-27.

modern history has to also acknowledge the legacy of the Ottoman Empire since these leaders were the products of the Ottoman era. Moreover, the Empire's institutional framework and its laws, which had been reformed for almost a century, were bequeathed. Hence, the Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, was an outcome of a nearly one hundred years-long effort. In the same way as their Ottoman predecessors, the Republican reformers appointed a top-down social modernization program. However, the reform program undertaken in the Republican period was distinct because it aimed to transform the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman society into a secular, Turkish nation-state.[2] In short, Ottoman reformers pragmatically worked on what to adapt from Western policies and technology to assure the well-being of the Empire. Nonetheless, the reforms in the early Republican period had an ideological outlook, which argues that nationalism and secularism are the cultural foundations of society.[3] Overall, it is important to equilibrate the ruptures and continuities between the two periods. Although Republican reforms have usually represented as they did not have precedents, I demonstrate that Ottoman bureaucrats and rulers were also concerned with modernizing urban life, industrial production, and public health. I explore the ruptures and continuities between two periods in the background information sections in each chapter.

As it relates to Istanbul, the municipality and the governorship were merged under the 1930 Municipality Law, which allowed the central government to control major decisions. Subsequently, the first substantial effort of Republican transformation took place

[2] Reşat Kasaba, *The Cambridge History of Turkey: Turkey in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.

[3] Aylin Özman, "Law, Ideology and Modernization in Turkey: Kemalist Legal Reforms in Perspective," *Social and Legal Studies* 19:1 (2010): 71.

with the organization of an international competition for the master plan of the city in 1933. Furthermore, government intervention in the economy dominated the political environment. In 1931, statism was adopted, and the First Five-Year Plan was announced in 1934.[4] In 1936, the first Turkish Labor Act was passed. In the area of public health, centralization of the regulation of syphilis and prostitution was introduced with the Public Health Law in 1930, and a more detailed law on the regulation of prostitution in 1933. Following the transition to a multi-party regime in 1946, the early Republican period came to an end with the victory of the populist and center-right Democrat Party (DP) in the 1950 elections. After coming to power, the DP implemented its economic growth policy through free enterprise rather than state capitalism, and gradually abandoned secular authoritarianism in favor of populist democracy, and a new, more ambitious regional role for Turkey in the postwar international stage.[5]

The time frame of my research finishes with the 1960 military coup, which ended the DP regime. After the coup d'état, the commission appointed by the military regime was in favor of creating new social institutions before restoring the government. Fundamental changes were introduced by a new and liberal constitution that was passed in 1961. The new constitution allowed trade unions the right to strike, and socialists were given the right to form a party. These structural changes were perceived as a radical departure from early Republican Turkey.[6]

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[4] Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993), 197.
[5] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 106-110.
[6] Ibid, 127-129.

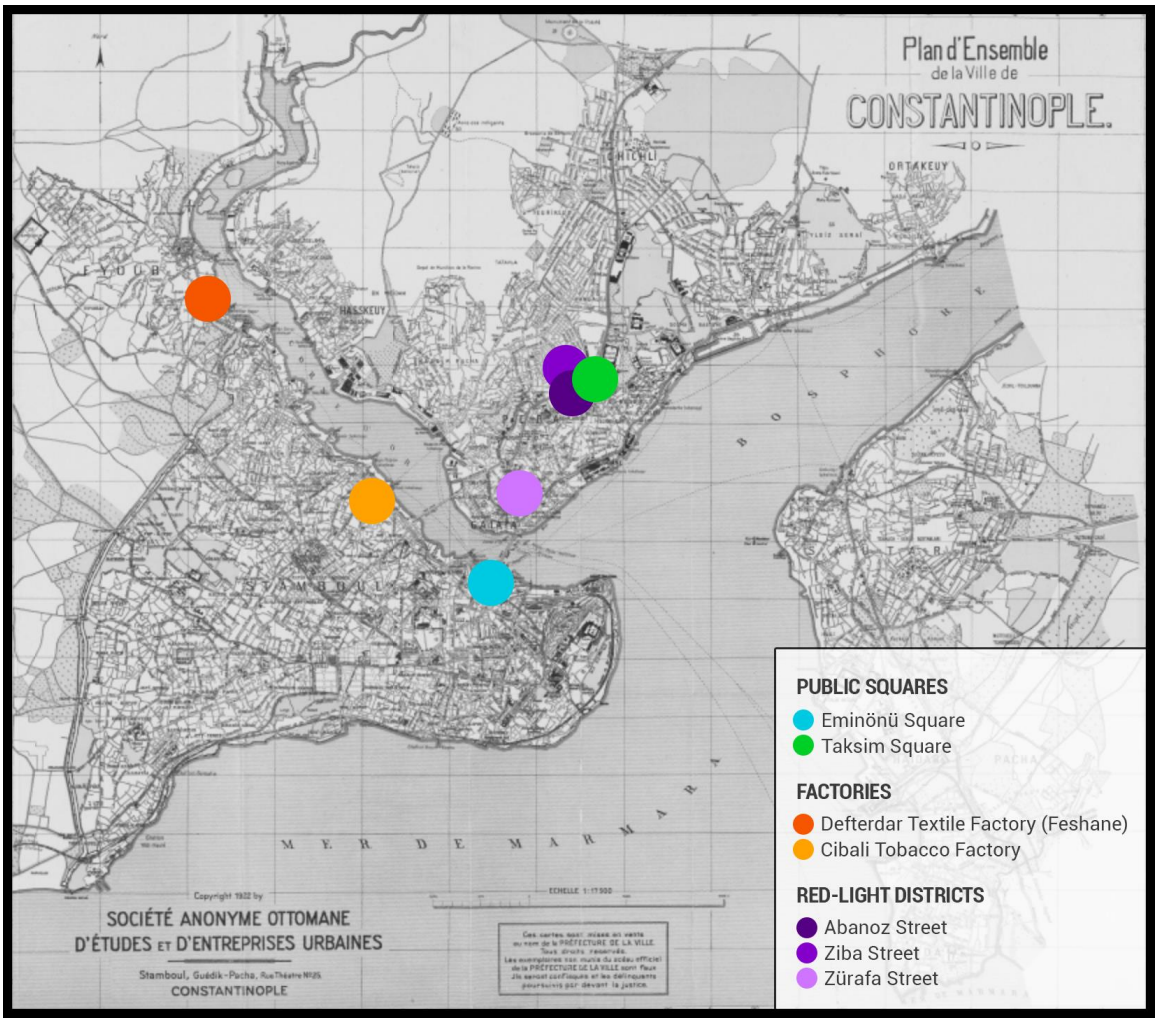

Figure 1.1 The locations of the selected case studies
Source: *Plan d'ensemble de la ville de Constantinople*, 1922, last accessed September 28, 2020, http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/#

1.3 Significance of the Study

While the lives of women in the new nation-state have mainly been studied with a focus on exceptional individuals, such as representatives of the Republican modernization and nationalism projects, ordinary women have received little attention from scholars of women's studies and urban history. Since individuals and communities in varying settings received state-led social and cultural transformations differently, investigating how ordinary people experienced, perceived, and interpreted top-down reformations is crucial

to an in-depth analysis of the impact and contradictions of the Republican modernization program. I argue that state-centered historical narratives have not been able to portray the complexity of social and urban life in the early Republican period and the 1950s. Although there is growing literature on how local actors and minorities received the national project in social history; political and economic historiography from above, the lives of individual elites and culturally *invented traditions*[7] still dominate the narratives of the Turkish modernization and national project. However, women's historiography in the Middle East has shifted its focus from elites and upper classes to working-class women, middle-class housewives, domestic workers, prostitutes, etc. as women's lives differed substantially by social status, time, and place.[8] My dissertation contributes to the literature on women's history by utilizing this perspective of studying under-explored social groups.

On a different note, the current literature of early Republican Istanbul in architectural and urban history mainly provides information on the urban transformation of the city chronologically at the government and institutional level.[9] Therefore, I

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[7] Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger argue that ruling elites and authorities employ "invented traditions" to legitimize their power and create a sense of belonging in the nation. These new "traditions" that are inserted in history create an illusion as if nations are not relatively recent products of modernization. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2.

[8] Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, "Introduction: Historiography of Late Ottoman Women," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women*, ed. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9-10.

[9] There are extensive studies surveying the early Republican architectural and urban heritage: Afife Batur, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Mimarlığı," *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 5 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983); Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, *Modern Turkish Architecture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Afife Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century* (Istanbul: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005); İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001). One of the most influential studies has conducted by Sibel Bozdoğan. She tackles the topic as a continuation from the late Ottoman period: Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). More recently, scholars have studied the built environment of the postwar years: Meltem Ö. Gürel, *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

contribute to the growing literature by reconstructing how women experienced the urban environment that was reshaped socially, culturally, and physically through the Republican agenda. Furthermore, I believe my approach would help to uncover another layer of Istanbul's history since I depict women's interrelated lives in their under-explored daily urban environments to complicate the Turkish modernization project by utilizing Istanbul.

I do not claim that the history of Republican Istanbul should be written only through the way I approach the topic. Yet, one of my objectives is to spark a new discussion by showing that Republican urban history could be explored beyond the boundaries of disciplinary terrains. The history of Republican Istanbul could become a richer, more nuanced subject, no longer narrated around just the ideals of the authorities such as the city planner and the government. The answer to "who had shaped the city in Republican Istanbul?" remains incomplete and requires further investigation. This dissertation demonstrates that there are a multitude of ways of writing Republican urban history through an amalgam of concerns in relation to the spatial, social, political, and gendered aspects of the urban space.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The purpose of studying the everyday lives of a specific group or individual is not only to explain their day-to-day activities but also to demonstrate how people build their environment within the hierarchical and power relations that exist in society or between individuals. In this respect, I employ Michel de Certeau's examination of the ways in which people individualize production from above. He is interested in the consumption of city life through taken-for-granted notions of the everyday.

Strategy and tactics are key concepts of de Certeau's sociology. Strategy is reserved for the powerful because of their access to institutional ordering. On the other hand, tactics could be defined as the manipulative tools of the non-powerful, who lack space of their own to apply strategies. Tactical performances continuously disrupt the social ordering of the powerful.

For de Certeau, the focus of the investigation is the way people practice everyday life and the operations of ordinary people. He explains that the people who consume the strategy imposed by the dominant economic order are not only consumers. This consumption hides a second production, which usually occurs in the form of tactics: "The presence and circulation of a representation (taught by preachers, educators, and popularizes as the key to socioeconomic advancement) tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyze its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then can we gauge the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization."[10] From this point of view, I investigate day-to-day practices of female city inhabitants under the regulations imposed by the authorities rather than focusing on the laws and lifestyles initiated and imagined by the state. This dissertation is concerned more with the second production hidden in the consumption of the strategy rather than the representation.

In his well-known essay "Walking in the City," de Certeau opens up the discussion with the perception of the city by seeing Manhattan from the World Trade Center (WTC). He states that when one is lifted to the top of the WTC, her/his body no longer interacts

[10] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), xiii.

with the streets, where "ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below,' below the thresholds at which visibility begins."[11] The ordinary practitioners employ walking and other spatial practices that could be called as "microbe-like, singular, and plural practices." These spatial practices are tactical, rather than strategic. The city is not an entity that can be perceived from above but rather a "text" composed by the movement of pedestrians through the urban fabric, a network of individual routes and paths that cannot be identified in maps.[12]

The city as a concept embodies a "strategy," in which certain rules and regulations are expected to be followed. As a strategy, urban planners design and organize the city. However, inhabitants use the city, activating the urban space through everyday tactics: taking a shortcut or detour, changing the streets, green areas, and adding meaning to and changing the urban space. Although inhabitants live in the city that strategy creates, over time they change and rebuild the urban environment without realizing it. Overall, it can be argued that it is not the city planner (strategy) who eventually shapes the city, but the user (tactic) is the protagonist in defining its form. As users distort strategies through tactics, tactics are considered as the "victories of the weak" over the "strong."[13]

Women especially had to resort to such tactics being the disadvantaged group in several social and market settings. Although it is not possible to apply this sort of tactical performance against strategies to each group or individual in my dissertation, I provide examples for each chapter. For instance, female scriveners (Chapter 2) manipulated their occupational roles within the male-dominated professional environment. Their role was

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[11] Ibid, 93.
[12] Ibid, 96-97.
[13] Ibid, xix.

limited to being typewriters in offices and it was not possible for them to take managerial roles. Nonetheless, they transformed the profession of scrivening by introducing typewriters when there was a shortage of male scriveners after Ankara became the capital of the new Republic. By employing tactical performance, they made room for themselves in the male-dominated profession without opposing the order.

As it relates to industrial laborers (Chapter 3), building squatter settlements could be perceived as tactical performance. Because the factories did not provide housing for workers, they put up their houses quickly in vacant lands. Albeit illegal, by manipulating the existing order of industrial production, they created their dwellings to endure the dire conditions that factories offered them.

Furthermore, sex workers were required by law to get medical examinations twice a week (Chapter 4). Although they had to pay a certain fee, it could be argued that some women preferred to be examined by private physicians to escape from the control and surveillance of the state authorities. Thus, women maneuvered within the boundaries of state-led regulations by making agreements with private doctors and continuing to work after contracting STDs.

Overall, if we wish to understand the real order rather than the world created by representations/strategies, we must turn to ordinary individuals and tactics. The actual order is the order of tactics that ordinary people manipulate following their purposes without revolutionary attempts.

1.5 Methodology

This research came to fruition first with an exhibit held at SALT-Istanbul in 2014, titled "Dismantling the Archive: Representation, Identity, Memory in an Ottoman Family." The exhibition looked at Mehmed Said Bey (1865-1928) and his family's lives as a collection of events, like an archive, sometimes disconnected, random, fictional, and filtered. Focusing on how a family expressed themselves through writing, material culture, and photography in a period of transition from the late Ottoman period into early Republican Turkey, it demonstrated that we could situate these ordinary belongings and expressions in a broader social and political context. Most importantly, the exhibit displayed the fruitful possibilities of construction of narratives with a variety of sources.

The nature of my research requires an interdisciplinary and eclectic approach to urban studies because it aims to uncover the everyday practices of women within three specific cases that fall into a variety of fields such as urban history, women's history, and labor history. These fields inevitably interact with each other since the multi-layered nature of the urban environment and the flow of daily life requires examination of individuals within various social and institutional encounters in different sites.

Cross-disciplinary approaches to urban history have been on the agenda since the 1960s with methodological novelties in urban history as well as in the discipline of social history. The investigation of subject matters under the umbrella of urban history has expanded from just examining architectural and other physical features of the cities to studying social, economic, political, and cultural aspects to understand the built form. With this approach, scholars have relied on interdisciplinary research because the multi-layered nature of the built environment demands the historian go beyond traditional disciplinary

boundaries and look for new interpretations.[14] Furthermore, people's history—which focuses on the lives of ordinary people—involves the approaches of history from below, the history of everyday life, and microhistory. These approaches include a reduction of historical scale, focusing on a single individual, community, or event. Studying the state and its elites is undoubtedly important since their decisions and actions affect not just the broader political context but the society as well. However, articulating the lives and experiences of the "ordinary" people and fitting them into a broader social and political context demonstrates that social change is a dynamic process at the local level.[15] Cyrus Schayegh argues that microhistorians have helped to challenge the master narratives of nationalist ideologies and state in Middle Eastern studies, and have demonstrated a view of culture as more of a fragmented notion rather than an exceedingly integrated whole.[16]

The investigation of daily life opened up new possibilities to discover "hidden" women in historiography. This is because women were actually present and identifiable in daily life. The field of gender history and that of everyday urban life are in the alliance because everyday history engages in an in-depth investigation of historical relations where people encounter one another in reality. Hence, everyday history becomes the history of gender where men and women interact face to face at work, in the family, and on the street.

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[14] Zeynep Çelik and Diane Favro, "Methods of Urban History," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41:3 (1988): 4. For a more recent commentary on the new approaches and trends that have been blurring the boundaries of the field, see Zeynep Çelik, "Expanding Frameworks," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59:2 (2000): 152-153.

[15] Donald Quataert, "History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34:1 (2014): 129-134.

[16] Cyrus Schayegh, "Small is Beautiful," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46 (2016): 373-374.

This approach does not abandon bigger notions—such as the formation of states—but intersects with large-scale historical aspects.[17]

Nevertheless, it is not an easy task to grasp the everyday since it is a vague and "taken for granted" category.[18] Ben Highmore asks "how would we call attention to such 'non-events' without betraying them, without turning them into 'events'? […] If everyday life is an endless field of singular moments held loosely in place by the threads of the overarching (power and governance) then how we talk about this everyday life?" It can be considered as a process (like a habit), where practices and conditions move from unusual to usual, from irregular to regular, and vice versa. Besides, one person's ordinary might be another's extraordinary.[19] Hence, how to contextualize the everyday life of a particular social group becomes problematic. Clearly, "ordinary" events in the life of a sex worker could be called a marginal event in the lives of other women. I have examined daily, periodical, or seemingly unavoidable events and developments that might specifically affect each group, including the constant potential of violence in the lives of sex workers or occupational diseases that resulted from dire working conditions of the working-class women.

Most of the documents need to be unearthed or restudied with the social construction of gender in mind because the greatest part of the written sources is

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[17] Dorothee Wierling, "The History of Everyday Life and Gender Relations: On Historical and Historiographical Relations," in *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. Alf Lüdtke (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 157; Wolfgang Kaschuba, "Popular Culture and Workers' Culture as Symbolic Orders: Comments on the Debate about the History of Culture and Everyday Life," in *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. Alf Lüdtke (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 170-171.

[18] Bryony Randall, *Modernism, Daily Time and Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2.

[19] Ben Highmore, *Ordinary Lives: Studies in the Everyday* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 12, 13, 18.

excessively male-oriented or they were written by or from the perspective of the state authorities.[20] Therefore, I read the male-oriented evidence through gender lenses, bring together various types of historical evidence, and cross-examine the information, because it is not possible to reveal the daily lives of women by analyzing one category of documentation. I decipher the visual material such as photographs and maps and triangulate with written documents like newspapers and journal articles, as well as laws and institutional documents.

The scarcity of materials—especially on working-class women and sex workers—posed the main challenge in narrating a glimpse of their lives. Most of the women I investigate did not leave letters or memoirs that would allow us to construct their experiences. Also, much of the institutional information has disappeared. For example, Cibali Tobacco Factory's archive, which could shed light on who these women were exactly, vanished. Similarly, the archive of the Committee for the Struggle Against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases cannot be located. This pushed me to be creative with the available evidence. I have observed that some forms of documentation that may not directly serve the topic investigated— such as telephone directories, and address books—have great potential in connecting the dots when triangulated with other sources. Additionally, literary writings were an integral part of my data.[21] They were until recently considered to have little historical significance; however, they greatly animate thinking

[20] Nikki R. Keddie, "Introduction: Deciphering Middle Eastern Women's History," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender,* ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 1. It should be noted that the background information of the Ottoman period is based on secondary sources.

[21] A recent book re-examines the fruitful relationship between history and literature. It consists of stories that various historians have set out from historical evidence such as institutional archival documents, newspaper clippings, diaries and letters. See Ebru Aykut, Nurçin İleri, and Fatih Artvinli, eds. *Tarihçilerden Başka Bir Hikaye* (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2019).

about the everyday lives of women in many ways. Literary writings have a greater engagement to the flow of quotidian life compared to state-led documentation, as they vividly describe places, clothing, and thoughts. Overall, I contextualize the daily practices of women within a broader political and social framework. This is achieved by juxtaposing piecemeal evidence of the state-initiated documents with the textual and visual documentation (such as photographs, maps, newspapers, women's magazines, literary writings, and movies), which can reveal day-to-day practices.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN'S PRESENCE IN PUBLIC SPACE: EMINONU AND TAKSIM SQUARES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the presence of women in the secular public spaces reorganized under the Republican regime's control. I present how women from different social strata took part in the economic and leisure activities by using two case studies, the Eminönü and Taksim squares — both important centers of the city, with major transit hubs. My selection of these public spaces corresponds to the recreational and economic activities, since they both attracted an extensive number of daily commuters, shoppers, and workers as well as recreational activities. Taksim Square in particular was built as the showcase of the Republican ideology.

First, I briefly provide information on the everyday presence and status of women from the Ottoman period to the early Republican era. Second, I concentrate on the state-led modernization efforts in Istanbul's physical environment, and particularly the Eminönü and Taksim squares. At the intersection of these two background sections lies the question of how the new regime aimed to mold its citizens in public spaces as "modern" ideal subjects. This section consists of a survey of the rules of etiquette in public squares, parks, and transportation. The main section of the chapter deals with various women (groups and individuals) in Eminönü and Taksim squares. In the context of Eminönü Square, I investigate the account of Nimet Özden, a well-known figure in the lottery industry from the late 1930s onwards, and female scriveners who had mobile offices in the New Mosque and its surroundings, after the adoption of the Latin alphabet in 1928. Connecting these

two squares, I look at female mass transit ticket collectors. In Taksim Square, first I examine Nebahat Erkal, who was a well-educated and successful seamstress. Next, I investigate the entertainment scene in the area through two examples frequented by different groups: Kristal Gazino and Taksim Municipality Gazino.[22] Their clientele were middle-class people and wealthy populations respectively. While talking about the *gazino* industry and who took part as performers and as *gazino*-goers, one of the superstars of the period, Müzeyyen Senar, is the focus of this section.

2.2 An Overview of the Everyday Presence and Status of Women in Public Space

Ottoman women were far more visible in the public space than has conventionally been assumed. Although one needs to be cautious not to overgeneralize the visibility of women across the empire's vast geography, diverse population, and over its long history, I briefly describe how women were visible in different areas of public life. As women were not a unified whole but rather composed of different worlds, the everyday presence of women varied from region to region and in different public spheres.

Women belonging to lower socio-economic groups and marginal women were more visible in the Ottoman period compared to their counterparts in the higher echelons of society. The former worked in the field and factories, shopped,[23] sold produce, or moved

[22] While some authors translate "gazino" as "casino," others use "pub" or "nightclub." However, because these translations do not fully reflect *gazino* as an entertainment venue, I use the original term "gazino" throughout the dissertation.

[23] Ottoman women were part of the consumer market. They shopped for basic household needs at one end of the economic spectrum and for luxury items at the other. Although markets varied from region to region and within time periods, female household servants were ever present at the markets. With the rise of the press in the nineteenth century, women were bombarded with advertisements of the globalized market of imported fashion and household goods. Hence, they played an important role in the consumer market. See

from door-to-door as peddlers. On the other hand, the frequency of visibility was not proportionate to higher visibility, as poor women in crowds formed an "invisible" bunch. However, wealthy and powerful women, who were out much less often, represented their status through patronage in architecture.[24] Similarly, though not physically visible, women were also present in the public sphere through singing and playing instruments within their own homes, thus being audible to the outside world. Women were not just being visible in different forms, but they were also active agents of the public sphere. They presented petitions (*arzuhal*), appeared personally in court by buying and selling property, getting divorced, and claiming inheritances.[25] Women also attended shadow plays (*Karagöz*) and popular theatre (*orta oyunu*), and privileged women followed Western-style theatre performances.[26] Gendered interactions also occurred in public spaces. For example, men and women could come across each other repeatedly in public gardens and pleasure grounds such as in Kağıthane and Göksu. They could mingle without the intervention of the authorities or the public.[27] Overall, women were a constant presence in the Ottoman public space, and it was not just limited to the later periods of the Empire.

Kate Fleet, "The Powerful Public Presence of the Ottoman Female Consumer," in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*, ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 91-92, 117.

[24] For example, Hatice Turhan Sultan was prevented from being seen by anyone outside of her entourage. She could not represent herself with sculptures, paintings, and other visuals like her counterparts in Europe. Nevertheless, she used her architectural patronage to make herself visible to the city inhabitants. The New Mosque complex, located in the heart of Istanbul's commercial quarter, Eminönü, had a major visual impact with its multiple-domes structure rising above the market area. See Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 187-269.

[25] Edith Gülçin Ambros et al., "Ottoman Women in Public Space: An Introduction," in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*, ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 5-6, 15.

[26] Kate Fleet, "The Powerful Public Presence of the Ottoman Female Consumer," in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*, ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 93.

[27] Edith Gülçin Ambros, "Frivolity and Flirtation," in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*, ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 152, 168.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, especially during the Young Turk Period,[28] new aspirations were rising for women. A new conception of womanhood and familial living was introduced. Ottoman women became increasingly integrated into public life, seclusion and veiling were challenged. Women could attend schools of higher education. Most of them had philanthropic aims, women's associations grew rapidly in numbers. The betterment of the conditions of women entered the agenda by educating women, creating business opportunities, and modernizing the way they lived and dressed. Women were at the center of national projects. For the more liberal Young Turk regime, the family became a political matter. The "national family" occupied the social concerns of the period. The regime passed the Family Law of 1917, which encouraged monogamy. It paved the way for a secular family law.[29] Hence, Republican reforms had predecessors in the late Ottoman period.

Although women were at the focus of national projects, patriarchy expanded from private to public, which had been dominated by employment and state in these nationalist contexts. Nationhood and citizenship diminished the control of men of the household over women while creating new subordinate roles of women in the public sphere.[30] In the case of Turkey, women's rights were defended not as individual rights but as a matter of social

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[28] The Young Turk Period (1908-1918) began after a revolutionary movement against the authoritarian regime of Abdülhamid II and restored the Ottoman constitution of 1876. It was a tragic period of wars and the eventual demise of the Empire. Yet, it was also a time when new programs that promoted the modernization of the Empire and emphasized the idea of Turkish nationalism were introduced. These efforts laid the foundations of the Republican Turkey. For more information, see Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

[29] Zafer Toprak, "The Family, Feminism and the State during the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918," in *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne*, (Istanbul: Éditions ISIS, 1991), 443-451.

[30] Sylvia Walbey, "Woman and Nation," in *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishman (London: Verso, 1999), 239, 243.

progress as they were the "mothers of the future generations."[31] The new state was convinced that reforms in the Republican women's dressing, education level, and political participation would pave the way to modernism.[32] The formal emancipation of women was attained through a series of legal reforms initiated by the state. In 1924, all religious institutions were eliminated, and the Unification of Education Law (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) assured both sexes a right to education and opened the door to co-education.[33] Inspired by the Swiss Code, the Turkish Civil Code was adopted in 1926. The new code outlawed polygamy and gave equal rights to divorce to both parties. Moreover, women's suffrage was achieved in two stages. To begin with, women were granted the right to vote at local elections (1930), and the national level (1934).[34]

The reforms had a substantial effect on the visibility of women in the public sphere, especially for women from the middle and upper-middle classes, and granted gender equality by law. However, the validity of those rights in a male-dominated and authoritarian regime was another battle. For example, founded in 1923 by Nezihe Muhiddin, the Women's People Party (*Kadınlar Halk Fırkası*) was not recognized officially by the state. This led Muhiddin to establish another organization, the Turkish Women's Union (*Türk Kadınlar Birliği*). This independent organization was dissolved in

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[31] Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," *Aspasia* 1 (2007): 67-68.

[32] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 113-132.

[33] Nermin Abadan-Unat, "The Impact of Legal and Educational Reforms on Turkish Women," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 179.

[34] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case," *Feminist Studies* 13:2 (1987): 320.

1935.[35] Overall, the reforms aimed to equip women with the education and skills that would make them better wives and mothers and sought to increase their contribution to the Republican patriarchal order. Women's activism was limited, and they were not allowed to lobby for their rights or to organize on their behalf during the early Republican regime. Besides, patriarchal norms continued to be practiced and replicated in the private realm.[36]

2.3 Modernization of Urban Spaces in Republican Istanbul

Urban planning was given utmost importance as part of the Republican modernization program. Modernization of cities was expected to be achieved by implementing comprehensive plans. This included arranging settlement areas convenient for modern lifestyles and hygiene, along with the creation of outdoor public spaces that would contribute to the thriving of a civic public realm.[37]

It was not just the new regime attached importance to urban planning and organization. Like many other Western cities, implementing basic hygienic standards, improving building quality, and establishing dependable public transportation were parts of the objectives of the Istanbul city government in the nineteenth century. Regularizing the maze-like street pattern, preventing the continuous fires, and establishing a municipal structure based on European examples were initiated. Additionally, laws and regulations

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[35] Arzu Öztürkmen, "The Women's Movement under Ottoman and Republican Rule: A Historical Reappraisal," *Journal of Women's History 25*:4 (2013): 258-259.

[36] Yeşim Arat, "From Emancipation to Liberation: The Changing Role of Women in Turkey's Public Realm," *Journal of International Affairs* 54:1 (2000): 111, 112; Zehra Arat, "Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, ed. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 52.

[37] Cana Bilsel, "Remodeling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: The Representation of History in Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul," in *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation*, ed. Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdina (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2007), 102.

adopted from European models were applied from the 1840s on. Other than sketching out the building regulations, the continuous rebuilding after fires became an opportunity to stage formal urban change. Hence, major fires played the greatest role in the transformation of the urban fabric by regularizing road network and streets.[38] Overall, connecting the urban fragments, creating new public spaces and roads, and shaping Istanbul and its inhabitants into modern beings were not limited to the Republican decision-makers.

These ideas around modernization of urban fabric and life in the late Ottoman era would continue more centrally in the early Republican period. To achieve this, Istanbul Municipality and the governorship were merged under the 1930 Municipality Law, which allowed the central government to control major decisions.[39] In 1933, the government held an international urban design competition for the master plan of Istanbul. Thereafter, in 1936, the Istanbul Municipality hired French architect and planner Henri Prost.[40] He remained the city's chief planner until the end of 1950, and his vision continued playing a prominent role in the redevelopment of the city. The overall goal of Prost's vision comprised the zoning of Istanbul into industrial, commercial, residential, and recreational zones. This included establishing an effective transportation system, opening new boulevards by cutting through the existing urban fabric, and improving the old street network. The plan also involved the clearance of buildings, deemed within the proximity

[38] Zeynep Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 49-53.

[39] The Municipality Law [*Belediye Kanunu*], Section 8, Articles 149 and 151, Resmi Gazete, 14 April 1930.

[40] Prost was one of the significant figures of the first generation of French urban planners, who were instrumental in the institutionalization of the discipline. His work especially in Moroccan towns of Fez, Marrakesh, Meknes, Rabat and Casablanca between 1913 and 1923 became widely known and particularly the planning of Casablanca was accepted as a success of the twentieth century urbanism at that time. See F. Cana Bilsel, "Shaping a Modern City out of an Ancient Capital: Henri Prost's Plan for the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul," *11th Conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS)* (2004): 1.

of monuments; rehabilitation of old and poorly serviced neighborhoods by building new housing and recreational areas; and the preservation of historical monuments and Istanbul's historic silhouette.[41] Even though Prost contributed to the development of conservation policies and paid particular attention to the historical monuments and buildings, he chose an interventionist approach—especially towards the vernacular Ottoman urban fabric—to achieve his vision of a "modern city."[42] Here, I would like to highlight that Prost's master plan did not present a unique proposal. In the late Ottoman period, three European experts were invited (Helmut Von Moltke in 1839, Ardonin in 1900, and Joseph Antoine Bouvard in 1902) and each proposed major urban interventions. Although these grand schemes were not implemented; cutting through the existing street network to regulate the maze-like streets, opening new public squares by clearing the existing buildings nearby the monuments were not novel ideas. In this respect, there was a continuity between the two periods.[43]

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[41] F. Cana Bilsel, "Henri Prost's Planning Works in Istanbul (1936-1951): Transforming the Structure of a City through Master Plans and Urban Operations," in *The Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)*, ed. C. Bilsel and P. Pinon (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010), 101-144.

[42] Cana Bilsel compares Prost's work on Moroccan cities to Istanbul and highlights the different socio-political contexts of 1930s Turkey and Morocco under French protectorate. According to her, his interventionist approach in Istanbul was related to the revolutionary political context and dynamics of social change that forced the planner to intervene radically on the urban historical fabric. On the other hand, his protectionist attitude in Moroccan historical towns was directly related to French colonial government's policy of keeping the traditional structure of the indigenous society as it was. See, Bilsel, "Shaping a Modern City out of an Ancient Capital: Henri Prost's Plan for the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul", 6, 8; Cohen and Eleb also compare Prost's "ruthless" modernization of Istanbul's existing urban fabric to his master plan of Casablanca. They state that this shows how much he was held back by the colonial government. See Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2002), 85; For Prost's master plan of Rabat, see, Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat, Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[43] For a detailed analysis of these proposals, see, Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, 60-125.

The redevelopment of Istanbul was also, from its early days in power, a major target of the Democrat Party (DP) administration. Even though Ankara had presented Turkey's bureaucratic, national, and secular face, the country's new role in post-war global politics brought Istanbul back onto the international stage as one of the most vital commercial, political, and cultural centers in the eastern Mediterranean region. According to the DP government, the single-party administration had abandoned Istanbul and driven the city into decay. The discourse of DP representatives was to return Istanbul to its "glorious days." Henri Prost was dismissed with the claim that he did not achieve any serious results to diminish Istanbul's problems. Ultimately, the city saw one of its significant redevelopment projects under the personal supervision of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes from 1956 to 1960.[44]

Prost planned to rearrange the Eminönü Square **(Figure 2.1)** as "a new décor that would provide access to old Istanbul through the Golden Horn."[45] First, he constituted the general redevelopment principles, beginning in 1936, and a detailed proposal was prepared between 1943 and 1944. One of his principles was the demolition of heterogeneous structures to better display the New Mosque in the open. However, because he proposed to demolish historical buildings such as Balkapanı Han along with the modern structures, and because the municipality did not have the financial means to expropriate the selected areas, the Minister of Public Works rejected his plan in 1948.[46] Hence, the proposal was

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[44] Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2009), 131-133, 140.

[45] Pierre Pinon, "The Grand Bazaar Area and Eminönü Square," in *The Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)*, ed. C. Bilsel and P. Pinon (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010), 327-328.

[46] Pinon does not indicate the negotiations between the design team and the municipality or the Ministry of Public Works. He mentions a letter sent from the minister of public works to the governor-mayor of the city as an indication why the overall design was not implemented.

implemented partially with the demolition of the buildings in front of the New Mosque and the Spice Bazaar **(Figure 2.2)**.[47] On another note, the shops between the southern side of the mosque and Spice Bazaar, including the spot where the mosque's *harim* was located, were cleared out, and a park was arranged in 1947. Therefore, the mosque, the kiosk, and the bazaar were brought forth and became the major elements defining the modern square. A new terrace and staircases were added to monumentalize the mosque.[48] These operations changed the former relationship between commerce and transportation in the area. Reşat Ekrem Koçu compares Eminönü Square in the late 1960s with the period between 1910 and 1925 and indicates that the area lost its identity as a trade and entertainment hub, where toy and shoe stores, tobacco shops, pharmacies, coffee shops, and taverns (*meyhane*) were located. According to him, the area "with small and large squares," became a bizarre space and more of a "part of a big road."[49] The demolitions of the buildings broadened the area. However, compared to the urban fabric surrounding the square, relatively vast spaces were created due to the partial implementation and the complex historical urban fabric of Eminönü.

[47] Pinon, "The Grand Bazaar Area and Eminönü Square," 327-328.

[48] Tümay Çin, "Transformation of a Public Space in Istanbul: The Eminönü Square," unpublished MSc thesis (Middle East Technical University, 2006), 87.

[49] Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Eminönü Meydanı," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 9 (1968): 5078-5079.

Figure 2.1 Eminönü Square in 1928, photography by Maynard Owen Williams. The photograph was taken from the stairs of the New Mosque, looking towards the Galata Bridge. The tramway stop is at the center of the image. The automobile, horse carriage, and pedestrian traffic seem to flow organically before Prost's interventions. The triumphal arch that was constructed for Atatürk's first visit to Istanbul after the War of Independence in 1927 could be seen on the Galata Bridge.
Source: National Geographic Türkiye, *Görmediğimiz Türkiye: 123 Yıllık National Geographic Arşivinden 100 Fotoğraf* (Istanbul, 2011), 20, 33.

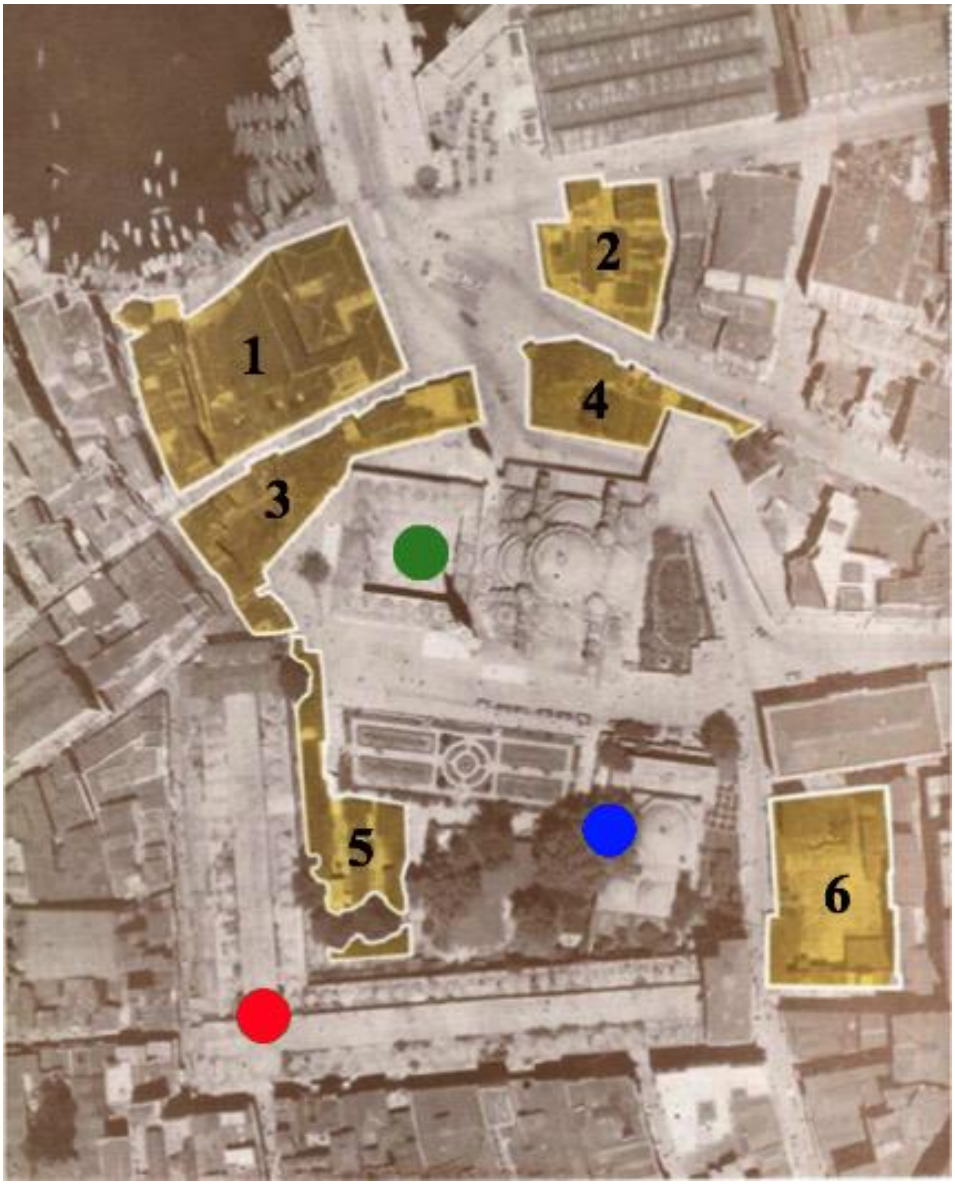

Figure 2.2 The expropriation areas in Eminönü Square. By demolishing the buildings indicated with numbers (see also Figure 2.5), the New Mosque (green), and the neighboring Spice Bazaar (red) would be exposed. Additionally, isolated by a green patch of trees, the Tomb of Hatice Turhan Sultan (blue) would be preserved. Prost proposed the Galata Bridge should be moved to align its axis with the Spice Bazaar's west wing, but it was not realized. Also, the planned road following the contour of the bazaar and the wide road that starts at the bridge and climbs up to the Grand Bazaar was not constructed. Hence, the designed buildings (one of them was the Local Goods Market [*Yerli Malları Pazarı*]) surrounding the mosque and the Spice Bazaar could not be built. Although the demolition of the indicated areas liberated an important space, it was left open without a specifically designated function after the demolition. See Pinon, "The Grand Bazaar Area and Eminönü Square," 323-330.
Source: *Güzelleşen İstanbul*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1943.

Similarly, Prost proposed a public space in Taksim. One of the key places of communicating the state's ideals, Taksim Square has been the most important urban space that was closely associated with Republican modernization and its urban planning principles in Istanbul. The arrangement of Taksim Square started with the demolition of the Taksim Artillery Barrack's[50] stables and the placement of the Monument of the Republic in 1928.[51] Afterward, the square became a place of political power, official celebrations, and political demonstrations.[52] In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the area that was known as the training ground for the barracks was opened to construction. Here, five to six story apartments were built with roads crossing each other. Subsequently, Kristal Gazino, which had a curved form following the contour of the roundabout was built on the edge of the square. Taksim in the 1930s was an easily perceivable open space surrounded by buildings that followed the form of the square.[53]

However, the most significant transformation of the area was after Prost's proposal of the demolition of the barracks to build Gezi Park in 1939, which was designed as the

[50] Beginning from the second half of the nineteenth century, social activities were organized in and around the barracks such as balloon shows and horse racings. The building was not used during World War I. It went under French control after the occupation of Istanbul in 1918. Occupation forces organized many sporting events in the building. It was used as a soccer stadium from 1921 until its demolition. Other sports such as athletics and boxing were also performed. The adjacent Talimhane Ground (an open area for military practicing) was an area, where people rode bicycles, and circus tents were erected. See, Tuba Üzümkesici, "Taksim Artillery Barracks," in *Ghost Buildings*, ed. Cem Kozar, Işıl Ünsal, and Turgut Saner (Istanbul: Şan Ofset Matbaacılık, 2011), 109-110.

[51] The monument was commissioned to the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica (1869-1959). Canonica's work displays the birth and the ideals of the Republic in a single monument. One side of it depicts the War of Independence while the other portrays the secular state. Aylin Tekiner, *Atatürk Heykelleri: Kült, Estetik, Siyaset* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 104-105.

[52] Murat Gül, John Dee and Cahide Nur Cünük "Istanbul's Taksim Square and Gezi Park: the place of protest and the ideology of place," *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 38:1 (2014): 64.

[53] Hasan Kuruyazıcı, "Cumhuriyet'in İstanbul'daki Simgesi Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı," in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* ed. Yıldız Sey (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 93.

starting point of the green belt, called the Second Park.[54] The demolitions started in 1940 and the park was opened to the public in 1942 **(Figure 2.3)**.[55] Prost planned to build a theatre, a conference hall, and an exhibition and sports hall for the extensive empty land on the location of the demolished barracks. A municipal entertainment space, Taksim Municipality Gazino, was built on the northeastern corner of the park. However, because of the financial shortcomings of World War II (WWII), the rest of the projects were not realized.[56] The centrality of the Monument of the Republic was eliminated through these interventions. With a roundabout circling the monument, the rectangular extension of the square on the west, and the Gezi Park, the area lost its easily perceivable open space characteristics.

Overall, the creation of open public spaces was used as a tool of urban transformation both in spatial and social terms. They were built to help citizens adopt new manners of sociability as well as to provide a healthy environment with the principle of hygiene.[57]

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[54] According to the Prost Plan, the First Park (The Archeological Park) was proposed in the area comprised of Sultanahmet and Sarayburnu in the Historical Peninsula. The plan was not implemented. See Pierre Pinon, "The Archeological Park," in *The Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)*, ed. C. Bilsel and P. Pinon (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010), 296-297.

[55] During the 1940s, the statue of İsmet İnönü, who was the second president of the Republic and a comrade of Atatürk, was planned to be erected at the entrance of the park. Although the statue was completed in 1943 and the pedestal was already located in Gezi Park, the statue was not raised due to political reasons. Considering the political environment in the 1950s, one can argue that the Democrat Party (DP) government could not afford to erect a large İnönü statue in one of the most important urban spaces in Republican memory. However, the DP members were not the only ones opposed to raising the statue, but even people close to İnönü were surprised about the lack of consideration, they believed, a second monument would overshadow the Monument of the Republic, and hence disrespect the founding father. Overall, his attempt to impose his power through virtually tangible images of himself was unsuccessful. See, Klaus Kreiser, "Public Monuments in Kemalist and Post-Kemalist Turkey," *TUBA* 26:11 (2002): 49.

[56] Tuba Üzümkesici, "Taksim Artillery Barracks," in *Ghost Buildings*, ed. Cem Kozar Işıl Ünsal, and Turgut Saner (Istanbul: Şan Ofset Matbaacılık, 2011), 110-111.

[57] Cana Bilsel, "'Les Tranformations d'Istanbul': Henri Prost's planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)," ITU *A/Z* 8:1 (2011): 111-112.

2.3.1 Close yet Far Away?: Social Distinctions of the Two Squares

The two open public squares differ through their social and historical characteristics. Eminönü Square had been a multi-functional and multi-layered space since it was a commercial and transportation hub, whereas Taksim Square with the promenade and surrounding modern facilities became one of the most important urban spaces in Istanbul for official celebrations and the showcase of Republican modernization.[58]

Indeed, one of the topics of the literary works of the era is the social distinctions of these two urban spaces. Although Taksim-Beyoğlu and Historical Peninsula are separated from each other only by a body of water, and the transportation was relatively easy, literary representations generally draw two completely different lifestyles and cultures. While Beyoğlu symbolized a "Western" and modern urban life, where mostly minorities were inhabited, traditional boundaries of Istanbul represented the Muslim Ottoman life. For example, Neriman, one of the main characters of Peyami Safa's novel *Fatih-Harbiye*, disdained her neighborhood of Fatih and associated it with the backwardness of her community: "When Neriman went to Beyoğlu (*Beyoğlu'na çıktığı vakit*), she thought she had made a great journey, like most of the residents of pure Turkish neighborhoods [of the Istanbul side]. Again, Fatih remained away, far away. This distance [between two districts], which did not take even an hour by tram, seemed as far as the road to Afghanistan (*Efgan*) to Neriman, and most of the differences between Kabul and New York are easily encountered between the two districts of Istanbul."[59] This rhetoric was certainly related to

[58] Murat Gül, John Dee and Cahide Nur Cünük "Istanbul's Taksim Square and Gezi Park: the place of protest and the ideology of place," 66.

[59] Peyami Safa, *Fatih-Harbiye* (Istanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2004), 24. The novel was first published in 1931.

the frustration towards foreign nationals and minorities with the accelerated nationalism from the very beginning of the twentieth century. Even so, this perception of Taksim and Beyoğlu representing "the modern" and Historical Peninsula being "the traditional/Ottoman face" of the city remained intact.

Figure 2.3 The newly regulated spaces in and around Taksim Square. The above photograph taken from an airplane shows the grand façade of the Artillery Barracks on the left side. The historical Taksim water distribution building that is located across the Monument of the Republic (at the center of the circular green area/roundabout) is below on the right. The tramway station is located at the entrance of İstiklal Street on the right-hand side of the image. Since the demolition of the barracks was not finalized when the photograph was taken, it can be argued that it dates between 1940 and 1942.
Source: Çelik Gülersoy, *Taksim: Bir Meydanın Hikayesi* (Istanbul: 1986), 52.

2.4 Molding the New Citizen: Manners in Public Spaces

Shaping new secular citizens of the Republic included "educating" the public about how to act properly in urban public spaces. This was imposed by new Istanbul Municipality guidelines that created a certain citizen profile, which was simultaneously enhanced by perception through media. Of course, creating modern and secular urban spaces went hand in hand with determining the behavior and interaction of the city inhabitants. The emphasis was that just as eating and shaking hands had certain manners, walking on the street had a courtesy. Adhering to these guidelines was not only associated with being a "modern" citizen, but it also determined one's status in society: "Streets, parks, cinemas, and public transit that belong to everyone expect your respect. More eyes are watching you outside of your home. These eyes are the ones of the neighborhood, and its decision determines which step you are worthy of on the social ladder."[60] Almost threatening the public, these detailed rules of etiquette display the pressure on the Republican citizen and the great expectations of the new regime from its people.

To ensure "the peace and comfort of the public," Istanbul Municipality introduced a detailed proposal on how to behave in public spaces. According to the proposal, it was forbidden to do things that would disgust, embarrass, or hurt people, and do not conform to morality in such public spaces as streets, squares, movie theaters, *gazinos*, and public transportation. It was banned to accumulate on streets and make passing through difficult for others; to move in a hurried and shuffling manner when getting on public transit or getting tickets was also banned. In public squares and streets, people could only be seated on the city furniture placed by the municipality. It was also forbidden to wear dirty and

[60] "Sokak Terbiyesi," *Ev-İş* 29 (1939): n.p.

smelly work clothes or outfits that would "disgust the public." Similarly, walking around with things that would disturb the passerby with their looks or smells was banned.[61] Other than these articles aimed at the general public, the section on what acts could not be performed in public parks had some articles relating specifically to women. Although women were not the direct subjects of the articles, they needed to control how their children behaved in public parks. For example, moving strollers in areas not allocated by the municipality was banned. Also, letting children play games or disturb the public with toys that made sounds was forbidden **(Figure 2.4)**.[62] These exceedingly detailed guidelines, which directly interfered with daily life, enumerated how to behave and what was permitted in every corner of the public sphere. These guidelines are good indicators of how the Republican administration wanted to mold the city inhabitants from above.

Furthermore, *Ev-İş*, a women's magazine, published illustrated etiquette advice. These sections displayed what rules had to be followed when walking down the street, using any public transportation, and interacting with other city inhabitants. In all the illustrations, women are seen wearing fancy hats and coats following the latest fashion. Hence, while giving etiquette advice on urban life, they also subtextually displayed how the modern Republican women should look. There was also advice directed at women about what to pay attention to in their outfits. For example, strolling the streets without wearing a hat was considered wrong. No matter how stylish her dress and how beautiful her face were, there would be those who would condemn her if she did not wear a hat.

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[61] *Belediye Zabıtası Talimatname Layihası* (Istanbul: Belediye Matbaası, 1933), Section A and B, Articles 6, 7, 29, and 30.

[62] *Belediye Zabıtası Talimatname Layihası* (Istanbul: Belediye Matbaası, 1933), Section C, Articles 9 and 21.

Similarly, it was considered shameful to wear very thin and tight clothes when it was hot, as it would get reactions by others; someone would surely point and whisper on seeing a woman dressed in that way. Also, women had to be cautious of wearing tight and thin skirts as that could risk revealing the shape of their undergarments. They were advised to reflect on that behavior in the following words: "Would it be right to wander around in the street (…) like walking on the beach? Think!"[63] The visibility of women in the public sphere increased in the early Republican period, however, these unwritten rules also show that women could exist in the public sphere within a certain framework determined by the new regime. Women had to be aware of themselves at every step they took in public spaces.

There were also warnings about gendered interactions in urban space. For example, it was mentioned that when a man came across a woman, he was not to let her step down from the sidewalk.[64] One of the most shameful things on the street was to look behind someone, especially women who pass by.[65] In addition to encounters on the street, the manners of gendered interactions in public transportation were also underlined. Men were told not to stare at women in public transit: "She is not a fashion model so that you could watch closely. You do not have the right to look for flaws in her face either."[66] Moreover, new gendered interactions in the public sphere made some problems such as harassment and making improper remarks towards women more visible. Men who harassed women were not only punished by law, but such acts were perceived as politically charged. Because women were at the center of the national discourse, those men who had a pass at

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[63] "Sokak Terbiyesi," *Ev-İş*, 29 (1939): n.p.

[64] "Nasıl Yürüyelim?: Ev-İş'in resimli adabı muaşeret öğütleri," *Ev-İş* 22 (1939): n.p.; "Resimle etiket (muaşeret adabı), *Ev-İş*, 1940 Yılı Özel Sayısı (1940): n.p.

[65] "Nasıl Yürüyelim?: Ev-İş'in resimli adabı muaşeret öğütleri," *Ev-İş* 22 (1939): n.p.

[66] "Sokak Terbiyesi," *Ev-İş* 29 (1939): n.p.

(*laf atan*) women were knowingly or unknowingly supporting the anti-Republican propaganda of the reactionary groups. Those who had "bad character" were a "fabrication of the old times," and they were casting aside the freedom of citizens and making devoted Republicans suspect the validity of the reforms.[67] Republican women should not have been threatened in public spaces and they had to make their new identity visible. Some of these incidents were reflected in the newspapers. For example, İstefan was caught by the police after he molested Mari, who was a "stylish madame" in Beyoğlu.[68] Similarly, because İbrahim and Ziya assaulted two women, named Nimet and Nazik, in Beyazıt, they were prosecuted.[69] By the 1950s, plainclothes policemen were assigned especially in crowded urban spaces to catch men who molested women.[70] Women had been subjected to various forms of harassment in the previous periods as well. Nonetheless, the increased presence of women in public space made these issues more evident. Such acts were not just punished by law, but also labeled as "anti-Republican." This must have pressured people to be more careful against such stigma.

[67] "Adliye Vekilinin tamimi: Kadınlara laf atanlar derhal tevkif edilecek," *Cumhuriyet,* 10 September 1929.
[68] "Kadına sarkıntılık eden yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet,* 4 September 1934.
[69] "Sarkıntılık," *Milliyet,* 27 July 1934.
[70] "Kadınlara sarkıntılık yapanlar yakalanıyor," *Yeni İstanbul*, 12 August 1950.

Figure 2.4 Strollers in Gezi Park, 1940. Gezi Park was created for the "ideal" citizens of the new regime. Women and men would promenade together and spend time in the modern facilities of leisure at the park. This image was taken looking towards the stairs at the entrance of the promenade that is located on the northwest of Taksim Square. At the center of the photograph, one woman is wearing a white apron and another woman, who is sitting on a stool, is wearing a nurse uniform. This shows that they were babysitters or nannies. According to Bilsel, in his report in 1947, Prost mentioned that higher income groups had been moving from the Historical Peninsula for the newly developing settlement areas towards the north and this mobility gained momentum with the development of public transportation such as tramway and maritime transportation. He related the emigration of the higher income groups with the adoption of modern lifestyles and women's emancipation. This emigration gave rise to the continuous extension of the city towards its peripheries. See Cana Bilsel, "Shaping a Modern City out of an Ancient Capital: Henri Prost's Plan for the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul," *11th Conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS)* (2004): 3.
Source: Académie d'architecture/Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine/Archives d'architecture du XXe siècle. 343 AA 72.

2.5 An Overview of the Literature on Republican Urban Planning

Studies on the built environment in the Republican era have often focused on larger scale state-funded structures.[71] Architectural and urban historians such as Cana Bilsel, Pierre Pinon, and İpek Akpınar have examined the physical characteristics of Istanbul's master plan. Murat Gül has published one of the most comprehensive accounts on the modernization of Istanbul within the time bracket of my research. Although the book is more in a survey format, Gül discusses the role of Henri Prost in reshaping the city while drawing connections to the ideological atmosphere of the era. In the last section of his book, he offers a different perspective to the transformations under the DP regime and its leader Adnan Menderes and documents his urban executions as a continuity of Prost's plan, unlike claimed as unplanned and personal.[72] One recent publication, *The Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)*, on the transformation efforts and the architect/planner's background and other works, was published as an extensive exhibition catalog that has added more nuance to the current literature. In this volume, Prost's urbanism and the general framework and description of the Istanbul plan have been discussed. Also, each portion of his planning scheme discussed separately (regulation of Hippodrome [Atmeydanı] and the Palace of Justice, Atatürk Boulevard and Fatih Square, the Grand Bazaar area and Eminönü Square, metro project, and parks and promenades) with original documents and photographs.[73]

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[71] Elvan Altan Ergut, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Tanımlar, Sınırlar, Olanaklar," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7:13 (2009): 124.

[72] Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2009).

[73] Cana Bilsel and Pierre Pinon, *The Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)* (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010).

Despite the detailed discussions, the master plan of Istanbul has been studied within the traditional disciplinary boundaries of architectural and urban history. It can be argued that several studies recycle the same evidence while using the same methodology.[74] Prost's plan has been studied descriptively, in which the architect's planning scheme was narrated mostly through its physical aspects, excluding the societal and cultural environment. Although architecture and urban planning were major tools of the modernization efforts, it is fair to state that in the body of research conducted by Turkish scholars, the modernization efforts have not been studied with a bottom-up approach. Rather than examining Istanbul's overall master plan that was first designed under the supervision of Henri Prost, and later reinterpreted under the DP rule, my contribution focuses on the user experience and addressing how women took part in these reorganized public squares.

2.6 Eminönü Square

2.6.1 Becoming a Brand at Eminönü Square: "The Queen of Lottery, Nimet Abla"

In 1938, the shop owners at Eminönü became aware that Eminönü Square would be reorganized, and some of the stores expropriated by the municipality. They had been

[74] See İpek Yada Akpınar, "İstanbul'u (Yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı," in *2000'den kesitler II: Cumhuriyet'in Mekanları/Zamanları/İnsanları, Doktora Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Kitabı,* ed. Elvan Ergut and B. İmamoğlu (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları and ODTÜ Yayınevi, 2010), 107-124; İpek Yada Akpınar, "The Rebuilding of Istanbul after the Plan of Henri Prost, 1937-1960: From Secularization to Turkish Modernization," unpublished Ph.D. diss., (Bartlett School of Graduate Studies, 2003); İpek Yada Akpınar,"The Rebuilding of Istanbul Revisited: Foreign Planners in the Early Republican Years," *New perspectives in Turkey* 50 (2014): 59-92; Cana Bilsel, "Shaping a Modern City out of an Ancient Capital: Henri Prost's Plan for the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul"; Cana Bilsel and Haluk Zelef, "Mega Events in Istanbul from Henri Prost's Master Plan of 1937 to the Twenty-First Century Olympic Bids", *Planning Perspectives* 26:4: 621-636; Murat Gül and Richard Lamb, "Urban Planning in Istanbul in the Early Republican Period," *Architectural Theory Review* 9:1 (2004): 59-81; Pelin Tan, "Parks as a Public Space in the Early Republican Period in Turkey," exhibition '*UrbanreViews: Istanbul', IFA Galleries*, Berlin, 2014; Birge Yıldırım, "Transformation of Public Squares of Istanbul Between 1938-1949," *15th International Planning History Society Conference.*

closely following the design decisions of French urban planner, Prost, for months. Upon the arrival of Prost and his team to Eminönü Square, Nimet Abla, the busiest lottery ticket seller in the area, and beloved of people, appears visibly frustrated by their presence. She is hanging from her shop window and looking at them while they walk towards the New Mosque. She would tell the following to a journalist the next day: "Prost came to the New Mosque yesterday. They climbed into the minaret and inspected [the surroundings] with binoculars. I freaked out (*aklım başımdan gitti*) whether we were being demolished immediately."[75] Only she did not know then that her new spot would bring her nationwide fame and help her become a brand.

One of the examples of women taking place in economic life and occupying Eminönü Square is Nimet Özden, commonly known as Nimet Abla.[76] She established her lottery store in 1937. Due to the expropriation in the scope of Prost's proposal **(Figures 2.5 and 2.6)**, Özden had to move her store in 1938. The new location of her store was in a seemingly leftover space, on a triangular plot at the intersection of one of the major roads leading to the square and the borderline of the garden at the southwest of the royal pavilion of the mosque. This uneven plot appears to be the result of the partial implementation of the design. However, Nimet Abla's shop became a famous landmark over time.

[75] "Piyango talihlileri: Başına konan devlet kuşunu kaçıran bir kemancı," *Akşam*, 12 June 1938.
[76] "Abla" means older sister but it is also a respectful title used when addressing an older woman.

Figure 2.5 Before and after conditions of the clearance of buildings surrounding the New Mosque in Eminönü. In the first picture, the square was clustered with two- and three-story buildings. After the demolitions, the New Mosque became the main visual element that dominated and defined the broadened square. Also, the tramway station was moved, and thus, the pedestrian movement was redefined.
Source: *Güzelleşen İstanbul*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1943.

Figure 2.6 The location of the Nimet Abla Lottery Store and Nimet Abla posing in front of her store. The highlighted part on the map shows the location of the Nimet Abla Lottery Store. In the image on the right-hand side, Nimet is posing in front of her store with the winner of the lottery prize along with a curious crowd.
Source: Pervititich Insurance Maps, 1940; *Cumhuriyet*, 8 May 1940.

One of the major institutions that held lotteries between 1926 and 1939 was the Aviation Society Lottery (*Tayyare Cemiyeti Piyangosu*).[77] It was replaced by the General Directorate of the National Lottery (*Milli Piyango İdaresi*) in 1937, and its headquarters moved from Istanbul to Ankara.[78] Among the 193 franchises that sold the Aviation Society Lottery, four of them were well known to the city inhabitants: Nimet Abla, Tek Kollu (One-armed) Cemal, Uzun (Tall) Ömer, and Cüce (Dwarf) Simon. Tek Kollu Cemal's stand was next to Nimet Abla's. Uzun Ömer's stand was first located next to Karaköy Post Office, then he moved his office to Köprüaltı. Among them, only Cüce Simon did not have a stand; rather Simon sold lottery tickets as a traveling franchise. Nimet Özden continued to work uninterrupted until 1978 in Eminönü.[79]

[77] Its name changed to Turkish Aviation Association (*Türk Hava Kurumu*) in 1935.
[78] "Piyangolar," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1994), 260.
[79] Ayşe Hür, "Piyango Bayileri," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1994): 258, 259.

Nimet Özden became widely known in Istanbul and nationwide thanks to her innovative lottery business strategies **(Figure 2.7)**. On a fundamental level, she would have her photograph taken in front of her store with the lucky city inhabitants who bought the winning tickets from her. She would later publish them as advertisements in newspapers. As early as 1939, she was already giving full-page advertisements to newspapers. In these ads, she was referred to as the lottery queen (*piyango kraliçesi*)[80] who brings good luck (*eli uğurlu*),[81] a truth teller (*daima doğruyu söyleyen*),[82] and who is the most beloved in the country, and one who delivers millions (*memleketimizde en çok sevilen ve milyonlar dağıtan*).[83]

When we get to the 1950s; Nimet Özden did not even have to include her store's address in advertisements; in fact, her shop became a reference point for other small businesses in the area, including doctor's offices, draperies, clothing boutiques, and cologne shops.[84] In addition to vending lottery tickets, Nimet Abla sold tickets for ballroom ceremonies. For example, her store was one of the ticket sales points for a garden party and ballroom ceremony organized by the Press Technicians' Union in 1956 and 1957 respectively.[85]

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[80] *Cumhuriyet*, 3 January 1939; *Cumhuriyet* 13 June 1939; *Cumhuriyet*, 13 May 1939; *Cumhuriyet*, 13 September 1939; *Cumhuriyet*, 14 August 1939; *Cumhuriyet*, 12 November 1939; *Cumhuriyet* 13 December 1939; *Cumhuriyet*, 2 January 1940.

[81] *Cumhuriyet*, 13 December 1938; *Cumhuriyet*, 8 April 1940; *Cumhuriyet*, 8 May 1940.

[82] *Cumhuriyet*, 8 February 1940.

[83] *Cumhuriyet*, 9 July 1940.

[84] "Doktor Horhoruni," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 January 1941; "Hasan ve Nesrin Kolonyaları yapılıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 August 1942; "Ömzer Kumaş ve Manifatura Şirketi," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 April 1948."M.K.M," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 December 1949.

[85] "Büyük Gardenparty," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 August 1956; "Muhteşem Gece," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 August 1957.

Figure 2.7 One of the advertisements of Nimet Abla Lottery Store: "Nimet Abla, who always tells the truth and is famous for giving big prizes, the owner of the Nimet Lottery Office. […] Nimet Abla who is nice and brings luck made Mr. Aziz gain 80,000 Liras with the ticket numbered 41141 and delivered all the money. Mr. Aziz from Balıkesir, who works at the Military Sewing Workshop number 2 in the saddler department as a foreman, has stubbornly bought tickets for seven years from the lucky hands of Nimet Abla."
Source: *Cumhuriyet*, 8 February 1940.

Nimet Abla spent years in her small shop that hardly fit two people. But before becoming the busiest and most successful in the business, her biggest competition was Tek Kollu Cemal. Because Cemal's shop was right next to hers, every day she would travel as far as Büyükdere on the other side of the Golden Horn, in her horse-drawn carriage and advertise tickets. Also, because the stores were required to deliver the cash prize,[86] she was mobilized when she distributed the prize to the winners, in cases where the customer could not go to the store to collect it. The addresses of her customers were recorded beforehand.[87]

[86] "Eşi Tütüncü İsmail Efendi anlattı: 'Bu noktaya kolay gelmedi'," *Milliyet*, 12 December 1984.
[87] "Büyük ikramiyeyi kazanan soğuk kanlı bir talihli," *Son Posta*, 12 August 1937.

She was very popular and visible outside of her store. Utilizing her image and persona to propel her brand, her fame spread quickly across the city. The city inhabitants knew that she was going to hand out the prize to the winner when she set off her vehicle. When she drove to the address of the lottery winner, everybody on the street asked her who the lucky person was. The automobile was surrounded by children, women, and even old men. It used to look almost like a wedding procession.[88] I would like to highlight that Nimet was one of the few women who drove in that period. She obtained her driver's license in 1938.[89] She also rode horse carriages and apparently was a fearless rider **(Figure 2.8)**. For instance, one reporter covering the prize winners talked about how Nimet delivered the cash prize in a lively way: "We jumped into the carriage in front of the store. The bridles of the black, well-fed, beautiful horse are in Nimet Abla's hands. As the whip snaps the animal picks up the pace. […] The car moves rapidly, zigzagging between cars, automobiles, and pedestrians. Nimet Abla says: 'I am not one of those cowardly women. I have been riding the car since I was eight years old. […] Do not be afraid.'"[90] In praising herself by comparing with others, Nimet proves that she was a highly confident woman.

[88] "30,000 lira 8 evlat ve 12 torun sahibi bir kadına çıktı," *Son Posta,* 12 May 1937.

[89] See a copy of Nimet Özden's driver's license, last accessed September 28, 2020, https://www.nimetabla.com/ image/foto/131.jpg

[90] "Piyangoda dört defa büyük ikramiye kazanan kadın memur," *Son Posta,* 13 July 1938.

Figure 2.8 Nimet Özden posing in her horse-drawn carriage in the district of Sultanahmet. She usually wears her headscarf in a certain way in most photographs in which her hair is partially visible on the front. She must be either going to the prize winner's address or returning to her store. There is a curious crowd.
Source: last accessed September 28, 2020, https://www.nimetabla.com/image/ foto/33.jpg

Of course, Nimet's professional life was not always full of positive stories. As a well-known and successful woman, she had also experienced various kinds of harassment. For example, when a certain Hakkı Acur wanted to buy a ticket, Nimet handed a bunch of tickets for him to choose as she would do with any other customer. However, Hakkı suddenly took a handful of red peppers from his pocket and threw them into the eyes of Nimet, grabbed a bunch of tickets worth 400 liras, and ran away. Subsequently, he was caught and prosecuted.[91] Niyazi Köklü stole 394 lottery tickets. The fact that Köklü admitted having performed the offense "not to steal but to become rich," confirms that Nimet Abla's advertisement strategy was successful and created the perception that her

[91] "Nimet Ablanın gözlerine biber atarak biletlerini çalmış," *Milliyet*, 25 March 1951.

store was bringing good luck and making people rich. He was caught in a short time and transferred to the courthouse.[92]

Although she was the face of the business, Nimet worked with her husband İsmet Özden. Considering not many women were involved in economic life in that period, a man who accepted being pushed to second place and whose wife was the celebrated face of the business could be regarded as an extraordinary situation. After Nimet's passing, İsmet continued to run the business but he was not the center of attention like Nimet used to be. He was not able to exceed Nimet's fame since hers was the first name that came to mind when talking about the National Lottery. She was a brand.

After going on pilgrimage, Nimet decided to build a mosque bearing her name, Nimet Abla Mosque, in the district of Esenler on the European side in 1963.[93] It ensured her visibility and marked her name in the city along with her name's association with the lottery industry. She was also known for her charity works. She passed away in 1978[94] but remains the symbol of the National Lottery and the store still bears her name to this day in the same location. Overall, her story does not fully correspond with the Republican female image. We observe a family structure in which Nimet took the business first initiated by her husband. She was not subordinate to her husband's status, as he remained in the background. Her appearance also deviated from the image of the ideal Republican woman. She did not take off her headscarf, but usually covered her hair in a traditional way. These issues did not fit well with the image of Republican women on paper. However, her

[92] "Zengin olmak için piyango biletlerini çalmış," *Milliyet,* 13 December 1955.
[93] "Nimet Abla Camiinin Temeli Dün Atıldı," *Milliyet,* 3 August 1963.
[94] "Milli Piyango bayii 'Nimet Abla' öldü," *Milliyet,* 28 July 1978.

accomplishments as an entrepreneur in a male-dominated industry and successfully integrating her brand in Eminönü proves that she was a confident businesswoman.

2.6.2 Intermediaries between Ordinary People and the State: Female Scriveners

Arzuhal (petition) refers to the formal written requests or complaints to the government agencies, and *arzuhalci* (scrivener) was someone who made a living by writing petitions in proper styles (such as whom to address the petition, in which order, in what style and words) for the illiterate people or those who did not know how the bureaucracy functioned. Scriveners were the only intermediaries between ordinary people and the state. Hence, they had to be honest and reliable, have the knowledge of laws and regulations, and be legible, fluent, and correct in writings.[95] Scriveners did not usually have resident offices, but they worked on a mobile basis at places where the public could easily find them, including mosque courtyards, bazaars, inns, and coffeehouses, places that were close to the Palace and the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*). They frequented mostly the courtyards of the New Mosque, Hagia Sophia, Beyazıd, and Sultanahmet mosques.[96]

As the nature of the job required being visible in busy public spaces, it was a profession traditionally performed by men. However, as early as the end of the 1920s, female scriveners also became visible in crowded public spaces, specifically in Eminönü Square and its surroundings. This was likely due to the immense impact of the declaration of the Republic on the scriveners of Istanbul. When the government was moved to Ankara,

[95] In the Ottoman period, scrivener's operations were officially organized for the first time in 1660. With this first order, the qualities required from the scriveners, prior permission from the state, work conditions and where they could practice were specified. See Elvan Topallı, "From the 19th Century up to Present Day the Scriveners Parallel to Orientalist Paintings: Its Historical and Sociological Background," *U.Ü. Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 11:18 (2010): 61-63.

[96] Necdet Sakaoğlu "Arzuhalciler," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 1 (1993): 335-336.

scriveners became unemployed along with the staff of the Ottoman bureaucracy. Thus, most of them moved to Ankara and other cities in Anatolia.[97] Besides, after the acceptance of the Latin alphabet in 1928, the number of scriveners decreased.[98] Rather than working as scriveners, many switched to tracking the progress of bureaucracy in the government offices for other people.[99] This sharp decrease in the supply of men scriveners as they moved to the new capital and other government offices had brought about an opportunity for women scriveners. Therefore, women started to practice petition writing in Eminönü and mingled with their male counterparts **(Figure 2.9)**.[100]

Little investment was needed to work as a scrivener. In the Ottoman period, before typewriters were common, scriveners had a bookrest (*rahle*) that held writing instruments such as reed pens, a pencil sharpener, two ink tanks (one filled with black, the other red ink), a sandbox to dry the ink on paper, and some papers.[101] By the end of the 1920s, a typewriter and some papers along with a couple of stools on which customers could sit were enough. Even if they did not have stools, they could borrow them from the coffeehouses nearby.[102] Hence, literate women with the skills to correspond with the state authorities seized the opportunity. Other than being visible in busy public spaces in the city, women also had to constantly interact with the opposite sex due to the nature of the job.

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[97] Ibid, 335-336.

[98] The increasing literacy rates after the alphabet reform in 1928 resulted in the decreasing numbers of scriveners. The literacy rate before the acceptance of the Latin alphabet was 5-7%. It increased to 19.2% in 1935, 29% in 1945, and 33.6% by 1950. See Zafer Toprak, "Cumhuriyet'in Kilit Taşı: Harf Devrimi," *Toplumsal Tarih* 118 (2003): 73; Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Tarihi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992), 120.

[99] Muzaffer Esen, "Arzuhalciler," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1959): 1084.

[100] "Arzuhalci kadınlar," *Cumhuriyet,* 1 February 1930.

[101] Turan Tanyer, "Eski İstanbul'da Arzuhalciler," *Türkiye Barolar Birliği Dergisi* 53 (2004): 275.

[102] Esen, "Arzuhalciler," 1084.

Figure 2.9 A woman scrivener in the New Mosque in 1929. Like their male colleagues, female scriveners had to work in tough conditions because they did not have a resident office. Here, a woman scrivener is seen as wrapped up in her coat and covered her hair with a dark hat. She is sitting in front of a table next to a wall. There are several sheets of paper and a typewriter in front of her. It looks like she did not have a stable surface to work on. She probably created a makeshift table by combining different materials. Opposite her sit two customers.
Source: "Kadın Değişiyor," in *50 Yıllık Yaşantımız: 1923-1933 Cilt 1* (Milliyet Yayınları, 1975), 118.

Women seemed to be more entrepreneurial than men. According to a news piece in *Akşam*, women enjoyed a large clientele as they could work faster and more cleanly with the typewriter, so their number was gradually growing. Seeing this, most of the male scriveners bought typewriters and learned how to write with them. Nonetheless, because women's fees were less than their male colleagues, they were in greater demand.[103] This shows that it was women who initiated writing with typewriters and changed the methods of the profession. They also had to lower their fees to gain a competitive place in a profession dominated by men.

[103] "Kadın arzuhalciler çoğaldı..," *Akşam*, 1 February 1930.

It seems that using typewriters was not considered a possibility in the profession in the late 1920s. For example, an article published in *Cumhuriyet* mentioned that a new profession like scrivening emerged in the United States. Rather than having mobile offices in busy squares, Americans put typewriters in an automobile and moved from place to place, and handled the bureaucratic correspondences.[104] The introduction of typewriters to the profession by women was no surprise. The audience of the market was women since they held the traditional roles of secretaries as typists and dictation-takers.[105] Even a competition was held to select the fastest typewriter among women who would hold the title "speed queen (*sürat kraliçesi*)" in 1930.[106] Also, newly opened courses targeted young women. With the introduction of the new alphabet, it became easier to use typewriters. Hence, the number of typewriting courses increased, and they ensured that "many Turkish girls start their lives with a skill to support themselves."[107] It can be argued that some literate women turned to scrivening due to a lack of job opportunities. Most likely, the economic impact of the Great Depression hurt the job market, and some women created their employment opportunities by going out in the open public squares with their typewriters.

Scriveners were categorized as tradespeople because they paid taxes. However, they were dissatisfied with the municipality's treatment of them. Their working conditions were difficult. In an interview from 1955, some scriveners mentioned that they demanded

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[104] "Amerikada yeni bir san'at çıktı: Seyyar daktilograf," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 February 1929.

[105] Ömer Durmaz, "Kadını Tuş Eden Tuşlar," *Manifold*, 3 January 2017, last accessed November 15, 2020 https://manifold.press/kadini-tus-eden-tuslar; Gökhan Akçura, "Daktilo," *Manifold*, 19 February 2018, last accessed November 15, 2020 https://manifold.press/daktilo

[106] *Vakit*, 16 May 1930.

[107] "Daktiloculuk rağbet görüyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 June 1930.

one side of the park in front of the Spice Bazaar to be allocated to them so that they could work in better conditions. They still would not have resident offices, but they requested at least a specific location so that they could build their offices even without the help of the authorities.[108] Although scriveners had worked in the New Mosque courtyard and its surroundings for centuries, their request for a specific location or the betterment of their work conditions shows that they were not considered as important users before or after Prost's urban intervention.

The demand for scriveners decreased as more and more people became literate, and in the last period of their existence, scriveners made money by writing love letters, letters for the families of soldiers and migrants, even amulets and spells. Their main center was the New Mosque and its surroundings.[109] Unfortunately, due to the lack of documentation, we do not know the number of female scriveners in the everyday scene in Eminönü Square and its surroundings. However, because they had to be literate and familiar with the bureaucratic processes, it is expected that the numbers were lower compared to their male counterparts. It is also challenging to pinpoint the experiences that distinguish female scriveners from their male colleagues. We might not be able to directly answer questions such as whether they could work the same hours as their male counterparts or if they were subjected to harassment; however, we can contemplate on some differentiating points.

First, the nature of the profession brought insecurity as they were now highly visible in the public sphere, a position which often disproportionately affected women. Second, since women bear the childcare and household chores, it is likely that some might have

[108] Şahap Balcıoğlu, "Yenicami arkasındaki seyyar arzuhalciler," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 January 1955.
[109] Sakaoğlu "Arzuhalciler," 336.

worked part-time. These two factors imply that they were more likely to work using limited spaces and for limited hours, which could affect their revenues as well as the likelihood of retaining and maintaining their clientele. It is also reasonable to argue that in a period when women were not yet visible as professionals in the public sphere, they were likely less trusted by their clients. Also, those who could not sort their demands in government offices might have complained to female scriveners more easily. Apart from that, female clients might have been less hesitant to share personal information with women scriveners such as writing a love letter.

Although women scriveners did not work in ideal conditions or may not have been respected by many, they were courageous women as they worked outdoors in public spaces and under harsh conditions. These once-mobile educated women utilized their skills and were visible in one of the busiest neighborhoods in Istanbul.

2.7 Connecting Eminönü and Taksim Squares: Women Ticket Collectors

Istanbulites encountered various new modes of public transportation for the first time in the late Ottoman period. Trams and ferries not only changed the silhouette of the physical environment, but also the city inhabitants. Urban public transportation played an important role in increasing the visibility of women in public space.[110] However, at first, it was unthinkable for women and men to travel together on trams. They did not travel side-by-side or facing each other until 1923. On trams, when entered by the drivers' side, the first

[110] Hakan Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbul'undan Gündelik Fragmanlar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2012), 55.

section was reserved for women. A curtain[111] separated the gendered compartments. Even if they were traveling apart from each other, there was no public space where women and men could get so close. It was just a fabric curtain that separated the two sections. Hence, public transportation served purposes other than moving city inhabitants from one place to another: "Being close enough to have her arm or shoulder touching his, inhaling her perfume, while closing his eyes and imagining her face, and if the car was not crowded, […] being able to convey a message in a small envelope through the curtain screen were the most breathtaking adventures imaginable."[112]

The Istanbul Police Bureau ordered the velvet curtains to be removed by the end of 1923, under the guise of sanitary measures. The bureau stated that they followed the cautions of the report from the Health and Social Assistance Directorate about the role that velvet curtains played in microbial transfer. After the curtain was lifted, the tramcar, now an intimate and unsegregated public space, displayed the changing social mores. In this context, the tramway is worthy of attention for early Republican Istanbul because it was a space shared by women and men, and at times required intimate encounters while waiting on the platform and negotiating personal space on a daily basis.[113]

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[111] Sermet Muhtar Alus mentions that these curtains were tattered and torn, and they would always open with the wind coming through windows during summers and cracked glasses during winters. Some women would flirt with men when the opportunity arose. See Sermet Muhtar Alus, "Eski Günlerde Istanbulda Atlı Tramvaylar," *Akşam*, 3 February 1940.

[112] Çelik Gülersoy, *Tramvay İstanbul'da* (Istanbul: İstanbul Kitaplığı, 1989), 37. Ahmet Rasim describes his excitement of brushing up against a woman while she was moving to the women's compartment. His vivid description of the woman who he saw through the curtain could be presented as an example of the encounters in segregated tramcars. See Ahmet Rasim, *Fuhş-i Atik ve Hamamcı Ülfet* (Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaası, 1958), 28-32. The book was first published in 1922.

[113] James Ryan, "'Unveiling' the Tramway: The Intimate Public Sphere in Late Ottoman and Republican Istanbul," *Journal of Urban History*, (2016): 812, 818.

Previously visible only at the tram stations and occasionally with the opening of the curtains, women's bodies now fully became the subjects of men's gazes as well as their female counterparts. This recently experienced interaction between the two sexes must have heightened at Eminönü and Taksim squares since they were major transit hubs. Main public transit lines were intersected in these squares **(Figure 2.10)**. They were places where people from various social strata inevitably interacted and were seen.

After getting accustomed to traveling together in unsegregated tramcars, busses, and ferries, a new experience was introduced to city inhabitants: women became visible as ticket collectors in the public transportation network. Although recruiting women as ticket collectors was carried out by trial and error until the end of the 1950s, they would be successfully involved as professionals in the 1960s.

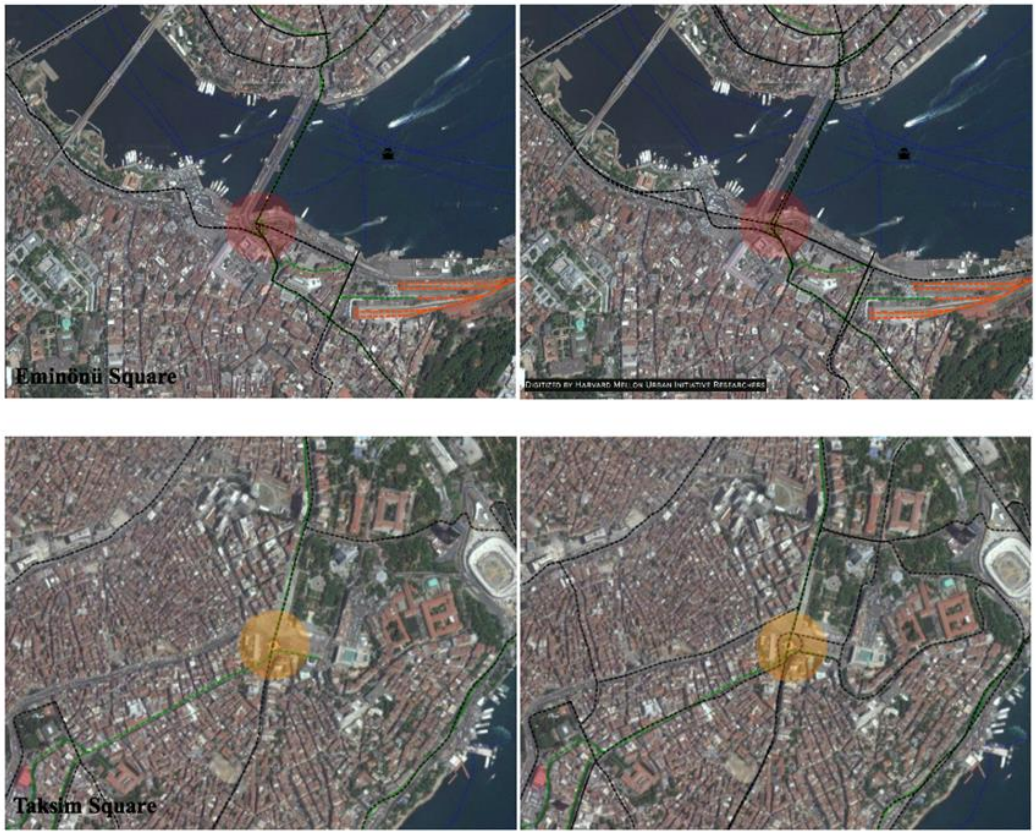

Figure 2.10 Eminönü and Taksim Squares as transit hubs. Satellite image showing contemporary urban fabric juxtaposed with major roads from 1946 and 1966 (black) and with the ferry (blue), tramway (green), and train (orange) routes from 1922 in Eminönü and Taksim squares. The first images show the major roads in 1946 along with other modes of transportation, the latter images show the routes from 1966 as an added layer. As can be seen, road transport and tramway routes were concentrated both in Eminönü and Taksim squares.
Source: last accessed September 28, 2020, http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/#

The first attempt to hire women ticket collectors was initiated in 1941 by the Üsküdar-Kadıköy Public Trams Company (*Üsküdar-Kadıköy Halk Tramvayları Şirketi*) on the Asian side. It was announced that seventy women would be hired **(Figure 2.11)**. Hundreds of women applied for the job openings. Their moral integrity was the first thing to be considered. Also, they had to be vigilant and have basic math skills. No age limit was required. Upon hiring, women would wear jackets and caps like their male colleagues and

their workday would last 9.5 hours.[114] The reason behind seeking female employees was pragmatic. It was during WWII, and most men were drafted. Finding male employees was difficult; hence, the solution was to hire women.[115]

Ticket collectors' responsibilities included selling tickets and informing the operator when passengers would get off the tramcar. The passengers used to get on the car from the back and get off from the front. Thus, the ticket collector would stand in the back, collecting tickets, inviting passengers to move forward in the car. If a passenger did not pay for the ride, the employee would pass through the crowd and sell the ticket on the spot. Ticket collectors used to hang on the cord at the top of the windows and inform vehicle operators about the passengers who were going to get off the vehicle through a ring attached to the cord.[116]

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[114] "Tramvaylarda kadın biletciler de çalıştırılacak," *Son Telgraf*, 5 April 1941; "Kadın biletçiliğe pek çok talip çıktı," *Son Telgraf*, 8 April 1941.

[115] "Tramvaylara kadın biletçi alınıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 October 1943.

[116] Çelik Gülersoy, *Tramvay İstanbul'da*, 183.

Figure 2.11 Four female ticket collectors hired by the Üsküdar-Kadıköy Public Trams Company. In the picture above, a woman is seen with a smiling face, selling a ticket to a passenger. The tramcar is not crowded. Probably a staged photograph, one of the passengers do not seem to be bothered with the presence of the woman. He is reading his newspaper. The ticket collector is wearing a uniform that consisted of a jacket and a cap.
Source: "Tramvaylarda kadın biletçiler işe başladı," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 April 1941.

Some were skeptical about women tackling the job. Women had been labeled as "the weaker sex (*zayıf cins*)" physically and how women would collect tickets in a moving tram when even men struggled to perform the same job was questioned. How could "older women especially who raised a couple of children" could handle the job? Besides, if the company would hire young and beautiful women, it would be a mess because women would be the center of attention and it would not be possible to effectively collect tickets.[117] Passengers were expected to be polite to women collectors just because they were women,

[117] "Kadın biletçi," *Yeni Sabah*, 11 April 1941.

but on the flip side, women had to be careful because they could be harassed in highly crowded vehicles. Thus, it was advised that they should not exceed the capacity of the cars like male collectors did.[118]

Thirteen women were hired as ticket collectors. They were "poor and honorable family women" between the age of 25 and 35. After a couple of days of internship with the current male ticket collectors, it was reported that the employment of women was successful. They seemed to be hardworking like their male colleagues and their kindness to passengers was pleasing.[119] Ten of them soon quit because the trams were too crowded. Did they quit because it was difficult to catch stowaways and sell them tickets? Was it because it was hard to treat passengers well and keep a smiling face in crowded tramcars? Or were they subjected to harassment by passengers as it was previously suspected? Unfortunately, it is not possible to know the exact reasons why they quit in a short amount of time, but it is clear that the first attempt at recruiting female ticket collectors was unsuccessful. Yet, the company was still willing to hire women, including as tramway operators. A woman named Hatice was hired by the same company as a tramway operator; however, it was decided after a month and a half of training that she was not physically strong enough for the job and the employment of women as operators was abandoned.[120] Although women quit or the employment of women was abolished, the company published another advertisement in 1947. This time they were looking for both women and men to work in the bus services.[121] By 1957, there was an increase in complaints about the

[118] Burhan Felek, "Hadiseler Arasında Felek: Bileti kadınlar kesince!," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 April 1941.
[119] "Tramvaylarda kadın biletçiler işe başladı," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 April 1941.
[120] "Kadınlar Vatmanlık ve Biletçiliğe tahammül edemiyorlar!," *Son Telgraf*, 30 October 1941. Here, it was mentioned that twelve women were hired as ticket holders.
[121] *Cumhuriyet*, 28 May 1947.

trolleybuses in Ankara. Consequently, the authorities turned to hire female employees because women were perceived to be "kinder than men." Yet, it did not go as expected since nobody applied to the job posting.[122]

Finally, in 1959, Istanbul Electricity, Tramway, and Tunnel General Management (İ.E.T.T.) [123] announced that women's applications would also be considered when recruiting new staff. It was enough to be a primary school graduate and not be over the age of forty-five. [124] Three of the eight applicants (Yıldız Ayhan 20, Ayşe Gül 23, and Gülsüm Alman 25) were hired after passing the mathematics and writing exams and being subjected to the psychology test. At first, ten female collectors would be recruited. Their training included lectures about the transportation areas and stops, how to interact with passengers, and learning the ring system to communicate with the driver.[125]

The employment of women in bus services was followed by ferry services. In 1960, women ticket collectors were decided to be recruited. Their task would include only controlling tickets inside the ferries. Selling tickets and collecting them after travels were still the tasks of their male colleagues.[126] This also indicates that the management did not yet trust women to tackle selling and collecting tickets, but just controlling tickets indoors.

Overall, women's increased visibility—from occasionally to entirely to finally as professionals in public transit—was a significant positive change in Republican Istanbul.

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[122] "Ankara'da kadınlar, otobüs biletçiliğine rağbet göstermedi," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 February 1957.

[123] İ.E.T.T. was established to provide urban transportation, and production and distribution of gas and electricity in 1939. It was operated under the Istanbul Municipality. See, İstanbul Elektrik, Tramvay ve Tünel idareleri teşkilatları ve tesisatının İstanbul Belediyesine devrine dair kanun [The law on the transfer of the administration and facilities of Istanbul Electricity, Tramway and Tunnel General Management to Istanbul Municipality], Resmi Gazete, 22 June 1939.

[124] "Kadın Biletçi ve Vatman Olabilecek," *Milliyet*, 30 November 1959.

[125] Oğuz Öngen, "Kadın Biletçiler Kursa Başladılar," *Milliyet*, 12 December 1959.

[126] "Şehir Hatlarında da Kadın Biletçi," *Milliyet*, 29 May 1960.

However, women doing a job previously held entirely by men in the public sphere resulted in debates about whether women were qualified. Employing female ticket collectors even failed at first. This sets a great example of how difficult it had been for women to take part in public spaces as professionals. Female ticket collectors were initially hired because male employee supply decreased during WWII. Also, the perception of employing women was that women would treat passengers kindly, and there would be a more decent environment in chaotic spaces of public transit. I have not encountered any evidence of whether it was more peaceful to travel after the female ticket collectors were recruited. One of the reasons for the development of this perception by the companies might be to justify women doing a profession that was previously reserved for men. Specifically stating that the first recruits were "poor and honorable family women" also supports this argument.

2.8 Taksim Square

2.8.1 Creating the Image of the Republican Women: Nebahat Erkal

Nebahat Erkal (1911-2008) was one of the women who participated in the economic and social life in Taksim Square and Beyoğlu. She practiced dressmaking in Taksim Square, at the Şark Apartment number 2 **(Figure 2.13)**.

In the 1930s, women seamstresses had other duties besides preparing their customers for special occasions or simply making them feel beautiful. The way women looked was highly important to the Republican government. Women were expected to display a "modern" look, stripped from any religious associations such as veiling. Nevertheless, prohibitions on traditional and religious clothing were not imposed on

women directly as they were for male citizens.[127] Even though the government was in favor of total unveiling, the use of headscarves, turbans, niqab (*peçe*), and burqa (*carşaf*) was not outlawed.[128]

When there was no ready-made retail clothing, tailors led the fashion industry. During the early periods of the Republic, non-Muslim seamstresses were highly active and influential. Besides, the appearance of the "modern" women was formed through the agency of various state-funded institutions and local pattern-sewing courses. The government established tailoring schools (*biçki dikiş kursları*) and Girls' Institutes (*Kız Enstitüleri*) to train seamstresses. These schools and institutes trained young women to dress a generation according to the requirements of the Republican ideology. The establishment of Girls' Institutes between 1928 and 1944 nationwide led the production of uniform and standard applications in clothing styles that observed the nation-state discourse.[129]

Nebahat Erkal, who advocated and internalized Republican reforms and ideology, presented her customers with the latest European fashion trends. She visited Europe frequently and dressed the "new woman" of the Republican Istanbul. I argue that the locations of Nebahat's studio and other seamstresses were not directly related to Prost's

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[127] Reforms targeting religious symbols included banning traditional headgear for men in 1925. See Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 187-188.

[128] In her article on anti-veiling campaigns in the mid-1930s, Sevgi Adak states that although there are indications that the government endorsed the campaigns, the actors, content and application of those anti-veiling campaigns remained local. See Sevgi Adak, "Women in the Post-Ottoman Public Sphere: Anti-Veiling Campaigns and the Gendered Reshaping of Urban Space in Early Republican Turkey," in *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective on Ottoman Urban History*, ed. Nazan Maksudyan (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014): 37.

[129] F. Dilek Himam and Elif Tekcan, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Terzilik Kültürü ve Ulusal Kültürün İnşası," *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10:20 (2014): 222, 230. For more information about the Girls' Institutes and how it was the continuation the Girls Industry Schools (*Kız Sanayi Mektepleri*) established in 1865, see Elif Ekin Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (Istanbul: Iletişim Yayınları, 2015).

Plan's zoning decisions, but because Taksim and Beyoğlu were the hubs of the fashion industry. Also, the wealthier population, who could afford these tailors' services, resided in the area. From a business point of view, Nebahat's studio had to be in Taksim because the products of European fashion and its targeted client base were located in the area. The commercial strip of İstiklal Street became a particular hub for fashion and the dressmaking industry, and middle and upper-middle-class consumption in the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, *bonmarşes* (named after Bon Marché in Paris), which were the branches of Europe's big department stores, opened first in Beyoğlu. Most of them were located on İstiklal Street (*Cadde-i Kebir*). Their influence continued into the 1930s.[130] Well-known fashion designers and stylists worked and resided in the area. Even the tailor of Abdülhamid II, J. Botter, kept his studio and residence on İstiklal Street.[131] Additionally, the wealthier clientele resided within the Taksim-Nişantaşı axis to the north. The class-based differentiation of the urban fabric started to be observed in Istanbul in the first quarter of the twentieth century. During the Young Turk period, a small number of wealthy Muslim families began to move from traditional boundaries of Istanbul for the newly established neighborhoods of Nişantaşı and Şişli, the extension of the non-Muslim Pera (Beyoğlu). This population flow continued during World War I (WWI) and into the 1930s.[132] Hence, it can be argued that to compete and make a name in the dressmaking industry, Nebahat opened her atelier in Taksim Square, which is an extension of İstiklal

[130] Some of the branches of the European department stores located in Istanbul were Louvre, Au Lion, Bon Marché, Au Camélia, Bazaar Alman, Carlmann et Blumberg, Orosdi Back, Au Paon, and Baker. See Behsat Üsdiken, "Bonmarşeler," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1994): 297-298.

[131] Afife Batur, "Botter Apartmanı," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1994): 312. 312-314.

[132] Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul households: Marriage, family and fertility, 1880-1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 31.

Street. This also indicates that the social fabric reflected in the urban spaces continued from the late Ottoman period into the 1930s.

Nebahat grew up in prosperity, away from the economic troubles of the war years. Her mother, Nazlı Hanım was a housewife, and her father, Ferit Bey was an official at the Ministry of Finance. He later started his business at the Spice Bazaar in Eminönü. He first opened a grocery store (*bakkaliye*) then a glassware store (*züccaciye*). Overall, he was a wealthy and very successful businessman. However, Nebahat's status in the family was not equal to her three brothers because of the simple fact that she was a woman. Unlike her peers, Nebahat did not want to marry at a young age and become a housewife and mother right away. She first and foremost needed to have her economic freedom and have a respectable profession. The financial situation of her family was already suitable for her to receive a good education. Although her father Ferit Bey was against it, Nazlı Hanım insisted on her getting a proper education. As the only daughter of the house, it was not easy for her father to be convinced to fully support her education. Nebahat made a pact with her father. If she would get her high school degree, she could choose a school she wanted to attend. She went to boarding school at Kandilli School for Girls, then she graduated from Beyoğlu High School through the baccalaureate system.[133]

Upon graduating high school, she appeared before her father with a brand-new request: "I offer you two options. You will either send me to university or I want to be a seamstress. But I do not want to be an ordinary tailor, I must learn the technique. You need

[133] Nebahat Erkal's son, Genco Erkal, is a well-known theatre actor, director and screenwriter. After I realized that Nebahat Erkal could be his mother, I reached out to him about it. He accepted to do an interview about his mother and provided interesting insights about her life. I reference this interview as "Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020." throughout this section. I have conducted a semi-structured interview with Genco Erkal in which I posed open-ended questions.

to send me to Europe for my education." After long discussions, Nebahat jumped on the train at Haydarpaşa Station and left Istanbul in 1934. She stayed in England for one year. She attended the Paris Academy of Dressmaking on Balm Street in London.[134] In the early twentieth century, it was unusual for women to travel by themselves let alone living abroad. Upon graduation, she came back to Istanbul in 1935 and set up her atelier in Taksim Square and taught dressmaking at Çamlıca Girls' High School as well. The men of the family were shaken by her independence, determination, and courage.[135]

Now it was time for her to compete with the famous seamstresses of the period and make a name for herself: "There was a lady, Calibe,[136] a tailor. She saw my neon sign and asked, 'Who is this Nebahat?' They replied as 'My dear, she is the new tailor.' 'Please! She is a rich man's daughter. She will go into a decline soon."[137] Calibe had a false prediction, Nebahat became highly successful and made a name in the dressmaking industry in Istanbul. She followed the latest trends in the fashion industry. She traveled to Paris and Rome twice a year, and to Milan more frequently. She attended fashion shows, took notes, and drew sketches. She also bought fabric during her travels. She would then adjust the latest models and trends to her client base in Istanbul. In that sense, "she was not a proper designer, but an adaptive designer." She would direct her clients according to their body silhouette and convince them what would best fit for certain body types. In this respect, she did not just want to please her clients but also apply her professional vision.

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[134] "Türkiye'nin ne kadar değiştiğini gördüm…," *Milliyet,* 2 March 2003.

[135] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.

[136] Calibe Hanım was one of the most well-known seamstresses of her time. For example, she was the seamstress of 1930 beauty queen Mübececel Namık Hanım. See "Güzellerin tuvaletleri," *Cumhuriyet,* 13 January 1930. She was considered to be the number one in classical sewing. She used to visit Paris four times a year and follow the latest developments. See Selçuk Erez, "Geçmiş zaman terzilerinin peşinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 October 1989.

[137] "Türkiye'nin ne kadar değiştiğini gördüm…," *Milliyet,* 2 March 2003.

Her client base was mostly Jewish, and Greek women from wealthy families. If there would be a wedding, both families' dresses including the extended family would be done at Nebahat's studio.[138]

Figure 2.12 A newspaper announcement of Nebahat Erkal's studio and her photograph. The image on the left displays one of Nebahat's announcements on the pages of *Cumhuriyet*: "Good news ladies! NEBAHAT, a women's seamstress and hatmaker, who went to Europe to obtain models, will display her models starting from 10-02-1936. (Taksim Square, Şark Apartment no:2)." The image on the right-hand side is a photograph of Nimet Erkal.
Source: *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1936; "Türkiye'nin ne kadar değiştiğini gördüm…," *Milliyet*, 2 March 2003.

Nebahat advertised her studio in various newspapers in 1936, mostly on the first pages **(Figure 2.12)**. Her marketing strategy seems to be concentrated on attracting women who were interested in European fashion because the advertisements consisted of announcements of her return dates from Europe to introduce the latest models.[139] Interestingly, an announcement on the first page of *Cumhuriyet* from 1938, stating that she returned from Paris to show the new collection in her studio, does not include her studio's

[138] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.
[139] *Cumhuriyet*, 19 March 1936; *Son Posta*, 27 March 1936; *Son Posta*, 28 March 1936; *Akşam*, 30 September 1936; *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1936; *Tan*, 30 September 1936.

address.[140] This suggests that she had already gained a reputation and a stable clientele in the late 1930s.

Nebahat's routine in the workplace was very strict. Around seven to eight girls were working at her studio. In the morning the tasks would be assigned to each assistant tailor. She would then take a nap until noon. In the afternoon, she would welcome her clients for fitting. Her son, Genco used to spend time with the assistants when his mother was not around, but girls would tell him "Oh, do not let the ma'am hear this! (*Aman madam duymasın!*)" because he was keeping them busy during work hours. "She was an authoritative boss, but she was very loving and sincere." She did not reflect any problems that happened at the atelier.[141] But she most probably had to tackle the conflicts between her employees, and the demands of the clients single-handedly.

She got married to Reşat Bey in 1937 and gave birth to her first son, Genco in 1938 and her second son, Ferit in 1942. When Genco was born, she was still at Şark Apartment. However, soon after she moved to Çığ Apartment on İstiklal Street and practiced there for a long time. It was a family apartment, where her brothers and her parents lived in the same building as well. Her studio was also in the building. She sometimes worked individually, sometimes she had a partner.[142]

Her husband, Reşit Bey, was a naval officer, who did not earn that much to maintain an above the standard lifestyle. They were both intellectuals. Reşit Bey read French and Nebahat Hanım, English. They paid great attention to their sons' education. However, as Genco Erkal states, it would not be possible to get an education like they did solely with

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[140] *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1938.
[141] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.
[142] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.

his father's salary. "Well, my husband used to earn 60 Liras when I started my business. Soldiers received very little salaries back then. I said, 'You take your salary, spend on cigarettes, spend as a travel allowance for your outings, do whatever you want to do.'"[143] In short, Nebahat was the breadwinner of the family. Of course, being the sole provider of the family was highly unusual in that period.

The family moved to Ankara in 1941 due to Reşat Bey's appointment and lived there for two years during WWII. She continued practicing in Ankara. She had to leave her children to their grandmother in Istanbul for some time. After the war, her husband filed for early retirement. While he was not working, Nebahat worked day and night and kept being the breadwinner of the family.[144]

[143] "Türkiye'nin ne kadar değiştiğini gördüm…," *Milliyet*, 2 March 2003.
[144] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.

Figure 2.13 The Monument of the Republic and its surroundings. This map shows three places that are mentioned in this chapter. 1) Nebahat Erkal lived and worked at Şark Apartment, which is on the most upper part of the map. 2) Kristal Gazino, overlooking the Monument of the Republic, is at the bottom right-hand side of the map. Building's façade responds to the form of the roundabout. 3) Finally, when Müzeyyen Senar started working at Kristal Gazino in 1941, she lived in apartment number five at Cennet Palas that is on the lower left-hand side of the map.
Source: Pervititich Insurance Maps, 1943.

After moving back to Istanbul, for some time, Çığ Apartment number 2 became a home studio. When the clients would come for fittings, members of the family were not be around. The kids attended various boarding schools. Genco's brother, Ferit could not cope with the boarding school environment so he was sent to a relative's house in order not to interfere with the business at home. If Genco was around, he would go to his grandmother's

apartment in the same building. Nebahat also wanted her husband out of sight during the workday. Later, the family moved to another apartment, but the atelier stayed at Çığ Apartment. She collaborated with a Greek master seamstress, Miss Stangali, and later with a Jewish master seamstress. Hence, the studio occupied the whole apartment. After working non-stop for years, she developed some health problems, macular degeneration to be specific. After some time, she had to quit practicing.[145]

Although her social life was not very colorful as she worked day and night, she pursued the contemporary recreational activities such as frequenting dinner parties and attending ballroom ceremonies. She would pay close attention to herself. She had a simple and not too flashy style.[146]

Sundays were family days. They would visit one of the districts such as Yıldız or Emirgan. They would go to the cafés there, have tea or coffee. They would travel by automobile and usually Nebahat was the driver. She learned how to drive at an early age. She was one of the first women who obtained a driving license at the time. She used to commute with her automobile to work, yet it was mostly utilized for recreational purposes. They also frequently visited Nebahat's youngest brother's house in Tarabya and vice versa. Nebahat took her children to Gezi Park frequently as it had a convenient location.[147]

They had a summer house at Burgazada in the late 1940s. They constructed their own house close to Burgaz Deniz Kulübü. The population there was mostly Jewish, and hence her friends and clients were mostly non-Muslim. She used to play cards and have tea parties with her friends. However, she did not have much of a social life in Beyoğlu. There

[145] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.
[146] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.
[147] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.

was simply no time! Nonetheless, she would attend ballroom ceremonies with her husband. They would bring confetti and masks home for the children to play with. She would be invited to house gatherings due to her network of wealthy clients. The couple rarely went to movie theaters or attended plays.[148]

She admired the founding father, Atatürk. She advocated that her status as a sophisticated woman who had economic freedom was because of the reforms implemented by him. She was a secular woman; she was not religious. As a couple, Nebahat and Reşit consumed alcohol occasionally, though she was mostly a social drinker. She would consume alcohol when they hosted guests at home or went somewhere in which alcohol was served.[149]

Nebahat Erkal dressed the elite women of the period, who attended social events such as dinner parties, weddings, and ballroom ceremonies. Although we may not be familiar with her collection and her taste in dressmaking, her story as she believed that was a product of the Republican ideals stands as an important narrative in the collective urban and social memory. The portrayal of the ideal "modern" Republican woman was established by combining different images such as being professional at work, well-educated mothers and wives, participating in club and association activities, and being a feminine woman who could dance well at balls and follow the latest Western fashion trends. Women were expected to take part in the professional and public sphere, but first

[148] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.
[149] Personal interview with Genco Erkal, 6 June 2020.

and foremost they had to be well-educated mothers, frugal housewives, and dear companions to their husbands.[150] After all, the home was the backbone of the nation.

Was it possible to fulfill all the requirements of the ideal Republican woman that was portrayed by the state? How the new woman's image materialized had been narrated through showcases, "the firsts" in their respective professions. They accomplished great things, breaking ceilings by being the first women in professions traditionally performed by men until them. However, were their lives complete and perfect? In this context, the story of Nebahat who had a deep sense of gratitude towards Republican reforms stands as an important case study to give insight into the duties that were ascribed to the ideal modern woman and how these duties were almost impossible to fulfill. For Nebahat, it was not easy to juggle between the private and public spheres. She was well-educated, she paid great attention to her image and did her job well. Nevertheless, she had to make some sacrifices in both her social and home life to maintain the workload at her studio. She had to leave her children in Istanbul for some time when the family moved to Ankara during the WWII years. Because she was the breadwinner of the family, she was not able to dedicate herself to every detail at home. In that sense, her life also displays the discrepancies in what was expected from the ideal Republican woman and the realities of the work-life balance. Understanding Nebahat's story draws women out of the reductive idea of being bi-products of the nation-state and into being fully functional beings.

[150] Ayşa Durakbaşa, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve 'Münevver Erkekler'," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, ed. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 43-46.

2.8.2 Entertainment Scene in Taksim Square: *Gazino* Artists and Ballroom Nights

2.8.2.1 Kristal Gazino. The *gazino* was full to the last table on the night of 14 June 1941. Some arrived at the Kristal Gazino by taxicabs, while the wealthier ones by automobiles. Some of the shops on the ground floor were not yet closed in hopes of making their final sales. After entering from the colonnaded ground floor, the guests climbed up to the *gazino*, which stands out from the rest with its glass façade overlooking the Monument of the Republic. The audience consisted of both women and men: the former displaying their most elegant dresses and jewelry, and the latter in the suits worn on special occasions. All were waiting excitedly at their tables for the performances. The frequent *gazino* goers were aware that the first stage performance is *fasıl*,[151] which is the "dinner music." The clean-shaven waiters in white uniforms brought the orders. Next would be the stage performances by two overture singers (*uvertür*) followed by a folk vocal artist.

While the last vocalist was performing her final song, a young artist was completing her makeup in the tiny dressing room, making her final preparations. Müzeyyen Senar (1918-2015), who started singing at Istanbul Radio and continued her programs for years, was on stage for the first time after a five-year hiatus.[152] When Senar got on the stage, the waiters stopped the service. How could one sing along with the sound of forks and spoons hitting plates anyway?![153] The audience had been listening to her voice on the radio for years, and now she was in front of them. It was a complete musical spectacle because the

[151] *Fasıl* is a concert in which works from the same tune (*makam*) in Turkish music are performed in a certain order.

[152] Halit Çapın, "Deli gönül uslanmadı yaşlanması," *Milliyet,* 25 January 1963.

[153] Ergün Arpaçay, "40 Yıl Önceki Gece Hayatımız: 'Bir Ömür Sahnede Geçti'," *Milliyet,* 11 January 1993.

audience could now hear and see her at the same time. She greeted the audience and started her program. She performed for more than two hours.[154]

Figure 2.14 Kristal Gazino's entrance façade looking from the Taksim Square, n.d.
Source: SALT Research, AHISTTAXI012.

Gazinos were the places where Istanbulites could enjoy the live performances of famous singers in person. They were indoor or outdoor entertainment places, where people could have drinks and food accompanied by musical and non-musical shows such as varieties (*varyete*) and comedies. There was also dancing in most of them.[155] Although it may seem unfamiliar to us today, those artists were mostly visible through radio or

[154] Radi Dikici, *Cumhuriyet'in Divası Müzeyyen Senar* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2005), 111.
[155] Vefa Zat, "Gazinolar," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3 (1994): 379.

gramophone records. Thus, it was a new experience for many urban inhabitants to be able to see the artist and witness their stage performances. The *gazino* experience involved the space, the performers, and the audience.

Kristal Gazino was located on the northwest of the Taksim Square. It was named crystal (in Turkish *kristal*) because its façade was surrounded by glass on all sides. It was also called the glazed mansion (*camlı köşk*).[156] There were shops on the ground floor of the building.[157] A café was located on the first floor and above that was the *gazino* where artists performed. The *gazino* was frequented by merchants and war-rich people from Anatolia during WWII. It was closed down permanently in the 1950s. Subsequently, the building was demolished.[158]

The *gazino* culture became prevalent in Istanbul at the end of the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s. Although it was one of the most popular *gazinos* in the area, exactly when Kristal came into operation is not certain.[159] In this period, Kristal's favorite artists were Safiye Ayla[160] and Müzeyyen Senar. Some even say that they made Kristal famous.[161] Nevertheless, in the 1940s and 1950s, many well-known female vocalists and dancers went on the stage at Kristal. They either performed regularly or occasionally, and were primarily

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[156] In an interview, Zehra Bilir (1913-2007), a well-known folk singer, mentions that Kristal was also known as "camlı köşk." See, Unutulmayanlar, Episode 1, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation's (TRT) Archive, retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqguMLqx5H4.

[157] According to the advertisements in *Cumhuriyet* the following stores and offices were present on the ground floor of the building: Seamster Muazzez Hanım (17 October 1945), sales office (17 July 1947), radio seller (4 February 1948), flower shop (30 December 1956).

[158] "Kristal Gazinosu," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 8 (1995): 265.

[159] One source claimes that it was established in 1928 ("Kristal Gazinosu," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 8 (1995): 265.), yet an announcement from 1938 mentions a certain İzzet Gazino right across the Monument of the Republic. Safiye Ayla was the lead singer at that time. (*Cumhuriyet*, 26 October 1938.) İzzet Gazino may have been renamed as Kristal in the following years.

[160] Safiye Ayla (1907-1998) was one of the most famous singers of Turkish classical music. She performed in gazinos for long years. She also worked at Istanbul and Ankara radio halls and recorded many gramophone records.

[161] Burçak Evren, "Kristal Gazinosu," *Efemera* (2020): 22-23.

of Turkish descent. Most of them were recruited from the non-commercial sphere of the state radio.[162] The management also hired female artists for short periods from abroad. Although artists from the Western countries performed at Kristal, most of the female performers were from Arabic-speaking nations.[163]

Müzeyyen Senar was one of the star singers to perform at Kristal Gazino in the 1940s **(Figure 2.16)**. After she received an offer from Kristal's manager, Hamdi Anlar, in 1941, Senar moved from Ankara to Istanbul and rented an apartment on the fifth floor at Cennet Palas, which was right next to the *gazino* **(Figure 2.13)**. She had only a few months to get prepared for the stage. Her photographs were taken in *Sabah*, one of the most famous studios of the time. Later, Anlar hung her posters all over the city and published advertisements in the newspapers **(Figure 2.15)**. It was not easy to get the same customers to come to the venue regularly. It was necessary to present a new repertoire of songs each time. After her first night at Kristal, Senar changed her program every night. Although she mentioned that she did not adjust it only for the *gazino*-goers but for her pleasure too, she

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[162] The list of female artists performed at Kristal from the second half of the 1940s to the end of 1950s is gathered through the advertisements in *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*: Emine Adalet (*Cumhuriyet*, 28 November 1945), Muzaffer Akgün (*Milliye*t, 13 October 1956), Semiha Altın (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 November 1947), Ayten Arıkan (*Cumhuriyet*, 7 November 1953), Safiye Ayla (*Cumhuriyet*, 27 October 1939), Zehra Bilir (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 June 1945), İnci Birol (*Cumhuriyet*, 14 November 1953), Hacer Buluş (*Cumhuriyet*, 26 October 1946), Mine Coşkun (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 March 1957), Semiha Coşkun (*Cumhuriyet*, 11 May 1947), Coşkun Kardeşler (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 November 1947), Mediha Demirkıran (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 October 1955), Esma Engin (*Milliye*t, 13 October 1956), Yıldız Erdem (*Milliye*t, 1 October 1955), Yasemin Esmergil (*Milliye*t, 5 January 1957), Sabite Tur Gülerman (*Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1953), Mualla Gökçay (*Cumhuriyet*, 3 May 1952), Cihan Işık (*Cumhuriyet*, 6 December 1953), Özel Kardeşler (*Milliye*t, 2 April 1957), Şükran Özer (*Cumhuriyet*, 4 October 1952), Meral Polat (*Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1954), Afet Sevilay (*Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1954), Ayda Sönmez (*Cumhuriyet*, 24 January 1947), Perihan Altındağ Sözeri (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 November 1947), Türkan Şamil (*Milliye*t, 1 October 1955), Şen Kardeşler (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 March 1957), Ferda Şenkaya (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 March 1957), Özcan Tekgül (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 March 1957), Safiye Tokay, (*Cumhuriyet*, 13 July 1945), Menşure Tunay (*Cumhuriyet*, 8 February 1947), Nigar Uluerer (*Cumhuriyet*, 12 October 1952), Suzan Yakar (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 January 1944), Suzan Yaman (*Milliye*t, 1 October 1955), Mefharet Yıldırım (*Cumhuriyet*, 28 November 1945), Hamiyet Yüceses (*Cumhuriyet*, 7 July 1945).

[163] Some of the foreign women appeared on the advertisements in *Cumhuriyet* follows: Şehrazad and Esnaf Münir (1 October 1950), Egyptian singer and dancer Melike Şahvand (31 December 1950), Lebanese dancer Kamer Bedii (5 February 1954), and Iraqi dancer Semira Yıldız (11 January 1957).

quickly saw the positive outcomes of her diverse program. Some listeners came to Kristal every night and some of them several nights a week.[164]

Figure 2.15 The announcement of Müzeyyen Senar's upcoming performance at Kristal Gazino in 1941. "Good news! Beginning from June 14 Saturday evening, Müzeyyen Senar, the voice you heard year after year on your radio, saw in Turkish movies, and listened from records with excitement and pleasure, whom not only Turkey's but also many Eastern countries' more potent and genuine women vocalist, will be in Taksim Kristal with the tambour artist Selahaddin Pınar, the violinist Necati Okyay and an orchestra with 20 people."
Source: *Cumhuriyet*, 11 June 1941.

In addition to perfecting their vocal performances on stage, artists had to look spectacular. As in any context, talent alone was not enough; they had to be lovable and charismatic. At the time, Senar had only two gowns: one blue and the other pink. She would wear them interchangeably.[165] Here, I would like to underline the intersection between dressmaking and *gazino* industries. Although I have not been able to obtain detailed information about women seamstresses except Nebahat, there were other well-known

[164] Radi Dikici, *Cumhuriyet'in Divası Müzeyyen Senar*, 109-111.
[165] She criticized the vocalists of the 1990s because they did not work on their art, but they relied on their appearance by changing their outfits after every two songs. See Ergün Arpaçay, "40 Yıl Önceki Gece Hayatımız: 'Akşam oldu hüzünlendim ben yine'," *Milliyet*, 8 January 1993.

tailors in Taksim and Beyoğlu, such as Nedret Ekşigil. Unlike Nebahat, she started her career in Ankara and later moved to Istanbul.[166] Müzeyyen Senar mentioned that she used to work with Nedret, who frequently tailored costumes for her.[167]

Although during the early years of her career Senar did not have the financial means to wear different outfits every night, she was a true entertainer. She brought a new, unconventional, colorful, humorous, and lively atmosphere to the stage. She also had a signature move: she would take the corded microphone, descend from the stage, and sit at one of the front tables. She would pick an apple and cut it in half with her bare hands. She would approach a couple, give one piece of the apple to the woman and the other to the man, and say, "Share your happiness."[168] This move must have had a surprising effect on the audience since it showed her physical strength as a woman in an unconventional way. At the same time, she also displayed her soft and romantic side by wishing happiness to the couple.

It was not until the 1960s that a contract would be made with only one *gazino*, and the public could enjoy artists' performances only in that place. Previously, working at multiple *gazinos* regularly and/or occasionally—even singing in more than one place on the same night—was commonplace.[169] For example, Müzeyyen Senar used to perform at

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[166] Nedret Ekşigil's studio was located at Mısır Apartment on İstiklal Street. See "İsim Yapmış Türk Kadınları: Terzi Nedret," *Yelpaze*, 2:104 (1954): n.p.

[167] According to Senar's statement, it seems that she also worked with Nedret when her studio was in Ankara. See "'ben zamana uyamadım…'" *Cumhuriyet*, 18 October 1998.

[168] Orhan Tahsin, "Müzeyyen Senar," 1951. Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001526824006.

[169] For example, Müzeyyen Senar performed at multiple gazinos in the 1940s and 1950s. The list below is obtained from the advertisements published in *Cumhuriyet*: Büyükdere Beyaz Park Gazino (13 July 1945), The Grand Family Hall below the Novothi Hotel (*Novothi Oteli Altındaki Büyük Aile Salonu*) (7 December 1945), Kasımpaşa Geyikli Garden (1 September 1945), Çemberlitaş Cinema (12 December 1946), Maksim Gazino (23 March 1947), Cağaloğlu Çiftesaraylar Garden (17 July 1947), Taksim Municipality Gazino (21 April 1948), Perihan Garden (12 June 1948), Yenikapı Çakır Gazino (17 July 1948), Küçük Çiftlik Park (31 July 1949), The Grand Bebek Gazino (*Büyük Bebek Gazinosu*) (28 October 1955), Bebek

eight places in one day, four during the daytime, and four at night.[170] Similarly, Hamiyet Yüceses[171] used to perform at ten to eleven places on Saturdays and Sundays. She used to work regularly at Tepebaşı Gazino [172] during summer and Kristal during winter. Before her performance at Tepebaşı, she would sing at four different places, each including five to six songs. Then she would go to Tepebaşı and start there around 11 pm. After her set was finished at Tepebaşı, she would continue performing in various places until the morning.[173]

The interaction with the audience was key for the performers. Senar's disciple, Zeki Müren[174] made great changes to the stage layout in the 1960s. First, Zeki convinced his orchestra to wear identical costumes, which consisted of a blue jacket, gray trousers, and navy-blue bow tie. Previously, the orchestra used to appear on stage in different and ordinary clothes. In terms of the spatial adjustments, he introduced the "T" shaped stage so that he could engage better with the audience. This of course had to be done with a cordless microphone.[175] Back in the 1930s and 1940s, the artists would be lucky if they had a microphone at all. Hamiyet Yüceses, Safiye Ayla, and Müzeyyen Senar performed without

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Garden (3 December 1955), Tepebaşı Gazino (5 December 1957). Even after her contract ended with Kristal, she performed there occasionally (12 October 1946). She frequently performed at Büyükdere Beyaz Park Gazino, The Grand Family Hall below the Novothi Hotel, Cağaloğlu Çiftesaraylar Garden and Küçük Çiftlik Park.

[170] "Taş Plaktan Bugüne," Episode 1, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation's (TRT) Archive: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h2Qa7Il_47E

[171] Hamiyet Yüceses (1915-1996) first went on the stage when she was 16. She performed at Istanbul Radio and various gazinos such as Kristal, Taşlık, Maksim and Küçük Çiftlik Park. She also recorded many songs like her vocal artist colleagues.

[172] Tepebaşı Garden was opened in 1880. In 1884, a restaurant was built across the entrance of the garden. It became a garden bar-cafe chantant over the years. Garden bar was demolished in 1935 during a road construction. Two theatre spaces (drama and comedy) were opened in the garden and two summer *gazinos* were established on each side of the drama section. See, Seza Durudoğan, "Tepebaşı Bahçesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 7 (1994): 249-250.

[173] "Unutulmayanlar," Episode 2, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation's (TRT) Archive, retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqguMLqx5H4

[174] Zeki Müren (1931-1996) was a singer, composer, songwriter and actor. He was one of the prominent figures of the Turkish classical music. He was known by the nickname "The Sun of Art."

[175] Şeyma Ersoy Çak and Şefika Şehvar Beşiroğlu, *Bir Muhabbet Kuşu: Postmodern Göstergeler Işığında Zeki Müren* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2016), 88.

a microphone many times.[176] The *gazino* soundscape had evolved with the introduction of new technologies.

2.8.2.1.1 One can be a superstar, but is it possible to be visible authentically? Senar was an exceptionally popular artist, but her *gazino* career was interrupted because of her marriage. She made her first marriage with Ali Senar in 1935, when she was already a star who worked in various *gazinos* and night clubs and recorded many songs. She had her first child in 1936. Because her husband was very jealous, she had to stop going on stage; she continued only her radio programs. However, her first marriage did not last long; she got a divorce in 1939 and married a second time in 1943. [177] Her second husband, Ercüment Işıl, did not interfere in her career and she went back to performing on stage. By 1944, Senar was expecting her second child. She was working at Tepebaşı Gazino at the time. Because she was pregnant, she was expected to take a break from the stage. Yet, she was not willing to stop performing. The solution was to put an ornate wooden screen on the stage. Its height was above her stomach. The microphone was in the front and outside of the screen. She took her place before the curtains opened. As the instruments started playing, the curtains were opened. She stood behind the screen throughout her performance, which lasted one hour and fifteen minutes **(Figure 2.16)**.[178] Nobody should see pregnant Müzeyyen because a woman should not work in her condition. However, when it was found out that she was pregnant, people flocked to the *gazino*. This time, rather than hiding behind a screen, one

[176] Ergün Arpaçay, "40 Yıl Önceki Gece Hayatımız: 'Bir Ömür Sahnede Geçti'," *Milliyet,* 11 January 1993.

[177] Serenat İstanbullu, "Müzeyyen Senar'ın Hayatı ve Müziksel Çalışmaları," *AKÜ AMADER* 12 (2020): 230, 232.

[178] Ergün Arpaçay, "40 Yıl Önceki Gece Hayatımız: 'Akşam oldu hüzünlendim ben yine'," *Milliyet,* 8 January 1993.

of the members of the orchestra, Sadi Işılay, [179] played his violin in front of her.[180] It raises the question of why her pregnancy was desperately attempted to be hidden. Nevertheless, this was also a universal issue for women. There are still certain unwritten rules regarding the appearance of women who go on stage and perform. Pregnancy is one of the most natural processes in a woman's life; however, taking spatial measures to prevent pregnant Müzeyyen to be visible is an indication that she was not able to fully manifest herself to the public eye.

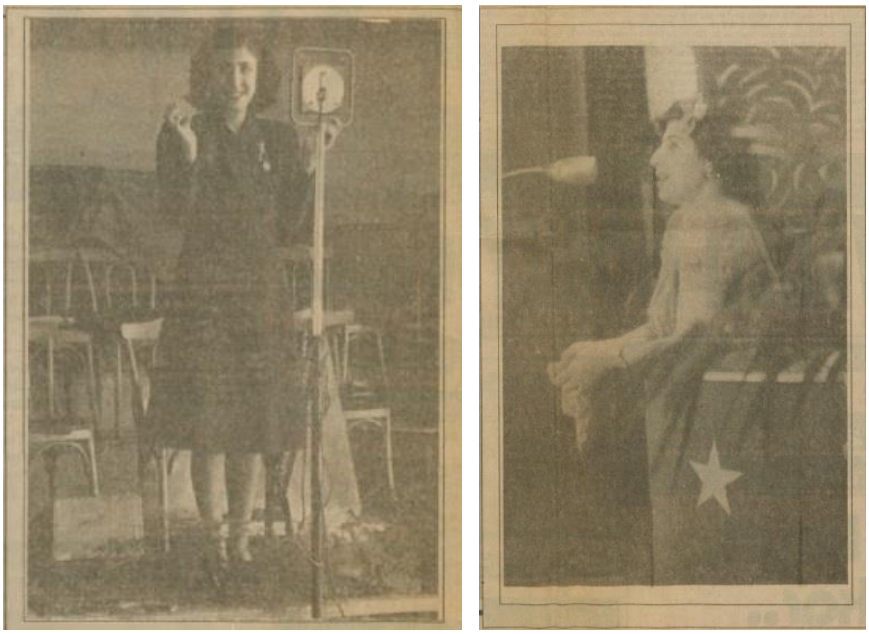

Figure 2.16 Müzeyyen Senar at Kristal Gazino in 1941 and Tepebaşı Gazino in 1944. The image on the left shows Senar during a rehearsal at Kristal Gazino. It can be seen that the microphones were not portable in that period. The photograph on the right-hand side shows Senar performing while pregnant at Tepebaşı Gazino. Because her pregnancy should not be noticed by the audience some spatial measures were taken. She performed behind a decorated screen. Here, it is observed that the wooden screen was covered with fabric decorated with stars.
Source: Ergün Arpaçay, "40 Yıl Önceki Gece Hayatımız: 'Akşam oldu hüzünlendim ben yine'," *Milliyet*, 8 January 1993.

[179] Sadi Işılay (1899-1969) was a prominent composer and violin player in Turkish classical music.
[180] Radi Dikici, *Cumhuriyet'in Divası Müzeyyen Senar*, 130.

2.8.2.1.2 The Gazino Industry In the commercial music industry, the musicians' artistic and economic survival depended on pleasing the consumers through their brand, individuality, and creativity. The artists were usually recruited from the non-commercial sphere. For example, the *gazino* representatives approached known names of Turkish classical music with offers they could not refuse. These artists had a role in the cultural politics of the state, working at institutions such as the State Opera, the State Symphony, the Conservatory Performing Group, and various ensembles within the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT).[181] Istanbul State Radio Hall **(Figure 2.17)** in the district of Harbiye was put into service in 1949. This was the first time that Istanbul Radio attained adequate studio conditions. Previously, the radio did not have permanent headquarters. It was first established in Sirkeci in 1927, later moved to Beyoğlu. Its broadcast was often interrupted until 1936.[182] The radio hall was close to *gazinos* and other entertainment venues in Taksim and Beyoğlu. Artists sometimes had stage and radio performances on the same day. The proximity of the radio hall to the entertainment venues most likely did not cause difficulties in travels from the radio to the *gazinos*, but the same did not apply to the recording studios.

Female vocal artists also juggled between the commercial recording industry and the live-music market. These two spheres were interconnected. To illustrate, many

[181] Münir Nurettin Beken, "Musicians, Audience and Power: The Changing Aesthetics in the Music at the Maksim Gazino of Istanbul," unpublished PhD diss., (University of Maryland, 1998), 15-29. Beken also draws attention to the influence of the state in musical taste. For example, Western music was added to the curriculum at the conservatory in Istanbul (*Dar-ül Elhan*) as early as 1923. First state conservatory for Western music was founded in 1924 in Ankara following the orders of Atatürk. It was believed that there was a need for a change in the ways how Turkish music was represented. After his speech in 1934 regarding this matter, traditional music genres from state radio were banned for a period of two years. State's approach did not change until 1975 when another conservatory was established that included training in Turkish music.

[182] Tülay Aksan, "Radyo," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1994): 293.

composers used to bring their new works to Müzeyyen Senar. After performing these pieces in front of the *gazino* audience, they would become popular and inevitably she would turn them into records.[183]

Figure 2.17 Locations of *gazinos*, the State Radio Hall and Yeşilköy Gramaphone Recording Plant (1-Kristal Gazino, 2-Taksim Municipality Gazino, 3-State Radio Hall, 4-Yeşilköy Gramophone Recording Plant)
Source: Satellite map of Istanbul, last accessed September 28, 2020, http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/#

Although recordings were conducted in various makeshift places across the city, the Yeşilköy Gramophone Recording Plant **(Figure 2.17)** that came into operation in 1929

[183] Dikici, *Cumhuriyet'in Divası Müzeyyen Senar*, 115.

continued to be a monopoly until 1956.[184] Previously, there was no required technology, and thus, once a year a British voice operator with required equipment would visit Istanbul and record albums. The rest of the operation would be finalized abroad. In 1936, Naci Sadullah traveled with orchestra members and vocal artists in the first-class train from Sirkeci to the Yeşilköy Plant and provided information about the recording business. Because any type of noise (such as the outside weather conditions or trains passing in the vicinity) would disrupt recordings, it was a long process. After the airport in Yeşilköy started its operation in 1953, airplane noise was added to the interruptions of the recording process. Also, artists could have a cold on the scheduled day of the recording or not be cheerful. These all affected the set schedules adversely.[185]

Sadullah mentioned that artists traveled to the studio by public transportation, yet one can imagine that a famous vocalist such as Senar traveled by private car. Kristal provided her a car and she hired the same driver after her contract ended.[186] However, she might, too, have been exposed to the same long hours at the studio. Due to uncertain recording timetables, artists did not exactly know when it would be their turn to record, and there were no resting places at the studio. Safiye Ayla once stated that she did not eat until it was her time to record her song, she was tired, but she had to go to her next show on the radio.[187] The uncertainties inherent in the recording business seems to have affected artists' other professional appointments.

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[184] Gökhan Akçura, "Türkiye'de İlk Plak Fabrikaları," *Z Dergi: Kültür, Sanat,* Şehir 4 (2020): 458, 463.

[185] Naci Sadullah, "Plak doldurma fabrikasında bir saat," *Son Posta*, 29 December 1936.

[186] Dikici, *Cumhuriyet'in Divası Müzeyyen Senar*, 111.

[187] Akçura, "Türkiye'de İlk Plak Fabrikaları,": 462.

The *gazino* industry was highly competitive. The owners fulfilled artists' many requests to play in their places. For example, Perihan Altındağ Sözeri, who became well-known first on the radio like many of her colleagues, demanded that the *gazino* not serve alcohol. Upon the owner of Kristal accepting her sole requirement, she moved to Istanbul from Ankara in 1948. In the late 1940s, Kristal was not that glamorous. There was a creaky wooden floor, and no curtain, décor, or adequate lighting. It had a makeshift look to it. Sözeri brought a carpet from her home to the *gazino* and laid it on the wooden stage. The talent also raised money and bought a curtain for the stage. The light was too weak, "it made the beautiful, ugly."[188] It is surprising that as the lead singer, Sözeri had to improve the idle state of Kristal's stage to have it more suitable for the artists and the audience. However, as a busy entertainment venue, Kristal made indoor renovations almost every year during the offseason. The renovations and the reopening days were announced in the newspapers.[189] The lead vocal artists were mostly women, but the orchestra (*saz heyeti*) always consisted of men.[190] For vocal artists, the orchestra was the most important requirement when making contracts with *gazinos*. Because they would collaborate on stage, rapport and harmony were of utmost importance.

2.8.2.1.3 The Emergence of Women's Matinee (Kadınlar Matinesi) Because alcohol was served in *gazinos*, the programs lasted until midnight or later; most importantly, the lead singers took the stage around 11 pm, the *gazinos* included alcohol-free "family

[188] Ergün Arpaçay, "40 Yıl Önceki Gece Hayatımız: 'Gazinoya içki yasağı koydum', Milliyet, 13 January 1993.

[189] *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1949; *Cumhuriyet*, 28 December 1951; *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1952; *Cumhuriyet*, 6 October 1953; *Milliyet*, 29 September 1955;

[190] Selahattin Pınar (1902-1960), Necati Tokyay (1906-1988), Yorgo Bacanos (1900-1977), and Ercüment Batanay (1927-2004) frequently collaborated with the famous lead singers of the period. For information about composers and instrumentalists, see Sermet Sami Uysal, *Baki Kalan Bu Kubbede…* (Istanbul: L&M Kitaplığı, 2005).

matinees (*aile matinesi*).” These matinees were usually held on Sundays and began in the afternoon. Although there was an entrance fee, people could bring food. For example, the schedule of Cağaloğlu Çiftesaraylar Garden’s Sunday family matinee follows: *2 pm: Fasıl, 4 pm: Şen Kardeşler, 4:30 pm: Abdullah Yüce, 5 pm: Müzeyyen Senar*. The schedules consisted of four sections, beginning from 2pm to 1am. Müzeyyen Senar would perform a second time at 11:30pm.[191] Family matinees were an opportunity for working women, women of conservative families that would not consume alcohol or go to places where alcohol was consumed, and for those who could not afford evening programs that included dinner service to listen to a famous artist like Senar. These family matinees soon evolved into women’s matinees (*kadınlar matinesi*).

Sevim Çağlayan,[192] who was a vocal artist nicknamed “Magnificent Woman (*Şahane Kadın*),” stated that one incident led her to initiate women’s matinees. While she was performing at Kazablanka Gazino in Beyoğlu, she saw a group of men at one corner. When she asked them why they did not go there with their wives, their reply was “what business does a woman have here!” As men did not see women going out to *gazinos* where men were present, she decided to initiate women’s matinees. The ladies who cooked stuffed vegetables (*dolma*) and meatballs (which were the common food for outings) would grab their pots and enjoy the women’s matinee. Later, other *gazinos* had to initiate women’s matinees as well.[193] For a certain segment of society, female entertainment remained mostly indoors and realized by “women’s at-home days (*gün*)” as well as home visits;

[191] *Cumhuriyet*, 27 July 1952.
[192] Sevim Çağlayan (1934-2000) was a vocal artist specialized in Turkish classical music.
[193] Ergün Arpaçay, “40 Yıl Önceki Gece Hayatımız: ‘Kadınlar matinesini ben çıkardım’,” *Milliyet*, 15 January 1993.

however, male entertainment happened outside the confines of the family in places such as taverns and coffeehouses.[194] These matinees ensured that women from conservative backgrounds to be entertained outside of their homes.

2.8.2.1.4 The Intersection of Gazino and Political Scenes *Gazinos* were open to multi-purpose use as they had large halls. These places housed political parties' balls.[195] Also, from time to time, some political parties' events such as congresses were held in *gazinos*.[196] One such meeting, organized by the Republican People's Party (RPP), was held on 30 December 1953. It was the first years that the Democrat Party (DP) took over the rule from the RPP. Then the president of the RPP, İsmet İnönü's speech at the meeting was not welcomed by DP members. In addition to the people at Kristal, those who gathered outside between the Monument of the Republic and Kristal were able to listen to İnönü's speech criticizing the government, through the installed speakers. According to Evren Burçak, the event's unexpected expanded audience resulted in both İnönü and Kristal Gazino becoming targets of the government. Eventually, Kristal Gazino paid the price; it was demolished in the scope of the redevelopment project under Adnan Menderes's supervision in 1957.[197] We have no direct evidence that this incident brought about the demolition of Kristal Gazino. Yet, even this claim shows us that *gazino* venues were

[194] Arzu Öztürkmen, "Cumhuriyet'in Eğlenceleri," in *Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet*, ed. Uğur Tanyeli (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 70-71.

[195] Democrat Party Beyoğlu District celebrated 14 May at Taksim Municipality Gazino multiple times (*Milliyet*, 7 June 1950; *Milliyet*, 7 February 1953). 14 May 1950 was the date of the general elections. It was resulted with the victory of the Democrat Party. Besides, RPP's provincial annual balls were held at Taksim Municipality Gazino (*Cumhuriyet*, 7 March 1950; *Cumhuriyet*, 4 February 1952). Also, Liberty Party organized a ballroom night at the same venue (*Cumhuriyet*, 17 March 1957).

[196] Democrat Party Beyoğlu District's congress (*Milliyet*, 9 February 1952), Nation Party's provincial congress (*Milliyet*, 21 June 1953) and the Republican People's Party's provincial congresses (*Milliyet*, 2 January 1953; *Milliyet*, 18 February 1954) were held at Kristal Gazino.

[197] Burçak Evren, "Kristal Gazinosu," *Efemera* (2020): 27.

intertwined with politics. Due to technological advancements, the *gazino* culture declined. The visibility of existing and new artists moved from *gazino* venues to television.

2.8.2.2 State's Imagination of Entertainment Materialized: Taksim Municipality Gazino. The vision for establishing a *gazino* by the Istanbul Municipality in Taksim **(Figure 2.18)**, a place where state ideology manifests itself, was to create a progressive entertainment space for wealthy citizens who were familiar with "Western" culture.[198] Taksim Municipality Gazino was built on the northern end of Gezi Park between 1938 and 1940. It was later connected, via roads and landscape design, to Gezi Park.[199] There was another entertainment space in the same location in the late Ottoman period, Taksim Garden (*Taksim Bahçesi*), which also housed a *gazino*. One had to pay an entrance to enter the garden grounds, and it was frequented primarily by the wealthier population. Although it also functioned as a *gazino*, there was no stage dedicated to variety (*varyete*) shows.[200]

Taksim Municipality Gazino provided the city a public space—consisting of a café, restaurant, ballroom, and a wedding hall,[201] —in which secular norms of leisure were displayed. Designed through the modernist ideals of its time, it was a reinforced concrete structure with a double-heighted dining hall. It was flooded with light through a semicircular transparent wall projecting towards the park. It also had an open café terrace with a view of the Bosphorus.[202]

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[198] Ümit Deniz, "Nereye Gidelim Kimleri Seyredelim?," *Milliyet*, 3 November 1952.

[199] Seyfi Arkan, "Gezi açılırken: İstanbulu birinci getiren eser," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 September 1942.

[200] Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe* (Istanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2019), 47-49.

[201] The engagement and wedding ceremonies were announced on the pages of the newspapers: "Nişan töreni," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 October 1942; "Mes'ud bir evlenme," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 May 1942; "Mes'ud bir evlenme," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 November 1945; "Suat Mamat Nişanlanıyor," *Milliyet*, 14 April 1955.

[202] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 111-112.

The economic and social backgrounds of the audience between Kristal and Taksim Municipality *gazinos* were different. Kristal appealed more to the middle class, while Taksim Municipality Gazino attracted wealthy clients. It is not surprising that the differences between the entertainment programs of these two *gazinos* are striking. *Gazino* programs featured eclectic shows. It is possible to determine the social and cultural differences between the audiences of Kristal and Taksim Municipality through the content and line-up of the stage performances. The programs offer insight into the taste of each *gazino* audience. For example, vocal artists of Turkish classical or folk music rarely went on to the stage at the Taksim Municipality Gazino. In general, jazz, swing, and revue shows were performed. Additionally, the management usually brought in artists from abroad and offered short-term shows to the audience. Hence, more "Western" influenced programs were preferred instead of making long-term contracts with well-known vocal and non-musical artists from Turkey. Indeed, the managers visited various European cities such as Vienna, Paris, Milan, Rome, and Athens to recruit artists for the following seasons.[203] In the 1940s and 1950s, various Spanish, French, Greek, and American female vocal artists and dancers performed at the *gazino*.[204]

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[203] "Mevsim Sonu Hazılıkları," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 July 1952.

[204] Some of the artists performed at Taksim Municipality Gazino included: The Spanish singers Julia Rayes (*Cumhuriyet*, 4 December 1942), and Nati Mistral (*Cumhuriyet*, 29 June 1956), and dancer Rosita Alonso (Cumhuriyet, 28 March 1946); French vocalists Anne Chapelle (*Cumhuriyet*, 26 December 1946. *Cumhuriyet*, 8 January 1947), Regine D'Artois (*Cumhuriyet*, 4 August 1948), Rose Avril (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 February 1950), and Lucienne Boyer (*Cumhuriyet*, 30 August 1951), and dancer Lona Rita ("Şehrimize iki Fransız sanatkarı geldi," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 January 1947.); Greek piano virtuoso Lila Lalauni (*Cumhuriyet*, 19 April 1946), Chilean singer Rosita Serrano (*Cumhuriyet*, 20 August 1946), "the star of Paris cabarets" Nila Cara (*Cumhuriyet*, 12 February 1947), American jazz singer Vickie Henderson (*Cumhuriyet*, 4 October 1951) and soloist June Richmond (*Cumhuriyet*, 6 May 1961), Brazilian soloist Horacina Correa (*Cumhuriyet*, 7 October 1952).

Although ballroom nights were also organized at Kristal,[205] announcements in newspapers indicate that many associations and clubs preferred Taksim Municipality Gazino. A diverse group of unions of various professions, alumni, and student associations held their ballroom nights in this venue.[206] For example, the Journalists Association's annual balls[207] and the Academy of Fine Arts' annual masquerade balls[208] were organized at Taksim Municipality Gazino. Moreover, tea parties were organized there mostly by alumni associations of prestigious high schools.[209] The *gazino* also housed fashion shows. For instance, in 1950, one of the female seamstresses, Saide Tanrıöver, exhibited the latest fashion models that she brought from Paris to "the women of Istanbul high society."[210]

[205] I have only obtained a single announcement of a ballroom night organized by the Child Protection Agency (*Milliyet*, 22 April 1954).

[206] Some of the associations and unions that organized balls include: Association of Higher Economics and Business School Alumni (*Cumhuriyet*, 1 April 1945), Turkish National Student Union (*Milliyet*, 5 August 1950), Association of Customs Brokers (*Milliye*t, 15 July 1951), Istanbul American College Alumni Association (*Milliye*t, 31 January 1951), Turkish-Albanian Brotherhood Association (*Cumhuriyet*, 27 November 1953), Turkish Women's Union (*Milliye*t, 2 February 1955), Istanbul Democrat Printers Association (*Cumhuriyet*, 7 February 1959), and Divriği Culture and Fraternity Society (*Cumhuriyet*, 14 February 1960).

[207] "Gazeteciler Cemiyetinin dün geceki balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 March 1947; "Basın Balosunda sürprizler," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 February 1950; "Basın Balosu," *Milliyet*, 11 March 1951; *Cumhuriyet*, 5 March 1952; *Milliyet*, 8 March 1955.

[208] "Akademinin kıyafet balosu," *Milliyet*, 6 March 1953; "Akademi Balosu," *Milliyet*, 5 March 1954. "Akademi Balosu," *Milliyet*, 9 March 1956; "Akademi Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 March 1957.

[209] Some of the associations and unions that organized tea parties include: Haydarpaşa High School Alumni Association (*Cumhuriyet*, 22 December 1945), Unkapanı Youth Club (*Cumhuriyet*, 10 September 1949), Association of Boğaziçi High School Alumni (*Cumhuriyet*, 11 February 1950), Dentists' Association (*Cumhuriyet*, 26 April 1950), Nişantaşı Girls Institute (*Milliyet*, 8 May 1950), Turkish Green Crescent Society (*Milliyet*, 28 January 1951), Galatasaray High School Alumni Association (*Milliyet*, 31 January 1951), Istanbul Girls' High School Alumni Association (*Milliyet*, 23 November 1953; *Milliyet*, 14 November 1954), and Midwifery School Alumni Association (*Milliyet*, 20 December 1954).

[210] "Defile," *Milliyet*, 8 September 1950.

Figure 2.18 Taksim Municipality Gazino. The most striking part of the design was the double-heighted semicircular glass wall projecting towards the park. There was a pool by the entrance which is visible at the bottom of the image. People seem to leave the *gazino* in groups consist of both women and men. Since it was still daytime, it can be imagined that they attended a tea party at the *gazino*.
Source: "Taksim Gazinosu," Atatürk Library, Krt_014573.

It is not surprising that Taksim Municipality Gazino was preferred over Kristal for the balls. Ballroom ceremonies were important tools to reflect the Republican ideology; therefore, it was not a coincidence that balls, where women and men came together, took place in an entertainment establishment by the municipality that was affiliated with the government. Although ballroom nights were already part of the entertainment life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,[211] they served an ideological purpose with the

[211] In the late Ottoman period, ballroom nights were usually organized by non-Muslim and foreign nationals in the Beyoğlu and Galata districts. In general, the Ottoman authorities did not interfere in these events. Nonetheless, it was not seen appropriate for Muslim population to attend or organize balls. See Doğan Duman, "Osmanlı'dan Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemine: Batı Kültürünün Bir Yansıması Olarak Balolar," *Turkish Studies* 11:1 (2016): 47.

establishment of the Republic. They were considered and implemented as effective tools for changing the determined roles of women in society and "modernizing" the dressing style. Women had to be as visible as possible in social life. Ballroom nights were first initiated in Ankara by the members of the new regime that envisioned reform in social and cultural life; they subsequently spread to other cities. In this context, these events were meant to set examples for the other segments of society.[212]

Indeed, it would not be easy at first for women and men to socialize together. In his memoir, Falih Rıfkı Atay gives insight into how it took time for women and men to socialize together. He mentions one of the first gatherings in the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*) building. Atatürk and other notables of the state were there: "Women sat collectively on one side of the room and men on the other. Only a few smart ladies were standing. These women did not move even to go to the buffet to eat something. Nobody was introduced to anyone as a family. Women were under men's watchful eyes. Mustafa Kemal told us: 'Gentlemen, respect the ladies, who are standing. Serve them. Let us make those who sit, jealous. They will all get up slowly.' All of them slowly, not that evening, but within a year or two, got up and mingled with the community."[213] Eventually, balls played a functional role in the coexistence of men and women, especially within the educated and urbanite elite.

By the 1950s, the timidness between women and men faded and it became common for the upper-middle class to attend ballroom nights. It almost turned into a spectacle, where everybody paid the greatest attention to their looks, dance moves, and general social

[212] Cemre Arı et al., "Cumhuriyet Baloları," *Kebikeç* 38 (2014): 307-311.

[213] Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Çankaya* (Istanbul: Bateş, 1980), 411. Atay (1894-1971) was a journalist. He also published travelogues. He first published his memoir in 1952.

interactions. For example, a *Milliyet* writer, who used the nickname Berin and reported about the wealthier community, gave insight into ballroom nights. She vividly described the annual Democrat Party ballroom night held at Taksim Municipality Gazino. The most discussed part of the night was women's clothes: "Our ladies came out with beautiful and new dresses. […] At the dinner ball, each of the tables was occupied by well-known figures of the city with their elegant ladies. Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın's[214] family was sitting as a crowded group and seemed very cheerful. Sait İbrahim Esi and his friends were occupying one of the other big tables. The extremely elegant table was one of our Armenian citizens who never miss party balls. Who is whose daughter or bride always confuses me, but probably some of the Balıkçıyans and Geserians were there. Ladies were wearing gorgeous gowns from Balman, Fath, and Dior. In the ball with a good atmosphere, plenty of joy, and good lotteries, people had fun nonstop until late hours. […] While dancing, it was noticed that most of the dresses were short."[215] Taksim Municipality Gazino—which hosted many distinguished weddings, meetings, and shows throughout its short life—was closed in the mid-1960s, and the Sheraton Hotel was built in its location in 1968.[216]

Gazino women lead singers and overtures were vastly visible in the city. The advertisements of *gazino* programs were hanging on the empty walls. The announcements of programs published in newspapers were bearing artists' photographs, which could be seen in public transportation, offices, shops, and coffee houses. Their voices were heard on the street through gramophone records. Finally, they could be heard and seen at the same

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[214] Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın (1875-1957) was a journalist, novelist and literary critic.
[215] "Berin Diyor ki," *Milliyet,* 4 April 1955.
[216] Seza Durudoğan, "Taksim Belediye Gazinosu," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 7 (1994): 197.

time at *gazinos*. Their images and voices were intertwined with urban life. Although female vocalists were inevitably part of the public sphere, their stories are not narrated. This is noteworthy, considering the spaces they once occupied. For example, interviews and articles about Müzeyyen Senar generally talk about important and unique events and anecdotes in her life. Among them, her being called by Atatürk and singing in front of him in 1936 had been widely circulated. These narratives are important, yet until these famous public figures are integrated into their rightful urban spaces, they remain individual superstars separate from the network of which they were a part of. By connecting these important names of the music industry to the physical environment, we can observe their difficult work conditions. These women vocalists had to adjust to the spatial inadequacies to meet the demands of the managers and audiences. Kristal's stage, for example, was unsuitable to walk on while singing let alone while interacting with an audience. They performed without microphones, sometimes in multiple venues over the course of a day. Therefore, their lives were not as glamorous as they were depicted. Also, Senar's attempt to hide her pregnancy through spatial measures demonstrates that artists could only express themselves in line with the limits of society's expectations. Further, investigating two entertainment venues in the same area with different programs displays how there was not one type of demand for leisure time. Ballroom nights, tea parties, and programs with a more Western taste were preferred by what could be described as ideal Republican women. For example, we can imagine Nebahat Erkal attending balls in Taksim Municipality Gazino consuming alcohol, dancing with her husband, and socializing with her wealthy clients. Finally, in a city where destruction of architecture and urban memory became almost like

a commonplace application, recovering who took part in these places of entertainment stands as a crucial task.

2.9 Conclusion

The reorganized public spaces have been extensively studied through their physical and architectural characteristics. Although this body of research is important, it is not necessarily concerned with who took part in these public spaces. It almost recycles the same information without complicating the Republican agenda of creating secular spaces and hence molding the modern citizens from above. Therefore, I designate the Republican intervention in urban spaces as background and concentrate on untold stories of women who belonged to varying social strata and professions. The women whose stories have been tried to be recovered were selected within the limits of the piecemeal archival evidence. Some of the women have not been subjects of academic studies such as Nimet Abla, women scriveners, and ticket collectors. Although the History Foundation (*Tarih Vakfı*) conducted an interview with Nebahat Erkal in 2003 in the scope of collecting the memories of people in the early Republican period, the interview does not situate her in an urban environment or part of a bigger narrative, as it was not within the scope of the project. Also, new information not just helps us understand her story in more detail but also points out how her life deviated from Republican ideals and the difficulties of achieving them for the women of that era. Additionally, investigating two *gazinos* that appealed to two different social groups in the same area, sheds light on the demands of the actors in the entertainment industry. In Kristal Gazino, I look at one of the superstars of the period, Müzeyyen Senar. As she was highly visible, there is plenty of information about her compared to the less

visible women. However, these narratives usually stress the significant positive experiences in her life. In this context, situating her in the urban space and how the spatial aspects and audience demands of *gazinos* shaped her performances brings her stardom to a more human scale and locates her in the entertainment network of the era.

CHAPTER 3

WORKING-CLASS EXPERIENCE: FACTORY WORKERS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter re-conceptualizes the connection between gender and labor in early Republican Istanbul. After surveying the political background, centralized industrialization program, and women's role in the labor force, I examine the quotidian lives of women under the categories of commuting, safety, health, hierarchy, and sexual harassment in the workplace. I investigate these topics through Defterdar Textile Factory (Feshane)[217] and Cibali Tobacco Factory, where high numbers of women were officially employed. My selections of the topics correspond to the daily lives of laborers. One of the essential parts of a workday was certainly commuting. Analyzing the factory spaces where laborers spent the most time, offer insights on the work conditions, and thus the issues of safety, health, hierarchy, and sexual harassment.

I analyze workers' daily lives in the urban scale by looking at housing and commutes. Investigating their lives first in the urban scale helps us understand where they lived, what modes of transportation they took to factories, where they had to pass by in the city, and how much time they spent during their commutes. I also discuss how the spatial aspects of each factory were reshaped after being handed over to the state enterprises, reveal the departments in which women were employed, and explore whether they worked in sex-segregated halls. Although spatial organization and technology affected both female

[217] Throughout this chapter, I use both names interchangeably since the factory was mentioned in the archival documents with both names and it is still known as Feshane.

and male workers, this chapter sheds light on the overall organization and mobility (or lack thereof) in the workplace. Because spatial settings and air and energy quality are interconnected with the well-being of the workers, I also examine occupational diseases along with social benefits such as daycare. Lastly, besides the hierarchical structure which is intertwined with the mobility and social interactions on the shop floor, I examine the instances of workplace sexual harassment.

My goal here is not to recover agency. One of the challenges of the total history approach is to either exaggerate the possibilities of an agency or to minimize the degree of the impact of larger structures and institutional forces in the lives of common individuals.[218] Without focusing on agency or state's imagination in particular, I contextualize the daily practices of women within a broader political and social framework by juxtaposing the state-initiated documents with the textual and visual documentation that can reveal day-to-day practices.

Finally, I would like to underline that I do not include the ethnoreligious aspects of the labor force. This has two reasons. First, because of the absence of archival materials, it is not possible to access the names of the workers to determine their backgrounds. Second, although visual materials make examining workers' backgrounds possible by looking at clothing and head coverings (particularly for the Ottoman period), it is not feasible for the Republican period due to the encouragement of anti-veiling.

[218] Andrew I Port, "History from Below, the History of Everyday Life, and Microhistory," (2015): 111.

3.2 Background on Political and Economic Developments

The global economy, led by Western Europe and the United States, expanded at an exceptional rate in the nineteenth century. The international economic trends increasingly shaped the Ottoman economy. As a result, the Ottoman economy began to transform to the new world order. The Ottoman Empire started to set up state-owned factories to meet the needs of the army and the palace as part of the reforms in the 1830s and 1840s. Most of these initiatives were established in and surrounding Istanbul. However, the Empire accumulated debts through state borrowing beginning from the 1850s. There was little foreign investment until the 1880s. The accumulation of debt payments led to the emergence of the Public Debt Administration in 1881, which resulted in the acceptance of the state's status as a debtor nation in the global financial system. Therefore, industrialization attempts advanced very slowly until WWI.[219]

The decline of the open economy model of the nineteenth century in which not only domestic actors but foreign entities engaged in the trade of products commenced during WWI due to the disruption of foreign trade and capital flows. This led governments to look for solutions, and, consequently, interventionism, protectionism, and greater emphasis on national economies materialized as new principles of economic policy during the interwar period.[220] Carter Vaughn Findley divides early Republican economic history into two phases: the first (1923-1929) phase was a reconstruction and openness to foreign trade and investment; and the second was the "innovative" economic model of statism (*devletçilik*)

[219] Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire Volume Two: 1600-1914*, ed. Halil İnalcik and Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 770, 773; Şevket Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey Since 1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 100.

[220] Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey Since 1820*, 156.

that was adopted in 1931. Even though statist policies were gradually abandoned after 1950, Findley argues that no significant change emerged until the turn towards privatization in the 1980s.[221] One of the principles of statism, in a more limited sense, refers to the reorganization of the Turkish economy after the trauma of sequential wars (Balkan Wars (1912-1913), First World War (1914-1918) and War of Independence (1919-1923)) and fighting the severe local effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s.[222] According to statism, the state was the pioneer and director of industrial activity in the interests of national development and defense because private enterprise and capital were inadequate for investment. Turkey's planning and development policies were heavily influenced by the experiences of the Soviet Union. The government decided to carry out a five-year plan method[223] to initiate economic growth over limited periods.[224] After the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan in 1934, state factories in several industries were established in medium-size urban centers along the existing railway networks. The government also continued to operate the handful of factories inherited from the Ottoman state both in Istanbul and other cities.[225]

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[221] Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 271.

[222] Paul Dumont, "The Origins of Kemalist Ideology," in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. Jacob M. Landau (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), 39.

[223] Five-year plan is a method of planning economic growth over limited periods. It was first implemented in the Soviet Union in 1927. In 1932, a Soviet delegation visited Turkey and prepared a report for the development of the Turkish economy. Additionally, the Soviet Union aided $8 million in gold to the Turkish industrialization program. The First Five-Year Plan chiefly followed Soviet recommendations of concentrating on textiles, iron and steel, paper, cement, glass, and chemicals. See, Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 197.

[224] Dumont, "The Origins of Kemalist Ideology," 39.

[225] Caroline E. Arnold, "In the Service of Industrialization: Etatism, Social Services and the Construction of Industrial Labour Forces in Turkey (1930-50)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 48:3 (2012): 363-368.

Moreover, one of the most important developments was the enactment of the first Turkish Labor Act in 1936, which covered only blue-collar workers, contained rigid regulations mainly intended to protect the stability of workplaces, and tightened the restrictions on strikes by initiating penal sanctions and compulsory settlement processes for disputes of interests.[226] It provided guidelines on the contract and conditions of employment, hygiene, safety, labor disputes, and social insurance.[227]

Furthermore, even though Turkey remained neutral throughout WWII, the disruption of foreign trade and the increase in military expenditure had catastrophic consequences for the economy.[228] After the war, the United States extended its Recovery Programme of Europe (Marshall Plan)[229] to Turkey, which provided dollar grants for economic reconstruction. As a part of the "free world," Turkey was eligible for financial aid in exchange for military dependence and economic liberalization. This meant that the economy had to adopt market liberalism and specialize within the world market. The bourgeoisie's discontent became evident especially after the Democrat Party (DP) came

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[226] Tuncay Can, "Brief History and Flexibilisation Efforts of Turkish Labour Law," *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 15 (2013): 342.

[227] Turkish Labor Act [*İş Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, 15 June 1936. The acts affecting the labor force are listed above: Associations Act [*Cemiyetler Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, 14 July 1938. Associations Act banned to establish any organization bases on class or party. It was then overruled by the Trade Union Act [*İşçi ve İşveren Sendikaları ve Sendika Birlikleri Hakkında Kanun*], Resmi Gazete, 26 February 1947. Other acts include Physical Training and Recreation Act [*Beden Terbiyesi Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, 16 July 1938; The Law on Social Insurance of Occupational Accidents and Illnesses, and Motherhood [*İş kazalariyle meslek hastalıkları ve analık sigortaları kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, 7 July 1945; Old-age Pensions Act [*İhtiyarlık Sigortası Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, 8 June 1949; Law on Payment of Wages to Workers on Weekends and Public Holidays [*İşçilere hafta tatili ve genel tatil günlerinde ücret ödenmesi hakkında Kanun*], Resmi Gazete, 15 August 1951; The Regulation on the Conditions of Employment of Pregnant and Lactating Women and Nursing Rooms and Nurseries [Gebe ve Emzikli Kadınların Çalıştırılma Şartlariyle Emzirme Odaları ve Kreşler Hakkında Nizamname], Resmi Gazete, 10 September 1953.

[228] Pamuk, *Uneven Centuries: Economic Development of Turkey Since 1820*, 158.

[229] Marshall Plan (1948-1951) was a U.S. sponsored program implemented to rehabilitate the economies of Western and Southern European countries to create stable conditions in which democratic institutions could survive.

into power in 1950. The DP leaders shifted their focus to agricultural development and hence Turkey's part in the world market became mainly agricultural exports.[230] Considering the industrial working class, the DP pledged to make strikes legal in the 1950 elections. Although it encouraged the formation of the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (*Türk İş-Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu*) in 1952, the party asserted that it would be an apolitical, business union led by a party supporter.[231]

3.3 Women in the Industrial Labor Force

Starting from the end of the nineteenth century, women began to elude from the traditional economic activities of working at home and in the field to working at workshops and then, due to the consequent wars, to factories. Contrary to established presumptions, women were widely employed in the Ottoman industry, yet they were exposed to long hours of work at low wages.[232] Especially during WWI, many women—except a relatively small and wealthy segment of them—had to work long hours and in dire conditions with very low wages. When male labor supply declined due to the high numbers of recruitment of men to the front, it became necessary to replace men with female labor in factories, workshops, and even in road construction and street cleaning.[233] Additionally, cheap

[230] Çağlar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development* (London: Verso, 1987), 118-119, 127.

[231] Joel Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 117.

[232] Ahmet Makal, "Türkiye'de Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadın Emeği," *Çalışma ve Toplum* 2 (2010): 14-15.

[233] During WWI, not only urban women worked in various sectors, but peasant women also started to appear in cities, especially in the capital. They brought their crops and products to sell at the markets in Istanbul from nearby towns and villages. Overall, for women who had never worked outside their homes, it was a radical change in their lives. Also, their workload increased as women had to deal with domestic chores on top of doing men's work. See Yiğit Akın, *When the War Came Home: The Ottoman's Great War and the Devastation of an Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 144-147; Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de*

female labor and the low probability of women participating in trade unions or workers' organizations' activities had a positive impact on the employment of women in the workforce.[234]

In the early Republican period, the number of women workers—predominantly in weaving, tobacco, and the food industry—were gathered mainly in Istanbul and Izmir, where the industry was relatively more developed. Especially after the adoption of statism, the number of women workers in industrial production gradually increased.[235] In the scope of my case studies, female workers constituted 20.84% of the entire Sümerbank[236] labor force in 1945, and by the end of 1948, the number of female workers formed 23.62% of 2,265 laborers in Sümerbank Defterdar Textile Factory. Among those female workers, 64.5% of them were either single or widowed. Besides, 33.75% of the female workers were below the age of eighteen.[237] Moreover, women consistently constituted around seventy percent of the workers of the Cibali Tobacco Factory **(Figure 3.1)**. Approximately 5,000 laborers were working in the main factory and the ateliers located in Ahırkapı, Toptaşı, and Feriye.[238] In the period of its operation, the workforce of the factory consisted of mostly

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Ekonomi ve Toplum (1908-1950): İttihat-Terakki ve Devletçilik (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 132.

[234] Ahmet Makal, "Türkiye'de 1950-1965 Döneminde Ücretli Kadın Emeğine İlişkin Gelişmeler," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 56:2 (2001): 120.

[235] Makal, "Türkiye'de Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadın Emeği," 26.

[236] Sümerbank and Etibank, founded in 1933 and 1935 respectively, were the emblems of the Turkish government's efforts at industrialization and building an integrated national economy. After embarking upon the First Five-Year Plan in 1934, Sümerbank was assigned to project development and management along with its banking and cotton production. It was then also commissioned with the implementation of industrialization plans. Etibank was specialized in mining and electric power. See H. Çağatay Keskinok, "Urban Planning Experience of Turkey in the 1930s," *METU JFA* 27:2 (2010): 174, 179.

[237] Sümerbank İşletmelerinde İşletmede İnsan ve İşçi Meseleleri 1945 Yılı Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Raporu (Ankara: İdeal Basımevi ve Ciltevi, 1946), 8-10.

[238] Fatma Doğruel and Suut Doğruel, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Tekel* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000), 278.

women and girls and it became one of the rare workplaces where labor was passed from generation to generation.[239]

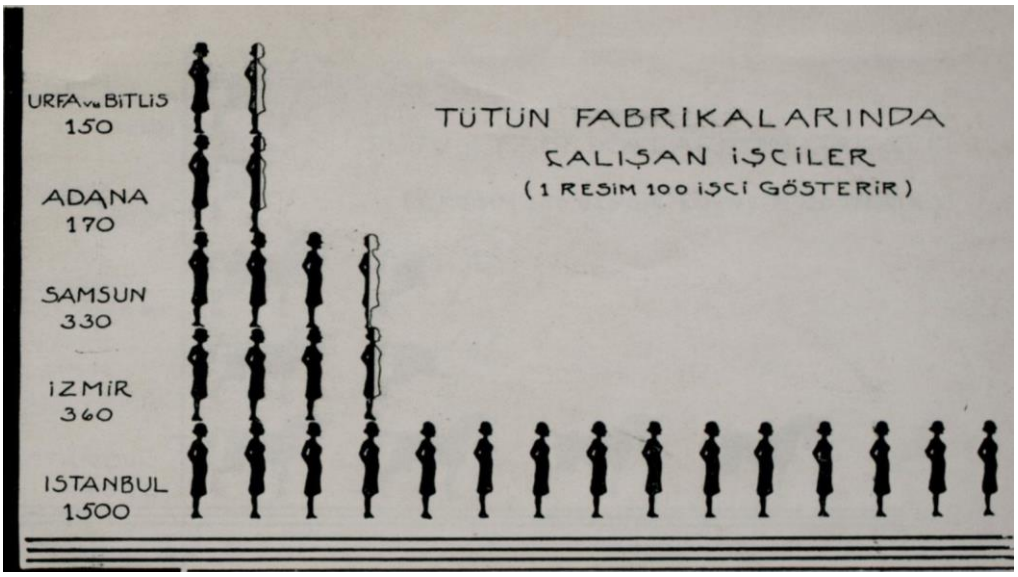

Figure 3.1 Infographic demonstrating the number of workers employed in the tobacco factories in six different cities. Each pictogram displays 100 laborers. Although the specific recruitment practices are unknown, I argue that this image supports the employment of high numbers of women in the tobacco industry because workers were graphically displayed as women whereas the term "worker/laborer" was usually considered as male.
Source: Ö. R. Yaltkaya, "Tütün Fabrikaları," *İstihbarat Bülteni* 6:98 (1937).

However, the gender-based wage differences against women continued, and female workers were subjected to long hours and inadequate health and safety conditions. As wars had a favorable impact on women's participation in the labor market globally, the

[239] "Cibali Tütün Fabrikası," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1994): 429. Documents in the State Archives also support that there was no serious need for male workers in the factory. One of the workers asked for a transition from the storage facility in Ahırkapı to the main factory in Cibali due to the inconvenience of his commute. Another worker quit his job at the supply unit to carry out his military service (however the factory mentioned that he was absent from time to time without an excuse) and wanted to be employed again. Both of their requests were denied because "there was still no need for male workers in the factory." See BCA 30-1-0-0/79-495-3 "Cibali Tütün Fabrikasındaki işine tekrar dönmek isteyen Ahmet Bayrak'ın dilekçesi," 05 February 1958; BCA 30-1-0-0/79-495-6 "Cibali Tütün Fabrikasına nakil isteyen İbrahim Şabanoğlu'nun dilekçesi hakkında yapılan işlem," 05 February 1958.

mobilization of men for a potential threat throughout WWII once again increased the employment of women and girls in various industries. Nevertheless, technological advancements and the gradual dominance of machines over labor adversely affected the employment of women because the physical and educational quality of female labor was less preferred. Thus, women were mostly concentrated in labor-intensive sectors such as textiles and tobacco that require unskilled labor and low growth rates.[240]

Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson whose research focuses on gender and work in the global economy, challenge the "natural" differentiation of women and men in industrial production in another context. They indicate that women's secondary role in the labor force is associated with the consideration that they have naturally "nimble fingers" in addition to being compliant, patient, and eager to accept hard work discipline. Furthermore, they are less inclined to join trade unions and more adaptable to repetitive and tedious tasks. Their lower wages compared to men are seen as a consequence of their potential of bearing children and hence the possibility of leaving the job after giving birth.[241]

However, it is stated that the famous "nimble fingers" of young women are not inherited through sex. They are the result of a certain training given by their mothers and/or female relatives from early childhood in the tasks socially appropriate to women's role such as needlework and sewing. This training produces skills transferable to other assembly operations.[242] Overall, training of young women is socially invisible and privatized because it falls under the umbrella of domestic labor. Hence, when they become wage

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[240] Makal, "Türkiye'de Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadın Emeği," 26, 32; Makal, Türkiye'de 1950-1965 Döneminde Ücretli Kadın Emeğine İlişkin Gelişmeler, 135, 136.

[241] Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson, "Nimble Fingers Make Cheap Workers: An Analysis of Women's Employment in Third World Export Manufacturing," *Feminist Review* 7 (1981): 92-93.

[242] Ibid, 93.

workers, the skills gained over the years are classified as "unskilled" or "semi-skilled" and become attributable to women's nature. As in the case of the industrial workforce in Istanbul, women were mostly employed in textile and cigarette manufacturing in which they were expected to conduct repetitive manual labor rather than tasks that required physical strength or technological knowledge. Although there were examples that blurred the strict sexual division of labor, female workers were mostly employed in departments that required so-called "unskilled labor."

Moreover, I would like to underline the conflicting interests of the state in terms of women's employment in the industrial force. Although the status of women was at the center of the modernization discourse both in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods, the conditions in which to integrate them into the public sphere were contested. Women's rights were granted and promoted by a government that consisted mostly of men. The pronatalist government policies and the interest on the role of women as "nation's mothers" confined women's "most important national duty" to be the builders and protectors of the Turkish family.[243] In contrast, the state inspectors of Sümerbank called for measures to increase the number of women workers. Nevertheless, this was not to promote their participation in the labor force but to decrease the overall costs.[244]

Another view that reflected the frustration towards female employment was that because women were believed to be "stealing men's jobs." This view found legitimate

[243] Meltem Müftüler-Bac, "Turkish Women's Predicament," *Women's Studies International Forum* 22:3 (1999): 304; Özlem Altan-Olcay, "Gendered Projects of National Identity Formation: The Case of Turkey," *National Identities* 11:2 (2009): 172-173.

[244] Sümerbank İşletmelerinde İşletmede İnsan ve İşçi Meseleleri 1945 Yılı Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Raporu (Ankara: İdeal Basımevi ve Ciltevi, 1946), 8.

grounds for discussion due to the high rates of male unemployment in the 1930s.[245] As men were responsible for the economic wellbeing of the family, [246] their unemployment became a symbol of failure. For example, a 1936 interview with male workers in *Cumhuriyet* demonstrates the discontent of female employment in the industrial workforce. The reporter, Suat Deviş, followed an unemployed man for one day. When she encountered three young men who were looking for jobs at the gates of a factory, they mentioned that their jobs were taken by female laborers because the latter worked for smaller wages. One of them indicated that he was a mechanist, who was not worried about his job at the time because "women do not understand how to operate the machines." When a female worker was employed at the factory, he deliberately broke one of the machines twice. However, she fixed the machine each time and since then he was unemployed. He continued saying that women were taking all the available jobs, but it was even worse to agree to work for "women's wages." [247] Novelist/journalist Peyami Safa discussed the matter with a pronatalist perspective. He stated that this not only had taken away the employment opportunities from the male workers, but it also induced women to shy away from marriage and, as a result, motherhood. He perceived this situation to adversely affect the need for population growth.[248] Furthermore, because the family ideology limits women to attending to housework and the children while designating the husband as the breadwinner, women's work was confined to "appropriate" jobs. According to employers, it would not be

[245] Işık Özel, "1930'ların İstanbul Basınında Kadın," *Toplumsal Tarih* 6:31 (1996): 31.

[246] The Turkish Civil Code of 1926 designated husband as the head of the family who was responsible for the care and wellbeing of his wife and children. See, Sera Reyhani Yüksel, "Türk Medeni Kanunu Bakımından Kadın-Erkek Eşitliği," *Gazi Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 18:2 (2014): 189.

[247] Suad Deviş, "Günü gününe yaşıyanlarımız: Kapı kapı iş arıyan bir işsizle dolaştım," *Cumhuriyet,* 13 April 1936.

[248] Peyami Safa, "Hadiseler Arasında: İş ve Ev," *Cumhuriyet,* 22 August 1936.

appropriate for women to carry out certain jobs because of their physical weakness and/or lack of knowledge in addition to moral reasons.[249]

3.4 An Overview of Ottoman and Republican Labor Historiography

There is a growing literature that stresses gender, ethnicity, and race as important categories to understand the multilayered relationship between states, societies, and industrial workers. However, established labor history in the Middle East—particularly Turkey—narrows workers' experiences to unionism and political activism to a large extent and concentrates on the institutional history of the working class.[250] Additionally, overlooking the workers' experiences reduces the literature to the state labor policies to a certain scope. Hence, the narrow focus of nationalist labor histories tends to miss the social and cultural life of laboring men and women. In addition, the question of gender and quotidian lives of workers has not been fully addressed and needs further investigation since workers are still assumed to be male and working-class people have been considered as a unified group.

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[249] Yildiz Ecevit, "Shop floor control: The ideological construction of Turkish women factory workers," in *Working Women: International Perspectives on Labour and Gender Ideology*, ed. Nanneke Redclift and M. Thea Sinclair (London: Routledge, 1991), 57.

[250] The re-establishment of democracy after the coup of 1960 allowed the emergence of a legal Left that pursued historical research and writing for itself that was focused on the class consciousness of Turkish laborers. Zackary Lockman, "Introduction," in *Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East: Struggles, Histories, Historiographies,* ed. Zachary Lockman (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), xii-xiii. There is an established extensive scholarship that has concentrated on the formation of the working class and unionism: Orhan Tuna, "Türkiye'de Sendikacılık ve Sendikalarımız," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları*, (Istanbul: 20.Kitap, 1969), 255-268; Oya Sencer, *Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı: Doğuşu ve Yapısı* (Istanbul: Habora Kitabevi, 1969); Hakkı Onur [Zafer Toprak], "1908 İşçi Hareketleri ve Jön Türkler," *Yurt ve Dünya* 2 (1977): 277-295; Dimitr Şişmanov, *Türkiye'de İşçi ve Sosyalist Hareketi-Kısa Tarih (1908-1965)* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1978). In the following decades, the institutional aspects of labor continued to be the main focus in the literature: M. Şehmuz Güzel, "Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinde İşçi Hareketleri," *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 7 (1984): 1848-1876; Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "The 1908 Strike Wave in the Ottoman Empire," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 16 (1992): 153-177; Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı 1908-1946* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2016).

Although the established literature focuses on unionism and political activism, new perspectives in Ottoman and Republican labor history have emerged in recent decades.[251] These studies provide an understanding of how to tackle the notion of gender in the workplace and labor market, and encourage scholars to use various documentation such as petitions, workers' statements, and information, and periodicals as evidence. Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett point out the relative absence of research on Middle East labor history and mention the struggle of historians of Ottoman and Turkish labor to break with a number of established traditions in the larger field of labor history. They indicate that one of the major problems that scholars face is the modernization paradigm, which often assumes that modernization was inspired merely by Ottoman and/or Turkish contact with the "West," and a Westernized elite imposed "reform" on its "backward" people. Another agenda of recent scholarship has been the investigation of the life of the working class since labor activism has been largely studied with an emphasis on the institutional aspects of labor. According to this new approach, it is important to expand the field to include issues such as gender and sexuality, ethnicity and race, age, the structure of households, as well as informal and social-political relationships.[252]

In this section, I focus on the studies that concentrate on the issues of gender and everyday life within the geography of modern Turkey. Previous research reveals the

[251] Even though the aspect of gender received little attention, the workshop titled "Middle East Labor and Working-Class History: Concepts and Approaches" that was held at Harvard University in 1990 and its published volume (Zackary Lockman, *Workers and Working Classes in the Middle East: Struggles, Histories, Historiographies,* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994)) brought about new perspectives on peasants, laborers, and externalities.

[252] Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett, "Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labour History: An Introduction," *IRSH* 54 (2009): 3-8. For a discussion on the new approaches and employing various sources in early Republican labor history, see Yiğit Akın, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Emek Tarihçiliğine Katkı: Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Yeni Kaynaklar," *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 2 (2005): 73-111.

economic activities of urban women beginning from the early modern period. For instance, Fariba Zarinebaf examines the role of women in manufacturing and the urban economy of Istanbul. She illustrates how women participated in the textile industry as weavers, dyers, and embroiderers. She proceeds to demonstrate how middle- and lower-class urban and rural women continued to be active in increasing numbers in the nineteenth century: in cottage industries as well as newly established textile workshops and factories. Women who belonged to the middle- and upper-middle classes took economic roles as investors in residential and commercial real estate.[253] Additionally, Donald Quataert,[254] who is a key figure in establishing the field of Ottoman labor history as a viable field of research, examines the role of Ottoman women in textile manufacturing from the nineteenth century to WWI. He draws our attention to how global forces affected Ottoman production. Fueled by European demand, the most important export industries—silk reeling, lacemaking, and carpet making—were sustained by a poorly paid and largely female workforce.[255]

There are a number of studies challenging the long-concerned views relating to the labor force in Istanbul in the nineteenth century. For instance, Cengiz Kırlı presents a detailed profile of the labor force, employing a qualitative approach through making use of an Ottoman survey conducted in Istanbul, and examining the general characteristics of employment and shop sizes, the ethnoreligious portrayal of the labor force, and

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[253] Fariba Zarinebaf, "The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul, 1700-1850," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (2001): 141-152.

[254] One of the most influential figures in challenging the historiographical tradition that places the elites in the center was Donald Quataert. For a discussion on the elitist historiographical tradition in labor history, see Donald Quataert, "Social History of Labor in the Ottoman Empire: 1800-1914," in *The Social History of Labor in the Middle East*, ed. Ellis J. Goldberg (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 19-37.

[255] Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Women, Households, and Textile Manufacturing, 1800-1914," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 161-176.

occupational patterns with respect to religious and migration networks. He also questions the assumed "ethnic division of labor"[256] and uncovers regional dependability with the increasing migration to the capital.[257] Moreover, Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı explores the departmental distribution of workers in Feshane in the nineteenth century. Based on Feshane's wage ledgers, he examines the role of ethnoreligious characteristics of workers in their finding of jobs, job performance, and earnings, and reveals that ethnic division of labor was not the practice in Feshane.[258]

Gülhan Balsoy has studied the Cibali Tobacco Factory within gendered lenses. She predominantly employs photographs that were taken by Guillaume Berggren at the beginning of the twentieth century at the request of the factory management. Balsoy not only reminds us that women were present in the industrial labor force, but also discusses the social condition of work, the gendered division of labor in various stages of production, and how power structures were established in the factory.[259]

Can Nacar brings forth the quotidian lives of the workers of Sümerbank and Etibank, two state-led enterprises, during WWII. Utilizing official reports, petitions, and workers' accounts, he questions the studies that depict the workers of the state establishments as privileged government officials and those establishments as the hubs of social education. Nacar gives an account of the unhealthy working and living conditions of

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[256] It has been generally assumed that non-Muslims dominated trade and commerce while Muslims primarily worked in agriculture and held administrative positions.

[257] Cengiz Kırlı, "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (2001): 125-140.

[258] Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı, "Working in a Fez Factory in Istanbul in the Late Nineteenth Century: Division of Labour and Networks of Migration Formed along Ethno-Religious Lines," *IRSH* 54 (2009): 69-90.

[259] Gülhan Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Régie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century," *IRSH* 54 (2009): 45-68.

the workers, varied forms of violence they faced, and their reactions to the aforementioned issues.[260] Moreover, Yiğit Akın investigates the representation of the workers' interests and concerns in print media between the 1940s and the late 1950s, when the country experienced several structural transformations. He does not directly study workers' experiences; rather, he analyses the development of class-identity and politics by looking at the words of the workers themselves.[261] As illustrated, the everyday lives of industrial workers have become one of the focuses in Republican labor history, and the potentials of employing various forms of evidence have been promoted in recent scholarship. Nonetheless, uncovering laborers' daily experiences by concentrating on the urban environment and spatial aspects of factories still need further research. My contribution includes identifying the departments where women were employed and demonstrate the discrepancies between the regulations and realities of work conditions.

3.5 The Historical Background of Defterdar Textile Factory and Cibali Tobacco Factory

The everyday lives of the workers of the Defterdar Textile and Cibali Tobacco factories should be analyzed within the industrial character of the Golden Horn strip. With its advantages of being a calm and safe harbor, easy water transportation, and its opening to the Straits, the shores of the Golden Horn became a preferred place for industrial production in the nineteenth century.[262] Moreover, the European Side of Istanbul Master

[260] Can Nacar, "'Our Lives Were Not as Valuable as an Animal': Workers in State-Run Industries in World-War-II Turkey," *IRSH* 54 (2009): 143-166.

[261] Yiğit Akın, "The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics in Early Republican Turkey: Language, Identity, and Experience," *IRSH* 54 (2009): 167-188.

[262] T. Gül Köksal and H. Hüseyin Kargın, "Haliç'teki Endüstri Mirasının Geçmişi ve Geleceği," in *Dünü ve Bugünü ile Haliç: Sempozyum Bildirileri 22-23 Mayıs 2003*, ed. Süleyman Faruk Göncüoğlu (Istanbul: Kadir Has Üniversitesi, 2004), 431.

Plan of 1937 proposed the development of the shores of the Golden Horn with a view of providing a rational organization of commerce and local industry. The Golden Horn strip as the traditional industrial zone kept its importance until the last quarter of the twentieth century.[263]

Feshane (Imperial Fez Factory), one of the factories inherited from the Ottoman state, was established in Eyüp in 1833. The factory manufactured headwear for the army along with a variety of fabrics and rugs. After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the factory was transferred in 1925 from the army to the Industry and Mining Bank of Turkey (*Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası*),[264] and it was operated under the name of Feshane Textile Incorporated Company (*Feshane Mensucat T.A.Ş.*).[265] In 1937, the factory was handed over to Sümerbank and relabeled as Sümerbank Defterdar Textile Factory (*Sümerbank Defterdar Mensucat Fabrikası*). It was mostly rebuilt after a fire in 1949.[266] In 1986, the factory was partially demolished, and its main production hall was transformed into an exhibition center, which is still known as Feshane.[267] During the period of my examination, the factory not only manufactured fabric and clothing but also produced spare parts and machines to be distributed to various factories of Sümerbank.[268] Apart from that, as one of the state-run establishments, Sümerbank was assigned to conduct the drive-in

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[263] F. Cana Bilsel, "European Side of Istanbul Master Plan, 1937," in *The Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)* ed. F. Cana Bilsel and Pierre Pinon (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010), 247.

[264] Initiated with the capital from the government, the main task of the Industry and Mining Bank of Turkey was to operate the state-owned factories until they were transferred to the private sector. See "Türkiye Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası," *Boyut Pedia*, last accessed September 30, 2020, http://www.boyutpedia.com/1321/43873/turkiye-sanayi-ve-maadin-bankasi.

[265] Emre Dölen, "Feshane," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3 (1994): 298.

[266] Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Defterdar Mensucat Fabrikası," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 8 (1966): 4340.

[267] Kabadayı, "Working in a Fez Factory in Istanbul in the Late Nineteenth Century," 71.

[268] Dölen, "Feshane," 298.

industrialization as well as administering the labor force problems. The main challenges in industrialization were the high rates of worker turnover and absenteeism during the 1930s and 1940s. Therefore, Sümerbank initiated several programs and establishments nationwide to secure an industrial labor force, including housing facilities, health services, and nutritional assistance.[269]

My second case study is the Cibali Tobacco Factory in the district of Cibali.[270] The factory was established in 1884 under the Tobacco Régie Company, which was founded to manage the Ottoman state's revenue to control payments towards its debt and was granted monopoly rights over the domestic market. In 1925, the factory was handed over to the Monopolies Public Directorate (*Devlet İnhisarlar İdaresi*, later *TEKEL*). [271] After transferring existing tobacco factories both in Istanbul and Anatolia, the government's first step was to keep the production rates steady and increase the capacity of the factories with limited resources. The factory continued its production until the mid-1990s. The complex was transformed into a university campus (Kadir Has University) in 2002. During the period of my examination, the factory manufactured cigarettes, tobacco, cigars, tumbeki (*tömbeki*), and snuff (*enfiye*). It remained as the leading and most important tobacco factory until the establishment of the Istanbul Cigarette Factory in Maltepe in 1967.[272] These two

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[269] Selin Dingiloğlu, "The (Re)production of the Industrial Labor Force in Early Republican Turkey: The Case of Sumerbank and Etibank," *Istanbul Gelişim University Journal of Social Sciences* 5:1 (2018): 1,2.

[270] Koçu indicates that what gave the identity to Cibali is first and foremost the tobacco factory and its extension of the packaging factory, its sawmill, storages, workshops, and garage as well as the main factory's workers. According to him, Cibali was known to be inhabited by mostly "riffraff" (*ayak takımı*) and it was a crowded and dense settlement. See Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Cibali," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 7 (1971): 3547-3548.

[271] Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Cibali Tekel Tütün-Sigara Fabrikası," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 7 (1971): 3553.

[272] Doğruel and Doğruel, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Tekel*, 273, 277, 279.

factories, which were established in the late Ottoman period and later nationalized by the Republican regime, remained in production for many years and consistently employed female workers.

3.6 Daily Routines of Workers in Urban Scale: Commutes

One of the essential parts of the everyday life of laborers is undoubtedly their daily commute. An extensive survey conducted among the Defterdar Textile Factory workers in 1953 reveals vital information on housing and commuting. It was stated that 60% of the workers lived close to the factory, where they could travel on foot. 20% of the workers were taking one vehicle (ferry, tramway, or bus) and the rest had to take two vehicles. The factory provided transportation (one truck and one bus) for workers on night shifts.[273] Its route was determined according to the need and it included Rami, Taşlıtarla,[274] Fatih, Şehzadebaşı, and Kasımpaşa. Furthermore, 22% of the workers, who were homeowners, lived within 5 to 15 minutes of proximity to the factory. The rest resided in rented apartments from which they commuted to work within one hour.[275] Industrial workers had to leave their homes at dusk as many had to work in early morning shifts. Because they would take the earliest scheduled trains and ferries, the trains operating from and to Asian

[273] Koçu asserts that the factory was providing shuttles for its workers who were residing far from the factory in 1966. See Koçu, "Defterdar Mensucat Fabrikası," 4344.

[274] Habitation in Rami and Taşlıtarla (today known as Gaziosmanpaşa) emerged first as a state-initiated resettlement project for the Bulgarian Turks immigrating to Turkey at the beginning of the 1950s as a result of the assimilation policies by the Bulgarian government. The increasing numbers of domestic migrants started to move to the area and eventually Rami and Taşlıtarla turned into a squatter settlement. See Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara, "Rami," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1994): 305-306.

[275] Z. Fahri Fındıkoğlu, *Defterdar Fabrikası Hakkında Bir Tatbiki Sınai Sosyoloji Denemesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Harsi ve İçtimai Araştırmalar Derneği, 1955), 30-31.

and European sides and Bosphorus ferry lines' earliest scheduled trips were named as "laborer train" and "laborer ferry" (*Amele treni, amele vapuru*). [276]

Housing in big cities was a substantial problem for low-income earners even before WWII, but Istanbul experienced a serious housing shortage starting with this event.[277] In the 1950s, the capitalist expansion of the economy under the DP regime, especially the introduction of agricultural machinery that caused the decline of the labor force in rural areas, brought about the emergence of new social groups, such as rural migrants in search of work, which led to the massive urbanization in big cities. Spatial transformations accompanied this demographic movement. The lack of capital accumulation prevented the necessary large-scale investments in housing and infrastructure. The inevitable result was the emergence of squatter settlements. Factories and industrial zones accompanied by squatter settlements for migrant workers came out especially in the periphery of the city.[278]

Facing a major housing crisis, low-income inhabitants had two choices. One solution was to live with multiple families in an apartment. In such a case, only one room was allocated to one family.[279] The crisis was so severe that in Eyüp, some workers shared the same room and bed according to their shifts at the factory.[280] Others were forced to reside in non-sanitary dwellings built illegally on empty lands called *gecekondu*.[281] Ekmel

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[276] Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Amele Treni, Amele Vapuru," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1959): 776.

[277] Can Nacar, "Working Class in Turkey During the World War II Period: Between Social Policies and Everyday Life," unpublished Master's thesis, (Bogazici University, 2004), 64, 66.

[278] Sevim Aktaş, "The Urbanisation Issue and the Culture of *Gecekondus* in Turkey," *Orinete Moderno* 93 (2013): 177-179.

[279] Ekmel Zadil, "İstanbul'da Mesken Meseleleri ve Gecekondular," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* (1949): 76.

[280] Fındıkoğlu, *Defterdar Fabrikası Hakkında Bir Tatbiki Sınai Sosyoloji Denemesi*, 32.

[281] According to İbrahim Yasa, women's position improved considerably in the *gecekondu* families when their rural background is taken into consideration. Economic obligations played the most important role for a father to allow his wife or daughter to work outside of the home. However, this still indicated limited freedom from the conservative rural tradition. For more information, İbrahim Yasa, "The 'Gecekondu Family'," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 27:3 (1972): 583.

Zadil reported that *gecekondu* settlements were mostly constructed and inhabited by laborers. By the end of the 1940s, 3,218 houses were concentrated between Kazlıçeşme and Bakırköy. Other squatter settlements were located in Mecidiyeköy (200), Yıldız (100), Kasımpaşa (50), and Eyüp (50).[282] Considering this, one can expect some of the workers of Feshane and Cibali likely lived in the aforementioned squatter settlements especially after the accelerated domestic migration to major cities after WWII.

Aside from the difficulties in commuting, I also would like to touch upon the sensory and physical aspects of the industrial zone, and provide a glimpse of the end of work shifts. Because manufacturing facilities were concentrated along the shores of the Golden Horn,[283] unpleasant smells,[284] smoke, and machine noises were likely part of the sensory landscape. The roads surrounding the Cibali complex were "resembl[ed] anything but streets" and were filled with mud. Laborers could cross the streets only by "laying wooden beams" on both sides of the pavements.[285] At dusk, female and male laborers, some carrying metal containers (*sefertası*), would commute to factories in groups. [286]

Considered as the first novel in Turkish literature depicting working-class life and struggles of the laborers of the Cibali Tobacco Factory, Mahmut Yesari mentions in *Çulluk*

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[282] Zadil, "İstanbul'da Mesken Meseleleri ve Gecekondular," 76-82.

[283] According to a document from 1957, Eyüp district housed forty-three private factories and workshops in various industries such as textile, rubber, and oil-works. See BCA 30-1-0-0/92-579-13 "İstanbul'un bazı kazalarındaki sanayi işletmeleri" 1957.

[284] One of the readers of Cumhuriyet residing in Cibali complained about the smell of fish coming from the canned goods factory that was spread to the entire neighborhood to an unbearable degree. See "Cibali derdi!," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 November 1954.

[285] One of the readers of Cumhuriyet mailed pictures of the streets surrounding the tobacco and packaging factories in Cibali and claimed that one cannot find any worse ones within the city. ("İstanbulun en çamurlu sokağı," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 January 1937.) One of the mechanics working in the Cibali Packaging Factory wanted to draw the municipality's attention on the dilapidated condition of the streets surrounding the complex. "Belediyenin nazarı dikkatine," *Cumhuriyet,* 26 February 1936.

[286] Ertuğrul Ünal, "Çöpçülük Ettim, Bir hafta İstanbul çöpçüleri ile birlikte süpürge sallayan Ertuğrul Ünal'ın röportajı: Her Semtin Kendine Has Çöpü Bulunur," *Milliyet,* 9 April 1955.

that workers were subjected to regular checks for thievery at the end of their shifts.[287] Although I have not encountered any evidence regarding Cibali in the newspapers, one article of thievery of a small amount of fabric in Feshane could be an indication that workers were subjected to periodical checks there as well. For instance, one male worker was searched at the end of his shift due to his suspicious actions. This suggests that there was an employee who was assigned to search workers' bodies and belongings.[288]

Moreover, the end of shifts at the Cibali Tobacco Factory seems to have created a spectacle both among workers and others. Burhan Arpad[289] gives a vivid account in his novel *Alnımdaki Bıçak Yarası* **(Figure 3.2)**:

"(…) When entering the Cibali Gate, the factory's whistle began to sound loudly. The pungent smell of tobacco permeated all over. The atmosphere in front of the factory resembled a fairground. The gate of the huge fortress of the tobacco factory was sieged by young men waiting for their friends, youngsters who came to pick up girls, the thick circle of creditors who were alert to wangle installments from the weekly paid laborers.

Tobacco workers were pouring into the streets in a faster manner and they were getting more crowded. Old women came out first. Young girls appeared later. They took it slow to freshen up. There were very elegant ones who would not be recognizable when seen elsewhere. There were also many beautiful, eye-catching young girls. However, the smell of tobacco, the poisonous yellow of the tobacco, was still all over them."[290]

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[287] Mahmut Yesari, *Çulluk* (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 1995), 132. *Çulluk* was first published in 1927. Yesari (1895-1945) worked at the factory for one week to gather information for his novel. For more information on Yesari, see Elif Öksüz, "Mahmut Yesari'nin Romanlarında Yapı ve İzlek," unpublished Master's thesis (Karadeniz Technical University, 2010), 10.

[288] "Hırsız İşçiler," *Cumhuriyet,* 30 November 1942.

[289] Arpad (1910-1994) was a journalist, translator, and novelist. He worked at the accounting department of the Cibali Tobacco Factory between 1928 and 1936.

[290] Burhan Arpad, *Alnımdaki Bıçak Yarası*, (Istanbul: Set Kitabevi, 1968), 98.

Figure 3.2 Cibali streets, n.d. Although I triangulated the image with 1913-1914 German (*Alman Mavileri*) and Pervititch insurance maps to locate where the photograph was taken exactly, the evidence that the visual provides is not sufficient. However, it is visible that the people in the photograph are workers and/or foremen because some of the women are wearing work uniforms and some men are wearing work aprons.
Source: Istanbul Research Institute Collection, CFA_002041.

3.7 Analysis of the Quotidian Lives of Women Workers in the Building Scale

3.7.1 Discussion of the Archival Sources

It is not an easy task to follow the institutional memory in the Republican context because of the location and periodical inconsistencies of the archival materials. One pertinent example of how scattered and difficult the sourcing process is would be the archive of the

Cibali Tobacco Factory, which was dissipated after it was forwarded to the Cellulose and Paper Factory Inc. (*SEKA*) for recycling during the 1990s.[291]

Thus, the photographs in the Taha Toros Archive[292] that are held at the Istanbul Sehir University and the photograph album prepared by the Tobacco Monopoly Administration of the Turkish Republic that are held temporarily at Rezan Has Museum Collection (the photographs are owned by the Istanbul Museum of the History of Science and Technology in Islam) offer an invaluable opportunity to visualize everyday life in the building scale.

Although the photographs in the Taha Toros Archive are undated, it is possible to assess when they were taken. The stamp behind each photograph marks the name "Feshane Mensucat Türk Anonim Şirketi," which was in effect between 1925 and 1937. Another document from the same archive mentions that twenty photographs of the factory were sent to the Galatasaray High School administration for an exhibition that would be held at the school in 1929.[293] Hence, it can be argued that the photographs were taken sometime between 1925 and 1929. Contrary to the photographs that were taken by Abdullah Frères in the nineteenth century (approximately between 1880 and 1893) as part of the Abdul Hamid II Collection,[294] the photographs that are held at Taha Toros Archive portray the workers engaging their tasks on the workshop floor.

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[291] I obtained this information from the Rezan Has Museum staff member Günşıl Öncü during my archival research.

[292] Taha Toros (1910-2012) was a cultural historian and an author. His rich personal archive contains newspaper articles, photographs and various types of documents.

[293] "Feshane Mensücat T.A.Ş. tarafından Galatasaray Lisesi Müdüriyeti'ne gönderilen yazı," 22 October 1929. Taha Toros Archive-Istanbul Sehir University, 001635226019.

[294] Imperial Fez Factory, Abdul Hamid II Collection, Library of Congress, last accessed September 28, 2020, from: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=imperial%20fez%20factory&co=ahii&sg=true

In the case of the Cibali Tobacco Factory, I utilize images from the photograph album prepared by the Tobacco Monopoly Administration of the Turkish Republic in 1940. The factory was documented displaying its workers by Guilaume Berggren in the 1900s. Nonetheless, the album from 1940 makes comparisons between the old state of the factory and the technological advancements and general improvements that were implemented in the early Republican period.

In general, the photographs in both albums reveal details of the various stages of production and departments in which women were employed, the physical aspects of the spaces, and the hierarchy of work on the shop floor. They do not display women individually, but instead show them in larger spaces: both performing their tasks and in relation to one another. While the textual evidence might obscure women in the narrative through the usage of a certain language, visual evidence creates a multitude of historical interpretations, where women are undoubtedly visible. Although it might never be possible to recover the actual flow of daily life or answer questions such as who the photographed women were, where they lived, how their supervisors treated them, or how their relationships were with their coworkers, the photographic images nevertheless offer a great opportunity to reconstruct a more comprehensive narrative.

3.7.2 Spatial Organization and Technology

3.7.2.1 Defterdar Textile Factory (Feshane). Women were hired as fez knitters at Feshane in the nineteenth century. The collected fleece was distributed to female knitters at the factory once a week and they would knit it in their homes and deliver the end

product.[295] Working from home and gender-segregated working conditions ended in the early Republican period.

It remains a challenge to decipher in which departments women were employed using official government documents because the statistics and the comments in the Sümerbank inspection reports (*Sümerbank Murakabe Raporları*) are either ambiguous or gender blind. However, using other/alternative sources that have not been utilized in the literature (such as news articles about worker accidents and visual documentation of the factories) provides insights about where female workers were present and what types of tasks they performed.

It was indicated in *Cumhuriyet* that women worked alongside male coworkers in all departments in the Defterdar Textile Factory **(Figure 3.3)**. Additionally, there was a distinct department to which only very young girls were assigned because "it was seen fit to employ them in such a department for their protection." Interestingly, the task in that department was not specified, but it was stated that "delicate work" was being performed.[296]

The newspaper articles of *Cumhuriye*t from the 1930s and the 1940s covering occupational accidents provide clues about what kinds of tasks were assigned to male and female workers. Seven incidents were reported in the aforementioned period. Two male workers were injured after an explosion while casting on mold.[297] Since the factory

[295] Erdem Kabadayı, "Working from Home: Division of Labor Among Female Workers of Feshane in Late Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*, ed. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 69-70.

[296] "Kadın İşçiler Arasında: Fesane Fabrikası İşçileri Hallerinde Memnun," *Cumhuriyet,* 17 June 1935.

[297] "Feshane fabrikasında iki amele yaralandı," *Cumhuriyet,* 5 October 1942.

produced spare parts for the machines along with textiles, it is intuitive to argue that male workers were assigned in the department where spare machine parts were produced. The rest of the occupational accidents happened due to workers accidentally getting caught in machines. One out of six incidents happened to a female worker, where her hand was injured by a machine.[298] Even though the ratio of female operators tends to be lower, this implies that both sexes worked with textile machines.

Finally, the visual documentation suggests that female workers were employed in wool fleece washing **(Figure 3.4)** and drying, dyehouse **(Figure 3.5)**, winding **(Figure 3.6)**, knitting, warping **(Figure 3.7)**, and mechanical finishing units.[299] I draw my analyses through the information that images indicate. However, it should be noted that spatial organization and technology not only affected women workers but their fellow male laborers as well.

[298] "Elini makineye kaptırdı," *Cumhuriyet,* 29 May 1939. Other accidents happened to male workers: "Elini makineye kaptırdı," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 May 1939; "Elini makineye kaptırdı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 June 1939; "Fabrikada bir kaza," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 August 1939; "Elini makineye kaptırdı," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1939; "Kısa Haberler," *Cumhuriyet,* 27 December 1940.

[299] Other photographed departments where women do not appear are milling, weaving, carding, spinning, carbonizing, fabric washing, and combing, along with the warehouse.

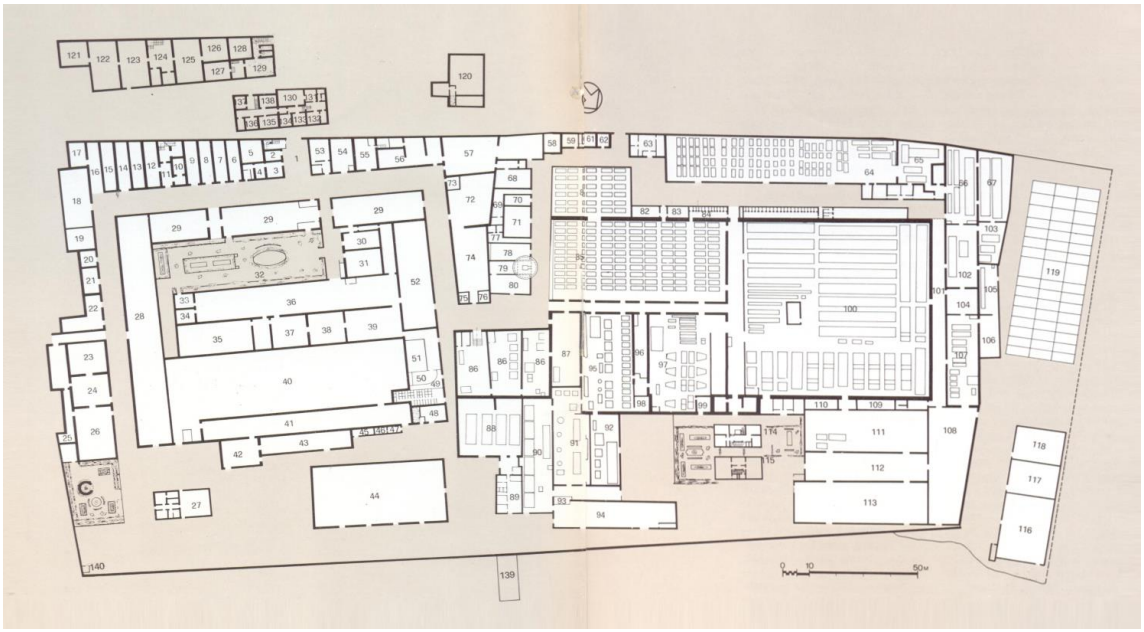

Figure 3.3 Floor plan of the Defterdar Textile Factory in the 1930s: 1-Entrance, 2-Reception, 3-Management, 4-Manager's office, 29-Dining hall, 30-Kitchen 32-Courtyard, 55-Knitting department, 65-Warping mill, 84-Women's restroom, 86, 87, 92-Mechanical finishing units, 91-Dyehouse and wool fleece drying stove, 97-Winding department, 129-Classroom, 130, 133, 134-Patient rooms, 131-Dentist, 132-Doctor's office, 137-Gymnasium, 139-Pier, 140-Gatekeeper.
Source: Önder Küçükerman, *Türk Giyim Sanayii Tarihindeki Ünlü Fabrika: 'Feshane' Defterdar Fabrikası* (Istanbul: Sümerbank, 1988), 200-202.

The insufficiency in spatial organization and technology were part of the criticism according to the reports prepared in the early 1940s by the Sümerbank inspectors. The Defterdar Textile Factory was found to be unhygienic (particularly clipping and filling departments, and the dyehouse),[300] and "lacking order and discipline."[301] Referring to all the industrial facilities within Sümerbank, the reports state that improving the lighting

[300] Sümer Bank Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti 1940 Yılı Raporu (Istanbul: Başarı Matbaası, 1941), 24.
[301] Sümer Bank Fabrikaları İçtimai Teşkilat 1940 Yılı Raporu (Istanbul: Başarı Matbaası, 1941), 8.

systems could prevent work-related accidents, especially during the night shifts and in the narrow and compact workshop floors that have inadequate daylight.[302]

Figure 3.4 Wool Fleece Washing Unit (*Yapağı Yıkama Dairesi ve Süzgeçler*)
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562384008.

[302] Sümer Bank Fabrikalarının İşçi Meseleleri ve İçtimai Teşkilatı Hakkında 1941 Yılı Raporu (Ankara: Ankara Basım ve Cildevi, 1942): 35-36. 127 workplace injuries were reported in 1941.

Figure 3.5 Dyehouse (*Boyahane*)
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562381008.

Figure 3.6 Winding Unit (*Bobin Dairesi*). Women are seen standing and given the fact that they work eight hours per day by law, this may have caused exhaustion and circulatory diseases in the long run.
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562390008.

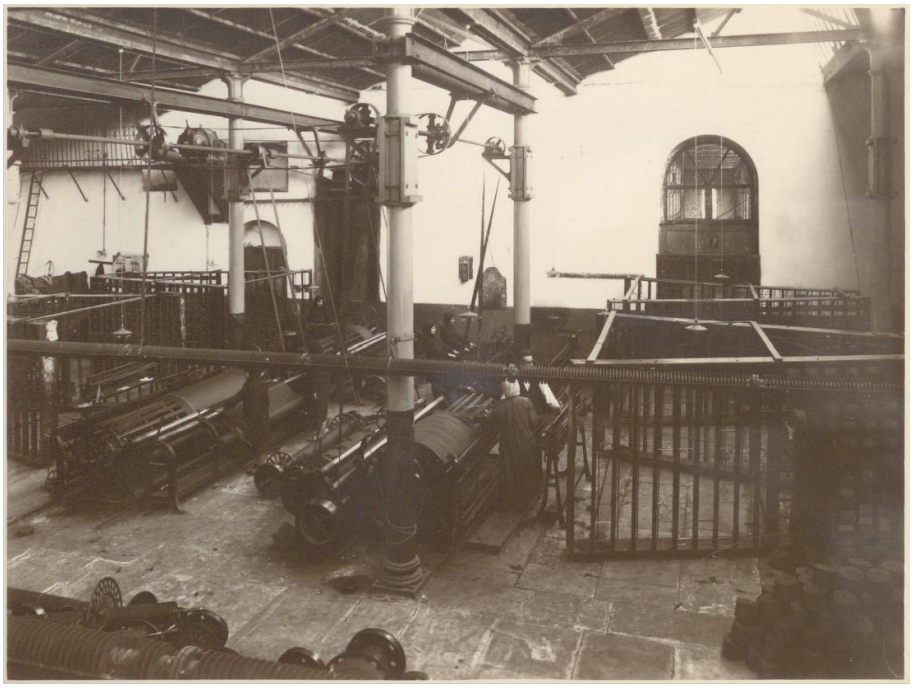

Figure 3.7 Warping Mill (*Çözgü Dairesi*)
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562382008.

Although the reports did not specifically indicate the conditions of each department in the factory, it can be argued that the photographs are in line with the inspectors' observations. The visuals reveal that daylight was brought through the openings in the ceilings (wool fleece washing, dyehouse, knitting, warping, and mechanical finishing). Even though artificial lighting was provided in some units, it could be expected that the poor lighting conditions would cause workplace injuries, especially during the night shifts. In addition, the productivity might have decreased in the night shifts particularly for the tasks that require utmost detail and attention such as knitting **(Figure 3.8)**, winding, and fabric performance.

Figure 3.8 Knitting unit (*trikotaj dairesi*). The knitting department poses as an interesting space in terms of gendered interactions. In contrast to other departments, here it can be easily observed that women and men of various ages and child laborers are working side by side.
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562389008.

Furthermore, the lack of organization that was mentioned in the inspection reports, is visible in the photographs. The scale of machines compared to the workspaces and the absence of storage areas for raw and processed materials seem to narrow down the space and prevent the mobility of workers. For example, in the mechanical finishing department **(Figure 3.9)**, the finished products made a pile on the floor and almost created a chaotic space for the workers. Similarly, in the winding unit, the yarns that would be transferred to bobbins are scattered on the floor and it seems to cause disarray.

This might have also negatively affected the overall production. Since most of the workers were paid a fixed rate for each unit produced, decreased productivity might have contributed to the workers' absenteeism and turnover. As a result of the high numbers of

rotation, the factory administration decided to hire more workers than needed to keep the production rates stable. However, this also led to a decrease in payments. Besides, the old machines and the lack of rationalization of the raw materials impacted productivity negatively. [303]

Figure 3.9 Mechanical finishing unit (*cımbız ve şardon dairesi*)
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562396008.

An additional concern of the examiners was the lack of proper heating, ventilation, and air conditioning systems. One can imagine that the heat from the machines in cramped spaces **(Figure 3.10)** and the lack of proper ventilation posed health risks for the workers. For example, the temperature in the dyehouse was too hot (38°C) and the ventilation was found insufficient especially in the clipping unit, which was saturated with dust and fibers

[303] Sümer Bank Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti 1940 Yılı Raporu (Istanbul: Başarı Matbaası, 1941), 12-13.

due to the nature of the production.[304] Also, the visual evidence suggests that the safety of the workers was not a concern. In the dyehouse, the wet floor led women to wear slippers. Since they did not wear boots or gloves, they were likely to be exposed to chemicals.

Figure 3.10 Wool fleece drying stove (*yapağı kurutma sobası*)
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562385008.

3.7.2.2 Cibali Tobacco Factory. In the Ottoman period, female workers were employed in various stages of tobacco and cigarette manufacturing in sex-segregated settings. Men were tasked with tobacco sorting and cutting, while women were employed in cigarette making and packing. Female workers were responsible for packing loose tobacco once the tobacco mixes were prepared by experts. This included sifting the tobacco through a sieve to remove the coarse pieces and craps, weighing the tobacco, and filling

[304] Sümerbank 1944 Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Raporu (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1945), 39.

and sealing packages. The rest of the tobacco would be sent for cigarette manufacturing. As this task was not considered skilled work, only women were assigned to filling the cigarette papers with tobacco, rolling, and finally packing them. Overall, the stages of manufacturing were strictly defined as either female or male tasks. This sexual division of labor brought about single-sex departments. The female and male workers were spatially separated by a wooden wall. Workers would not be able to see the other department or interact with the opposite sex; however, the walls were porous rather than impenetrable. Only superintendents were allowed to be mobile between departments.[305]

Contrary to the Defterdar Textile Factory, the sex-segregated division of labor **(Figure 3.11)** continued in the Republican period. Male workers were the superintendents, mechanics, or porters, and women would only encounter them in the cafeteria and at the machines. Curtains separated the different production floors, and women were not being seen by male workers.[306] In terms of the strict division of labor, visual evidence illustrates that tobacco sorting was assigned to women in the Republican period in addition to cigarette making and packaging. It included the sorting of the leaves following a certain recipe for each cigarette brand prepared by blenders. The only evidence that complicates the strict sexual division of labor is the photograph showing the manual transfer of goods between departments **(Figure 3.12)**. Women are seen carrying the boxes of finished products. This staged photograph is from the album prepared by the new management to demonstrate the improvement in spatial organization and work conditions. Although it

[305] Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Régie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century*,"* 58-62.

[306] Eser Selen and Mary Lou O'Neil, "'I am here': women workers' experiences at the former Cibali Tekel Tobacco and Cigarette Factory in Istanbul," *Gender, Place & Culture* 24:8 (2017): 1175.

needs further investigation, it could be interpreted that by displaying female workers conducting hard labor, who generally carried out the "delicate" part of manufacturing; the new management subtextually emphasized the crude conditions of the previous transportation system of the Régie administration.

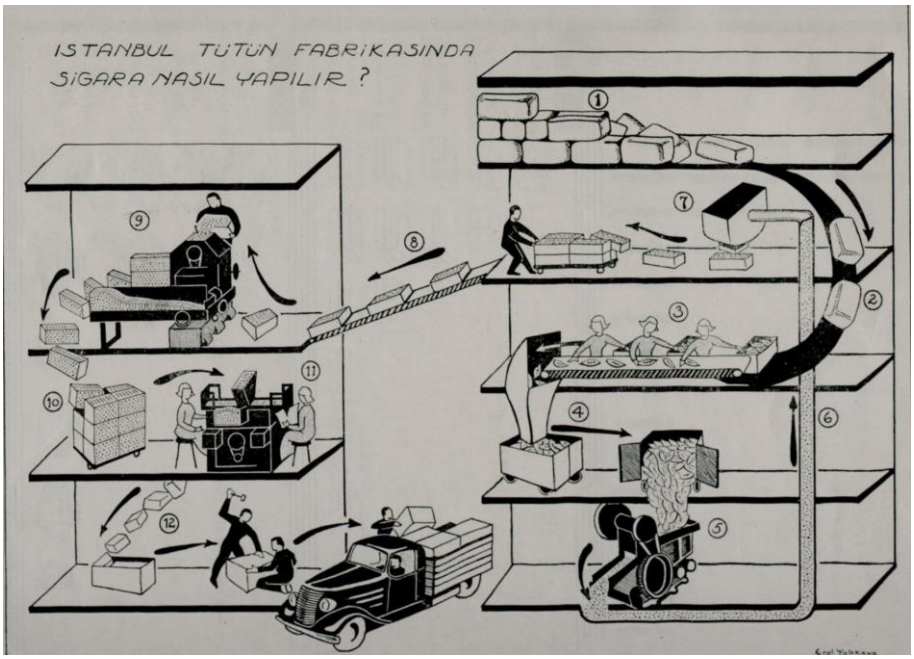

Figure 3.11 Cigarette manufacturing process. According to the diagram, women worked in tobacco sorting and packaging departments although they also worked in cigarette production. The manufacturing process shown as follows 1-Tobacco bales arrive at the factory, 2-Tobacco bales are shipped for sorting, 3-Bales are undone and tobacco leaves are sorted, 4-Sorted and blended tobacco leaves are sent to the shredder, 5-Tobacco leaves are minced, 6-Minced tobacco is sent to crates, 7-Tobacco is placed in crates, 8-Crated tobaccos are shipped for cigarette production, 9-Cigarette production, 10-Produced cigarettes are sent for packaging, 11-Cigarettes are manually packaged, 12-Packaged cigarettes are stored in large warehouses in crates, stenciled, and shipped for distribution.
Source: Ö. R. Yaltkaya, "Tütün Fabrikaları," *İstihbarat Bülteni* 6:98 (1937).

After the elimination of the Régie administration, the Monopoly Directorate took some measures to provide comfort for the workers in addition to purchasing machinery from abroad to increase the production rates. The factory was re-equipped with moving

belts, conveyor pipes, aspirators, temperature gauges, and humidity measuring pipes along with new blending, banding, and cigarette making machines and shredders.[307] Although I could not determine the exact dates of the advancements in the factory equipment[308] and spatial efficiency, the oldest evidence I obtained dates back to 1933. As specified in a news article, experts from the United States were invited to review the condition of the complex. One of the major findings of the inspectors was seen in the manual transfer of raw and finished goods between departments **(Figure 3.12)**.[309] By 1938, the transportation system was improved by installing tracks and elevators between departments that saved time and increased the overall production. Another advancement was the placing of tables and chairs in the production units. Tobacco leaves would be laid on the tables to be sorted, and workers would perform their tasks while sitting on chairs rather than on the floor like during the Régie administration.[310] According to İsmail Ziya Bersis, although the complex was still that "old, dilapidated labyrinth-like structure," **(Figure 3.13)** the alterations and new installations brought about a modern institution. Blends, which were formerly prepared manually, were then made without touching hands or feet. Instead of spraying water to blends using "buckets and dirty brooms," humidification devices were installed in addition to the shredders with the latest technology. Moreover, the machines in the cigarette

[307] Nadir Yurtoğlu, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tütün Tekeli ve Sigara Fabrikalarının Tarihsel Gelişimi (1923-1950)," *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi* 5:17 (2018): 100.

[308] A document from 1938 gives statistics on the number of machines. There were 35 cigarette machines during the Régie administration, the number of machines was raised to 91. 41 shredders were added (there were none before), 36 packaging machines were purchased (there were 12 machines in the Régie period), and 40 tobacco packaging machines were added to the factory (the number of packaging machines was 11 during the Régie administration). See BCA 490-1-0-0/1455-38-1, "İnhisarlar İdaresinin Tarihçesi, Cumhuriyet Rejiminde Tütün ve İçkilerimiz," July 1938. Additionally, an article in *Cumhuriyet* mentions that three cigarette making machines with the latest technology were being installed in 1940. See "Cibali Tütün fabrikasında yeni makineler," *Cumhuriyet,* 22 February 1940.

[309] "İnhisarlarda ıslahat: Anerikalı mütehassıslar işe başladı," *Cumhuriyet,* 6 September 1933.

[310] BCA 490-1-0-0/1455-38-1, "İnhisarlar İdaresinin Tarihçesi, Cumhuriyet Rejiminde Tütün ve İçkilerimiz," July 1938.

manufacturing hall were arranged in an orderly way according to the maximum possible capacity of such a building with an irregular layout.[311]

Figure 3.12 Manual transfer of goods between departments
Source: The Photograph Album of the Tobacco Monopoly Administration of the Turkish Republic, 1940, Rezan Has Museum Collection.

[311] İsmail Ziya Bersis, "İnhisarlar idaresinin İstanbul tütün fabrikası, *Tütün Mecmuası*," 2:17 (1939), 3.

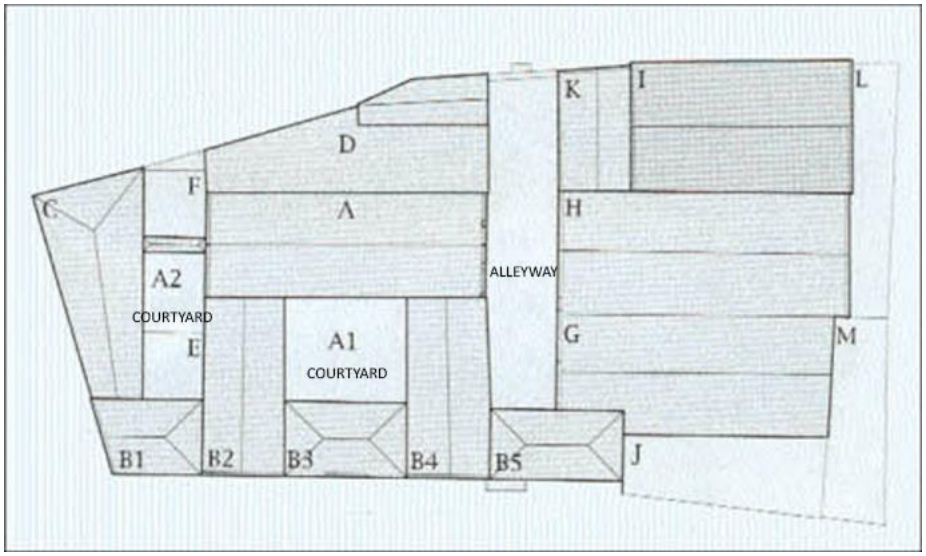

Figure 3.13 Top view of the Cibali Tobacco Factory. The original building group consisted of several blocks connected by courtyards and passages. Over the years, interventions were made in horizontal and vertical planes such as the closure of courtyards, the addition of floors and mezzanines, and dividing walls because the original building group did not meet the increasing need for space. A and B: tobacco processing and cigarette production, C: cigar production. The passage separating the blocks on the north-west axis was the space for the circulation of the raw material and end product. The building groups on the north were designated for tobacco sorting and storage.
Source: Mehmet Alper, "Haliç'te Dönüşüm: Cibali Fabrikası'ndan Kadir Has Üniversitesi'ne," *Arredamento Mimarlık* 07/08: 100+71 (2004): 83-85.

Although at first glance, the staged photographs indicate an organized and improved workspace compared to the Régie period, the details draw a more complicated picture. The photographs show a clear separation of work surfaces in the halls that tobacco sorting took place **(Figure 3.14)**. They do not demonstrate any mechanical production but the labor-intensive processes. This situation likely gave some freedom for spatial arrangements compared to the requirement of placing the machines effectively in other departments. Facing each other, women in the tobacco sorting units would divide the tobacco leaves and drop them on the moving belt in between the wooden work surfaces. If the tobacco was high quality and needed careful handling, then the workers would drop the

leaves in wooden boxes. Even though the whole cigar production[312] is not visible in the photographs, we observe two women removing the tobacco leaves' veins by hand. Again, they face each other working on a wooden table while sitting on chairs **(Figure 3.15)**.

Figure 3.14 Tobacco sorting process
Source: The Photograph Album of the Tobacco Monopoly Administration of the Turkish Republic, 1940, Rezan Has Museum Collection.

[312] There was no cigar production at the factory until the 1930s. It began in 1933 after the return of the blenders who were sent to Europe for specialization. See Rezan Has. Museum, *Cibali Tobacco Factory: The Space of Labor* (01.06 2017-31.12.2018) exhibition catalogue.

Figure 3.15 Workers removing the veins of tobacco leaves for cigar production
Source: The Photograph Album of the Tobacco Monopoly Administration of the Turkish Republic, 1940, Rezan Has Museum Collection.

The spatial organization of the packaging department is slightly different from the rest. In **Figure 3.16**, the photographer offers a wide-angle covering the substantial part of the hall, where workers are lined up facing each other with a partition in between them. Overall, these departments should have been less noisy compared to others because there is no presence of machinery. Since laborers are conducting their tasks facing each other in rather quiet workspaces, they must have had the chance to converse with each other.

In general, the production halls look highly luminous with daylight entering through the large openings. Artificial lighting in the packaging unit is noticeable. Although I have not obtained information on the night shifts at the factory, it is discernible that it

would not be sufficient to carry out such a repetitive task especially during the night shifts with the ceiling lamps suspended far above the work surfaces.

Figure 3.16 The production hall where different types of cigarettes were packed by hand. The caption states that productivity was increased with the new organization.
Source: The Photograph Album of the Tobacco Monopoly Administration of the Turkish Republic, 1940, Rezan Has Museum Collection.

As machine operating requires skill and training, and since women were considered to be less capable of using machines, machine work was monopolized by male workers. When women were assigned to machine-related tasks, it was usually as overseers or tenders which includes loading and unloading and the basic maintenance of the machines.[313] It is

[313] Ecevit, "Shop floor control: The ideological construction of Turkish women factory workers,"64, 65.

important to underline that women were also working with machines in the factory, yet not as machinists **(Figure 3.17)**.

Figure 3.17 A female worker loading tobacco to the cigarette making machine. The hall appears to be less spacious compared to others and the boxes of shredded tobacco create a disorganized workspace.
Source: The Photograph Album of the Tobacco Monopoly Administration of the Turkish Republic, 1940, Rezan Has Museum Collection.

Finally, in terms of ventilation, tobacco dust posed as one of the biggest problems. Although it was indicated that the ventilation systems were improved in the late 1930s, they were inadequate by 1945. When the Minister of Labor, Sadi Irmak, had a meeting with workers from various industries, one of the representatives inquired whether exposure to tobacco dust had a positive impact on the retirement age because it caused health problems in the long run. Irmak vaguely replied by saying tobacco dust collectors would

be imported when the circumstances would permit it.[314] Furthermore, tobacco leaf powder is visible in the visual documents. Work surfaces are filled with tobacco dust and the wrists of workers' white uniforms are noticeably darker due to the tobacco leaf powder. Hence, women, who worked directly with tobacco leaves without wearing any protection, were prone to occupational diseases such as asthma, dyspnea (shortness of breath), skin allergies, and eye irritation, which occurred due to insufficient lighting in addition to exposure to tobacco dust.[315]

3.7.3 Health Concerns and Worker's Rights

Social policy measures such as paid maternity leave and the requirement to establish lactation rooms and daycares were introduced in the Labor Act of 1936.[316] Additionally, lactating women were permitted to visit their children two times in a workday (half an hour each) within the first six months after childbirth.[317] Yet, these measures were not effective because adequate supervision could not be carried out, and the National Protection Law[318] suspended the majority of these social provisions in 1940.[319] In 1953, a more detailed ordinance was passed regarding pregnant and lactating women and childcare facilities.[320]

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[314] "Çalışma bakanı dün işçilerle görüştü," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 July 1945.

[315] Occupational diseases are further discussed in the "Health Concerns and Worker's Rights" section. For contemporary occupational health problems among tobacco factory workers, see E. Penven et al., "Occupational asthma to dried tobacco leaves: a very delayed diagnosis," *Journal of Investigational Allergology and Clinical Immunology* 25:2 (2015): 144-145; B. S. Wali, V. N. Patil, and P. D. Raut, "Occupational Health Profile and problems Among Female Workers Processing Dried Tobacco Leaves in Tobacco Industries," *Journal of Ecophysiology and Occupational Health* 14:1&2 (2014): 12-16.

[316] Turkish Labor Act [*İş Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, Article 25 and 61, 15 June 1936.

[317] Public Health Law [*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, Article 177, 6 May 1930.

[318] The National Protection Law, which was passed in 1940, gave the government extensive powers to organize and monitor the economy. To increase production to finance the war economy, the government extended the work hours and the working population. See Makal, "Türkiye'de Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadın Emeği," 14.

[319] Makal, "Türkiye'de Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadın Emeği," 14.

[320] It was indicated that if more than 300 female workers were employed in a workplace (regardless of their age or marital status), it was obligatory to provide nurseries for breastfeeding and to establish

Female participation in economic life was contested in the early Republican period. One of the problems that women tackled was the absence of childcare facilities. Because women had to participate in the family economy, this matter posed a challenge especially for lower-class women, and even prevented some of them from becoming mothers. The existing daycares could not fulfill the needs of the highly populated city.[321] Women left their children at home, tying them with a rope to doors or window grills from their waists.[322] Hence, only establishing daycares would ensure an "honorable (*namuskarane*)" life for working mothers who were "all alone (*kimsesiz*.)"[323]

A 50-child-capacity daycare was established as early as 1928 in the Cibali Tobacco Factory, by renting a nearby dervish lodge from the General Directorate of Foundations. Cibali's daycare became the media showcase of a part of a "modern" and "European" industrial complex.[324] A daycare within the premises of the factory allowed women to earn a living without worrying about their children and balance their identities as working mothers. They continued their maternal roles by visiting their children during work hours to check in, feed, and play.[325]

Nevertheless, many workers of public and private enterprises were not as fortunate as Cibali Tobacco Factory workers. It was indicated on the pages of one of the union

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daycares for children age between 1-6. See, the Regulation on the Conditions of Employment of Pregnant and Lactating Women and Nursing Rooms and Nurseries [Gebe ve Emzikli Kadınların Çalıştırılma Şartlariyle Emzirme Odaları ve Kreşler Hakkında Nizamname], Resmi Gazete, Article 4-b, 10 September 1953.

[321] Leyla Kara, "İhtiyaçlarımız: Çalışan Kadınların Derdi," *Yeni İstanbul*, 18 December 1949.

[322] Fuat Taneri, "İnhisarlar Tütün Fabrikası Çocuk Yuvası," *İstihbarat Bülteni* 6:99 (1937): 1004.

[323] "Cibali Fabrikasında Bir Şafkat Yuvası," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 January 1931.

[324] Fuat Taneri, "İnhisarlar Tütün Fabrikası Çocuk Yuvası," *İstihbarat Bülteni* 6:99 (1937): 1005-1006.

[325] Selen and O'Neil, "'I am here': women workers' experiences at the former Cibali Tekel Tobacco and Cigarette Factory in Istanbul," 1179.

publications, *Sendika*[326] that at least fifty daycares and thirty nursery schools (*bakım yuvası*) were needed in the neighborhoods where workers were concentrated, including Eyüp and Cibali.[327]

Contrary to the Cibali Tobacco Factory, facilities for breastfeeding and childcare were absent in the Defterdar Textile Factory until the second half of the 1950s. According to Koçu, a daycare was finally established in the factory in 1956.[328] The inspection reports also support this date: it was mentioned that there were still no childcare facilities in 1955. While the reports do not state the rate of absenteeism and turnover among sexes separately, one can argue that the absence of daycare facilities contributed to absenteeism and rotation among women workers. Although women were allowed to breastfeed their children twice a day, because the factory did not provide housing for its workers,[329] it was probably unfeasible for mothers to visit their children within half an hour. For those women who did not have a support network—such as relatives, neighbors, or friends—to leave their children with during work hours, or for the ones that resided far from the factory, their only solution would be quitting their jobs or being absent regularly.

Although she did not work at an industrial enterprise, an interview with one female worker sheds light on the consequences of the absence of childcare facilities. She mentioned that she did not avoid hard work, but her children remained in her mind when

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[326] *Sendika* was among the publications such as *Gerçek*, *Gün*, *Yığın,* and *Söz* that had an emphasis on class struggle. It covered the developments in trade unions and constituted an example of organizational structuring between the end of the single party regime after WWII and the establishment of Türk-İş in 1952. This period was called "1946 Unionism." See Zafer Toprak, "1946 Sendikacılığı: Sendika Gazetesi, İşçi Sendikaları Birlikleri ve İşçi Kulüpleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 31 (1994): 19.

[327] Hadi Malkoç, "Kadın işçiler davasına çare bulmak lazım," *Sendika*, 19 October 1946.

[328] Koçu, "Defterdar Mensucat Fabrikası," 4344.

[329] Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Tarafından 3460 Sayılı Kanunun 24.üncü Maddesi Gereğince Hazırlanan Sümerbank-Defterdar, Bünyan ve Isparta Yünlü Sanayii Müessesesi 1953 Yılı Raporu, Ek:32.

she was working. She lost one of her children because he caught on fire from the stove when she was not at home. After this incident, she was afraid to leave her youngest child unattended. She could not send her children to school because the elder siblings needed to take care of their youngest one.[330] Overall, these kinds of situations must be alarming since establishing a daycare was highly recommended by the Sümerbank inspectors to prevent child mortality, and they observed that even very young children were staying alone in rented rooms sometimes sick and in a "miserable manner."[331]

However, an article in *Cumhuriyet* posits an opposite impression compared to the other sources, stating that lactating women could visit their children three times a day if they were part of the permanent staff. The reporter narrated a brief conversation with a young woman, who mentioned that she got married "as most of their friends" and had a baby two years before the article was published. Because her husband did not take care of their child, she had to go back to working at the factory. She asserted that if she would not be able to work, she would be "left on the streets alone with her child." Nevertheless, because the factory provides three months' maternity leave along with lactation breaks three times a day (she also hired a caretaker), she stated that she was "living a good life."[332] As *Cumhuriyet* was a pro-government publication disseminating the "modern" lifestyle and values of Republican ideology, this evidence should be analyzed carefully. The newspaper, which could be described as the unofficial publication of the government (particularly until the death of Atatürk), played an important role in spreading the

[330] "Çocuklarımız ne halde?: İşçi Kadına Göre," *Cumhuriyet,* 25 August 1935.

[331] Sümer Bank Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti 1940 Yılı Raporu (Istanbul: Başarı Matbaası, 1941), 24-25.

[332] "Kadın İşçiler Arasında: Fesane Fabrikası İşçileri Hallerinde Memnun," *Cumhuriyet,* 17 June 1935.

reforms.[333] Thus, the reporter seems to have portrayed an idealistic picture of working-class women in a state-run factory like Feshane.

Furthermore, the medical facilities and examinations were considered inadequate during inspections in Feshane. The lack of effective measures for the prevention of diseases by follow-up examinations posed an obstacle for the continuity of the production. The factory had an infirmary with 10 beds and a small dental clinic. They were located at the entrance of the complex in an unsanitary condition. The bathrooms and changing rooms were also found unsatisfactory.[334]

Because textile workers often worked on their feet, they easily suffered from circulatory diseases, and standing and sitting in the wrong positions caused abnormal development of the bones particularly among young women and girls. Female workers who were lifting and/or pushing heavy loads were often faced with dropped bowel syndrome. Also, airborne wool dust caused respiratory diseases.[335] Apart from the unsanitary workspaces, heavy working conditions, fatigue, malnutrition, and unhealthy residences were also effective in the development of these diseases.[336] Indeed, the inspection reports asserted that the poor diets and the low living standards of the workers were part of the reasons for ill-health. Starting from 1941, the Defterdar Textile Factory management provided free meals once a day during the day shifts for the minimum wage workers (81%

[333] Burak Yenituna, "Çağdaş Türk Kadını İmajı Yaratma Sürecinde Cumhuriyet Gazetesinin Rolü (1930-1935)," *Gumushane University Journal of Faculty of Communication* 2:3 (2014): 64; Ayşe Elif Emre Kaya, "Cumhuriyet Gazetesi'nin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Kısa Tarihi," *Gazi Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi* (2010): 77.

[334] Sümer Bank Fabrikalarının İşçi Meseleleri ve İçtimai Teşkilatı Hakkında 1941 Yılı Raporu (Ankara: Ankara Basım ve Cildevi, 1942), 33-37.

[335] "İşçi sağlığı: Dokuma işçilerinin sağlık durumları," *Sendika,* 2 November 1946.

[336] Kemal Sülker, "İşçilerin bol bol ölmesine hala göz yumuyorlar!," *İşçi Hakkı*, 27 September 1951.

of the labor force). However, the meal only supplied half of the calories needed per day. Hence, the nutritional assistance of the factory was not sufficient. [337]

The workers of the Cibali Tobacco Factory had been prone to tuberculosis because of the respiratory effects of occupational exposure to tobacco dust. A survey on the industrial life in Istanbul in 1920 indicates that the tobacco dust filled the air because ventilation was absolutely unacceptable in production halls. This caused many cases of eye disease along with tuberculosis. Besides, signs of "frantic haste" were witnessed among the pieceworkers.[338] In the 1940s, it was asserted that eighty percent of the tobacco workers were diagnosed with tuberculosis when they checked in for examination. These cases were not related to tobacco and cigarette use among laborers,[339] but rather the poor working conditions and vulnerability to ever-present tobacco dust. Similar to the Defterdar Textile Factory, it was argued that the most important reason for poor health was poverty.[340]

An article in *Sendika* provides information about other occupational diseases experienced by female workers, such as menstrual disorders and postpartum hemorrhage (heavy bleeding). Since nicotine is excreted in breast milk, it also had a detrimental in newborns. Consequently, it was advised for pregnant workers to stop working one month before giving birth and not to return until four to six weeks after the child was born. Additionally, working with tobacco leaves (particularly extracting leaf veins) caused

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[337] Sümer Bank Fabrikalarının İşçi Meseleleri ve İçtimai Teşkilatı Hakkında 1941 Yılı Raporu (Ankara: Ankara Basım ve Cildevi, 1942), 38-41.

[338] Lawrence S. Moore, "Some Phases of Industrial Life," in *Constantinople to-day or, the pathfinder survey of Constantinople*, ed. Clarence Richard Johnson (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), 193.

[339] The factory offered its male workers 15 cigarettes per day. In 1950, the management decided to supply 10 cigarettes per day to its female workers as well. See "Küçük Haberler," *Yeni İstanbul,* 13 May 1950. However, this does not necessarily indicate cigarette consumption among workers because they might have had the option to sell and/or give away the discarded cigarettes given by the factory management.

[340] "Sosyal ve sıhhi bakımdan: Tütün işçisi nasıl yaşıyor?!," *Sendika,* 19 October 1946.

dermatitis (skin irritation) in the hands and painful thickening of the nails and nail loss among workers.[341]

Moreover, the Labor Act prohibited the employment of women and children in the night shifts.[342] Nonetheless, the National Protection Law suspended this provision during WWII. The law then allowed women and girls aged twelve and older to be appointed in the day and night shifts in the textile industry with an addition of three hours (only for the day shifts) to their usual shift of eight hours.[343] After WWII, additional work hours were abolished and the Ministry of Labor discouraged assigning women workers to night shifts.[344] Nevertheless, according to a newspaper article published in 1950, the mayor of Istanbul visited Feshane during the night shift to observe the working conditions, and spoke with female workers who were "returning home late at night."[345] This newspaper article informs us that, contrary to the provisions in the law, women were employed in the night shifts and subjected to poor safety conditions.

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[341] "İşçi Sağlığı: Tütün İşçilerinin Sağlık Durumları," *Sendika*, 21 September 1946.

[342] The term "night" in manufacturing was the day circuit starting at 8 pm and ending no later than 6 am. In addition, the workers could not work more than eight hours during night shifts. See Turkish Labor Act [*İş Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, Article 43, 15 June 1936.

[343] National Defence Law [*Milli Korunma Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, Article 19, 26 January 1940; BCA 30-18-1-2/94-13-1, "16 yaşından büyük erkeklerin maden işlerinde, kadınlarla 12 yaşından büyük kız ve erkeklerin mensucat sanayiinin gece ve gündüz postalarında çalıştırılmalarına dair kararın yürürlüğe konması," 18 January 1941.

[344] Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Tarafından 3460 Sayılı Kanunun 24. Maddesi Gereğince Hazırlanan Sümerbank-İplik ve Dokuma Fabrikaları Müessesesi 1946 Yılı Raporu, 43; Sümerbank Teşekkül Merkezinin 1948 Yılı Faaliyetine Ait Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Raporuna Cevabı Mütaala, np. It can be argued that women were not permitted to work in the night shifts between 1946 and 1960 because an ordinance that allowed women to work in the night shifts was passed again in 1960. See also, BCA 30-18-1-2/154-85-9 "16-18 yaş arasındaki kız ve erkek işçilerle 18 yaşını doldurmuş kadın işçilerin gece postalarında çalıştırılmalarına izin verilmesi." 2 April 1960.

[345] "Valinin gece yarısı yaptığı teftişler," *Milliyet*, 5 May 1950.

3.7.4 Hierarchy on the Workshop Floor

Women factory workers were consistently at the bottom of the workshop hierarchy. The most they could become was a group leader, and this could only be attained when the group consisted entirely of women. Employers were reluctant to assign women to managerial positions if the shop floor included both female and male workers, because it would not be "appropriate" for men to take orders from a female supervisor. Consequently, the role of women was confined to carrying out orders.[346]

Sümerbank's main objective towards its workforce was to groom disciplined subjects. Employees were expected to come into the factory regularly, work for long hours, and be highly productive. Their performance was carefully scrutinized. Those who did not fulfill specific criteria were immediately subjected to warnings and penalties. Furthermore, the workers' relationship with their supervisors was strategically structured to conserve the hierarchy of the workplace. Obeying the manager was important, since disrespecting superintendents was punishable by the deduction of three days' wages.[347] In the case of the Cibali Tobacco Factory, women's numerical superiority in the factory did not have an impact on workplace hierarchies. Even though women dominated key stages of production and some even transitioned into office positions, men were acting as supervisors.[348] Although she worked in a private enterprise, the remarks of one tobacco worker, Zehra Kosova's (1910-2001), reflects the power of foremen over workers, especially before the

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[346] Ecevit, "Shop floor control: The ideological construction of Turkish women factory workers," 61, 65.

[347] Nacar, "Working Class in Turkey During the World War II Period," 126-129. Esra Sarıoğlu, "Reconstructing the Experiences of Lower Class Women in Urban Turkey During World War II," unpublished Master's thesis (Bogaziçi University, Istanbul, 2004), 58.

[348] Selen and O'Neil, "'I am here': women workers' experiences at the former Cibali Tekel Tobacco and Cigarette Factory in Istanbul," 1167.

Labor Act was enacted: "They always look for an opportunity to oppress the worker, if it does not suit their purpose, the laborer would get fired. There is no union, no law, nothing. What should the laborer do? To whom would you go and tell your troubles?"[349] This indicates that workers were powerless against the higher-ups, especially before the Labor Act of 1936, and the Trade Union Act of 1947 were introduced.

Departing from this context, the photographs manifest clues about a certain hierarchy on the workshop floor. The supervisors are easily identifiable by their clothing and their positioning in each department **(Figures 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, and 3.14)**. Men wearing suits or more elaborate clothes, and standing and overseeing the manufacturing processes, appear to be the superintendents. On the other hand, one of the photographs taken in the Cibali Tobacco Factory packaging department shows a woman who is standing in the first row and observing the production process. This worker who is wearing a black uniform, which is different from the rest of the laborers, appears to be a supervisor **(Figure 3.16)**. This also supports the argument that women were promoted to managerial positions only if they were in charge of female workers.

Women are depicted as hard-working employees in the decontextualized settings of the visual materials. They are highly engaged in their tasks. Moving freely in the factory space was a privilege for the managers, while subordinates are depicted stationary, sitting, or standing alongside co-workers without much space to move. Although it may be challenging to construct or define the relationship between superintendents and their employees, the photographs display a "disciplined" body of factory workers.

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[349] Zehra Kosova, *Ben İşçiyim* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1996), 70. Kosova was one of the pioneers of workers' rights and trade union struggles in Turkey. She was one of the first female unionists.

Figure 3.18 Mechanical finishing unit (*perdaht dairesi*)
Source: Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001562386008.

Finally, the portrait of Atatürk, in one of the mechanical finishing units at Feshane **(Figure 3.18)**, can be interpreted as the presence of the regime.[350] When the pressure of the state on the blue-collar workers is taken into consideration, Atatürk's imagery could be construed as the ultimate symbol of power used to prevent the dissemination of the ideas of unionization and strikes even though workers' living standards were extremely low.

3.7.5 Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Sexual harassment as a social practice is a universal issue and could be defined as unwanted sexual relations varying from assault to all types of unwelcome physical and verbal

[350] Atatürk's imagery was created and disseminated as the symbol of the newly forged Republic to unify the country. For more inforemation, see Esra Özyürek, *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey* (London: Duke University Press, 2016), 95-96.

advances on women imposed by superiors on subordinates or by coworkers.[351] Mary Bularzik states that harassment at the workplace is a set of consistent, systematic, and prevalent acts. It is a multifaceted form of oppression towards women. What gives the permit to men to harass laboring women is the perception that when women enter the labor force, they would leave the so-called notion of "woman's place," hence leaving behind their personal integrity.[352] The hierarchical structure of the workplace and sexual harassment were intertwined. For example, supervisors had the power to oppress workers and terminate from employment. Therefore, it must be difficult for victims of sexual assault to express themselves due to job insecurity. It is important to underline that sexual harassment, in general, is highly underrepresented. This also extends to the archival documentation, which is generally silent about this issue. Nevertheless, I provide specific evidence from newspapers covering various incidents.

As in many contexts, no law was introduced to prevent or define sexual abuse specifically in the workplace during the period of my examination.[353] There is no article covering sexual harassment in the workplace among workers in the Labor Act of 1936. The employee had the right to annul the labor contract only if "the employer or his/her representative make[s] remarks or actions toward the employee or his/her family that may harm or denounce his/her morality or honor."[354] The act gave the same right to the employer. The employer had the right to annul the contract if the employee was involved

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[351] Reva B. Siegel, "A Short History of Sexual Assault," in *Directions in Sexual Harassment Law*, ed. Catharine A. Mackinnon and Reva B. Siegel (Yale University Press, 2004), 1-3.

[352] Mary Bularzik, "Sexual Harassment at the Workplace: Historical Notes," *Radical America* 12:4 (1978): 26.

[353] The latest labor code which was introduced in 2003 (Law no 4847) contains articles to tackle sexual harassment. However, it does not define sexual harassment clearly. See Erdem Özdemir, "İşyerinde Cinsel Taciz," *Çalışma ve Toplum* 4 (2006): 83.

[354] Turkish Labor Act [*İş Kanunu*], Article 15-II-a, Resmi Gazete, 15 June 1936.

in illegal acts towards his/her fellow laborers. These included attacking and threatening other workers.[355]

Eser Selen and Mary Lou O'Neil mention that they did not encounter any negative comments relating to sexual harassment in the workplace during their oral history project among the workers of the Cibali Tobacco Factory. The seventeen interviewees, who were employed at varying ages from 1964 until the production was terminated in 1995, firmly asserted that there were no instances of sexual abuse, their relationships with male workers were very friendly, and there was an environment of solidarity among all workers. It appears that female-male interaction was limited due to the organization of the manufacturing process. As stated earlier, female workers would come across male laborers only in the cafeteria and at the machines in the factory. The curtains separating the different production halls prevented women from being seen by male colleagues. This arrangement was reasoned due to the high numbers of single young men employed in the factory. In conclusion, the enforced spatial separation seemed to help prevent abuse on the workshop floor.[356] Although women firmly indicated that they were not subjected to harassment, the rejection of any instances of sexual assaults might be related to the female workers' great attachment to their previous workspaces and finding pride and accomplishment about their work. Besides, as stated above, the lack of prevention against sexual harassment by law might be made it difficult to report such instances and raise their voices. What's more, since the supervisors and foremen were mostly men, it must be difficult to communicate such delicate issues with them.

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[355] Turkish Labor Act [*İş Kanunu*], Article 16-II-ç, Resmi Gazete, 15 June 1936.
[356] Selen and O'Neil, "'I am here'," 1174-1175.

However, some newspaper articles reveal unspoken violence on the shop floors. One article in *Milliyet* mentions an incident involving a female worker (Ayşe) stabbing a male laborer (Hakkı) at the Cibali Tobacco Factory. The event was fueled because Hakkı made "improper remarks" to Ayşe.[357] On another note, because high numbers of young women were employed in the factory, they were subjected to harassment while leaving their workspace in crowded groups. For example, a man was caught molesting (*sarkıntılık ederken*)[358] female workers at the end of their shifts. He was later prosecuted.[359] Another occurrence in a textile factory (the name was not provided) resulted in the imprisonment of the worker. When Bedriye was working overtime on a Sunday, her boss molested her, and she was seen beating him with a weaving shuttle by other workers. She was sentenced to forty-two days in prison.[360]

Another incident was made public when journalist/publisher Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel[361] received a letter from a female worker. The laborer stated that because she was harassed by her manager, she had to quit her job. She could not make a complaint against her boss due to being unable to cover the court costs. The journalist's comments on the incident shed light on why women were reluctant to report these events to the authorities. Female workers faced the dilemma of either staying in a work environment where sexual abuse continued or being fired and facing starvation. Not only would they confront the

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[357] "Genç bir kadın, kendisine laf atan adamı bıçakladı," *Milliyet*, 6 September 1956.

[358] Even though the definition of molestation (*sarkıntılık*) is contested among the professionals of law, Turkish Penal Code of 1926 did not consider molestation as a criminal act. Later, it was added to the Turkish Penal Code of 1933. See Mehmet Emin Artuk and Mehmet Emin Alsahin, "Sarkıntılık Fiili," 3245.

[359] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 18 July 1954.

[360] "Şehir haberleri: 42 gün hapis yatacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 May 1959.

[361] Sertel (1897-1968) was a leftist journalist. She wrote for the leftist paper *Tan* with her husband, Zekeriya Sertel, until 1945 when the premises of the paper were vandalized by an ultra-nationalist mob. She was also the writer of the columns *Bana sorarsanız* and *Cici Anne* for *Cumhuriyet.*

possibility of unemployment, but they would also have to incur the expense of lawyer fees and court costs. After the content of the letter was shared with the public, the attorney general acted about the issue and an investigation was initiated under the Labor Act. However, the case was dismissed due to insufficient evidence. The worker stated that she left her job because she got married. Yet, there were inconsistencies between the statements of the people interrogated. As Sertel discussed further, the contradictions between cross-examinations raised the possibility that the laborer might have been silenced.[362]

The Labor Act of 1936 did not make a distinction between harassment/offensive acts and sexual harassment. As female workers were not protected by law against sexual harassment, those who were harassed by a fellow worker or third person in the workplace might have left their jobs rather than deal with expensive procedures that came with uncertain results. It could also be argued that confronting authorities was not easy for working-class women, as they were perhaps less knowledgeable about bureaucratic or other legal entities and procedures.

3.8 Conclusion

Gendered distinctions created different experiences for working-class women and men. Although state-oriented documents do not specifically provide information regarding the lives of working-class women, it is possible to get a closer insight when we juxtapose different sources such as photographs and newspaper clippings with state-led documentation. Through the evidence, the departments where female workers were

[362] Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel, "Hukukçular Buna Ne Der?," *Tan*, 23 March 1940; "İşçisini Fuhşa Teşvik Eden Bir Patron," *Tan*, 24 March 1940; "Işçi Kızın Şikayeti Uzeine Yapılan Adli Tahkikat Neticelendi," *Tan*, 28 March 1940.

employed, and their spatial characteristics were analyzed. Women worked in poorly ventilated, disorganized, narrow, and compact spaces. The analysis of departments in which women worked shows that the sexual division of labor was blurred (as in the case of the Defterdar Textile Factory) and that women and men worked alongside each other in certain departments. Furthermore, technically the rights of female workers were protected, and social assistance was provided within the framework of the Labor Act. Yet, the realities deviated from the ideal work conditions on paper. Although the law required the establishment of daycares, the absence of breastfeeding and childcare facilities in the Defterdar Textile Factory posed a great difficulty for those women who had children. Additionally, because of the lack of sanitary conditions in factories and the inadequate medical facilities for the prevention of diseases, the health and safety of workers was overlooked. This brought about circulatory and respiratory diseases. The difficult working conditions resulted in absenteeism and turnover. In the scope of my case studies, the numerical superiority of women did not have a positive effect, since they were still at the bottom of the workplace hierarchies. It is not surprising that the official state documents are silent on these issues and by gathering evidence from different sources, I aimed to discover the underreported issues faced by women in the workplace as well as to provide a glimpse of their daily lives.

CHAPTER 4

WOMEN AT THE MARGINS OF THE SOCIETY: SEX WORKERS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the centralization of sex trade regulations and the control of syphilis under the Republican regime, public discussions on the zoning of red-light districts, and crime, particularly in the Beyoğlu and Galata districts. First, I look at the institutional evolution of the control of prostitution in the context of the fight with syphilis, and the expansion of the administrative power of the state from the late Ottoman period into the Republican era. I address the fabrication of the landscape of commercial sex in the city by following the public discussions on how vice zones were established. I also look at the places of treatment such as hospitals and private medical practices, and their relationship with red-light districts. I then narrow down the scope to the street scale and investigate how the regulations impacted the physical environment of the vice districts and everyday life. Here, I further reduce the scale to the buildings and look at the changing rituals of brothel visitations in relation to the Republican regulations. Finally, I examine criminalized women and spaces and everyday violence they faced from different agents in the prostitution scene, including police, brothel managers, and their partners, to locate individuals in their rightful settings. I mainly concentrate on state-regulated commercial sex rather than clandestine prostitution and streetwalkers. Undoubtedly, unregulated prostitution is vital for understanding the lives of sex workers. Even though newspaper clippings provide information about clandestine sex work, most of the articles mention just the number of women caught and a broader district in which these activities took place. On the other hand,

spatial imperatives in regulated places allow more opportunities to observe women's experiences. Additionally, because only women were allowed to practice prostitution legally, male or queer prostitution falls outside the scope of this research.

4.2 Administrative Background of the Control of Prostitution and Syphilis Epidemic

4.2.1 Regulation Instead of Prohibition: The Late Ottoman Period

In this section, I survey the regulatory policies in the late Ottoman period starting with the 1870s, and changes in the social and demographic fabric of the city during WWI and the Allied occupation years that led to control prostitution. Additionally, I examine the early Republican administrative approach regulating prostitution in the context of the fight with syphilis.

It was not just the Ottoman Empire that displayed an administrative approach to the regulation of prostitution and the control and prevention of venereal diseases. As widely documented and examined by scholars, regulationist policies that targeted prostitutes and brothels became widespread in many regions and countries across the world throughout the nineteenth century.[363] In general, they constitute a set of policies to fight the spread of

[363] The French regulatory system that was put forward in the beginning of the nineteenth century served as a model for all of Europe. Its variations were practiced on its basic principles and it was also employed within the colonies. Britain's Contagious Diseases Act of 1866 was brought about with reference to the French system. In the German Empire, a different form of regulationism was adopted and it varied by locality. Brothels were forbidden, yet prostitutes were registered and controlled by the police. In Sweden, official places of prostitution were sought to be opened in the 1830s in Stockholm. When they were attacked by the residents, they had to be closed. However, the regulation was established in thirteen cities in the 1850s and the brothels continued to be regulated until the system was abolished in 1918. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the failures of regulation triggered abolitionist and neo-regulationist movements. See Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe 1830-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 369-372; Alain Corbin, "Commercial Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France: A System of Images and Regulations," *Representations* 14 (1986): 209; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity," *The American Historical Review* 104:1 (1999): 122.

Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) such as syphilis[364] and gonorrhea, along with the problem of security and social order. According to regulationist policies that started to be employed in the late Ottoman period, sex workers had to be registered and under medical and administrative surveillance and spatial control.

Syphilis started to be seen in Istanbul mainly with the Russo-Turkish wars of 1810 and 1828. However, in the late eighteenth century, there were offices or shops for the examination and treatment of syphilis; these were operated by syphilis healers (*frengici*).[365] The police force was authorized to conduct raids in suspicious locations and to arrest prostitutes. The government observed a strict policy regarding the sex trade by Muslim women in Muslim neighborhoods and it became more alert in the eighteenth century. Policing prostitution was one of the responsibilities of the Ottoman state to maintain Islamic law regarding morality. Judges and local community leaders were responsible for controlling and reporting activities regarding prostitution.[366] Prostitutes practiced in various public spaces, including unmarried men's barracks (*bekar odaları*), janissary barracks, boathouses, public gardens, pleasure grounds, bathhouses, and even graveyards. They were subjected to punishments such as fines, beating, and imprisonment, but the most

[364] Syphilis is a congenital or sexually transmitted infection caused by a microscopic spirochete called *treponema pallidum*. For five hundred years, it was a feared and stigmatized disease. Beginning as a small genital sore, syphilis can lay inactive for weeks to decades. Its reappearance could generate various ills such as rashes and gummas across the body, deafness, blindness, madness, mania, excruciating joint pains and deteriorating bones, damage to the aorta of the heart, and death. Because of the disease's extended development and often painless symptoms, it often did not necessitate the sick to seek treatment nor prevented them from continuing with their daily routines. However, because it was most often passed through sex, strong moral stigmatization was attached to it. See Susan M. Reverby, "Syphilis," in *Encyclopedia of Disability*, ed. Gary L. Albrecht (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2006), 1541; Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe 1830-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 355.

[365] Nuran Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul* (Istanbul: The Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency and Istanbul University Project, 2010), 113.

[366] Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 90-91.

common penalty was exile. However, there was no standard punishment, it varied from location to location and period to period.[367]

Even though prostitution took place in different neighborhoods in Istanbul (also in various forms such as street prostitution and *koltuk,*[368] a so-called secret place of prostitution), the Galata and Beyoğlu districts have been recognized for decades as hubs of the entertainment industry. Hence, I concentrate on these two neighborhoods in my research. First, I explain how Beyoğlu and Galata evolved as the centers for entertainment. Galata had been Istanbul's trade and transportation hub since its origins in the Byzantine period. Pera (Beyoğlu), which is adjacent to Galata, was developed as an embassy neighborhood in the sixteenth century, but the area prospered especially in the nineteenth century with the expansion of the tramway network and the operation of the underground funicular (*Tünel*) between Galata and Beyoğlu in 1876. Those who had offices in Galata (largely Levantine, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish population, and people of foreign citizenship) were mostly residing in Beyoğlu. Beginning from the mid-nineteenth century, the district became a hub for European style cultural activities and entertainment.[369] As a port city, Istanbul had heavy ship traffic coming from various countries; these included Russia, Romania, and Bulgaria in the late Ottoman period. Brothels were clustered in

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[367] Ebru Boyar, "An Imagines Moral Community: Ottoman Female Public Presence, Honour and Marginality," in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*, ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 212, 222.

[368] *Koltuk* was a place where clandestine prostitution was practiced. In the Republican period these places were called "randevu evi." According to Reşat Ekrem Koçu, no brothels were opened in the Historical Peninsula and these secret places escaped police control in late Ottoman and early Republican years. They were entered and enjoyed secretly. See Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Genelev," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 11 (1971): 7004.

[369] Halil İnalcık, "Galata, Osmanlı Dönemi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3 (1994): 349-353; Nur Akın, "Beyoğlu," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1994): 212-216.

Galata, since it was close to the port.[370] Thus, the first attempts to regulate prostitution and compulsory examination of sex workers started in Galata and the adjacent Beyoğlu districts under the authority of the Municipality of the Sixth District.

In 1878, a medical commission was employed to establish a hospital for the treatment of sex workers and the sanitary inspection of the brothels. Subsequently, the Ordinance for the Sanitary Inspection of the Brothels was issued in 1884, again under the authority of the Municipality of the Sixth District. Accordingly, a commission was created, with primary tasks including licensing the brothels and registering prostitutes to prevent the transmission of venereal diseases.[371] However, the surveillance of brothels and prostitutes was not as effective as expected because the ordinance was inclusive within the borders of the municipality, and none of the prostitutes in other neighborhoods were subjected to control or registration.[372]

Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the capital witnessed an influx of refugees fleeing from the Balkans, and the Caucasus resulted in great demographic changes.[373] The city was not prepared to provide shelter and relief, and migrants were located in public buildings such as schools, mosques, and inns. The increased visibility of women refugees who had lost their families created social and moral anxieties among the

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[370] Rifat N Bali, "Yirminci Yüzyılın Başlarında İstanbul'un Fuhuş Aleminde Yahudilerin Yeri," 1.

[371] Müge Özbek, "The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu (1875–1915)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46:4 (2010): 557-558.

[372] Zafer Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933," *Tarih ve Toplum* 39 (1987): 36.

[373] As many as two million Muslims left Russia and the Balkans after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. The first stop was Istanbul for most of the refugees. They had to wait in dire conditions before permanent places could be found for them. See Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 117-118.

governing authorities.[374] Women refugees unaccompanied by male counterparts, foreign women looking for jobs, and domestic servants who were generally brought from rural areas at a very young age were all seen as a danger to society's morals and public health, because of their unattended existence in public spaces and uncontrolled sexual and other sorts of relations with men. Hence, the regulation of prostitution was also utilized to control the "visible" lower-class women.[375] As a result of these waves of immigration, living conditions in the capital became increasingly difficult and women engaged in prostitution to feed themselves and their children. The increasing visibility of Muslim sex workers brought great concern. In 1910, the Istanbul Police Chief suggested that these women who were openly practicing in streets be employed in military sewing houses. By doing so, those who were selling their bodies because of poverty would have the opportunity to lead a decent life.[376]

The devastating levels of poverty during WWI made controlling prostitution more difficult. During the war, young female members of households, in which men were absent, were increasingly exposed to sexual exploitation. Women who lost their husbands, fiancés, or male relatives in the war were seduced with promises of marriage. Some who became

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[374] Gülhan Balsoy, "The Solitary Female Refugees and the Widows' Asylum (*Kırmızı Kışla*) in Late Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6:2 (2019): 79-80. Balsoy provides an account of an asylum established for the protection of women, known as *Kırmızı Kışla* (Red Barracks). She portrays the dire living conditions of widow women who migrated to the capital after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878. Because it was feared that poverty among women and children might lead them to immoral ways, the asylum was established to control these refugee women.

[375] Özbek, "The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu (1875–1915)," 555-556. For a further discussion on the visibility and surveillance of poor women in early twentieth-century Istanbul, who were labeled as "disorderly" (*uygunsuz*), see Müge Özbek, "'Disorderly Women' and the Politics of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Istanbul (1900-1914)," in *Crime, Poverty and Survival in the Middle East and North Africa: The 'Dangerous Classes' Since 1800*, ed. Stephanie Cronin (London: I.B. Tauris, 2019), 51-63.

[376] Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Askeri dikimevlerinde işe alınan Müslüman Fahişeler," *Toplumsal Tarih* 112:19 (2003): 98-101

servants due to extreme poverty were also seduced and subsequently caught up in the prostitution network.[377] Consequently, prostitution in urban centers, as well as the countryside, grew on an unprecedented scale and the STD rates increased. As a response, a new Venereal Disease Ordinance (*Emraz-ı Zühreviyyenin Men-i Sirayeti Hakkında Nizamname*) was passed in 1915; it remained in effect until the collapse of the Empire. This more detailed ordinance was again more regulatory than prohibitory. It granted authority to the Department of Public Security in Istanbul and the local governors in other provinces for detecting and controlling all women involved in prostitution. The brothels opened outside of allocated red-light districts would be closed. Sex workers who did not work within a brothel had to obtain a certificate. Soliciting on the streets was forbidden, and people who encouraged women into clandestine prostitution were to be punished.[378] The ordinance also included age limitations of prostitutes (the minimum age to practice was eighteen), rules about medical examinations, classification of sex workers and brothels, and, finally, rules for the operations of the places of prostitution. Other than the Ottoman citizens, the sex workers of foreign nationals also became subject to the law as their Ottoman counterparts when the capitulations were abolished during WWI.[379]

4.2.1.1 Prostitution in the Allied Occupation Years (1918-1923). According to an article published in the *Times*, venereal diseases were "by no means common" in Istanbul until about 1913 unlike Anatolia (Kastamonu and Konya), where it had a long history of syphilis. By 1919, the number of women and girls who sought medical care for

[377] Akın, *Ottoman Women during World War,* 149-150.

[378] Elif Mahir Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women during World War I: Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 186.

[379] Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933,"36-38; Özbek, "The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu (1875–1915),"566.

STDs was 40,000 (this number represents the combined urban and suburban total). It was argued that the rising numbers of sex workers during WWI and its aftermath caused demoralization and great economic hardship.[380] Although the numbers are questionable, it still gives insight into the increasing rates of STDs.[381]

Diverging from this context, Beyoğlu witnessed a major demographic change during the First World War and the occupation years. The refugees fleeing from Russia (*Beyaz Ruslar*) after the 1917 October Revolution marked their presence in the entertainment and prostitution scenes.[382] They introduced sea bathing, drugs like cocaine, and a variation of prostitution. In addition, they opened new nightclubs, restaurants, bars, and cafes, and employed waitresses in those places, which "were not seen until then."[383]

Although Giovanni Scognamillo states that Russian women contributed to prostitution only between 1920 and 1924,[384] their impact on the entertainment sector and commercial sex trade continued into the early Republican period. It is important to note that not all the refugees took part in the prostitution scene, but Russian refugees made a lasting effect in these areas. For example, according to a document in the State Archives

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[380] "Decadent Turkey: Moslem Virtues Fast Disappearing," *The Times*, 11 September 1919.

[381] 40,000 women who contracted STDs in a city of approximately one million inhabitants seems to be a questionable number. Zafer Toprak estimates Istanbul's population as 909,978 in 1914. The population fell to 710,286 in 1922 and to half a million in 1924. See Zafer Toprak, "Tarihsel Nüfusbilim Açısından İstanbul'un Nüfusu ve Toplumsal Topografyası," *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* 3 (1992): 120.

[382] According to Koçu, White Russians established the first bars in the city along with several restaurants and cabarets. He mentions that the entertainment places that they opened were in good taste and even prostitution was under the guise of "moral character," and did not become unpleasant. See Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Beyaz Ruslar," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 5 (1961): 2624-2625.

[383] Scognamillo also mentions the names of bars and restaurants that adapted themselves to the new entertainment scene: Büyük Moskova Kulübü (Le Grad Cercle Moscovite or Moskovit), Karpiç, Kiefski Ugolok, Türkuaz, Rose Noire, Kit Kat, Petrograd, Rouge et Noire, and First Maxime. See Giovanni Scognamillo, *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş* (Istanbul: Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1994), 51, 55.

[384] Ibid, 142. For more information about the impact of the Russian refugees on the entertainment scene, see Jak Deleon, *Beyoğlu'nda Beyaz Ruslar* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1996).

from 1936, a total of 936 Russians were granted citizenship.[385] They were listed according to their professions and their places of residence. This document provides insights into the number of Russian women who worked in the sex industry. High numbers of them were residing in the Beyoğlu and Galata districts. According to the document, the occupations regarding the entertainment scene were as follows: 30 musicians (*çalgıcı, piyanist, şarkıcı, mızıkacı, müzikacı*), 101 restaurant workers (*garson, havyarcı-havyar mütehassısı, lokantacı, salamcı, aşçı, sofracı*), 8 performing artists (*artist and dansöz*), one tavern owner, and one *gazino* owner. The domestic workers constituted 39 people and 13 worked as washerwomen. Other than the washerwomen and domestic workers, two women were mentioned as housewives.[386] 69 unemployed were listed as well (*boşta, işsiz*). The document sheds light on the role of Russian refugees in prostitution because while all the people were classified according to their professions, some of the women were listed merely as "woman (*kadın*)."[387] I argue that these remaining 68 unclassified women were sex workers. Hence, it is intuitive to argue that the impact of Russian refugees on the prostitution scene was still present in the 1930s.

Two types of places of prostitution were legally registered: public houses (*umumhane*) and pensions (rendezvous houses).[388] Additionally, there were three major

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[385] BCA 30-18-1-2/65-45-8, "Beyaz Ruslardan 986 ailenin vatandaşlığa alınması," 29 May 1936.

[386] For example, Tangor Anna was listed as "Ilya's wife," and Sekoviski Roza was listed as "Viladimir's wife."

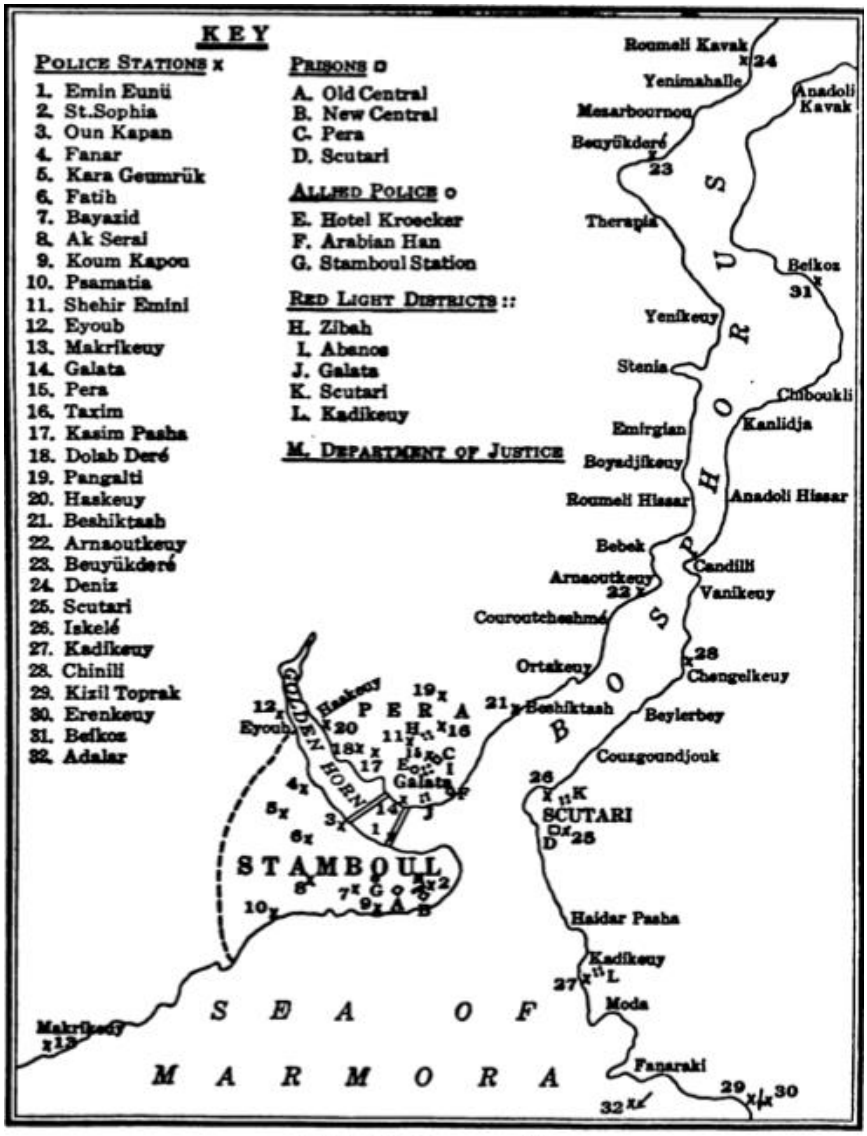
[387] Sex workers were referred to as public women (*umumi kadın*) in the 1933 Law. See the section titled "Full Authority of the State: Centralization of the Regulation of Prostitution and the Treatment of Syphilis" for further discussion.

[388] The number of registered prostitutes was 2,171, but the total number known to exist was from 4,000 to 4,500. See Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult Delinquency," in *Constantinople to-day; or, The pathfinder survey of Constantinople; a study in oriental social life, under the direction of Clarence Richard Johnson*, ed. Clarence Richard Johnson (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), 335-357. The number of prostitutes according to their religions follows: 1,367 prostitutes were Christian and Jewish, and 804 prostitutes were Muslim. The numbers according to the neighborhoods as follow: 770 in Beyoğlu, 643 in

red-light districts in Istanbul: Abanoz and Ziba, which were subdistricts of Pera; and the Galata district **(Figure 4.1)**. Abanoz was three times larger than Ziba, while Galata was much larger than the two sub-districts combined. There were also brothels in Üsküdar, all located in the neighborhood of Bülbüldere. Moreover, four brothels in Rıza Paşa, and one each in Yel Değirmeni and Orta streets (Moda) were located in the Kadıköy district. In addition to these smaller districts, there were about twenty to twenty-five hotels in different neighborhoods. Corresponding to the population cross-sections, Christian and Jewish people owned the registered brothels and pensions in Beyoğlu and Galata districts, whereas those in Üsküdar and Kadıköy were managed by Muslims. There were also private houses in Kasımpaşa that were frequented by the poorer Muslims. The private houses in Şişli were visited by the richer class.[389]

Galata, 135 in Eminönü, and 177 in Kadıköy and Üsküdar. Also, there were 446 registered prostitutes without a district specification. See Zafer Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933," 34.

[389] Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult Delinquency," in *Constantinople to-day; or, The pathfinder survey of Constantinople; a study in oriental social life, under the direction of Clarence Richard Johnson*, ed. Clarence Richard Johnson (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), 335-357.



Adult Delinquency Map

Figure 4.1 Adult delinquency map. It shows the red-light districts of Ziba (H), Abanoz (I), Galata (J), Üsküdar (K), and Kadıköy (L) in the 1920s.

Source: Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult Delinquency," in Constantinople to-day; or, The pathfinder survey of Constantinople; a study in oriental social life, under the direction of Clarence Richard Johnson, ed. Clarence Richard Johnson (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), 351.

4.2.2 Promoting Public Health in the Early Republican Period: The Ministry of Health and Social Assistance

The Early Republican state prioritized pronatalist agendas.[390] Accordingly, syphilis was framed as a public health concern because it was not just a threat to the nation's mothers but also to unborn citizens, as the disease was associated with birth defects and stillbirths. Concerning syphilis and other STDs, prostitution was identified as a public health risk. The state instituted a regulatory regime to determine appropriate sexual practices and places and to mandate the medical examination of sex workers.[391]

To promote the developing Republic's program of raising healthy future generations, the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance (*Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekaleti*) was established in 1920 after the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was founded during the War of Independence. The ministry initiated an agenda for public health projects including the institutionalization of medical services throughout the country, creating a state-trained medical staff, and carrying on campaigns against epidemic diseases such as malaria, syphilis, and trachoma.[392]

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[390] Legal concern over contraception and abortion has its roots in the late Ottoman Empire. The law prohibiting abortion was passed in 1858. Considering the population loss with continuous wars, the pronatalist policies continued by the Republican government. The government felt the need for a considerable increase in population to provide the human resources to rebuild the military and for the growth in agricultural production. Both contraceptive devices and abortion were made illegal under the Child Health (*Çocuk Hıfzısıhhası*) section of the 1930 Public Health Law. Until the 1950s, Turkey was considered as an underpopulated state. For more information, see Akile Gürsoy, "Abortion in Turkey: A Matter of State, Family or Individual Decision," *Social Science & Medicine* 42:4 (1996): 532; Public Health Law [*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*], Section 6, Article 152, Resmi Gazete, 6 May 1930.

[391] Emine Ö. Evered, and Kyle T Evered. "Protecting the national body: regulating the practice and the place of prostitution in early republican Turkey," *Gender, Place & Culture* 20:7 (2013): 840-842.

[392] Kyle T. Evered and Emine Ö. Evered, "Governing population, public health, and Malaria in the early Turkish republic," *Journal of Historical Geography* 37 (2011): 476. For confronting the problem of STDs with education in the early Republican period, see also Emine Ö. Evered and Kyle T. Evered, "Framing 'Our Social Disaster': Narratives of Disease and Sexuality in Turkey's Early Republic," *Acta Medico-Historica Adriatica* 15:1 (2017): 51-66.

The sociopolitical framing of the disease was as important as its medical treatment. The Ministry of Health and Social Assistance assigned its physicians in the early 1920s to supervise and gather sociomedical information about its subjects and provinces. The provincial medical directors generated ethnographical accounts (rather than focusing on quantitative data, they concentrated on ethnographic, sociocultural, and linguistic details) of each province, using questionnaires, observations, and their own experiences. Each volume was published with the title "Medical Social Geography of Turkey (*Türkiye'nin Sıhhi İçtimai Coğrafyası*)" followed by a subtitle that identified each province surveyed.[393] Overall, these volumes intended to cover the current condition of the provinces as well as the first proposed solutions to the problems detected.[394]

Without exception, provincial medical directors associated syphilis and its increased transmission with prostitution. For example, Muslihiddin Safvet, who was the provincial director of Ankara, linked the cause and spread of the disease with a common moral decline caused by poverty and the breakdown of patriarchal and familial protection of women and girls, and the tribulations of WWI that forced many to participate in sex work for survival. He mentioned that although only the province of Kastamonu had a high rate of syphilis cases before WWI, the disease had begun to spread across Anatolia, even in the smallest villages after the war. He attributed the high rates to the lack of medical

[393] A total of nineteen provinces were covered. Seven of them (Sinop, Niğde, Kayseri, Kastamonu, Zonguldak, Menteşe, Konya, and Isparta) were published in 1922. Another seven provinces (Ankara, Bayezid, Çatalca, Gelibolu, Kırkkilise, Kırşehir, and Urfa) were issued in 1925. Two of them (Çankırı and Gaziantep) were issued in 1926 and another two (Sivas and Tokat) were published in 1932. There is also another volume on Erzurum province. See Oğuzhan Aydın, "Türkiye'nin Sıhhi İctimai Coğrafyası'na Göre Anadolu'da Gelenek, İnanç ve Kültür Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Bilig-Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 86 (2018): 90.

[394] Emine Ö. Evered, and Kyle T Evered, "Protecting the national body: regulating the practice and the place of prostitution in early republican Turkey," 842.

examinations among prostitutes. He stated that prostitutes (*alüfte*) had come to Ankara because of the "connections" of the city with major cities like Istanbul. Safvet also emphasized that some hid their illnesses and did not receive treatment, and thus he recommended a centralized treatment with a serious follow-up system for everyone.[395] Overall, the medical directors perceived unregulated prostitution as proof of the need for state-regulation, giving examples of different practices of prostitution in rural Anatolia as the cause of the syphilis epidemic.[396]

The government took measures for the prevention of syphilis. Brochures were distributed, meetings were held, and movies were screened to inform the public about the disease.[397] It is important to note that syphilis is not just sexually transmitted, but the risk of infection increases with cuts and sores in the mouth. Some prevention guidelines and books addressed this issue. For example, it was advised that if someone is contracted syphilis, their personal belongings, such as glasses, plates, pipes, cigarette holders, and razors, should not be shared with others.[398] Besides, the government tried to centralize the treatment of the disease outside of the context of prostitution by introducing several laws and guidelines. The first law on syphilis in the Republican period was passed in 1921, titled The Law for the Defense Against Syphilis and the Threat of its Spread (*Frenginin Men ve Tehdid-i Sirayeti Hakkında Kanun*). With this law, syphilitic patients who deliberately transmitted the disease to others, unqualified healers who performed treatment, and

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395 Muslihiddin Safvet, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi İçtimai Coğrafyası: Ankara Vilayeti* (Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2009), 32, 53-54. The volume was first published in 1925.

396 Emine Ö. Evered, and Kyle T Evered, "Protecting the national body: regulating the practice and the place of prostitution in early republican Turkey," 843, 844.

397 BCA 30-10-0-0/177-220-18, "Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekaleti'nin beş yıllık faaliyet raporu ve istatistikleri," 14 December 1930.

398 Fritz Kahn, *Tenasül Hayatımız: Herkes ve Her Aile İçin Bir Rehber* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1944), 145, 146.

physicians who treated their patients inappropriately would all be sentenced to imprisonment. Subsequently, the Guideline for the Fight Against Venereal Diseases and Their Treatment (*Emraz-ı Zührevi Savaş ve Tedavi Talimatnamesi*) was enacted in 1925. According to this guideline, the state would conduct the treatment of the disease by providing syphilis screening teams, dedicated hospitals, and dispensaries for skin and venereal diseases. The 1925 ordinance was reorganized and the Guideline for the Treatment of Syphilis (*Frengi Tedavi Talimatnamesi*) was passed in 1938.[399] This guideline outlined the standard treatment methods while emphasizing that the course of the disease might be different for each patient and physicians should proceed accordingly. As stated in the guideline, each patient had documentation (*frengi defteri*) detailing the progression of the disease and the stages of treatment.[400] This suggests that the disease was closely tracked not only among sex workers but also among those who had developed syphilis and sought medical care. Considering the stigma of STDs, close follow-ups might be also related to why some did not seek treatment until having severe symptoms.

Because in some parts of the country there was no equipment for Wassermann tests,[401] treatment procedures were described separately if there were no laboratories in those provinces. The issues regarding what treatment methods should be applied to women in which phases of the disease and how physicians should proceed if the treatment was disrupted were explained in detail. Instructions regarding the treatment of children and

399 Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul,* 116-117.

[400] The Guideline for the Treatment of Syphilis [*Frengi Tedavi Talimatnamesi*], Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekaleti, 1931.

[401] The Wasserman test is used to diagnose syphilis. It is used to detect the presence of the bacterium that causes the disease, Treponema pallidum.

pregnant women with syphilis and asymptomatic patients (*tezahüratsız frengi*) were also included.[402]

4.2.3 Full Authority of the State: Centralization of the Regulation of Prostitution and the Treatment of Syphilis

Like its Ottoman predecessors, the Republican government was concerned with the morality of the family institution. The preservation of the national identity, character, and morality from all kinds of dangers, diseases, and traumas was considered a vital task of the state. Even the existence of prostitution was posed as a threat to the social structure of the nation.[403] Consequently, outlawing prostitution altogether came into question.

The discussions around prohibiting prostitution were not only a political or health concern, but commercial sex work was an economic and social issue as well. Intellectuals of the period joined the debates about whether to abolish prostitution. Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel was against the regulation of sex work, but her approach was class-based and more progressive than the state. She identified prostitution as trafficking in women and slavery and asserted that the attempt to regulate people's sexuality by generating particular classes of people and special locations to service was doomed to fail because it was equal to fighting against human nature. She argued that because of their lack of participation in paid labor, women were forced to financially depend on men, who evaluate them for their sexuality. She entirely turned away from the concerns on public health and supported the idea of equal freedom in sexual expression for both sexes. Additionally, Sertel argued that

[402] The Guideline for the Treatment of Syphilis [*Frengi Tedavi Talimatnamesi*], Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekaleti, 1931.

[403] BCA 30-10-0-0/177-221-5 "Zührevi hastalıklar ve fuhuşla mücadele için toplanan komisyonun raporu," 05 April 1932; Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933," 38.

there would be no need for women to sell sex if they were encouraged to enter the paid labor force.[404] Abimelek Bey, who was a dermatologist, mentioned that although the spread of venereal diseases was lessened after WWI, cases started to increase in the 1930s. Similar to Sertel, he considered economic distress and unemployment as the major underlying reasons for clandestine prostitution and thus the increasing numbers of cases. However, he argued that regulation of prostitution was more suitable from a medical point of view.[405]

Like Sertel, novelist Mahmut Yesari was in favor of the closure of the state-licensed brothels. Nonetheless, he advocated that it would be a decision that would make "bachelors (*bekar*)" worry.[406] Journalist, writer and politician Abidin Daver strongly opposed the closure of the brothels because he believed they were "like a lightning rod that protects honorable women from intrusive attacks."[407] Here, both male writers did not discuss the underlying social and economic aspects of prostitution, but they considered it as a way to protect "honorable" women from the "devious" ones. Also, sex workers' duty was perceived to satisfy men's sexual appetites until they get married. Hence, these writers defined prostitution as a "necessary evil."

Although legislation on prostitution and syphilis began to appear in the Ottoman Empire in the 1870s, it was narrow in scope. Early enactments were especially limited to locations associated with commerce and ethnoreligious minorities, such as the Beyoğlu and Galata districts. The centralization of the regulation of prostitution and control of STDs

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[404] A. Holly Shissler, "Womanhood Is Not For Sale: Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel Against Prostitution and For Women's Employment," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 4:3 (2008): 19.

[405] Abimelek Bey, "Zührevi hastalıklardan tahaffuza dair," in *Sıhhat Almanakı: Cumhuriyetin onuncu senesini kutlularken hekimlerimizin halkımıza armağanı*, ed. Mazhar Osman (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1933), 170.

[406] "Halkın Sesi: Umumi evlerin Kapatılmalarına Taraftar mısınız?," *Son Posta*, 21 April 1935.

[407] "Halkın Sesi: Umumi evlerin Kapatılmalarına Taraftar mısınız?," *Son Posta*, 21 April 1935.

was initiated in the early Republican years with the introduction of the Public Health Law (*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*) in 1930[408] and the Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution (*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*) in 1933.[409]

Prior to these comprehensive acts, the Circular about the Fight Against Prostitution (*Fuhuşla Mücadele Hakkında Tamim*) was issued in 1930 under the signature of the Minister of the Interior, Şükrü Kaya. Its aim was the gradual eradication of prostitution. According to the circular, it was forbidden to open a new brothel in the entire country. Also, current state-licensed brothels could not hire any sex workers from other ones. Previously, many of the foreign nationals who were associated with prostitution were deported.[410] For example, Malama, who was known as one of the demimondes (*kibar fahişe*) of Beyoğlu,[411] and Greek nationals Anastasya and Katina, residing in Beyoğlu were expelled. The latter were deported because of inciting young girls to prostitution.[412] During a week-long police operation targeting unregistered prostitutes, fifty women were busted. Because some of them were foreign nationals, they were deported.[413] The next day, it was reported that twenty prostitutes (*uygunsuz kadın*) were expelled as well.[414] Not just women

[408] The sub-section 5 (Struggle against Venereal Diseases) under Section 2 (Struggle against Contagious Diseases and Epidemics) and Section 3 (Requirements Relating to Prostitutes) were dedicated on the regulation of prostitution and the control of STDs. See Public Health Law [*Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*], Resmi Gazete, 6 May 1930.

[409] Emine Ö. Evered, and Kyle T Evered, "Protecting the national body: regulating the practice and the place of prostitution in early republican Turkey," 845.

[410] The Circular about the Fight Against Prostitution [*Fuhuşla mücadele Hakkında Tamim*], Articles 2, 6, 7, 8, 12 April 1930.

[411] "Bir fahişe hududumuzdan atılıyor-Enis Fahri mevkuf…," *Son Saat,* 2 July 1929.

[412] "Şüpheli iki kadın hudut haricine atılacak," *Cumhuriyet,* 22 July 1929.

[413] "Fena sokak: Serseri fahişelerden 50 tanesi yakalandı," *Son Saat,* 3 November 1929

[414] "Hudut haricine çıkarılan kadınlar," *Cumhuriyet,* 4 November 1929.

faced deportation. Jewish Refail, who was a citizen of Spain, was expelled because he was inciting girls to prostitution.[415]

The circular stated that if there were remaining foreign national residents or newcomers who were employed in the sex trade, they had to be reported for deportation.[416] Also, if the foreign nationals working at music halls, bars, café-chantants, taverns, night clubs, and coffee shops, exhibited "conducts in improper behaviors," they would be deported as well. Turkish citizens would be prohibited to work in these places of entertainment. The circular warned about the possible offenses against privacy and mentioned that culprits would be prosecuted.[417] However, sex workers went under strict surveillance when the circular was passed. Homes were randomly raided, and privacy and confidentiality were overlooked. After seeing the application of this initiative to remove and ban prostitution,[418] the government renounced the circular and passed the regulatory law of 1933.[419]

The first section of the 1933 Law deals with organizational matters. It specifies the responsibilities of the governmental commissions (*Zührevi Hastalıklar ve Fuhuşla*

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[415] "Hudut haricine!," *Cumhuriyet,* 11 July 1929.

[416] According to a document that Şükrü Kaya forwarded to the prime minister's office, the women especially from Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria, who disguised themselves as artists, practiced clandestine prostitution and threatened the nation's morals and health. Because the women who were to be deported applied to their respective countries' embassies, Kaya requested the officials to be cautious before they issue visas in order not to create tension with other nations. See BCA 30-10-0-0/107-705-21 "Avrupa ülkelerinden gelen fahişe kadınlara vize verirken dikkat edilmesi," 26 June 1931. One newspaper article also reported that women who were practicing prostitution disguised themselves as "artists." See "Ecnebi fahişeler," *Milliyet,* 24 May 1930.

[417] The Circular about the Fight Against Prostitution [*Fuhuşla mücadele Hakkında Tamim*], Articles 3, 4, 18, 12 April 1930.

[418] An article on *Cumhuriyet* stated that even though prostitution disappeared, it was in action secretly. Hence, the rates of transmission of STDs exceptionally increased. It was mentioned that although it was possible to eradicate prostitution, it was not feasible to control the spread of venereal diseases. See "Fuhuşla mücadele," *Cumhuriyet,* 7 July 1949.

[419] Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933,"36.

Mücadele Komisyonları), their staffing, and both internal and statewide management. Additionally, this section gives information on suitable institutional and resource support and mandates collaboration with police and municipal authorities. The commissions were subdivided into management, health, and execution departments. In smaller towns, assistant commissions (*Zührevi Hastalıklar ve Fuhuşla Mücadele Komisyonlarına Yardım Kurulları*) would perform similar functions.[420]

The second section fails to define who would be considered a prostitute, while designating the sites where prostitution could take place. The lack of a clear definition of a prostitute could be because there were various forms of commercial sex. Indeed, according to Emine and Kyle Evered, the term "public women (*umumi kadınlar*)" emphasizes the place of these women in society and strengthens the gendered private-public dichotomies. The law indicated these women's accessibility as a legal fact by defining those "women who trade in the serving of other people's sexual pleasures for profit or out of habit and have this type of relationship with multiple men." Other than financial gain, by mentioning "habit," the law indicates that women who engage in sexual relations with more than one man could be identified as prostitutes as well.[421] Furthermore, the law identifies three categories of sites associated with prostitution: brothels (*umumi evler*), coupling places (*birleşme yerleri*), which are places where multiple women work

[420] Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 1, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

[421] Emine Ö. Evered, and Kyle T Evered, "Protecting the national body: regulating the practice and the place of prostitution in early republican Turkey," 848.

but do not live in, and places where individual prostitutes work and reside (*tek başına fuhuş yapılan evler*).[422]

The third section of the law deals with identifying, policing, and registering prostitutes as well as with keeping the brothels and related places under surveillance. It authorizes state officials to carry out "secret" examinations of women, who are suspected to have sexual relations with multiple men. A woman could be registered as a prostitute if she is nineteen or older and not of foreign nationality. A registration document, which has her photograph, name, age, birthplace, current residence, and location(s) where she had worked as a sex worker, would be created. The woman's birth certificate would be attached to the registration document, which would also have space for a year's worth of twice-weekly medical examinations.[423]

4.3 An Overview of Ottoman and Republican Historiography on Prostitution and Syphilis

There are comprehensive studies in Western literature in the areas of prostitution and venereal diseases. Even though there is a growing body of research in the Middle Eastern context, I concentrate on the literature in the Turkish context. Since there are a few extensive studies that tackle the topic in the Turkish context, current literature is highly fragmented. Yet, they give insight into how both Ottoman and Republican states addressed and conceptualized syphilis as a threat to its citizens and how they attempted to regulate

[422] Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 2, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

[423] Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

sex trade in different cities. They also present a variety of evidence to the topic from the state level to the local level such as laws and regulations, surveys, court and police records, and even letters.

Fariba Zarinebaf's *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul, 1700-1800* stands as an inspiration for my research since she scrutinizes both "big" crimes such as upheavals and rebellions, and "everyday" petty crimes such as prostitution and theft. She cross-examines Islamic court records with imperial orders, and police and prison records to get a more thorough view of crime, trials, and punishment. She utilizes official records of testimonies and petitions to give a full picture of the sex trade and uncover the voices from below. By doing so, Zarinebaf reveals the patterns of the social backgrounds of the sex workers, their places of practice, and the profile of their clients. On the macro scale, she shows how authorities regulated the vice trade, and how the state improved the effectiveness of its surveillance in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious city.[424] There are a number of studies about the regulation of prostitution and control of venereal diseases in the late Ottoman Istanbul and during WWI. These studies concentrate on one issue of the control of syphilis and the regulation of prostitution and contextualize them in larger aspects such as the international trafficking of women or the application of the regulation in a concentrated urban environment or city. The period was greatly associated with moral decay, corruption, and sexual promiscuity. For example, Cem Doğan investigates the administrative, social, and spatial aspects of prostitution and syphilis in Istanbul from the reign of Abdülhamid II to the end of the occupation of the Allied forces. Other than prostitution and associated

[424] Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul, 1700-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010)

legislatures, he also examines the actors of the sex industry and the stigma attached to syphilis in the Ottoman society in great detail.[425] In addition, Müge Özbek investigates the regulation of prostitution in Beyoğlu between 1875 and 1915. She uses state documents to examine the development of the regulation with an emphasis on class and gender-biased discourse of social hygiene.[426] Elif Mahir Metinsoy investigates the state control of women during WWI. She concentrates on the state's role in surveilling Muslim women's sexuality and marriage. Controlling female morality on the home front was one of the priorities of the Ottoman state to protect its soldiers from venereal diseases as well as to ensure them their wives and fiancées were living modestly during their absence. Although Metinsoy's research contributes to the overlooked ordinary women's struggle during the First World War, it falls short because she excludes minority women from her account altogether.[427] Malte Fuhrmann takes a different approach to prostitution and looks into the "white slave trade" in Istanbul, as the city was an international hub for supplying sex workers to various cities in the East such as Cairo, Port Said, Bombay, Singapore, and Saigon. He analyzes the issue of Austrian prostitutes in the city within the framework of diplomatic relations between Habsburg delegates and the Ottoman authorities.[428] Furthermore, Rifat Bali studies another minority group, the Ashkenazi Jewish population, and its role in the bigger human trafficking activities in the late Ottoman period. Bali provides an extensive list of the procurers who were detained from the country and their daily disguised occupations;

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[425] Cem Doğan, *Osmanlı'da Cinselliğin Saklı Kıyısı: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi ve Sonrası İstanbul'da Fuhuş, Frengi ve İktidar (1878-1922)* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019)

[426] Müge Özbek, "The Regulation of Prostitution in Beyoğlu (1875–1915)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46:4 (2010): 555-568.

[427] Elif Mahir Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women during World War I: Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

[428] Malte Fuhrmann, "'Western Perversions' at the Threshold of Felicity: The European Prostitutes of Galata-Pera (1870-1915)," *History and Anthropology* 21:2 (2010): 159-172.

however, there is little information about the sex workers.[429] Other than Istanbul, Ebru Boyar concentrates on the implementation of measures to fight against syphilis in the province of Kastamonu in northern Anatolia, along with the subjects' reactions to the new standards. As syphilis was perceived as a threat to the survival of the Ottoman state, there was intervention not just to prevent the hidden prostitution, but also central government set up measures in the private sphere such as pre-nuptial health checks, as well as regular controls in bathhouses and barbershops.[430] She also explores the brothel tax and its implementation in various cities by the Ottoman government. These taxes were brought about to fund medicinal expenses, establish treatment facilities, and mitigate the unsafe practices of prostitution.[431]

The work of Emine Evered and Kyle Evered intersects the regulatory efforts of prostitution with the medical and political framing of syphilis in the early Republican period. A thorough study of the state-led surveys in the early 1920s provides detailed insight into how particular diseases of concern were framed not just biologically/medically but also socio-culturally, by the Republic's chief medical professionals and policymakers. Their work includes early Republican provinces in Anatolia and the capital of the new Republic, Ankara. However, since their main primary sources are surveys conducted in Anatolian cities, they exclude Istanbul from their narrative. Furthermore, they examine the

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[429] Rifat N. Bali, *The Jews and Prostitution in Constantinople, 1854-1922* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008) For a broader discussion on the global network of prostitution in the context of Jewish white slavery see, Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Also for a brief discussion on Armenian prostitutes during the late Ottoman period, see Uğur Ümit Üngör, "Orphans, Converts, and Prostitutes: Social Consequences of War and Persecution in the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1923," *War in History* 19:2 (2012): 173-192.

[430] Ebru Boyar, "'An inconsequential boil' or a 'terrible disease'? Social perceptions of and state responses to syphilis in the late Ottoman Empire," *Turkish Historical Review* 2 (2011): 101-124.

[431] Ebru Boyar, "Profitable Prostitution: State Use of Immoral Earnings for Social Benefit in the Late Ottoman Empire," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 37:1/2 (2009): 143-157.

Public Health Law of 1930, and the detailed law on prostitution passed in 1933. Confronting STDs and syphilis directly, they scrutinize the debate of regulatorism versus prohibition among the policymakers and conclude that sex workers and women, in general, were largely excluded from both policy formulation and legislative processes that focused on their bodies. Besides, the function of regulation was not to diminish the conduct of prostitution or improve sex workers' safety or status in life.[432]

Finally, Mark David Wyers focuses on how the early Republican government regulated prostitution and women's bodies in Istanbul, and how women reacted to the associated regulations. Wyers surveys prostitution from the Ottoman period to around 1935. He displays how the government continued to employ a similar approach to regulate the sex industry as the previous state. In this sense, his account also contributes to equilibrating ruptures with continuities between the Ottoman and Republican eras. Wyers also examines sex trade with broader topics such as state promoted nationalism, the status of women, and state feminism. Most importantly, for my dissertation, he concentrates on the geographies of vice and gendering space in Istanbul.[433]

Recent research conducted over the last few decades employs a more inclusive approach, in which long-neglected actors such as minorities, ordinary citizens, and people belonging to marginal groups are valid subjects of historical analysis. My contribution to this recent perspective lies in analyzing sex workers through the urban spaces they

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[432] Emine Ö. Evered and Kyle T. Evered, "Syphilis and prostitution in the socio-medical geographies of Turkey's early republican provinces," *Health & Place* 18 (2012): 528-535; Emine Ö. Evered, and Kyle T. Evered, "Sex and the Capital City: The Political Framing of Syphilis and Prostitution in Early Republican Ankara," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 68:2 (2011): 266-299; Emine Ö. Evered, and Kyle T Evered, "Protecting the national body: regulating the practice and the place of prostitution in early republican Turkey," *Gender, Place & Culture* 20:7 (2013): 842.

[433] Mark David Wyers, *"Wicked" Istanbul: The Regulation of Prostitution in the Early Turkish Republic* (Istanbul: Libra, 2013)

occupied. By doing so, it becomes more feasible to document both the interactions of women with authorities (state, police, medical doctors, and brothel owners) and men in their daily lives.

4.4 Spatial Restrictions: Vice Zones

Female sex worker sets an exemplar for the hostile nature of legal and social regulation embedded in the term of equal citizenship, as they are forced to work out of sight in many cities, and off-street in brothels where their sexuality can materialize only in those isolated spaces. Leaving these confined spaces and entering the public spaces in the city as sex workers remain highly restricted for them, because of the assumption that feminine sexuality should be domesticized in a procreative relationship. As sex work diverges from the accepted procreative practices, authorities police brothels to prevent prostitution from encountering the "normal and decent" public realm. In other words, the states have strived to minimize the public visibility of the sex trade.[434]

In the case of Istanbul, the topic of the zoning of vice districts ensued public discussions after the 1933 Law was passed. First, it was contemplated that the brothels should be outside of the city limits, "similar to the zones in various European states." However, although the reason behind it was not mentioned, it was subsequently decided that moving the brothels to the suburbs was not possible in Istanbul.[435]

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[434] Phil Hubbard, "Sex Zones: Intimacy, Citizenship and Public Space," in *Sexualities* 4:1 (2001): 57-58.

[435] "Birleşme evleri nasıl olacak? Yeni talimatname için nizamname yapılıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 October 1933.

In December 1933, it was reported that four red-light districts would be established: two in Beyoğlu (in Feridiye and Ziba or somewhere that would not be seen from the "street"), one in Istanbul-Yenikapı, and one on Kadıköy's infamous Paris Street.[436] The governmental commission gathered under the chairmanship of Minister of Health Ali Rıza Bey and discussed the suggestions by Istanbul Police Department. Even though the police department recommended that the red-light districts should be gathered in Beyoğlu because it was associated with sex trade, some of the members of the commission advocated also establishing a red-light district in the Historical Peninsula (*İstanbul cihedi*). The Ministry of Health proposed that the zoning should be determined according to "needs."[437] The red-light districts should be established in neighborhoods where unmarried men resided most.[438] After the locations of the red-light districts, it was decided that approximately 2,000 prostitutes (who were scattered around the city) would be brought together in those districts under constant control. Additionally, coupling places and the places where individual prostitutes worked and resided would be transferred to these designated districts.[439]

It took some time for the commission to decide on the vice zones. Because there was no consensus among the members, the commission decided to investigate the submitted outline by the police department on site.[440] Even though the commission had

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[436] "İstanbulda dört fuhuş mıntıkası ayrılacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 December 1933; "Fuhuş Yerleri: İstanbulun dört semtinde açılması muhtemel," *Milliyet*, 24 December 1933; "Fuhuş mıntıkları," *Milliyet*, 31 December 1933.

[437] "Evlerin gene Beyoğlunda toplanması muhtemeldir," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 December 1930.

[438] "İstanbulda dört fuhuş mıntıkası ayrılacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 December 1933.

[439] "Evlerin gene Beyoğlunda toplanması muhtemeldir," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 December 1930.

[440] "Gizli fuhuş ve zührevi hastalıklar-Fuhuş mıntakaları kat'ileşince ilan olunacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 December 1930.

been investigating the proposed zones and whether they would be successful, the criteria were not specified.[441]

The press was highly interested in the topic and reported the outcome of every meeting.[442] Ali Rıza Bey even asserted that he would not make statements any more about this issue to the press. It would not be appropriate to discuss such matters with the public because young girls and children would read this news.[443] This statement indicates that even seeing the discussions about the vice zones in the press was considered inappropriate.

Finally, the commission determined the new red-light districts and submitted their report to the mayor's office. According to the notice delivered by the mayor's office to the police departments and district governorships, in Beyoğlu, brothels (*umumi evler*) would be located in the existing Feridiye red-light district (the area between Şirin and Aşıklar streets), Abanoz and Küçükyazıcı streets were appointed for coupling places (*randevu evleri*), and lastly, Alvon Street would be designated as places where individual prostitutes could work and reside. Zürafa (Zürefa), Arşın, Şerbet, Birahane, and Alageyik streets were assigned to brothels in the Galata district **(Figures 4.2 and 4.3)**. It was not considered necessary to establish coupling places and individual houses in Galata. The reason behind why those previous red-light districts were classified as the new vice zones was because of their ill fame for a long time, and hence the city residents' familiarity with them as immoral

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[441] "Fuhuş mıntakaları," *Cumhuriyet,* 4 January 1934.

[442] "Gizli fuhuş ve zührevi hastalıklar-Fuhuş mıntakaları kat'ileşince ilan olunacak," *Cumhuriyet,* 29 December 1930; "Fuhuş mıntıkaları," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 January 1934; "Fuhuş yerleri," *Milliyet,* 2 January 1934; "Frengi tedavisi," *Milliyet*, 4 January 1934; "Gizli fuhuş mücadelesi: Komisyon dün toplanarak yeni kararlar verdi," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 January 1934; "Fuhuş mıntıkaları: Komisyon dün krokilerde gösterilen yerleri gezdi," *Milliyet*, 5 January 1934; "Umumi evler," *Milliyet*, 11 January 1934; "Fuhuşla mücadele komisyonunda: İstanbul tarafında da fuhuş mıntıkası olacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 January 1934; "Fuhuş evleri: Komisyon dün üç mıntıka tesbit etti," *Milliyet*, 12 January 1934; "Umumi evler mıntıkası," *Milliyet,* 14 January 1934.

[443] "Sıhhat İşleri: Biraz geç değil mi?," *Cumhuriyet,* 11 March 1934.

urban spaces. Moreover, the commission did not find it convenient to designate red-light districts in other parts of the city and "make honorable families get into burdensome positions."[444]

According to the notice, the hill on Mutrip Street in Gedikpaşa-Fatih was designated for coupling places, but the commission could not find an appropriate place for brothels or individual houses.[445] However, many landlords in the area objected to this order. The article published in *Cumhuriyet* mentioned that the decision would be reconsidered by the commission.[446] I have not encountered any articles mentioning Gedikpaşa as a place where prostitution took place. Thus, it is intuitive to argue that the objections resulted in favor of the landlords.

[444] "Fuhuş yerleri tesbit edilmiştir-Derhal tatbikata geçilmesi tebliğ olundu," *Cumhuriyet,* 16 January 1934; "Nerelerde fuhuş Yapılabilecek?," *Milliyet,* 16 January 1934.

[445] "Fuhuş yerleri tesbit edilmiştir-Derhal tatbikata geçilmesi tebliğ olundu," *Cumhuriyet,* 16 January 1934; "Nerelerde fuhuş Yapılabilecek?," *Milliyet,* 16 January 1934.

[446] "Şehir İşleri: Fuhuş yerlerinde yerleşmek istiyenler pek az!," *Cumhuriyet,* 31 January 1934.

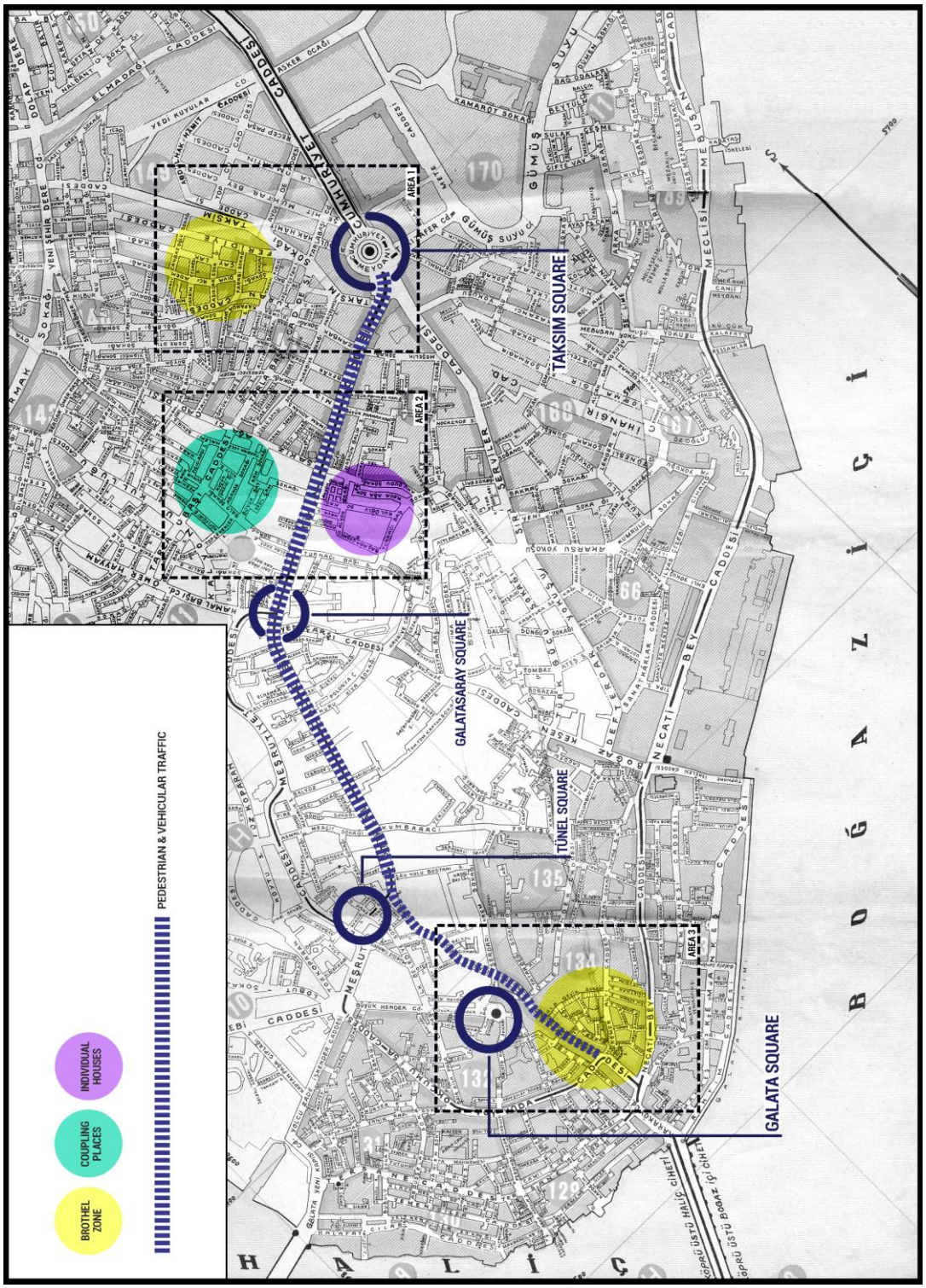

Figure 4.2 Infographic showing red-light districts with main squares, and pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Area 1 displays the brothel zone in Beyoğlu (The area between Feridiye Avenue and Aşıklar Street), Area 2 consists of both zones of coupling places (Abanoz and Küçükyazıcı streets) and individual houses (Alvon Street). Area 3 demonstrates the brothel zone in the Galata district (Zürafa, Arsin, Şerbet, Birahane, and Alageyik streets).

Overall, zoning practices were highly gendered. Men were permitted free movement through the regulated spaces of the vice districts. However, "virtuous women" were prevented to enter these places while the sex workers were isolated in them. Men were able to travel across the moral and immoral spaces, but virtuous women were needed to be protected from the "dangerous" sex workers. Also, prostitutes were subjected to spatial surveillance.[447] For example, they would not be able to reside in another city or village if they would not completely abandon the profession. However, if they had a "legitimate excuse," then they could obtain a permit from the commission under the condition to inform the police department of the reported destination.[448]

Figure 4.3 Images displaying close-ups of the vice zones. Area 1 displays the brothel zone in Beyoğlu (The area between Feridiye Avenue and Aşıklar Street), Area 2 consists of both zones of coupling places (Abanoz and Küçükyazıcı streets) and individual houses (Alvon Street). Area 3 demonstrates the brothel zone in the Galata district (Zürafa, Arsin, Şerbet, Birahane, and Alageyik streets).

[447] Wyers, *"Wicked" Istanbul: The Regulation of Prostitution in the Early Turkish Republic*, 144-145.

[448] "Gizli fuhşa karşı şiddetli tedbirler: Vesikasız hiç bir fahişe bulunmıyacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 January 1934.

There were various objections to the newly designated vice zones. After they were classified, the rents of the building stock in the aforementioned districts increased immensely.[449] However, even before the official designation of the vice districts, the commission received many petitions from landlords that expressed discontent about the locations of the future red-light districts.[450] Even most of the staff of the commission were not convinced that assigned locations were appropriate for control or that regulations could be applied.[451] For instance, the landlords were not willing to rent their properties to "public women," and the law could not force them to do so. On a different note, the brothel managers did not want to pay for the expenses[452] that were specified in the law on top of the tax payments.[453]

Some intellectuals joined the discussion too. For example, Burhan Felek asserted that "there is no need to say that there will not be much left from the street where the public houses will gather. Because, in such a street, neither families nor anyone who has decided to follow an honest life can reside. This will be a decision that closely concerns the public morality and comfort and the right of disposition of the owners there." In addition, he did not consider that it was the right decision to designate Alyon Street as a red-light district because it was too close to the avenues with heavy traffic.[454]

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[449] "Gizli fuhşa karşı şiddetli tedbirler: Vesikasız hiç bir fahişe bulunmıyacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 January 1934.

[450] "Fuhuş yerleri: Umumi evlerin mıntakaları tesbit edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 January 1934.

[451] "Şehir İşleri: Fuhuş mıntıklarına itirazlar tevali ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 February 1934.

[452] The law required that brothels should have a working telephone along with a supply of condoms, preventive ointments, and drops that would be provided to clients without any charge. See Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Articles 51 and 63, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

[453] "Fuhuşla mücadele: Nizamnamenin tatbikına imkan bulunamıyor!," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 February 1934.

[454] "Umumi evler meselesi," *Milliyet*, 19 February 1934.

Finally, I want to highlight a conflict between the regulations and the specified vice districts. The logic behind zoning practices is to separate prostitution from the public and to ensure the strict control of the authorities to minimize the mixing of classes.[455] In this context, I argue that there was a conflict between the designated locations and the law in the case of Istanbul. For example, brothels could not be opened close to schools, religious buildings, official buildings (excluding the public and private sites for examination), and streets with significant traffic.[456] Although proximity was not exactly indicated in the law, Abanoz Street was located in the vicinity of schools and churches **(Figure 4.4)**. To illustrate, Beyoğlu 47th Elementary School was very close to Abanoz Street as well as to Bayram, Yeşil, and Küçükbayram streets, which were previously clustered with brothels. Even though an investigation was conducted, and the police shut down the unregulated places, the network of prostitution seemed more complicated as a hidden gate was opened from one of the brothels on Abanoz Street reaching to Küçükbayram Street, which was causing children to see "unwanted" scenes. The newspaper article proposed that the school should be relocated because of the area's history of prostitution.[457]

Indeed, close proximity also drew young high school students to Abanoz Street out of curiosity. The red-light districts seem to be a curiosity for the young men studying at Galatasaray High School. For example, Ziya Osman Saba (1910-1957), who studied at Galatasaray High School, mentioned how even the name "Abanoz" created excitement

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[455] Wyers, *"Wicked" Istanbul: The Regulation of Prostitution in the Early Turkish Republic*, 144.

[456] Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Article 46, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

[457] "Münasebetsiz yerde bir ilkmektep: Abanoz sokağı civarındaki mektep başka yere nakledilmelidir," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 April 1934; "Beyoğlu 47nci ilk mektebin mevkii: Maarif tekrar Vilayete müracaat edecek," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 April 1934.

among students: "That street bore the name of a precious wood. [Abanoz means "ebony" in Turkish.] When its name was accidentally mentioned in a text read in a lecture of Turkish, it used to create excitement that would make our hearts beat faster and reddened our faces." Those who "dared to set foot in that forbidden place" would tell others what they experienced with pride. [458] Also, youngsters would gather at Çiçek Pasajı in Beyoğlu and after drinking, they would gather items such as scarves, hats, and sunglasses for camouflage and head to Abanoz Street.[459] The close proximity of the red-light district to school must have made it easier for young students to observe these places.

In the following years, during the redevelopment of the city under the Democrat Party regime, vehicular traffic was redirected to Abanoz Street between 1957 and 1958 because of road construction connecting Taksim and Aksaray. This created discontent among the city residents because this time they had to pass through the street and encounter "immoral women and their indecent acts." For example, two women were traveling by taxi. The tire of the car blew out in the middle of the infamous street. During this mandatory pause, the passengers were verbally harassed by "sinful women."[460] It also made the aforementioned inconstancies between the zones and the law to the public eye. There were complaints after the traffic was redirected to Abanoz Street because inhabitants became aware that the red-light district was too close to the main streets and schools.[461] In February

[458] Ziya Osman Saba, *Mesut İnsanlar Fotoğrafhanesi* (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2014), 79.
[459] Yüksel Baştunç, *Beyoğlu: Dünden Bugüne* (Istanbul, Yılmaz Yayınları, 1993), 74.
[460] "Taksiler genelevlerin önünden geçiriliyor," *Milliyet*, 30 July 1956. Aziz Nesin's short story "Gel de Anlat" tackles the encounter of the public with sex workers in a satirical way after the traffic was diverted to Abanoz Street because of the road construction. See Aziz Nesin, "Gel de Anlat," in *Kazan Töreni* (Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1967), 126-131. It was first published in 1957.
[461] "Genelevler Mevzuu," *Milliyet,* 9 January 1958.

1964, all brothels—except the ones in Galata—were closed. The houses on Abanoz Street continued their practice illegally until 1974.[462]

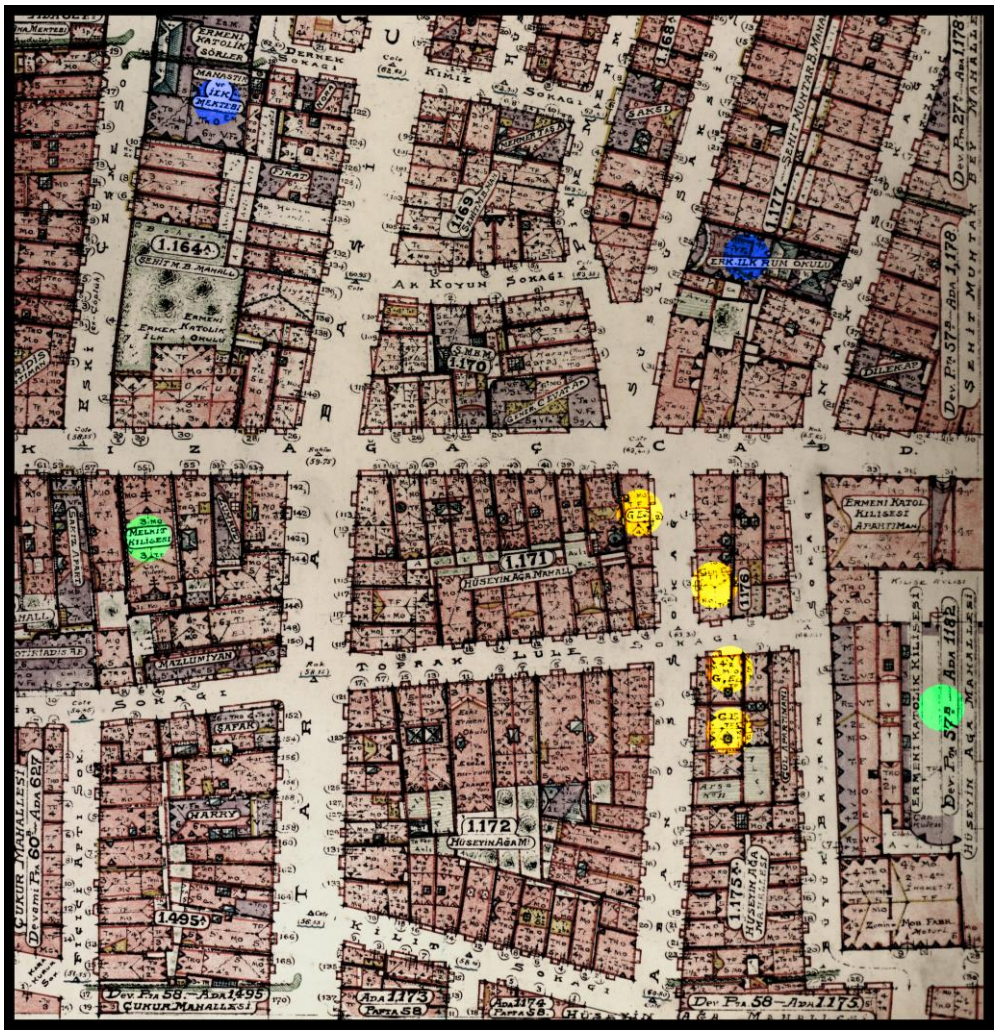

Figure 4.4 Abanoz Street and its surroundings in 1945. Yellow dots show brothels on Abanoz Street, green dots indicate churches and blue dots elementary schools.
Source: Pervititch Insurance Maps, 1945.

[462] Turgut Kut, "Abanoz Sokağı," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1993): 5

4.5 Places of Treatment

On the night of 5 April 1948, the police raided a place where clandestine prostitution took place. It was a regular night for the police, sex workers, and the staff of the Beyoğlu Venereal Disease Dispensary:

–Police, open up!

When the police broke in, one of the women had already escaped to the basement before they had stepped into the hall. A heavy odor in the house was the first thing to notice. Rooms were facing each other in the hallway, each containing dirty mattresses. Some couples were caught red-handed in these rooms, but others managed to escape. The house was searched thoroughly, and some women were caught hiding in the coal cellar and wardrobes. The captured women were handed over to the Taksim Police Station before being sent for medical examination. It was seven o'clock in the morning.[463] Because the police once again tightened up the fight against prostitution, they must have worked hard that night; the station was full of sex workers. Those whose paperwork was completed were sent to the Beyoğlu Venereal Disease Dispensary accompanied by a police officer. When they arrived at the dispensary, women were taken to a room in this wooden and dark building. Chairs were lined along the white walls. While waiting, women—young and old and from various backgrounds—were laughing and joking indifferently. They were accustomed to such disreputable displays; it was a usual occurrence for them.[464]

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[463] "Beyoğlunda 300 tane randevu evi faaliyette," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 April 1948. This news piece provides a detailed account on the raid. Also see, "Gizli fuhuşla mücadele: Zabıta teftişatını sıklaştırıyor," *Vakit*, 18 March 1930. Following newspaper reports of raids, it can be observed that the Istanbul Police Department periodically "tighten up the fight" against prostitution, clandestine sex work in particular.

[464] In his novel *Acı Gülüş*, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar writes about some prostitutes who were caught in a raid. They did not appear worried while being taken to the police station: "They were used to the embarrassment of being exposed to the public […] They laughed together, with their faces exposed, as if

Washing his hands and wearing rubber gloves, the doctor mechanically told each woman to lie on her back on the examination table and put her feet on the leg supports. Some of the women left the examination room with glass slides with a white label with their names attached to them; others, whose examinations were shorter, left with documents on which the doctor wrote "clean."[465] Some were anxious because if their test result was positive, they would be sent for treatment to the hospital for venereal diseases in Cankurtaran[466] and would not be able to work until their treatment was finalized. The police officer sat indifferently in the corner all the while.

Hospitals, dispensaries, and private doctors' offices that specialized in the treatment of STDs were a big part of sex workers' lives. The police force was responsible for detecting clandestine prostitutes and transferring those who needed examination to the necessary health institutions. If a sex worker was registered, she had to be examined twice a week. The regulations had vague implications regarding the examinations of male clients. The addresses of those who were "suspected" of carrying a venereal disease would be taken to follow up.[467] It is safe to argue that law enforcement could not "suspect" someone whether carrying a disease without a medical check-up. However, these vague statements

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they were going to a wedding. They had more fun than those who caught them." See Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Acı Gülüş* (*Tebessüm-i Elem*) (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1973), 127.

465 Turan Aziz Beler, in his novel, *Beyoğlu Piliçleri*, describes the general atmosphere of a venereal disease dispensary when a sex worker, named Nermin, was first registered at the police station and later sent for medical examination. See Turan Aziz Beler, *Beyoğlu Piliçleri* (Istanbul: Akay Kitabevi, 1946), 45-63.

[466] There are different statements about the location of the hospital. Nuran Yıldırım states that the hospital was in the Cankurtaran neighborhood in 1925. A newspaper clipping expresses that it was in Ahırkapı. Finally, Turan Aziz Beler mentions that it was located next to the Ahırkapı Lighthouse in the 1940s. Because the lighthouse is within the district of Cankurtaran, I have written the location as "Cankurtaran." See Nuran Yıldırım, *A Tour of the History of Medicine in Istanbul: Taksim-Beyoğlu-Üsküdar* (Istanbul: KLIMIK, 2008), 87; "Zührevi Hastalıklar Hastanesinde bir hırsızlık," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 February 1948; Turan Aziz Beler, *Beyoğlu Piliçleri* (Istanbul: Akay Kitabevi, 1946), 168.

[467] Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Article 71, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

demonstrate that men could easily be a part of the sex industry and go beyond the imposed moral values without any consequences. Women, on the other hand, were perceived as the main carrier of the disease.

In the late Ottoman period, the law required that all sex workers be registered in the Central Sanitary Bureau, and they had to be examined for venereal diseases once a week. If a sex worker contracted syphilis, she would be admitted to the Beyoğlu Women's Hospital (*Beyoğlu Nisa Hastanesi*) [468] that was dedicated to STDs, or to the Haseki Women's Hospital, which had a special ward for STD-related cases.[469] When they were discharged, the treatment would continue in one of the six treatment places in Galata, Historical Peninsula (Stamboul), Kadıköy, Beşiktaş, Üsküdar, and Yeniköy.[470]

Nonetheless, these places of treatment were in a dire state. Beyoğlu Women's Hospital lacked equipment and adequate sanitary conditions. The hospital consisted of four large wards with 60 beds each dedicated to gonorrhea patients and a number of smaller wards used by both syphilis and gonorrhea patients: 300 beds in total. The patients usually stayed from fourteen days to four months. There were no stoves in the rooms, the sheeting and blankets were old and dirty, and women had no hospital garments.[471]

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[468] The hospital was first established in 1295 (1879-1880) under the Municipality of the Sixth District (*Altıncı Daire-i Belediye Nisa Hastanesi*) on Zürafa Street. During WWI, it was first moved to Kuledibi then to the building next to Ağa Hamamı in Beyoğlu. It was later located to Şişli, but the building burned down in 1921. After the hospital was moved a couple more times, it was renamed as Women's Hospital for Venereal Diseases in 1925 and it was moved again one more time to the Cankurtaran neighborhood. The hospital was brought under the control of the Istanbul Municipality in 1933. See Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, *İstanbulda 500 Yıllık Sağlık Hayatımız* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği, 1953), 74; Nuran Yıldırım, *A Tour of the History of Medicine in Istanbul: Taksim-Beyoğlu-Üsküdar* (Istanbul: KLIMIK, 2008), 86-88; Nuran Yıldırım, "Beyoğlu Belediye Hastanesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1994): 220.

[469] Under the regulations, non-Muslim women working at the brothels were admitted to Beyoğlu Women's Hospital, whereas Muslim women who would get caught and handed over to the police were sent to Haseki Women's Hospital. See Nuran Yıldırım, *A Tour of the History of Medicine in Istanbul: Taksim-Beyoğlu-Üsküdar* (Istanbul: KLIMIK, 2008), 87.

[470] Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult Delinquency," 363-365.

[471] Ibid, 363-365.

Other than the hospital solely treating sex workers, six dispensaries were located in Istanbul in the 1930s (two in Beyoğlu, one in Galata, one in Üsküdar, and one in Kadıköy). There were discussions around the conditions and administrative aspects of the dispensaries, where all citizens (both women and men) who contracted syphilis and other venereal diseases were treated. An article in *Milliyet* advocated that it was not proper to examine all citizens, but there should be separate dispensaries for sex workers (*mükayyet olan*). Here, the article again makes the argument that it is dangerous for the public to encounter prostitutes, and thus the dispensaries should be separated.[472]

The Republican government employed Ottoman-era approaches to fighting syphilis. Rather than a spatially patchy Ottoman administrative method in which only certain places were under control, the new regime executed similar regulations nationwide. Although syphilis was still prevalent, according to a report prepared by the World Health Organization (WHO) at the request of the Turkish Government in 1952, much had been achieved in the treatment and prevention of syphilis.[473] Nevertheless, a comparison between the two periods would not be applicable because of the advancements in treatment. For instance, penicillin treatment was put under trial in Turkey in 1946. In 1949, a treatment schedule was prepared and authorized for the entire country after sufficient information was collected on whether the treatment would be useful.[474] By 1950, penicillin was the recommended treatment and was proven to be effective at killing the bacterium that caused the disease.[475] With this development, syphilis would not be a constant threat anymore.

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[472] "Zührevi emraz dispanserlerinin vaziyeti ne olacak..?," *Milliyet*, 31 March 1930.
[473] Sven Christiansen, *A Report on Syphilis Control in Turkey*, April 1953, 669.
[474] Ibid, 635.
[475] "Frengililer penicillin ile tedavi edilecek," *Yeni İstanbul*, 25 November 1950.

In the 1950s, three dispensaries for skin and venereal disease, and two dermato-venereological hospital departments (the 36-bed University Clinic at Guraba Hospital and the 10-bed Municipal Cerrahpaşa Hospital) were located in Istanbul. Furthermore, there was a 100-bed hospital dedicated solely to the treatment of sex workers.[476] It also had a laboratory attached to it. Lastly, the Public Health Laboratory of Istanbul functioned as the central serological laboratory in the city.[477]

Among the dispensaries, Tophane Dispensary was the most centrally placed and easily accessible one to sailors. Moreover, prostitutes were treated at the Prostitutes Dispensary in Beyoğlu. According to the WHO report, there were 347 prostitutes in brothels and 139 "bar-girls" that were registered and regularly examined in Istanbul. Among these, the "bar-girls" and 167 prostitutes from higher-class brothels were examined in Beyoğlu; while 180 prostitutes, who lived in the Galata district, were examined at the Galata Dispensary. As specified in the records, there were large numbers of new infections detected in the years 1939, 1942, and 1945. However, the reasons could not be evaluated because the number of registered prostitutes, as well as the number of new sex workers, who entered the profession, were not known between the years 1937 and 1949. Furthermore, the number of clandestine prostitutes was believed to be larger than that of registered ones. It was estimated that the number of clandestine prostitutes was 4,000-5,000.[478]

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[476] A report conducted by the League of Nations about the early lives of prostitutes in 1938 notes that all of the registered women had contracted an STD within six years of working. See League of Nations, Advisory Committee on Social Questions, *Enquiry into Measures of Rehabilitation of Prostitutes (Part I): Their Early Lives* (Geneva, 1938), 112.

[477] Christiansen, *A Report on Syphilis Control in Turkey*, 633.

[478] Ibid, 660-661

The total number of syphilis cases diagnosed by these dispensaries between January 1950 and July 1952 was 1,130.[479] However, the numbers in the report represent not just the prostitutes diagnosed with syphilis, but all people who were subject to examination, including wet-nurses, people whose work was connected with food or drink[480], and couples who applied to get married.[481]

As specified by the 1933 Law, the sites associated with prostitution could only be established where sufficient administrative, medical, and policing resources took place.[482] Consequently, many private medical clinics for the treatment of syphilis and other venereal diseases were mostly located in Beyoğlu **(Figure 4.5)**. According to the law, other than public hospitals, sex workers could also get examined at private doctors' offices. If they wanted to be examined by a private physician, then they needed to register the name of the doctor to their documentation.[483] This meant filing extra paperwork for the sex workers; however, if they contracted syphilis, women were not allowed to work until their treatment was finalized. This would undoubtedly create an economic burden for them. Hence, there might have been situations where brothel managers would make an agreement with the private medical doctors because they wanted to remain below the radar of authorities. For

[479] Ibid, 639.

[480] For example, when a body was found at the Balat Pier and discovered that the person had syphilis, a complaint on the "loose" inspections of municipal officials was published in *Cumhuriyet*. See "Halk Sütunu: Haklı Bir Sual," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 February 1930.

[481] Christiansen, *A Report on Syphilis Control in Turkey*, 628-629. According to the ordinance passed in 1931, applicants had to be tested for syphilis before obtaining their marriage license. See, the Ordinance for Premarital Health Examination [*Evlenme Muayenesi Hakkında Nizamname*], Resmi Gazete, 21 September 1931.

[482] Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 1, Article 2, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

[483] Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Zührevi Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 2, Article 22 and 36, Resmi Gazete, 11 December 1933.

example, some physicians were not reporting syphilis patients to the police department. These patients were the women who were involved in clandestine prostitution. The medical doctors asserted that if they would report some patients, these women would seek treatment through undocumented channels. Hence, this could result in further complications and the patient's condition would be worsened. It could be argued that medical doctors had loosened the strict policies for certain patients and cooperated with them in some cases.[484] This also indicates that the official numbers of syphilis cases were underestimated.

To chart the city's venereal disease geography between 1936 and 1955, I combined two maps from the 1933 Istanbul City Guide[485] and marked the list of doctors' offices that specialized in venereal diseases and the official zones of prostitution. I obtained the information about private medical services from the telephone directories of 1936,[486] 1942,[487] and 1953,[488] and the medical doctors' address books from 1953[489] and 1951-1955.[490] Although the newspaper articles for the period of my investigation mention various streets where prostitution took place, I used *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* as the base for my analysis. These articles describe the designated zones by the committee in detail **(Figure 4.6)**.[491]

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[484] "Zührevi kadınlar: 24000 kadından 1200 ü hastalıklı çıktı," *Cumhuriyet,* 8 February 1932.

[485] Osman Nuri Ergin, *İstanbul Şehri Rehberi* (Istanbul: Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1934).

[486] *P.T.T.U.M. İstanbul Telefon Müdürlüğü Kılavuz* (Istanbul: Ekspres Basımevi, 1936).

[487] *1942 İstanbul Telefon Rehberi* (Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1942).

[488] *P.T.T. İşletme Genel Müdürlüğü İstanbul Telefon Rehberi* (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1953).

[489] *Halk için Adresli ve İzahlı İstanbul Doktorlar Rehberi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Neşriyat Ajansı, 1953).

[490] Lütfi Bilgen, *İstanbul-Ankara-İstanbul Doktorlar Rehberi* (Istanbul: M.T.T.B. Tıp Derneği Yayınları, 1951).

[491] "Fuhuş yerleri tesbit edilmiştir-Derhal tatbikata geçilmesi tebliğ olundu," *Cumhuriyet,* 16 January 1934; "Nerelerde fuhuş Yapılabilecek?," *Milliyet,* 16 January 1934.

According to my analysis, the private medical practices were clustered around the vice zones in Beyoğlu.[492] To explore why they gathered mostly in Beyoğlu, we need to refer to the practices in the late Ottoman period. In the first half of the nineteenth century, foreign physicians settled in the Beyoğlu and Galata districts. The opening of a modern doctor's office needed substantial investment. Some physicians had therefore dedicated one room to examinations in their homes. Besides, several pharmacies were utilized for doctors' offices. Pharmacists allocated a room for physicians, in return, prescriptions were prepared in these pharmacies. Hence, there was a mutual relationship between physicians and pharmacists until the end of the nineteenth century, when Muslim doctors, who gained their education in Europe, started to open their practices in the Historical Peninsula. The medical offices belonging to the minority population were gathered in Beyoğlu and Galata, whereas Muslim doctors' offices were clustered in Cağaloğlu.[493]

In terms of the practices specializing in venereal diseases, we observe that some of them were located in the Cağaloğlu district in the period of my investigation. However, a greater number of physicians offered their services (both Muslim and non-Muslim) in the Beyoğlu district. This clustering might be related to Istiklal Street being one of the main arteries in the city. It can also be argued that these practices gathered around the vice zones

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[492] It is not an easy task to locate the streets that housed the private medical practices because the names of the streets had changed. Additionally, the names were shortened in some cases, and they were not specific. I provide detailed information on the list whether I include estimated addresses of certain clinics. Because few numbers of clinics were in different districts in Istanbul such as Fatih, Nişantaşı, and Kadıköy, they were not included in the visual analysis. In the 1950s, the clinics of Cevat Kerim İncedayı, Feyzi Ahmet Onaran, Fuat Şinasi Akyel, and Saadettin İmre were in the district of Fatih. Mahmut Malta's office was in Nişantaşı and Müfid Parkan's was in Kadıköy. See *Halk için Adresli ve İzahlı İstanbul Doktorlar Rehberi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Neşriyat Ajansı, 1953), 25, 37,38, 58, 84. Because İncedayi's clinic was on the list in the 1936 phone directory, it can be argued that he stayed in the same location until the 1950s. See *P.T.T.U.M. İstanbul Telefon Müdürlüğü Kılavuz* (Istanbul: Ekspres Basımevi, 1936), 8.

[493] Nuran Yıldırım, "Berberlerden Diş Hekimliğine," in *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz 4 (2015): 129-131.

because of the significant number of potential patients. Although we do not have sufficient information about the patient profile of these physicians, the obligatory weekly check-ups of sex workers must have led doctors to practice around the zones of prostitution. Also, it seems that physicians visited brothels for regular examinations. For instance, the first part of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's novel *Billur Kalp* takes place in a brothel. The brothel keeper, Madam Zorluyan, tries to convince the client İzzet Saim to leave the room where he spent the night with Annik, by saying: "Come on son, the doctor will arrive and examine the girls."[494] This depiction indicates both that sex workers would visit doctors' in their offices and that physicians were allowed to visit brothels. This could also be one of the reasons why medical practices were clustered around the zones of prostitution. Although the state aimed to keep prostitutes out of the public eye, doctors became part of the scene (and therefore part of sex workers' lives) in one of the city centers.

[494] Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Billur Kalp* (Istanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 2005), 25. The novel was first published in 1926.

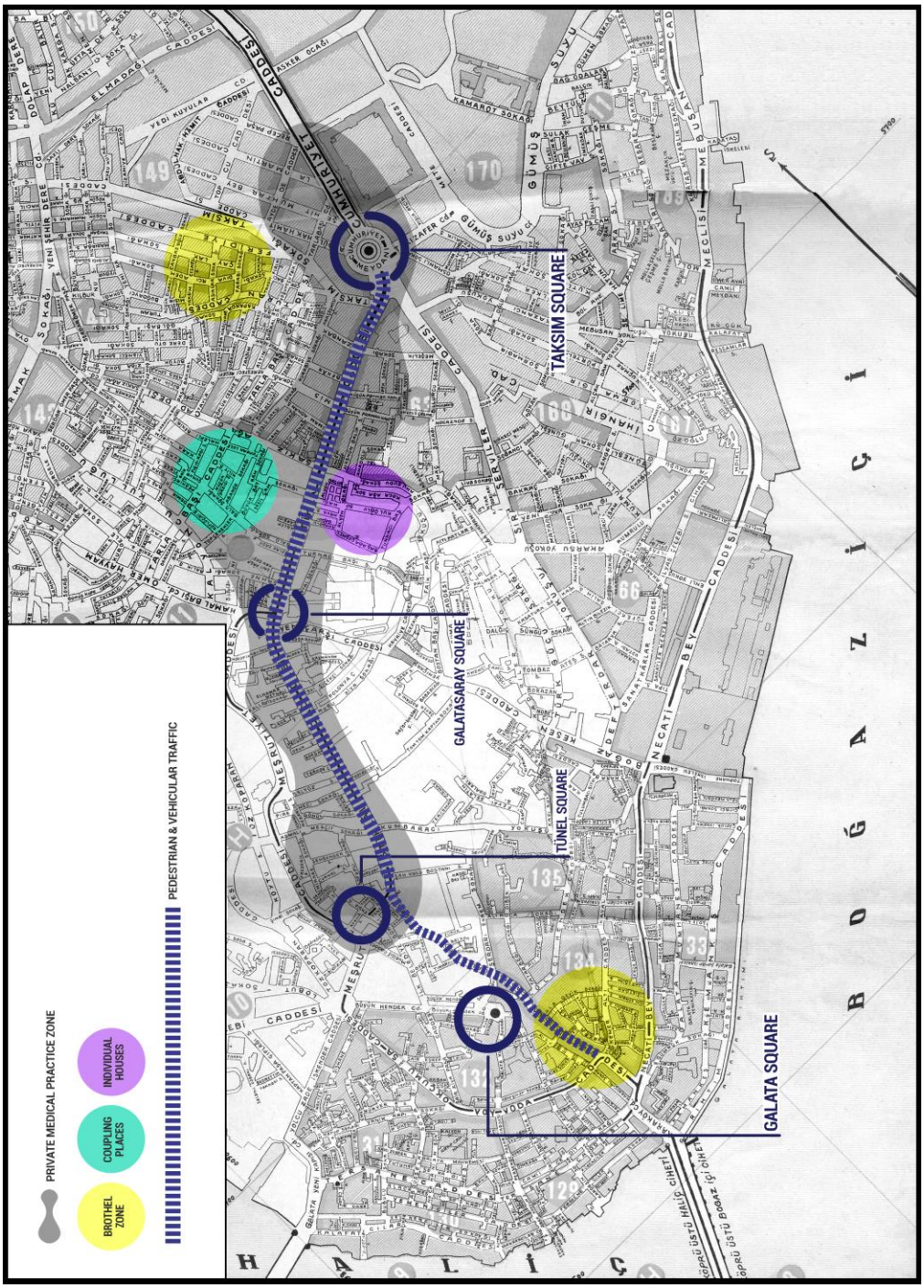

Figure 4.5 The infographic displaying the private medical practice zone along with prostitution zones and pedestrian and vehicular traffic and public squares.

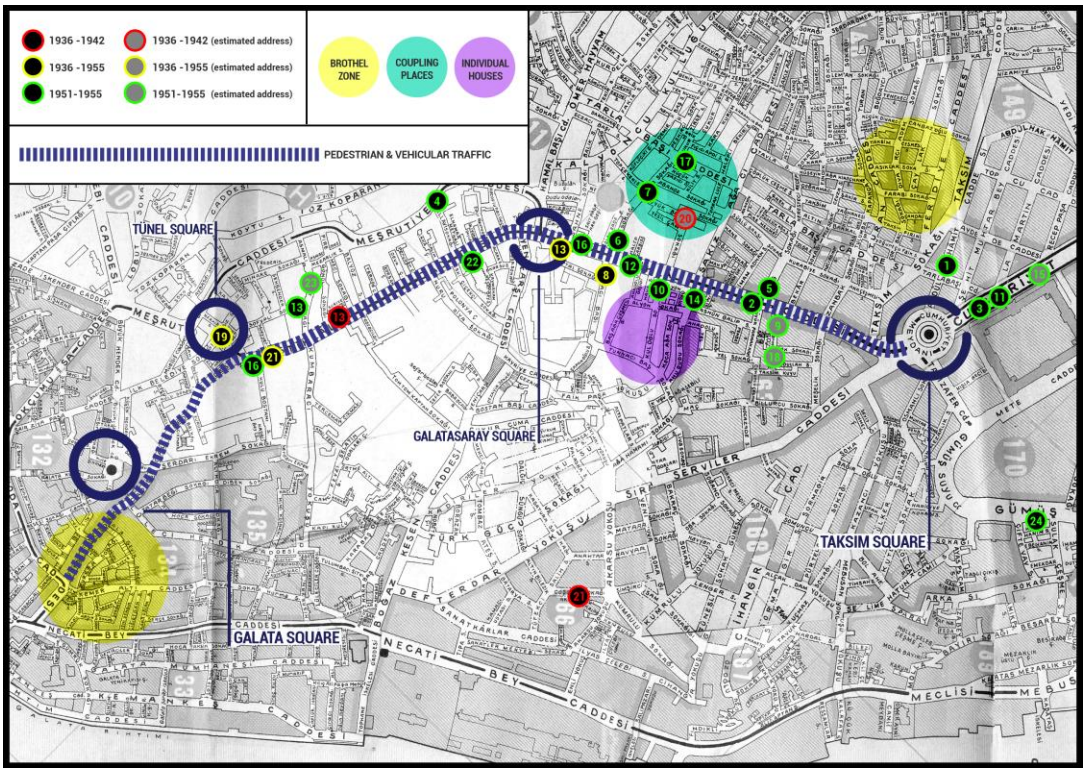

Figure 4.6 Infographic showing the locations of the doctor's clinics. Each number is assigned to one of them. Red shows the clinics which operated at least between 1936 and 1942. Yellow demonstrates the ones that run from 1936 to 1955. Lastly, green displays the offices that were operated between 1951 and 1955. Because Nuri Osman Eren (Number 21 on the map) had multiple offices, they were marked separately with the same number.
Names of the medical doctors follows: 1) Ali Atal, 2) Burhan Derbi, 3) Burhan Urus, 4) Celal Ülgen, 5) Cemal Pektaş, 6) Cevat M. Sargın, 7) Cihat Özkın, 8) Emil Orfanidis, 9) Ekrem Nafiz Baysan (His office was on Parmak Street, but because I could not find the exact street, the address was estimated as Küçükparmak Street), 10) Hakkı Salman, 11) Hasan Reşat Sığındım, 12) Hayri Ömer Eymezoğlu, 13) Kemal Nuri İmre, 14) Nihat Zorlu, 15) Osman Kamil Galatalı, 16) Osman Yemni, 17) Servet Vasfi Alko, 18) Şükrü Mehmet Şekben (His office was on Parmak Street, but because I could not find the exact street, his address was estimated as Küçükparmakkapı Street), 19) V. Hodara, 20) Manthos (His office was located at the intersection of Mektep and Bayram streets. I estimated his address as Büyükbayram Street), 21) Nuri Osman Eren, 22) Abimelek Robert, 23) Çiprut Harun (His office was marked on Asmalımescit Street), 24) Galatalı Osman Kamil.

4.6 Everyday Life on the Street: Built Environment and the Impact of Regulations

In this section, first I discuss the general physical character of the vice districts by making use of firsthand observations of writers and intellectuals. Second, I examine the impact of the regulations on the street.

Journalist Şevket Nezihi discusses Paris Street in Kadıköy—one of the red-light districts of the late Ottoman period— and effectively lays out the general atmosphere of the red-light districts. According to his account, the buildings on one side of the street were constituted of dilapidated structures, the tallest being three-stories. Their rear façades faced the train tracks. The tracks separated Kadıköy from the red-light district, which consisted of 45 brothels and 10 stores. The street was approximately 150 meters long and there were police checkpoints at each end. Almost all of the brothels had red lights hung on top of the entrance doors. Most of the doors were open. Colorful curtains hung from the windows, but they were torn. There was lucrative business traffic on the street. According to Nezihi, one could buy certain things that were double in price. The people passing through the street were workers and shopkeepers who dressed in worn-out clothes.[495] During the same period, the brothels on Abanoz Street were in a better sanitary state compared to other brothel zones, while Ziba Street was described as the worst. For the houses in Galata, the ones with the best sanitary conditions were in Şerbethane Street, while the others were referred to as "shacks."[496]

Moreover, a well-known Istanbulite, Çelik Gülersoy, also gives an account of the places of prostitution through his experience. First, he mentions that although Asmalımescit was not a place where prostitution took place anymore in the 1950s, Abanoz was still an infamous street. He resided on a neighboring street, where his family moved in 1939. He mentions that while the population was low in numbers, the district would be very crowded, especially during weekends. There were two security cabins at each end of

[495] Şevket Nezihi, *Cihanyandı Lütfiye Hanım* (Istanbul: Encore Yayınları, 2011), 27-28. The book was first published in 1924.

[496] Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult Delinquency," 357.

the street. The built environment consisted of some simple and ordinary buildings, but most of them were "thoroughly proper (*eni-konu düzgün*)" and beautiful structures, old middle-class residences then converted to brothels. He mentions women were not beautiful in contrast to the buildings. Lastly, he adds that sex workers would wait for customers on the street wearing swimsuits even on the coldest days.[497]

Additionally, architect and writer, Enis Kortan briefly talks about Abanoz Street in his memoirs. He recalls first visiting the street out of curiosity in 1949, when he was seventeen-years-old. There was a police officer in his cabin at the entrance of the street. The street was rather clean, and the buildings were in a variety of tasteless colors. Because he visited the street before noon, it was empty. In the middle of the street was a sex worker wearing a swimsuit and resting on a deck chair. Interestingly, he mentions that back in the day there was a certain quality even in the Abanoz district.[498]

Furthermore, the red-light districts housed several "secondary businesses": from street sellers to shops and coffee houses. Fikret Adil[499] mentions a certain Seyfi, "a portable tavern (*seyyar bir meyhane*)." He would carry a barbecue with him and prepare kebab and serve *rakı* to his customers on the corner of either Hava or Alyon street. [500] Additionally, the highest demand was for public baths, restrooms, and barbershops. Zürafa Street was clustered with signs of these businesses.[501]

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[497] Çelik Gülersoy, *Beyoğlu'nda Gezerken* (Istanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı, 2003), 151.

[498] Enis Kortan, *Kaybolan İstanbul'um: Bir Mimarın Anıları (1947-1957)* (Istanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2009), 68.

[499] Fikret Adil was a writer, journalist, and translator. He is especially known for his books on the bohemian life of Istanbul.

[500] Fikret Adil, *Asmalımescit 74* (Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2015), 31. His account was first published in 1933.

[501] Celal Başlangıç, "Refah'a Kadar Beyoğlu Dizi Yazısı, Pera Denilince ilk Akla Gelen Batakhaneler Oluyor: Zürafa Sokağı Diye Bir Yer," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 January. Taha Toros Archive-Istanbul Sehir University, 001500814006.

The building regulations shaped the streetscape. As the 1933 Law specifies, any kind of advertisement on the facades was prohibited, each brothel would be given a number, and the entrances had to be kept closed until a client arrived.[502] Prohibiting sex workers from attracting clients outside of the brothels was an important decision that was first initiated in the late Ottoman period. Cem Doğan states that a police captain gave instructions in 1884 to put iron bars to the brothel windows to prevent prostitutes from being seen from outside.[503]

Analyzing photographs of the red-light district **(Figures 4.7 and 4.8)**, we do not observe the presence of any women. Male subjects, clustered in front of the building entrances or looking into the windows along with passersby, dominate the frames. Furthermore, the built environment could be identified as any street and building typology in the district. We can rather observe detailed clues regarding the heating system (the chimney exhaust pipes outside of the buildings), the stands in front of the brothels **(Figure 4.7)**,[504] and the dilapidated condition of the paving of the streets.

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[502] The Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Articles 65, 67, 68 and 86, Resmi Gazete, 23 November 1933.

[503] Cem Doğan, *Osmanlı'da Cinselliğin Saklı Kıyısı: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi ve Sonrası İstanbul'da Fuhuş, Frengi ve İktidar (1878-1922)* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2019), 161. Giovanni Scognamillo also mentions about this decision in the fundamental chronology of prostitution in Istanbul. See Scognamillo, *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş*, 41. Indeed, it was not just an application in the Ottoman and later Republican Istanbul, but as Peter Baldwin points out that sex workers were generally forbidden to be visible at their windows in European states too. These windows usually had to be frosted or curtained. See Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe 1830-1930*, 368.

[504] One can speculate that they were selling *kerhane tatlısı*, literally translated as "brothel dessert." It was common to sell these desserts in the red-light districts. See Bekir Onur, *Anılardaki Aşklar: Çocukluğun ve Gençliğin Psikoseksüel Tarihi* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi Ltd., 2005), 189.

Figure 4.7 A view from Kemeraltı, where brothels are located, photography by Ara Güler
Source: Zafer Toprak, "Fuhuş," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3 (1994): 343.

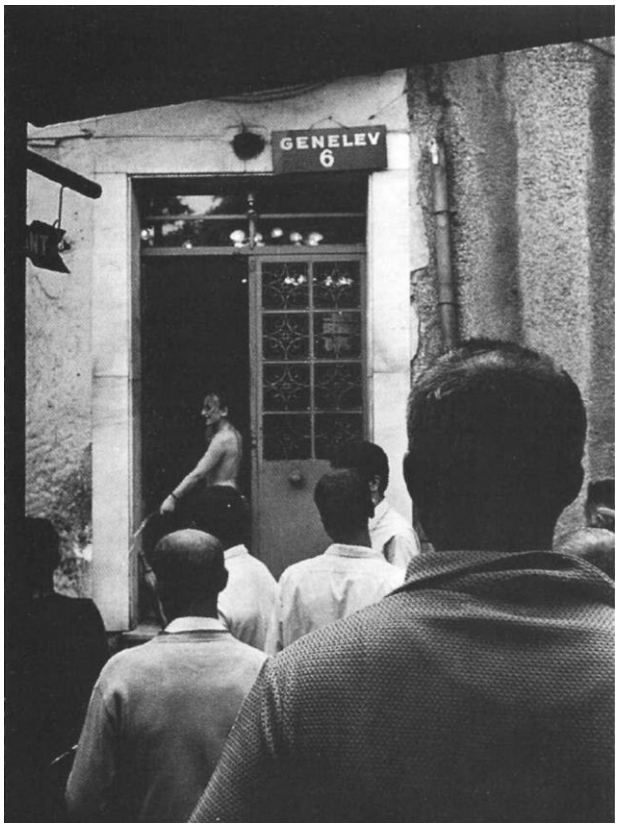

Figure 4.8 A brothel on Abanoz Street and its clients, photographed by Ara Güler. The image displays the crowd in front of a brothel while a man is cleaning the entrance of the building with a hose. On top of the building, there is a sign that says, "Brothel 6."
Source: Zafer Toprak, "Genelevler," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3 (1994): 343.

In his semi-autobiographical novel, *İlk Kadın*, Nedim Gürsel vividly depicts the profile of men gathered in front of the doors in the red-light district in Galata: "The doors of the run-down houses lining along the street were so full of people you couldn't get through. Boys with thin mustaches, vagabonds (*berduş*), Tophane ruffians (*kabadayı*), coarse peasants, all of them smelling sweat, swarmed in front of the doors, were looking inside."[505]

[505] Nedim Gürsel, *İlk Kadın* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2005), 21. Nedim Gürsel (1951-) is an academic and writer. The character is a student at Galatasaray High School. As he was born in 1951, the depicted visit to the red-light district must be in the late 1960s.

Even though the aforementioned measures were taken to regulate and create a controlled environment in the red-light districts, it can be argued that men gathered around the gates of the brothels as a result of the aforementioned section of the law. Pickpocketing on the crowded streets became an unintended consequence since male spectators were overcrowded in the narrow streets of the red-light districts and distracted by the presence of women. Newspaper articles reporting pickpocketing incidents attest to this fact. For example, men who fell victim to the infamous pickpockets were described as "roaming (*gezmekte, dolaşmakta olan*)" in the red-light districts.[506] There were also incidents where the victims got their belongings stolen while they were "looking at the brothels,"[507] "watching the prostitutes,"[508] "looking inside through the door of the brothel,"[509] "looking inside of a brothel through the small window above the door,"[510] and "peeping a brothel through its window."[511] With the regulation prohibiting women from attracting customers outside of brothels, men who wandered in the red-light districts became potential victims of pickpockets.

Migrants from Anatolian cities to Istanbul were described differently on the pages of the newspapers. To illustrate, when men who were not from Istanbul were the victims of the pickpockets, the use of language changed. They were reported as "countryman

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[506] "Poliste," *Milliyet,* 20 March 1952; "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 20 May 1953; "Poliste," *Milliyet,* 9 April 1954; "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 24 June 1954; "Beyoğlunda bir yankesicilik," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 March 1955; "Üç yankesici yakalandı," *Milliyet*, 26 May 1955; "Kısa Haberler," *Milliyet*, 3 July 1955; "Bir yankesici yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 September 1956; "Kısa Haberler," *Milliyet*, 7 January 1960; "Bir yankesici yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet,* 30 December 1960.

[507] "Bir Yankesici Tevkif Edildi," *Milliyet,* 8 June 1956.

[508] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 23 August 1954; "Kadın seyrederken parasını çaldırdı," *Milliyet,* 11 May 1959.

[509] "Çaldığı paraları külotunun içine sakladı," *Milliyet,* 23 March 1959.

[510] "Garip bir yankesicilik," *Milliyet,* 24 November 1951.

[511] "Bir yankesici yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet,* 12 February 1962.

(*taşralı*)" or their city of origin from various parts of Anatolia were indicated specifically.[512] This was likely the result of the ongoing tension of the migration to big cities and pointing to their naivetes in the big city. In some articles, it was stated that these men were staying at "a hotel in Sirkeci,"[513] visiting Istanbul for business. Moreover, citizens outside of Istanbul who got wealthy during the turmoil of WWII became a part of the prostitution landscape. Turan Aziz Beler[514] discusses the issue of prostitution in his novel *Beyoğlu Piliçleri*, through four Anatolian merchants coming to Istanbul for business during the 1940s. These men arrived Istanbul for the first time and who were called "Hacıağa,"[515] would not return to their hometown without stopping by Beyoğlu. They heard stories about women in the vice zones from their friends and/or colleagues. Perhaps these men were witnessing the close presence of women for the first time. Hearing about the places where women could be seen and experienced, when they visited these places, it was almost impossible for these men not to be distracted by the presence of women and fall victim to pickpockets. Getting familiar with red-light districts, some of these men from rural Anatolia would get involved in the prostitution scene as patrons and partners of women.

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[512] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 18 January 1952; "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 20 May 1953; "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 15 January 1954; "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 17 February 1954; "Bir taşralının 775 lirası çalındı," *Milliyet*, 3 April 1954; "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 11 May 1954; "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 3 July 1954; "Beyoğlunda bir yankesicilik," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 March 1955; Kadın seyrederken parasını çaldırdı," *Milliyet*, 11 May 1959; "Bir yankesici yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 May 1961.

[513] During the first half of the twentieth century Sirkeci was a neighborhood where cheap hotels and transport companies were concentrated. Especially the area surrounding the train station was a hub and one of the first stops for migrants from Anatolia. See "Sirkeci," *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* 7 (1994): 12.

[514] Turan Aziz Beler (1912-1988) was a journalist, novelist and translator.

[515] The term refers to the wealthy people who are from the countryside and spend money in an unmannerly way to show off. Orhan Kemal also mentions about men from Anatolia, *hacıağas*, who would spread a lavish table in night clubs in Beyoğlu and call out multiple women to their table for entertainment. See Orhan Kemal, *İstanbul'dan Çizgiler* (Istanbul: Epsilon, 2006), 83.

4.7 Inside the Brothels: Ritualized Proprieties

According to the depictions of brothels in literary works and cinema,[516] brothels were two to four story buildings[517] with a common area on the ground floor. Sex workers would wait for their clients in the common room before going upstairs to a woman's room. The rituals of commercial sex—both in terms of the full experience and seduction—changed over the years. For example, Cem Doğan indicates that serving food and drinking were part of the rituals of brothel visits in the late Ottoman period. After welcoming the client, coffee would be served. If the client would roll a cigarette, the woman (he does not indicate whether the woman is a madam or a sex worker) would lite his cigarette and bring an astray in a flirtatious way. If the client brought alcoholic beverages with him, it would be poured into a pitcher. The brothel would not serve tapas (*meze*), the client needed to bring them. If they would bring tapas, an additional plate of tomatoes would be given by the establishment along with water. Flirtatious conversations accompany songs to cheer the client. The next step of the ritual was dinner: for this, they would move to the kitchen. It is not clear whether the food was provided by the brothel or the client himself. After washing up, he would be led to the rooms upstairs.[518]

This full experience of eating, drinking, and spending the night at the brothel changed in the Republican period. According to an article from the Taha Toros Archive, the madam would welcome the client, order coffee, tea, or cold lemonade, and offer him a

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[516] Sinan Çetin's *14 Numara* (Number 14) was shot in Zürafa Street. Although it was released in 1985, it has a documentary quality because it depicts one of the actual red-light districts of the city and the interior layout of a brothel.

[517] Zürafa Street insurance map prepared by Suat Nervin in 1949 indicates that the physical environment comprised of two to four story buildings.

[518] Doğan, *Osmanlı'da Cinselliğin Saklı Kıyısı: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi ve Sonrası İstanbul'da Fuhuş, Frengi ve İktidar (1878-1922)*, 168-169.

Yenice cigarette[519] from her packet. After asking him about his wellbeing, she would get up and place a record on the gramophone, and the tune would "take him away from the troubles of the day." Later, the women of the brothel would crowd around him. When the record stopped playing, one of the girls who had confidence in her voice would start singing a song, and another with a "touching" voice would accompany her **(Figure 4.9)**.[520] It seems that eating and drinking as part of the brothel ritual came to an end in the Republican period. The change in the etiquette of commercial sex seems to have a direct link with the regulations. The 1933 Law prohibited alcohol, drugs, and gambling in brothels.[521] Thus, the code of behavior had to adapt according to the regulations.

[519] Yenice was a brand that consisted of unfiltered and hand-rolled cigarettes. They were manufactured by the Monopoly Directorate at the Cibali Tobacco Factory. Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, *Cibali Tütün ve Sigara Fabrikası Gezi Rehberi*, last accessed September 30, 2020 http://panorama.khas.edu.tr/cibali-tutun-ve-sigara-fabrikasi-gezi-rehberi-162.

[520] Cezmi Ersöz "Abanoz Sokağının İffeti," *Cumhuriyet*, 1987. Taha Toros Archive-Istanbul Sehir University, 001500833006.

[521] The Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Articles 66, 67, 68 and 86, Resmi Gazete, 23 November 1933.

Figure 4.9 Images showing the madam with a client and one of the prostitutes of the house putting a music album in the record player. The photographs were taken in 1937.[522] The madam covered her hair with a headscarf and wore everyday clothes. Interestingly, madams were almost identically displayed in Sinan Çetin's movie Number 14 (the madam was portrayed by Hikmet Gül) as overweight women, wearing a headscarf. The madam in the movie must have been portrayed through observation on site.
Source: Cezmi Ersöz "Abanoz Sokağının İffeti," *Cumhuriyet*, 1987. Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Sehir University, 001500833006.

4.8 Crime and Violence in the Red-Light Districts

Violence against sex workers is prevalent around the world. The local experience varies with state policies, police practices, and the overall structure of the sex industry. Prostitutes face violence from clients, brothel managers, traffickers, and police, along with other sex workers, drug dealers, and their partners. However, the risk of violence varies and depends on the woman's method of work. Working at a brothel or on the street—as well as working alone or with others—brings various violent experiences. The threat of violence is also determined by the response of the police and the courts.[523]

[522] The article did not provide the dates of the photographs. They are from Gökhan Akçura's archive. He informed me that they were published in *Yarımay* Magazine in 1937.

[523] Hilary Kinnell, "Violence," in *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, ed. Melissa Hope Ditmore (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), 525.

Because of the criminalized nature of prostitution, most of the women did not have the opportunity to leave sex work and were, therefore, confronted with violence on a daily basis. Women were usually trapped in a debtor system, in which a debtor (most of the time managers of brothels) would loan money to prostitutes at high-interest rates that made it difficult for them to ever re-pay.[524] On top of the debtor system, they were also under the control of the brothel keepers, which kept them in the sex industry. For example, according to an account of a sex worker, Eftelya (her nickname was Çika), recorded by Thomas Korovinis,[525] prostitutes were not allowed to travel across other parts of the city, not even within the red-light districts. Çika mentioned that they had isolated lives in the brothels. On rare occasions when managers would let them out, they were not allowed to stroll among city residents. The brothel keepers were scared that they might lose them.[526] Their mobility within the city as individuals, stripped of their identities as sex workers, was not restricted by law, so this must be imposed by the brothel managers.

In this section, I concentrate on various forms of violence in the landscape of the vice districts. The archive of the Committee for the Struggle Against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases was to be located in the General Directorate of Security by law. However, I have not been able to track where the committee archive is located, neither have I received any details regarding who the designated official is from whom to gather the required information. For this reason, the sources I employ for this section are primarily

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[524] Mark David Wyers, "Selling Sex in Istanbul," in *Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution, 1600s-2000s*, ed. Magaly Rodriguez Garcia, Lex Heerma van Voss and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 291.

[525] Korovinis Thomas (1953-) is a writer, translator, and a composer.

[526] Thomas Korovinis, *Fahişe Çika* (Istanbul: Istos Yayın, 2017), 45. Korovinis met Çika in front of the Greece Consulate in Istanbul in 1989. After listening to Eftelya's story full of hardships, he decided to record it.

newspaper articles. Although the lack of evidence does not provide the real scale of the network of crime and disorder, the piecemeal data still offers insight into the certain types of criminal activities that were concentrated in the vice zones.

Noémi Lévy-Aksu argues in another context that nighttime was viewed as "the time of breaking the order," and hence it was a favored time for criminals. As in many contexts, nighttime also accommodated various expressions of urban marginality such as drunkenness and prostitution. In the late Ottoman Istanbul, this temporal dimension was associated with a spatial one. Most of the news focused on the Pera and Galata districts, where the population of ethnoreligious and foreign nationals, places of entertainment, and brothels were clustered. Lévy-Aksu states that it is not easy to detect the extent to which this focus of these districts and overrepresentation of night were because of high rates of violence or the reporters' fascination with and/or distaste of these districts.[527] Hence, the evidence should be interpreted carefully. It is important to highlight that perception and management of criminality and everyday violence in different parts of the city need further investigation in Republican Istanbul. However, the material provides an understanding (or a sample) of the experiences of women and men involved in the sex trade as prostitutes, pimps, clients, and brothel managers.

A 1932 report from the United States National Archives, titled "The Istanbul Central Prison and Its Inmates," sheds light on the severe criminalization of prostitutes. In 1931, there were 1,214 women inmates (571 Muslim, 643 non-Muslim), and 945 of them

[527] Noémi Lévy-Aksu, "A Capital Challenge: Managing Violence and Disorders in Late Ottoman Istanbul," in *Urban Violence in the Middle East: Changing Cityscapes in the Transition from Empire to Nation State* ed. Ulrike Freitag, Nelida Fuccaro, Clausia Ghrawi ,and Nora Lafi (New York: Berghahn, 2015), 58-59.

were prosecuted due to charges of prostitution. However, the length of the sentence seemed relatively short. Among the entire prison population (both women and men), about 70% were sentenced to up to one month, while 18% were sentenced to one to six months.[528] An example illustrates why they received short-term sentences. According to the 1933 Law, sex workers were not permitted to walk about the gates of the brothels to attract clients.[529] A 23-year-old prostitute, Fatma, who worked on Abanoz Street, was warned by the police because she was walking about the brothel entrance. She refused to go inside and later insulted the police officer. Consequently, she was sentenced to one month in prison and a payment of 30 Liras.[530]

Violence was part of everyday life in the vice districts. Indeed, police did not have the right to search enclosed places such as residences and workplaces at nighttime; yet brothels were excluded, and the red-light districts were under strict police surveillance all day long.[531] News about beatings, wounding, stabbing, and homicide—as well as resistance to police officers and assault on properties—were commonplace. The labels attributed to sex workers—such as *sermaye* (capital) and *uygunsuz kadın* (disorderly woman)—display that they were considered as commodities and were outside of mainstream society's social and moral sphere. Thus, violence towards these women who deviated from the "social order" could be viewed as a consequence of the "nature of the

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[528] G. Howland Shaw, *Strictly Confidential Report on "The Istanbul Central Prison and Its Inmates,"* 14 September 1932, 20-22. National Archives (United States), Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey.

[529] The Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Articles 67 and 68, Resmi Gazete, 23 November 1933.

[530] "Bir kadın mahkum oldu," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 July 1937.

[531] Cemalettin Fazıl, *Polisin Ceza Tatbikatı: İstanbul Polis Mektebinde Okutulan Dersler* (Istanbul: Cihan Kitaphanesi, 1933), 56-57.

profession." Other than crimes related to the sex trade—such as clandestine prostitution and trafficking—there was criminal behavior that had been associated with prostitution: namely gambling, use and sale of drugs, illegal sale of alcohol, and less related crimes like theft and robbery. Although prostitution and these criminal activities were not inherently related, the fact that all were criminalized may be the result of occurring in similar landscapes outside the view of the mainstream society.[532] Most of the articles depicting violence in the red-light districts are short pieces that state the names of both the victim and the offender, their places of residence, and how the incident occurred. They are devoid of any moral or political dimension. Additionally, I have not encountered cases that followed up on whether the culprit was sentenced, if they ran away and were either caught or not.

4.8.1 Marginalized Norms of Love: Taking a Lover (*Dost Tutmak*)

Even though the owners or managers of the brothels were usually women, men were also a part of the complex network of prostitution and crime. One pertinent example is the practice of "taking a lover (*dost tutmak*)." Prostitutes and their "partners/boyfriends/lovers" [533] had a complicated and sometimes interchangeable relationship, as a partner could also be a client or a pimp. The common norms of love, sexuality, and familial relationships among prostitutes and their partners/clients/pimps are more marginalized and alien compared to the conventional societal relations. I first depict

[532] Juhu Tuhukral, "Crime," *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, ed. Melissa Hope Ditmore (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), 122-124.

[533] Sometimes referred to as husband (*koca*).

the customs of taking a lover, and next describe various incidents regarding women being subjected to violence by their intimate partners.

Beler depicts the customs of taking a lover and how couples' relationships would become official in their community. The couple would not officially get married, but would rather be identified as "living in adultery (*dost hayatı yaşamak*)." As part of the custom, women would clean up at the bathhouse before the community ceremony took place. Other than paying for the dinner ceremony (*dost sofrası*), women had to buy patent leather slippers and silk pajamas for the men. The dinner ceremony would include alcohol and tapas, and music for entertainment. Other sex workers and the partner's friends would be invited to the ceremony. The accepted way (*racon*) of living together would involve not visiting women in the brothels, and not having romantic relationships with the women's friends and colleagues.[534] Three types of "lovers" were defined: Rich (*paralı*), lovesick men (*sevdalı*), and bullies (*belalı*). The rich were usually married, and wealthy, but old and ugly. Lovesick men were young, handsome, but broke. As for the bullies, they were notorious for being ruffians (*kabadayı*), who constantly got into trouble with the police.[535]

The story of Florina, who started as a prostitute and later became a brothel manager, sheds light on the partners' place in women's lives and the violence they faced. After being widowed at the age of twenty-two, she did not receive a marriage proposal for about two years. Subsequently, she started working at Eleni's brothel in the Tophane district. The manager later fired her because she was causing constant arguments and homicides. Later on, she took a lover named Arap (Arab) Ali. He secluded (*eve kapamak*) her in an apartment

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[534] Beler, *Beyoğlu Piliçleri*, 77-83.

[535] "Gördüklerim, duyduklarım: Eski Beyoğlunda dost tutma, sofra verme," *Akşam*, 15 January 1944.

in Galata. When he was shot and passed away, she took another lover, who was a friend of Ali, named Tosun. "After many lovers and sufferings," she established a small brothel in 1924 on Abanoz Street. Although she did not practice prostitution herself anymore, she had another partner, Arap Şükrü. Her story was unearthed when Şükrü stabbed her on her leg: "I have been doing this for over twenty years. A lot has happened to me, but it never made the news, now it will!"[536] The fact that she had experienced such incidents for more than two decades, but they never attracted someone else's attention until then, shows that violence was prevalent in the lives of sex workers but it was seldom discussed in public.

"Male friends" were obligated to protect women. In return, they lived off of women's livings.[537] However, violence was a pervasive part of their relationship. The incidents generally happened because of jealousy. For instance, Mehmed from Iran was already intoxicated when he visited his mistress in the Feridiye district. They started drinking alcohol during dinner. When they both got drunk, they started quarreling because of jealousy. Mehmet pulled out his knife, but the woman's colleagues attacked him and got the knife out of his hand. They then stabbed him on his crotch and his hip before "throwing him away" on the street.[538] Similarly, Mukaddes and her partner, Mahmut, started to argue when they were spending time at a pudding shop (*muhallebici*) in Taksim. Mukaddes was dangerously injured by her partner after the conflict.[539] Another prostitute named Nebahat, who worked for Marika on Zürafa Street, had a dispute with her boyfriend, Fehmi. When Marika heard the noises, she went upstairs and tried to interfere in the fight. However,

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[536] "Galatada Mumhane caddesinde geçen vaka: Şükrü bir laf söylemeden Florinayı bıçakla vurdu," *Yarın*, 17 May 1931.

[537] Wyers, "Selling Sex in Istanbul," 291-292.

[538] "Umumhanede bir vak'a," *Son Saat*, 1 February 1929.

[539] "Randevucu ağır yaralandı," *Vakit*, 14 November 1933.

Fehmi got angry because Marika was intervening in "their business," and he badly injured her with a knife.[540] Working at brothel number 25 on Abanoz Street, Hamiyet Onan was stabbed by her partner, Ali, after a squabble caused by jealousy.[541] In the same way, İlhan Özge stabbed his mistress, Rüşen Aykut, who worked on Abanoz Street, because of jealousy.[542]

Hüseyin Arslan stabbed his mistress, Hidayet Taşar, on her leg on Büyük Ziba Street. She was hospitalized, and the culprit was caught.[543] A previously convicted man, Kerim Alev, started a quarrel with his mistress, İzmaro İştirides, on Ziba Street because of jealousy and incompatibility. Her four relatives intervened in the fight, and Kerim stabbed both İzmaro and her relatives. The wounded were hospitalized, but the offender ran away.[544] These last two incidents did not specify that the women were sex workers. However, the fact that the incidents occurred in the red-light districts where other women were not usually present, and because the crimes included jealousy, these women were likely prostitutes.

Some incidents happened because of the "nature" of a woman's profession. For example, Agop stabbed and killed a tobacco factory worker named Hakkı after seeing him talking to his partner, Eftelya, on Abanoz Street. The offender ran away from the scene but was later caught by the police. The victim died in the hospital.[545] Similarly, because Kemal Akar was flirting with Perihan behind the windows on Abanoz Street, her partner Ziya

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[540] "Galata umumhanelerinde bir cinayet," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 December 1946.
[541] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 21 December 1952.
[542] "Bir Genelev Kadını Bıçaklandı," *Milliyet*, 26 March 1957.
[543] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 13 April 1952.
[544] "Bir sabıkalı beş kişiyi bıçakladı," *Milliyet*, 22 May 1954.
[545] "Beyoğlu'nda Bir cinayet: Bir kadın yüzünden bir adam öldürüldü," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 September 1931.

Kartan got angry. They began quarreling and Ziya stabbed Kemal. He got caught, and the victim was hospitalized.[546] In a like manner, Sabahat's face was cut with a razor blade by her partner, Hüseyin, because he dictated her not to work as a prostitute but had no success in forcing it.[547]

Beler mentions that sex workers were tremendously loyal to their partners. Because they were ostracized by mainstream society, they would do anything—even risk their lives—to maintain a close relationship.[548] One episode that occurred on Ziba Street depicts Beler's observations. Derviş stabbed Madam Fuli without "a legitimate reason." She had been his mistress for nineteen years. Even though Derviş stabbed her once before, she dropped the charges against him a second time because "she loved him so much."[549] Moreover, Elmas Topaloğlu, who worked in brothel number 6 on Zürafa Street, was looking for her partner, Ziya Ergün, in Çiçek Pasajı. At the same time, someone named Asım Özer was having a beer and he made improper remarks to Elmas. When she snapped at him, he insulted her. Ziya saw this situation and started a fight with Asım. Asım grabbed a bottle, but when Elmas got involved in the fight, she was the one who got wounded.[550] Besides, Şükrü Dinç stabbed his mistress, Bahriye, because of some disagreement.[551] Finally, a bargeman named Salih Tozkoparan, who was "in love" with Jale Erdinç, visited her in brothel number 4 on Abanoz Street. He threatened her: "Be my mistress otherwise I will kill you." He was later caught, and an investigation was started.[552]

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[546] "Genelevdeki metresini seyreden adamı yaraladı," *Milliyet*, 18 July 1956.
[547] "Yüzü jiletle doğranan kadın," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 September 1945.
[548] Beler, *Beyoğlu Piliçleri*, 76.
[549] "Vukuat: Beyoğlu'nda Bir Arabacı Metresini Yaraladı," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 February 1931.
[550] "Çiçek Pasajındaki kavga," *Milliyet*, 14 September 1954.
[551] "Kısa Haberler," *Milliyet*, 5 February 1956.
[552] "Bir mavnacı, bir kadını tehdit etti," *Milliyet*, 30 May 1956.

4.8.2 "Ordinary" Violence in the Realm of Prostitution

Beatings and death threats were part of the landscape of violence in the red-light districts. If not indicated otherwise, the following incidents happened on Abanoz Street or the victims worked in a brothel on Abanoz Street: For example, in Galata, drunken İsmail came across Suzan, who worked for Madam Mukaddes. He dragged the woman on the street by pulling her back. He was caught by the authorities.[553] Although the reason behind the incident was not mentioned, Fahrettin hit one of the sex workers of brothel number 31, named Latife. An investigation was initiated afterward.[554] The owner of brothel number 32, Naciye Ürer, who had 76 criminal records, reported that she was beaten by her son, Muammer Ziya. He also pulled out a knife and threatened to kill her. Muammer was not pleased because of her frequent visits to the nightclub (*saz salonu*) that she opened up for him. An investigation was initiated after her claim.[555] One *hacı*[556] named Murat started quarreling with Necibe. Because each of them accused the other of beating, the incident was passed to the court.[557] Another sex worker, Zehra Tamas, who worked in brothel number 12, reported that she was threatened with a knife by Zimmur.[558] Likewise, two men, Hasan and Hayrettin, were prosecuted because it was claimed that they pulled a knife on Bahriye and threaten her.[559] Lastly, Kadriye, who worked in brothel number 19,

[553] "Sokak ortasında," *Vakit*, 19 December 1933.
[554] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 28 September 1953.
[555] "Oğlu tarafından dövüldüğünü iddia etti," *Milliyet*, 21 July 1954; "Bir randevucu oğlu tarafından ölümle tehdid edilmiş," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 December 1953. Although the content of both pieces of news is the same, there is a conflict between dates.
[556] The title "Hajji/Haci" is ascribed to a person who has completed the Hajj pilgrimage.
[557] "Genelevde kavga çıkaran hacı!," *Milliyet*, 24 April 1956.
[558] "Kısa Haberler," *Milliyet*, 11 August 1955.
[559] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 31 January 1952.

reported that someone named Muzaffer threatened her by pulling out his knife. He was later caught.[560]

Women were not directly involved in some incidents, but violent acts occurred "for a woman." For example, Adnan and Hüseyin started to fight for a woman. A young man named Muhterem, who worked at a coffee shop, intervened in the fight and stabbed Hüseyin on seven parts of his body. The victim was hospitalized, but the culprit escaped.[561] Similarly, two friends, Tursun and Ali, quarreled over a woman, and the fight ended with Tursun stabbing Ali.[562] These articles create the perception that women were also responsible for these incidents even though they were not directly involved.

I have not encountered incidents involving guns in the newspapers. However, offensive acts using knives were common. Ömer was one of the clients of Fatma Saniye. She was stabbed by Ömer after their dispute. The victim was hospitalized, and the offender was caught the next morning.[563] Similarly, Nurten Özmen, one of the sex workers of brothel number 31, was stabbed by Mehmed.[564] Agop Fırtına injured Cemil Gürkan's face with a razor blade. She worked at brothel number 37.[565] In like manner, a young drunk man, named Selahaddin, heavily injured Nadire, who worked in brothel number 10, because she was not interested in him.[566] Zeki Ulu stabbed Roza Erken on seven parts of her body and ran away. She was later hospitalized.[567] Another woman, Takohi, who resided on Ziba Street, was stabbed by her stalker, a young man named Ali, who came out from a

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[560] "Tehdit etmiş!," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 July 1935.
[561] "Abanozda kanlı bir hadise oldu," *Milliyet*, 8 October 1953.
[562] "Kadın yüzünden...," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 September 1939.
[563] Abanoz sokağında bir cerh vak'ası, *Cumhuriyet*, 4 March 1941
[564] "Abanoz sokağında bir kadın bıçaklandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 November 1953.
[565] "Kısa Haberler," *Milliyet*, 9 February 1955.
[566] "Bir kadın yaralandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 March 1947.
[567] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 21 August 1954.

street corner and made an "indecent proposal." When he was rejected by Takohi, Ali pulled out his knife and injured her. He got caught and the victim was hospitalized.[568] Similarly, a drunken, "trouble lover" named Mustafa started quarreling with Leman, who worked at a brothel on Zürafa Street, and later stabbed her in various parts of her body.[569]

One incident reporting the murder of a sex worker depicts the brutal violence that women faced even though the vice zones were constantly "protected and surveilled" by the police. For instance, Lusi, who was working in Mari's brothel on Şeftali Street in Galata, was viciously stabbed. There were deep wounds to her heart and stomach, and her genitals were frittered. She was found by her colleague Katina in the morning. It was mentioned that Lusi spent the night with someone named Çakır. Hence, he was the prime suspect.[570] There were reports on suspicious deaths as well. For instance, a sex worker named Ayşe Muazzez, who resided on Zürafa Street, was found dead in her room. An investigation was initiated.[571] A factory worker, named Fikret, went to brothel number 18 with his friends. After "staying" with a sex worker, he felt suddenly sick. He later died at the hospital. An investigation commenced after his death.[572]

Violent acts were not merely committed by men. A news article titled "Zorlu Kadınmış (Tough Woman)" finds a violent act by a woman almost surprising: "Not every injury is made by a man to another man or woman. Very rarely, it is seen that women have taken criminal status." Porter Mevlüd met a prostitute named Nermin on Şerbethane Street in Galata. "Somehow," they started fighting. A "fiercely frustrated" Nermin heavily injured

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568 "Zabıta vak'aları", *Cumhuriyet,* 2 May 1941.
569 "Belalı aşık," *Cumhuriyet,* 13 October 1947.
570 "Galatada bir cinayet: Bir sermayeyi bıçakla öldürdüler," *Cumhuriyet,* 19 August 1929.
571 "Bir genel kadın odasında ölü olarak bulundu," *Milliyet,* 17 March 1954.
572 "Genel evde fenalaşan tornacı öldü," *Cumhuriyet,* 10 August 1956.

Mevlüd with a big, thick pitcher that was on the table. The police detained Nermin while the victim was hospitalized.[573] Another episode of assault happened when a drunken sex worker, named Zarife Yaman, caused trouble on Zürafa Street and hit and wounded two of her colleagues. An investigation was opened against her.[574]

Various incidents happened over disagreements about brothel fees. The law categorized places of prostitution and appointed different rates to each brothel to designate how much to pay in taxes. These rates were determined by the neighborhood where the brothel was located, its decoration and furnishings (*süslülük ve döşemeler*), client fees, and the number of women employed.[575] Although the amount of fees was not specified, it could be argued that these criteria for taxation were reflected in client fees at each brothel. This ambiguity in brothel fees could sometimes be one of the reasons for quarrels. Perhaps some brothels did not demand a fixed price but charged each client separately. For example, Nuri injured "one of the beautiful women (*dilber*)" of Abanoz, Margariti. He got intoxicated and decided to spend the night on Abanoz Street; however, he did not have sufficient money. Subsequently, a fight started, and Nuri injured her. Margariti was hospitalized but Nuri ran away.[576] Similarly, after drinking in various taverns, İbrahim went to Aysel's brothel (number 18). Because there was a dispute about the price, he "kicked and punched" Aysel. She was hospitalized and legal action was initiated against him.[577] In the same way, Rıza Kalyoncu entered brothel number 19 and attempted to beat two sex workers because of

573 "Zorlu Kadınmış: Nermin Hamal Mevludu Yaraladı," *Son Posta*, 28 April 1935.
574 "Kontrolsuzluktan genel evler sabaha kadar açık kalıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 June 1962.
575 The Regulation for the Struggle against Prostitution and Venereal Diseases Spread by Prostitution [*Fuhuşla ve Fuhuş Yüzünden Bulaşan Hastalıklarla Mücadele Nizamnamesi*], Section 3, Articles 116 and 117, Resmi Gazete, 23 November 1933.
576 "Bir sarhoş, bir fahişeyi vurarak kaçtı…," *Son Saat*, 27 October 1929.
577 "Genel ev sahiplerini döven sarhoş," *Milliyet*, 4 June 1951.

money. He was later caught.[578] Finally, Kadriye Güven, who worked in brothel number 39, claimed that she was beaten and suffered an affront by one of her clients, Tarkun Haçadoryan, because of a disagreement about the payment. The client was later caught by the police.[579]

Some were prosecuted because of damaging property and resisting police. For example, Hasan smashed the windows of the brothel in Galata that was managed by Madam Hrisanti. He also threatened her. The reason behind his act was not specified.[580] Similarly, three "buddies (*kafadar*)," Fethi, Ömer and İbrahim, smashed the windows of Agavni's brothel on Büyük Ziba Street because they were not allowed in.[581] In the same way, Şeref and Necmi kicked the doors of Gülüzar's brothel on Kalyoncukulluğu Street because they were not able to enter, and later insulted the police. Necmi was arrested while Şeref was put on trial without arrest.[582] Two drunken men, Ahmed and Muammer, wanted to enter Madam Klantini's brothel. When they were rejected of an entrance, they broke the windows in addition to insulting the police captain at the station.[583] Three men tried to enter a brothel after midnight. The madam of the house told them they could not welcome any clients after midnight. They beat the manager and when the police officers tried to calm them down, they resisted and cursed at the authorities. The required legal procedure was carried out.[584] In the same way, Nevzat Belirdin and Bülent Demirbilek were prosecuted because they resisted the police. These drunken relatives banged on the brothel doors

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[578] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 25 November 1952.
[579] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 6 May 1953.
[580] "Umumhaneye Taarruz Etmiş," *Son Posta*, 4 April 1931.
[581] "Umumhaneyi Taşlamışlar," *Son Posta*, 6 June 1935.
[582] "Kapıya Dayanmışlar," *Son Posta*, 24 March 1935.
[583] "Adliyede: İki sarhoş suçlu tevkif edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 August 1938.
[584] "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 25 August 1954.

around four o'clock in the morning. The men made a scene because they were not allowed in the houses. When the officers tried to calm them down, they resisted the police.[585] A drunken man, Ali Mahir, caused a scene and attacked the police when the officers tried to calm him down. Subsequently, he was sent to the court.[586] Three drunken men from Rize tried to provoke a quarrel in brothel number 3. Legal action was initiated.[587] Lastly, a drunken man, named Basri, attacked one of the brothels after midnight.[588]

Drug-related crimes were also reported in the newspapers. For instance, during a police raid, 35 packages of heroin and a fair amount of marijuana were found in Şükrü's coffee house on Abanoz Street.[589] Similarly, during a drug raid in a coffee house on Zürafa Street, the police discovered "11 pieces of marijuana" placed in a plastic duck based on the waiter Fikri Dinler's suspicious behaviors.[590] Another article reveals that the police discovered 540 grams of marijuana along with a 16 cm wedge on Zürafa Street.[591] Although these articles exhibit that only men were involved in the drug industry, it is possible to imagine women taking part as well.

Finally, imposters were also a part of street life in the red-light districts. For instance, Tahsin Çönever pretended to be a journalist on Zürafa Street. He made a scene after it was discovered that he was not a police officer. He was taken to court.[592] A seaman,

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[585] "Rezalet çıkaran iki sarhoş adliyeye verildi," *Milliyet*, 15 March 1955.

[586] "Kısa Şehir Haberleri," *Milliyet*, 11 July 1951; "Polise karşı koyan sarhoş yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 July 1951.

[587] "Polis tarama ekiplerinin faaliyeti," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 November 1947.

[588] "Kısa Haberler," *Milliyet*, 31 May 1955.

[589] "Vukuat: Beyoğlu Barlarında Taharriyat Yapıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 April 1932.

[590] "Bir plastik ördeğin içinde esrar bulundu", *Cumhuriyet*, 14 October 1962

[591] "Bir esrar satıcısı yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 March 1962

[592] "Kendisine gazeteci süsü veren biri yakalandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 November 1951. The next day, Milliyet published another news depicting the same story but the imposter's last name was spelled as "Güvener" and the event took place in Ziba. Intuitively, both articles were based on the same event. See "Poliste," *Milliyet*, 6 November 1951.

named Mehmet, also pretended to be a police officer and later got caught.[593] Another seaman, İbrahim, who worked as a waiter on a ship, also pretended to be a police inspector on Abanoz Street.[594] Likewise, Hasan Güllü introduced himself as a police officer especially to sex workers on Zürafa Street.[595] Lastly, two drunken men introduced themselves as "brothel inspectors," a job that did not exist, and gave orders to the madams on Abanoz Street. When they revealed their cover because of their exaggerated behavior, the police intervened.[596]

It was difficult for women in the sex trade to get out of the network of prostitution. In addition to struggling with the debtor system, they were also under the surveillance of brothel managers. They were vulnerable to various forms of violence on a daily basis. Those who could not leave the profession must have adapted to the customs of the sex trade. One pertinent example was their relationship with their partners outside of the "social order." Because the police archive did not survive to this day, it is not an easy task to understand the extent of violence that the sex workers faced. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw a sample of where, in what ways, and for what reasons these women were subjected to violent acts based on the snippets of newspaper articles.

4.9 Conclusion

The lives of female sex workers have entered the subject matters of the recent scholarship in the context of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. The attempt to

[593] "Kısa Haberler," *Milliyet*, 5 February 1956.
[594] "Sahte müfettiş," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 February 1956.
[595] "Kendini polis olarak tanıtan genç," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 April 1961.
[596] "İki sarhoşun icad ettiği yeni meslek!," *Milliyet*, 1 December 1956.

reconstruct their daily lives is not an easy task because of the scarcity of materials. The archives that potentially housed information on individual women have disappeared. To tell the stories of these women, I have first started with the urban scale and gradually narrowed the scope to the building scale. Because of the assumption that prostitutes and the places associated with them would corrupt the "honorable women," sex workers were aimed to be isolated in vice zones. The decisions and locations of vice zones and places of treatment provide insight into the construction of gendered spaces. The streets designated as red-light districts in the Republican period were the same areas from the late Ottoman period. They were in the city center, where a large number of city inhabitants were frequented. Contrary to the regulations, red-light districts were located within the vicinity of schools and religious buildings. Hence, it could be argued that the isolation of these spaces from the public was not as successful as imagined by the authorities, since those women were still visible to the public eye.

As sex workers were scapegoats for venereal diseases in general and the syphilis epidemic in particular, they were under strict medical surveillance. In addition to brothels, hospitals, private medical offices, and dispensaries were part of their everyday lives. By mapping the fragmented data from telephone directories and address books, I have demonstrated that private medical practices were clustered around the vice zones. Additionally, my findings regarding the street level show that state-initiated regulations affected the streetscape and everyday lives of women and their clients. There were conflicts between the state's imagination and the flow of everyday life as pickpocketing became an unintended consequence in the vice zones. Finally, portraying varying forms and expressions of violence that was a large part of the lives of prostitutes helps to understand

their vulnerability and situate them in their rightful urban settings. Overall, my goal is to provide insights into the lives and work conditions of sex workers in their urban setting, as these often invisible and marginalized women are underrepresented in state documents.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have aimed to recover the stories of urban women from various social standings. They were directly or indirectly targeted by the Republican reformation efforts in the areas of modernization of urban life, industrial production, and public health. Urban everyday life cannot be subjected to definite categorization, and city inhabitants do not internalize the top-down decisions immediately. Although both urban and political spheres are interconnected, "modernization" was not driven solely by top-down decisions. Besides, executions of the reforms varied and took different forms through regional characteristics, socioeconomic classes, and gender. The three constituents of the dissertation—female city inhabitants, state-led reforms, and urban spaces—are intertwined. The impositions specified in the regulations changed the urban space, and hence the everyday lives of women. On another note, the urban environment was where gendered interactions were more documented (as compared to private spaces). Thus, urban spaces provide a convenient setting where women's lives can be analyzed, as it is more feasible to read the stories of women through the urban lens via archival evidence.

The first part of this research proceeds through urban spaces (public squares) and reveals the stories of various women, while the latter parts focus on different groups of women (factory workers and prostitutes) and examine their experiences in different urban spaces. These two approaches to conduct case studies seek to draw attention to the potentials of investigating everyday life and uncovering underrepresented stories. Rather than concentrating on one group of women, I examine women from diverse backgrounds to provide a more comprehensive narrative on women's quotidian lives in Istanbul.

Recovering untold stories of the women in urban settings shaped by the state is not an easy task. State-oriented documents are generally gender blind and the archives that potentially housed information on individual women have disappeared. However, this dissertation has demonstrated possible ways of how this could be achieved. Although most of the women I examine did not leave extensive material, their presence in urban spaces made varying interpretations possible. Some women, such as Nimet Özden and Nebahat Erkal, fall under the umbrella of microhistory. While for others, it was still conceivable to reconstruct a glimpse of their quotidian lives employing a variety of evidence. To achieve this, I have juxtaposed various forms of sources such as photographs and newspaper clippings with state-led documentation, along with using sources that are not directly related to the investigation at hand, such as telephone directories, address books, and literary writings.

This research also investigates the overlooked female users of the Republican urban intervention, particularly public squares, and reveals a sample of the diverse user experiences. The case studies demonstrate how difficult it had been for women to take part in public spaces as professionals such as female scriveners and ticket collectors. Additionally, I analyze two cases of successful female entrepreneurs, Nimet and Nebahat, who were the breadwinners of their households. Although the public had been highly familiar with Müzeyyen Senar, I examine Senar not individually, but within a network of other artists, the audience, and the places she had performed such as radio, recording studios, and *gazinos*. This further makes it possible to bring both her individuality and other agents into a more complex network of the entertainment scene.

In addition to revealing untold stories and situating women to their rightful settings, this dissertation has also intended to reveal a separate account of Turkish modernization by revealing the contradictions between materiality and representation. I do not claim that such contradictions occurred nation-wide. The city provides a valuable sample for understanding the user experience as the nation is too broad to grasp the nuanced stories. This research complicates the Republican modernization project by emphasizing the differences in implementation in specific urban settings and what was imagined in theory. One pertinent example is the realities of the work conditions of female industrial laborers and what was imposed and/or imagined on paper. Gendered divisions produced different outcomes for women and men laborers. Although both Defterdar Textile and Cibali Tobacco factories were reorganized administratively and spatially by the new regime, women worked in poorly ventilated, disorganized, narrow, and compact spaces. The interests of female workers were secured and social assistance was provided by the Labor Act, but technicalities had conflicts with the realities as in the case of Defterdar Textile Factory, where there were no childcare facilities. In addition to this difficulty, insufficient spatial qualities of the medical facilities and shop floors brought occupational circulatory and respiratory diseases.

The state sought to keep prostitutes and brothels away from the public; but by assigning new vice zones in the center, the authorities were in contradiction to the regulation. The vice zones had to be far from the "honorable public," schools, and religious buildings. The segregation of these places was not as effective as the state anticipated because these women were still visible and displaying "unwanted images." One of the bases of the isolation efforts was to initiate strict surveillance of women and the prostitution

zones. Because of the regulations regarding the building scale, women were prevented from attracting potential customers outside of the brothels. Consequently, pickpocketing became an unintended consequence in the landscape of red-light districts. Additionally, it is unfortunately not possible to state that surveillance of these zones prioritized women's safety. Various forms and manifestations of violence were a large part of the lives of sex workers. By revealing fragmented news pieces on violent acts faced by sex workers, I have provided insight into their vulnerability and the prevalent forms of violence within the network of the sex trade.

5.1 Imagined Subtle Connections and Intersected Worlds

Although the women I investigate had separate lives and stories from each other, various encounters might have occurred in the city. Imagining subtle connections between these women from various social standings provides clues about the grift structure of urban life. To illustrate, women who planned to attend a ballroom night at the Taksim Municipality Gazino could have obtained their tickets from Nimet Abla's lottery store.[597] It would be safe to predict that a woman with European taste, like Nebahat Erkal, could have socialized in Taksim Municipality Gazino. It could also be possible for female workers gathering, bringing food from home, and listening to Müzeyyen Senar live at women matinees. Perhaps an illiterate women worker, who was reluctant to face authority but had trouble with a governmental body, dictated her petition to a female scrivener. Others may have encountered women ticket collectors while traveling. A newspaper article highlights an

[597] Her store was one of the designated places where the invitations could be obtained to ballroom nights at Büyükdere Beyaz Park (*Milliyet*, 25 August 1956), Bebek (*Cumhuriyet*, 15 August 1957), and Maksim (*Milliyet*, 6 January 1959) *gazinos*.

interesting proposal for women who had economic hardship and became prostitutes. It was indicated that to save them from this dishonest living, the Public Health Directorate requested their employment in the tobacco storages of the Monopolies Public Directorate.[598] We do not have further information on whether this recommendation was implemented. However, as mentioned in Chapter 4, employing sex workers at ateliers was also proposed in the late Ottoman period to "save" them from the sex industry.[599] Conversely, Suat Derviş writes about a tobacco worker who was discharged because she suffered from tuberculosis. In great economic hardship, the woman tries to find the money for her son's urgent treatment all night. In the end, she would not have any options but to sell her body.[600] Although these women had different lives and experiences from one another, it is possible to imagine that some encounters and intersections took place within the complex urban experience.

5.2 Future Research

It is possible to argue that the experiences of women depicted in this dissertation were shared by their counterparts in other countries. Therefore, a comparison of women's experiences and roles in society in other contexts with their Republican contemporaries has the potential to deepen the analysis of whether any of the circumstances and interactions were universal. One can expect, for example, to observe homogeneous everyday lives between European and American factory workers and their counterparts in Istanbul. Similarly, because the laws on prostitution were based on the French system, there may be

[598] "İşsiz kadınlara İş bulunacak," *Milliyet,* 15 May 1934.
[599] Karakışla, "Askeri dikimevlerinde işe alınan Müslüman Fahişeler." 98-101.
[600] Suat Derviş, *İstanbul'un Bir Gecesi* (Istanbul: İthaki, 2018).

similarities between daily experiences. I plan to address the assumptions on differences and similarities in my future work.

I also aim to extend my implications by utilizing a larger body of subjects. The possibility of recovering multiple voices proves important to fully understand the experiences of women. For example, I anticipate unraveling a network of seamstresses and their clients. This would provide a thorough picture of the dressmaking industry in Beyoğlu and its actors. To achieve this, I expect to unearth more detailed information on the seamstresses and discover new names through oral history and women's magazines and newspapers that I have not yet examined. By doing so, I will add triangulations to my analysis. Likewise, further investigation of female vocal artists, dancers, and other agents in the entertainment industry is needed to fully understand the extent of their experiences in the city. Also, the city needs to be more intertwined into these untold stories. By incorporating urban fabric more strongly, I will develop further connections between different narratives and connect the stories to their urban environment in a more comprehensive way.

Finally, some of the notions such as "visibility" and the portrayal of the "ideal Republican woman" need further analysis. I plan to reevaluate and expand on the theoretical framework by incorporating other models and theories to historically explore these concepts in detail. To accomplish this, I will incorporate class analysis and gender theory in my future work.

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