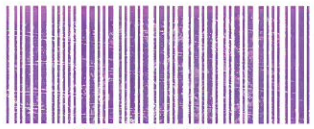


Kadın / Woman 2000 ● Aralık / December 2001 ● Cilt / Volume II ● Sayı / Issue 2

# Kadın / Woman 2000

Cilt / Volume II ● Sayı / Issue 2  
Eastern Mediterranean University Press

ISSN :1302-9916



1302 9916

Baskı: Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Basımevi  
Print : Eastern Mediterranean University Printing-house  
www.emu.edu.tr e-mail:info@emu.edu.tr



**Kadın /Woman 2000**

**Aralık / December 2001**  
**Cilt/Volume: II Sayı/Issue: 2**

Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi

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ISSN 1302-9916

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ISSN 1302-9916

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**CENTER FOR WOMAN STUDIES**  
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**Language**

Turkish / English

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e-mail: woman2000@emu.edu.tr

© 2001 Eastern Mediterranean University Press  
ISSN 1302-9916

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## Sunuş

*KADIN / WOMAN 2000*, ikinci cildinin ikinci sayısı ile yeniden bilim dünyasına katkıda bulunmanın onurunu yaşamaktadır. *KADIN / WOMAN 2000*'i bir milenyum eseri olarak sunmuştu. Ve şimdi de üçüncü bin yılın ilk yılını eskitirken iki sayıyı içeren bir cilt sunmak bize büyük mutluluk vermiştir. Bu derginin yayınlanma kararını alırken bunca emek isteyebileceğini şüphesiz düşünmemiştik. Ancak makaleler çoğaldıkça işin ne denli güç olduğu ve zaman gerektirdiği açığa çıktı. Ama bizim için bir o kadar da zevkli bir iş oldu. Özellikle çok farklı bilim alanları ve disiplinler arası çalışmalar, bizi kendi alanımızın kabuğu dışına çıkardı ve farklı alanlardaki meslektaşlarımız ile iletişimimizin artması yönünden olumlu bir adım oldu. Şubat ayında başlayan, Amerika'da meydana gelen terörist saldırı sonrası da bir darbe daha yiyen Türk ekonomisindeki uzun krize karşın, dergimizi sürdürmek, zorluklara rağmen yılmadan devam ettirmek azmindeyiz. Bu üzücü olayların yanısıra tutucu iktidarların baskısı altında yaşamlarını devam ettiren kadınlar adına üzüntülerimizi ifade ederken bilimsel çalışmalarla onlara destek vereceğimizi göstermek istiyoruz.

Bu sayıda cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadın konularını irdeleyen ekoloji bilimi, dilbilim ve sosyoloji bilimleri yanında halk edebiyatından mimariye kadar uzanan geniş bir konu zenginliği sunuyoruz. Sunduğumuz ilk makale, çevre ve ekoloji bilimlerine ait olup, ortadoğu ülkeleri için yeni olan bir konuda savaşım vermiş öncü bir Türk kadınının tanıtımını amaçlamaktadır. Değerli Türk bilim kadını Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan-Unat'ın hazırladığı bu çalışmada Türkiye'de yeni bir alan olan ekofeminizmin öncülüğünü yapanlardan Günseli Tamkoç'un yaşam öyküsü ile çevre, demokrasi ve barış yolunda yaptığı çalışmalar, ekofeminizm ile ilgili bilgiler ışığında aktarılmıştır. Dilbilim çalışmaları bağlamında yabancı sözcüklere karşı olan tutumun Kıbrıs ağzındaki yerinin saptanması konusunda cinsiyet olgusunun önemli bir yer tuttuğu tezi, Yard. Doç. Dr. Necdet Osam tarafından geniş çaplı bir anket ışığında yaptığı değerlendirmeler sonucu desteklenmeye çalışılmıştır. Eski Türk toplumlarını anlatan Dede Korkut Hikayeleri üzerinde kadının toplumdaki yerini belirleme amacı ile yapılan metin irdelemesi Doç. Dr. Şeyma Güngör tarafından kaleme alındı. Mukaddes Faslı ve Doç. Dr. Uğur Dağlı'nın birlikte hazırladıkları makalede de kentsel plânlama içinde çağlar boyu kadınların dış mekânla olan ilişkisi ele alınmış ve günümüz apartmanlaşması içinde ortaya çıkan sorunlar bir anket sonucu tespit edilerek, öneriler getirilmiştir. Yard. Doç. Dr. Burcu Özgüven Avrupalı gezginlerin düşlerinde faztazilerle canlandırdıkları, hep esir pazarı diye tuvallerine veya yazılarına işledikleri İstanbul ve diğer kentlerdeki Avrat Pazarı'nın gerçekte kadınların sosyal yaşamlarında olan önemini vurgulamış ve İstanbul'daki Avrat Pazarı'nı sanat tarihi yönünden ele almıştır. Türkçe olarak yazılan son makalede ise Yard. Doç. Dr. Hanife Aliefendioğlu ile Dr. Mustafa Özbilgen'in "Kadın, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik Araştırmalarında Araştırmacı ve Katılımcı İlişkisi: Yeni Arayışlar ve Yönelimler" adlı çalışmalarında, araştırmalarda kullanılan yöntemler üzerinde cinsiyetin rolünün ne olduğu irdelenmiştir. Ve yine beş kitap tanıtımı sunarak yeni veya güncelliğini koruyan yayınların tanıtımını gerçekleştirmeyi amaçladık.

*KADIN / WOMAN 2000* her sayısında baştan beri hedeflediği bilimsel niteliklerini sürdürmeyi ve hatta arttırmayı hedeflemektedir. Dergimizde yayınlanan tüm çalışmaların bilim dünyasına katkıda bulunması en büyük arzumuzdur. Gelecek sayıdan itibaren *KADIN / WOMAN 2000* konuları doğrultusunda sempozyum duyuruları ve diğer önemli etkinlikleri de duyurmayı amaçlamakta olup, kurumlar tarafından gönderilecek bu tür haberlere yer vermeyi tasarlamıştır. Bu cildi ortaya çıkarmamızda tüm emeği geçenlere bir kez daha yürekten teşekkürlerimizi sunar, 2002 yılının tüm insanlığa mutluluk ve esenlikler getirmesini dileriz.

**Doç. Dr. Netice Yıldız**  
**KADIN / WOMAN 2000**  
**Yayın Kurulu Başkanı**

### From The Editor

The journal KADIN / WOMAN 2000 is one of the products of the last millennium. With the publication of the 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of the 2<sup>nd</sup> volume, we are happy to greet the first year of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium with revived hopes after the economical crisis that began in Turkey last February. We would also like to express our condolences to the families of the victims of September 11<sup>th</sup> and for the terrible treatment of women in certain underdeveloped countries under the ban of religion fanaticism.

The six articles appeared in the 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of KADIN / WOMAN 2000 published in December 2001 in one volume together with the June 2001 issue, range from ecology, linguistics, folk literature and architecture. The first article reflects upon an environmental and ecological study areas, a subject rather new for the Turkish scholars. We are grateful to Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan-Unat from Bogaziçi University, the well known Turkish scholar in woman studies who contributed to KADIN / WOMAN 2000 providing a biographical study about Günseli Tamkoç. Tamkoç is one of the women who started the eco-feminist and deep-ecology movement in Turkey, which aims to protect the environment as well as democracy, moral values and peace. The paper entitled "A Sex Related Study in Word Choice: The Case of Turkish Cypriots" by Assist. Prof. Dr. Necdet Osam is a linguistic study examining sexual differences embedded in language. An analysis of the position of women in the family and as a spouse as revealed by early Turkic societies by means of folk stories of Dede Korkut, is a study of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şeyma Güngör. The paper written by Mukaddes Faslı and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Uğur Dağlı looks at the case of the changing role of Cypriot women in urban residential exterior spaces. The paper is based on a questioner which shows the changes through which women lost the traditional life style. Suggestions are made for improving the building context to increase exterior spaces for the benefit of women in order to carry on a more involved social life. Assist. Prof. Dr. Bucu Özgüven has written an art history study regarding market places in the Ottoman Empire and deals with a particular case. The case of Avrat Pazarı in İstanbul, which was a centre of social life for women in the past although this place was wrongly interpreted by the European authors and artists as an exotic place where slaves are sold. The last article written by Assist. Prof. Dr. Hanife Aliefendioğlu and Dr. Mustafa F. Özbilgin in Turkish is a social anthropology study dealing with various methodologies for discovering the importance of gender in the surveys applied to feminist studies.

Five book reviews are also published in the journal and share a common theme, which are concerned with gender studies.

It is the aim of KADIN / WOMAN 2000 to continue to improve its quality and publish scholarly articles in the aid of furthering understanding. We welcome announcements for academic activities such as call for papers for symposiums or projects, which will be included in the 'News' section beginning with the next issue. We wish the best in 2002 to all human beings.

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Netice Yıldız**  
**KADIN / WOMAN 2000**  
**Chief Editor**

## **A Biography: An Adamant Defender of 'Deep Ecology' and Ecofeminism: Günseli Tamkoç (1921-1998)**

Nermin Abadan-Unat\*  
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### **Abstract**

*This paper is dedicated to the memory of a dear, lifelong friend, Günseli Tamkoç, who until she passed away strived to surpass the socially accepted values, mores and attitudes and fought for the acknowledgement of new concepts such as "deep ecology", "eco-feminism" and peace movements. Although not interested in large-scale political movements, she progressively became a genuine fighter for local democracy, political participation and networks.*

### **Introduction: Biography of Günseli Tamkoç**



Günseli Tamkoç was born in February 1921 in Kalecik, near Ankara. Her father Dr. Hilmi Tamkoç was a wellread physician, whose whole career was dedicated to public health. A distant relative of the family was the famous Ottoman statesman and poet Ziya Paşa (1825-1880). As one of the most influential Ottoman intellectuals Ziya Paşa, particularly in his late years, attempted to introduce Western values and democratic attitudes through his articles in the newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Muhbir*. Similar to her ancestor, Günseli Tamkoç who also fought in her later years for new outlooks, opening the path for a new understanding of our legacy regarding nature and the status of women.

\* Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan-Unat, Boğaziçi University, Turkey. Department of International Relations, Bebek İstanbul.



After completing primary school, Günseli was sent as a boarding student to the Arnavutköy Kız Koleji in İstanbul where she acquired the English language and passion for literature. The appointment of her father as head of the Public Health Department in the district of Çeşme and İzmir caused her transfer to İzmir Girl's Lyceum in 1937. Completing her secondary education, Günseli Tamkoç opted for the English Department of the Faculty of Language, Geography and History, Ankara University. Due to her excellent command of Language, she graduated in three years in 1943 and entered the British Council as translator. In 1948, she married Naci Tilev, a geologist who recently returned from Switzerland. Her two sons, Murat and Fatih were born in Ankara in the 50s. Around 1955 she transferred to the Institute of Public Administration of Turkey and the Middle East (TO-DAIE) where she gained, among others, a deep and lasting friendship with Dr. Fatma Mansur. Toward the end of the 50s, her marriage was dissolved. Some time later, she married Dr. İhsan Kuntbay. This marriage also lasted only a few years. Meanwhile, Günseli Tamkoç had moved to the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance and became greatly interested in the field of social work.

During the early sixties, with the help of a UN scholarship, she went to Ann Arbor, where she obtained an M.A. degree in social work. After her return to Ankara, she continued to work in the Ministry of Health where she participated in a number of seminars and workshops in Pakistan and Great Britain. In 1965, she decided to move to the USA, where her brother, Metin Tamkoç, an academician in international law was teaching at Texas Technical University, Lubbock. The next 15 years were spent mostly in North Carolina where Günseli Tamkoç taught social work. During those fifteen years in the States, she reconsidered her primary values and gradually lost interest in the social work and started to study all aspects of environmentalism. This change in outlook was the motive to analyze the premises of the so-called "new age" and the scope of its movements. It is also during this period that she decided to become a vegetarian.

Günseli Tamkoç openly declared that she was a foe of institutionalized religion. Strongly influenced by her mother, who was a devoted Mevlevi disciple, that is, Günseli's moral code was mostly derived from Mehri Baba, a Hindu guru, living in India, whose writing she often quoted. After having taught and carried out practical social work with her students while, financing the higher education of her sons, she decided in 1990 to return home. Not willing to tolerate the stress, noise and smog of a big city, particularly Ankara, she followed the steps of her close friend, Dr. Fatma Mansur and opted to settle down in Bodrum. After completing her house there, she worked uninterruptedly in the peninsula of Muğla with the women of the surrounding villages. She collaborated with different associations while creating programs for children who are in need. Her belief in a healthy surrounding made her a local leader who went with her friends to clean the soiled beaches of Bodrum. Indifferent to being called "the garbage collecting old lady" she inspired a civic sense of responsibility in a large number of local inhabitants for a clean and healthy environment. Constantly reading recent literature on the relevant issues, she began to publish a new journalism, which included articles about ecology, particularly deep ecology and eco-feminism. Over time her beliefs became crystallized. When she assumed the task to become the first president of the Bodrum branch of the Association for the Promotion of Contemporary Living (Çağdaş Yaşam Derneği), she exemplified democratic le-

adership while establishing a number of committees and also tried to accustom her immediate circle in the practice of democratic participation.

Concentrating on ecology, she took a very clear position on this nebulous and many times misinterpreted issue. Her preference was for a "deep ecology". She edited a book on this subject, which soon after its publication became a textbook in courses on urbanism and environmental issues. Thus she distinctly separated herself from protagonists of environmental protection. Her choice made her do a close study in ecofeminism. During her last years, she totally dedicated herself to the protection of nature and sustainable growth. This outlook eventually led her to sympathize with peace movements, particularly with the attempt to bring Greek and Turkish women closer together. Her last participation in a public meeting was during her trip to the island of Kos, where under the leadership of Zeynep Oral, a group of Turkish women together with their Greek counterpart, led by Ms. Papandreou, tried to delineate a common policy of good will. The meeting on Kos (Sakız) island took place on April 30-May 3, 1998. In the same year, because of a fast spreading cancer she passed away in İstanbul on July 9.

Summing up, Günseli Tamkoç represented her generation by trying to use the new freedoms republican Turkey had given to its women. Although she was a sincere Kemalist, however her interest in politics started only in her late years. She was a liberal, convinced of the superiority of democratic participation in all situations of the public life. Her belief in the importance of education and its secular basis was decisive. She loved her sons and grandchildren. Unable to cope with the heat during the summer in Bodrum, she managed to build herself a summerhouse near her brother's home in Çeşme. For her, the big tree in front of her bedroom was like a real friend to whom she would talk in her lonely moments.

Günseli was one of those democrat women who managed with patience and without publicity to implant the new concepts she had acquired abroad and at home over the years in her immediate surrounding, and later through some articles in small weeklies. The following will elaborate what has been her understanding of "deep ecology"?

### Deep Ecology

A French social scientist Luc Ferry in his book *Le Nouvel Ordre Ecologique* (1995) emphasizes the fact that ecology is not only "the science of the natural habitat or the justified worry to preserve the environment." This movement also represents a rising political force. Although the said subject supports different approaches, they all share a common concern: the status of nature in regard to the human being.

On one hand those partisans of ecology who are labeled, as "superficial" desire to protect the environment of the human being thus safeguard a certain quality of life. On the other hand "deep ecology" "which is closely related to the liberation of animals and ecofeminism-considers Nature as a quasi-entity, anterior and superior of man, which needs to be respected on its own. Partisans of this type of "radical ecology" reject an anthropocentric and technical vision of the world, which represents the major characteristics of western modernity. For them the dictum of Descartes "we should become master and owner of nature" is to be negated. According to radical ecologists, the Declaration of Human

Rights of 1789 reflects a "Cartesian Humanism" which is nothing else than pure tyranny. In order to modify this approach, a total decentration has to be realized, aiming at abolishing all privileges granted to man in order to acknowledge animal rights and nature as a whole, which is a moral and legal status, which surmounts the human being.

Defined in this way, deep ecology amounts to a counter-cultural environmentalism. According to one of its best-known representatives, the Norwegian writer Arne Naess, the basic principles of "deep ecology" are as follows:

- 1) The well-being and flourishing of human and non human Life on Earth have value in themselves. These values are independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes.
- 2) Richness and diversity of life contributes to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves.
- 3) Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.
- 4) The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of non-human life requires such a decrease.
- 5) Present human interference with the non-human world is excessive and the situation is rapidly worsening.
- 6) Policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present.
- 7) The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent value) rather than adhering to an increasingly high standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between big and great. Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes. (Naess, 1994)

In the late 70s, other radical ecologists went further. Their utopian vision of a new world order led them to resist public work, even going as far as forming independent tribes "who became "eco-guerillas". In the 1990's radical ecologists engaged in a fierce fight against anybody wearing animal furs. Parallel to these developments, which were based on action, an additional philosophical approach became influential in the thinking of these ecologists. (Merchant, 1980)

In particular the German philosopher Hans Jonas, in his essay entitled "The principle of responsibility" discussed the controversy between the acceleration of scientific progress and "progress" containing terrible threats. (Jonas, 1984) According to Jonas, the question is not what kind of future is waiting for us but whether the extension of our power does not render us responsible for the future of all humanity. According to this philosopher, "humanity has no right to suicide!" He demands recognition of the biosphere and argues that this responsibility falls totally upon the shoulders of mankind. Finally, the new conceptualization of time has to be mentioned. Contemporary sociology makes a distinction between a) clock time, b) Timeless time and c) glacial time. According to Lash and Urry, the notion of glacial time implies that "the relation between humans and nature is very long-term and evolutionary. It moves back out of immediate human history and forwards into

a wholly unspecified future." (Lans & Urry, 1994) This is exactly what makes the environmentalists insist on the matter of "legacy". According to them, glacial time means to measure our life by the life of our children, and of the children of our children. The best example is the anti-nuclear movement: its basic idea is that we have to consider the safety of generations to come. Thus the ecologists have created a new identity, which they call biological identity. This socio-biological identity does not imply denial of historical cultures. Ecologists bear respect for folk cultures, but they consider as their enemy state nationalism. One of the founders of the Green Party, Petra Kelly said "We must learn to think and act from our hearts, to recognize the interconnectedness of all living creatures." (Kelly, 1994) All these concepts are sympathetic with certain status of women issues and thus lead us to a new form of feminism, namely ecofeminism.

### Ecofeminism

The field has grown immensely since the term (*eco-feminisme*) was coined in 1972 by Françoise d'Eaubonne in *La féminisme ou la mort*. (d' Eaubonne, 1974) How does ecology and feminism meet? In the absolute respect for nature as the foundation of liberation from both patriarchalism and industrialism, they see women as victims of the same patriarchal violence that is inflicted upon nature. And so the restoration of natural rights are inseparable from women's liberation. According to Judith Plant (Plant, J. & Plant, C. 1992), "Ecology speaks for the earth, for the 'other' in human / environmental relations. And ecofeminism, by speaking for the original others, seeks to understand the interconnected roots of all domination, and ways to resist to change."

Recently several extremely interesting approaches have been developed. One of them involves "Ecofeminism meeting business". Chris Crittenden tries to develop an ecofeminist capitalism model which will promote moral and psychological health. (Crittenden, 1998) Crittenden sharply criticizes intensive factory farming; he favours ecocentric awareness bringing harmony at all level of holism: self, family, community, bio-region, nation-state and the global environment.

Ecofeminists have astutely criticized the masculinist bias in the daily functioning of the environmental movement and played an important role in the growing challenge to the modern model of "development". Most ecofeminist activists are engaged with grassroots political work, whether or not they identify with any particular party, movement, or ideology. Many ecofeminists work in the Green politics movement because the democratic, community-based and the ecological Green political vision includes ecofeminist concerns and aspirations. (Association of State Green Parties, Ten Key Values.)<sup>1</sup>

A leading eco-feminist critic, Vandana Shiva, asserts that the modern model of development being imposed by the West is inherently patriarchal because its fragmented, "anti-life" opposed to diversity, dominating and delights in "progress" based on nature's destruction and women's subjugation. (Vandana, 1988)

<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.greenpartyus.org/tenkey.html>.

## A Turkish Ecologist Speaks

The existing literature has grown so fast and is so vast that I prefer to turn to Günseli Tamkoç's writings and would like to explore the means and examples for working in the field in Turkey.

In one of her recent articles (Tamkoç, 1999) she reminds us that Turkish culture reflects a great lack of sensibility towards nature. A quick overview of some Turkish proverbs reveals this tendency, such as "Every sheep is hanged on his own leg", "The man who rescues his boat is the captain," "A serpent which does not bite me may live a thousand years". At each discussion about nature, the issues of cutting down trees, forests devoured by fire, filled-up lakes or springs, get very little if any attention. Do we not belittle those who start a discussion on the protection of 'nature' or the 'environment'? The Turkish culture contains very little of an awareness for the independent existence of nature. At present, we eagerly destroy our rivers, lakes, and mountains in order to become a "consumer society". This shows how little understanding there is in regard for "sustainable development".

Tamkoç also stressed the fact that, the new eight year long education plan should absolutely include as a major goal the need to inculcate love for nature in the mind of children at an early age. She continues by saying: "If our indifference would not be so widespread, how can we explain our total disinterest toward the struggle, the citizens of Bergama are displaying?" (Tamkoç, 1997) She concludes by saying: "As a human being, we have to renew ourselves and we have to transmit to our children the responsibility, we should feel toward 'nature'. In this respect, I never want to lose my hopes.

In one of her short articles, Tamkoç provides a homage to the brave women of Bodrum, whom she calls "the ecofeminists of Bodrum who didn't know what ecofeminism is!" Citing the case of Kızılağaç village near Bodrum, she deplores how merciless some entrepreneurs have literally shaved down one of its hills to exploit a limestone quarry. Similarly, in the nearby village of Kurudere, whose dwelling were leaning upon a small hill covered with pine trees, a company who had obtained the right to excavate the place in order to obtain the mineral dolomite, met very strong resistance from the villagers. The most dramatic part of this struggle which, went on for six months, happened on April 4, 1996 when the villagers who attempted to block the entrance of heavy excavating machines, were forced to lie on the ground by the gendarmerie. During this confrontation the veils and the pants of the peasant women were torn, stones were hurled at them and about twenty men and women were arrested and brought to Bodrum. They were released the same night. This incident followed by a public hearing in the square of the village on April 7, 1996. The peasants were still unable to recover from the shock they experienced. Their indignation was intensive. And here comes the most poignant observation of Günseli Tamkoç. She remarks: "The women of Kurudere village did not undertake this action because they wanted to be called ecofeminists or wanted to be looked as such. For them, this resistance was very natural. They had been born there and all they wanted was to protect their natural surrounding. They were saying: "The forest is our life; we can only exist with this forest." This consciousness had reached such a dimension that nobody had to tell them what to protect and how to protect it. They simply acted. Tamkoç concludes: "The women

of Kurudere may lose their first suit against the Semkay Company. But it is for sure that they will continue to fight. The "Bodrum Platform of Women" decided to support this struggle.

Observers of Günseli Tamkoç as a leader of civil society will notice that from the moment she began to deal more intensively with ecofeminism, her willingness to participate in limited political action grew. In one of her unpublished notes, she drew up the program for a seminar on ecofeminism. This seminar took place on April 20, 1996 and was based on an analysis of the different types of ecofeminism, namely liberal, cultural, social and socialist ecofeminism to be followed by group discussion and a summing up of the discussion. At this point I want to stress once more how much attention Tamkoç devoted to collective work, to share knowledge with others and to give each group member a chance to express herself; in short, to act as a genuine democrat.

Tamkoç's thinking and engagement in the direction of spreading the understanding of ecofeminism lead her to a closer analysis of peace movements. It is sad that she was not able to witness the fruits of this endeavor in regard to the improvement of Turkish / Greek relations. The detail description by Tamkoç of the efforts of Turkish and Greek women to engage in peaceful dialogues was first started by the founder and president of the Centre for Peace and Development, Mrs. Margarita Papandreu in 1995 during the Kardak (Imia) crisis. As a result, there was a first joint meeting of Turkish/Greek women in Athens. The Turkish side was led by Zeynep Oral, journalist/writer. This was followed by a second joint meeting on Kos (Istanköy) island, April 30-May 3, 1998. This meeting was organized by the members of the Bodrum branch of the Association for the Promotion of Contemporary Living (Çağdaş Yaşam Derneği Bodrum Şubesi). Günseli Tamkoç was also a member of the Turkish delegation. In her last written report, she was enthusiastic about how fruitful these efforts had been and the recommendations the summing-up report contained. Accordingly, the joint group was given the following suggestion 1) The development of an alternative tourism program called "Agro-tourism", 2) To support the creation of small and middle scale women enterprises, 3) To eliminate gender bias and prejudicial statements in the schoolbooks of both countries, 4) To organize summer camps for women and children endeavoring constructive discussion focusing on Turkish/Greek women, 6) To encourage Turkish and Greek authors to publish joint books, 7) To establish a follow-up commission monitoring the press of both countries. All these efforts resulted in the creation of a "Turkish/Greek Women's Peace Initiative", eventually called WIN-PEACE, to be realized by the Women's Initiative for Peace. Tamkoç hoped that all these ideas, initiatives, efforts would help to contribute to an effective way to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the UN Human Rights Declaration in November 1998. Two months later, on July 9, 1998, Günseli Tamkoç passed away. She was not able to witness the dramatic change which took place during the last year of this century. She rests for her eternal sleep in a modest, isolated cemetery near Gökçebel village, not far from Yalıkavak in the Bodrum archipel. Olive and mandarin trees are spending their shadow upon her grave. Her ideas however are spreading faster than she could have imagined.

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## Özet

### **Bir Yaşam Öyküsü: 'Derin Ekoloji' ve 'Ekofeminizm'in Savunucusu Günseli Tamkoç (1921-1998).**

Bu yazı, bir yaşam boyu süren vefalı bir arkadaşlığın anısına adanmış olup, yaşamı boyunca toplumda yerleşen değerlerin, tabuların ve davranışların üstesinden gelmek ve Türk toplumuna 'derin ekoloji', 'eko-feminizm' gibi yabancı olduğu kavramları tanıtmak uğruna mücadele vermiş olan Günseli Tamkoç'un yaşam öyküsü ve ekofeminizm alanındaki çalışmaları anlatılmıştır. Makalede sadece Türkiye'de değil, dünyada çok fazla bir geçmişi olmayan 'eko-feminizm' ve 'deep ecology' (derin ekoloji) ile ilgili açıklamalar yapılmış, Tamkoç'un bu alanda yaptığı çalışmalar anlatılmıştır. Geniş boyutlu politik harekete gerçekte fazla ilgi duymamakla birlikte, yerel demokrasi, siyasi katılımçılık ve birlik konusunda oldukça geniş boyutlarda mücadele vermiş öncü kadınlardan biri olarak Günseli Tamkoç'un hatırlanması dileğimizeyizdir.

## **A Sex-Related Attitude Study in Word Choice: The Case of Turkish Cypriots**

Necdet Osam\*

### **Abstract**

*Language is a primary means of communication, however; the language use of individuals differs in many ways. The differences, in fact, can be related to the nature of language as well as to other variables such as educational background, age, power relations, social status and individual peculiarities. In Fasold's (1986) point of view, one of the significant peculiarities of an individual to be specifically taken into consideration in the analysis of language use is the sex variable.*

### **1.0. Theoretical Framework**

Many researchers have studied the relationship between language use and the sex variable. Taylor's (1951) Caraiib study is cited very frequently by them. In fact, gender differences in language form have existed within linguistic studies since the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sapir's study 'Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka' identifies sex and rank as the two dimensions of social identity and language use (Philips, 1987). In a later study entitled 'Male and Female Forms of Speech in Yana', Sapir (1925) specifically noticed that unlike men, women chose native words while talking in their mother tongue. The cultural linguistic forms were either translated or explained by means of the mother tongue by the women of Yana. However, this was not the procedure men had followed. They used the foreign concept as in the genuine form. In the light of his findings, Sapir pointed out the relationship among mother tongue awareness, culture and sex.

Later in 1944, Haas carried out a study in Koasti language and he found significant differences between the language use of men and women. These differences were mainly related to the use of foreign concepts. While men preferred the use foreign concepts in their speech as a symbol of respectability, women showed the similar attitude to the purified form of Yana women as pointed out by Sapir in 1925. The findings of Sapir (1925) were supported with the fact that human psychology is indexed in language use and

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behavior (Hill, Ikuta, Kawasaki, Ogino, 1968).

The relationship between language and sex was pointed out by Lakoff (1973), too. In one of her studies, she expressed that various words which were not used by men existed the verbal repertoire of women. For instance, women never use the word *bitch* whereas men get a great deal of enjoyment from its use. *Deck* is another word that women do not use. In Lakoff's point of view, this was closely related to sex.

Another important finding can be seen in Yoichi's (1992) study in which she points out that Japanese women's mother tongue awareness is significant when compared to Japanese men. In her study, Yoichi explored how men freely used foreign words and concepts in their daily speech without paying attention to the linguistic norms of Japanese language. According to Yoichi, Japanese people in general are very sensitive when it comes to their cultural values including their language which is also a part of that culture. However, the language use of men cannot be considered within the framework of this theoretical assumption. Another study was carried out by Kuniyoishi (1997) who stated that unlike women, men very significantly use foreign words - specifically the Dutch words like *unschön/ugly, unreell/unfair* - in their native tongue.

Another example related to this study is the Korean situation. In Shim's (1994) view, Korean people do not show any signs of loyalty to their mother tongue. However, when men's speech and women's speech are analysed on the basis of the lexicon, it can be seen very clearly that Korean women are very conscious about their language. In other words, the rate of frequency of the foreign words in women's speech is insignificant when compared to men's.

Baik (1993), also points out that Chinese people are very loyal to their culture. However, this cultural sensitivity and loyalty cannot be observed when language use is taken into consideration. In a way, his findings regarding the language use of the Chinese and the findings of Yoichi related to Japanese men correspond significantly.

Phillips (1980) states that British people do not reflect significant language loyalty; however, when language loyalty is questioned on the basis of sex, it becomes obvious that women are very conscious of their language use. The findings of Phillips are similar to Shim's (1991) and Baik's (1993).

The study of Ochs (1986) in Western Samoa reflects the difference in language use on the basis of sex. Ochs, like Trudgill (1982), investigates the social class differences, the place and the status of women in the society. According to Ochs, men in Western Samoa use foreign words in their speech very frequently. Besides, they violate the syntactic rules of the language. On the other hand, women's speech is very close to the standard form.

In another study carried out in New Guinea, Moylan (1982) points out that men at the same social strata tend to use non-standard language full of foreign words specifically taken from French. On the other hand, women display a great deal of positive attitude towards their mother tongue. This type of positive attitude towards mother tongue can be clearly seen in the studies of Hill (1986) carried out in Mexico, and Gordon (1997) and Holmes' (1997) in New Zealand. These research findings are clear reflection of psychological sensitivity of women toward mother tongue (Hill, Ikuta, Kawasaki, Ogino, 1968).

As can be understood from the studies summarised above, the attitude of women towards the use of standard forms of mother tongue is virtually a universal tendency. This

point is further supported by Cicero's view that women master standard speech forms better than men already put forward (Chambers, 1995).

To sum up, sex is a very important variable in the use of codified form - without foreign words - and it reflects a universal value. Is this universal variable effective in the Turkish case?

## 2.0. The Study

### 2.1. The Questionnaire <sup>2</sup>

This study was based on quantitative research principles. In this line of thought, an attitude questionnaire was developed. According to Fishbein and Icek (1975), the best design to be applied in attitude studies is *bi-polar bi-regional scales*<sup>1</sup>. In their point of view, bi-polar bi-regional scales precisely measure the attitudes of participants.

The questionnaire had two parts. In part one, detailed background information about the participants such as age, sex, education, parents' education, foreign language competence, the occupation of their parents, the school they graduated from and so forth was requested. In the second part, 20 neutral statements were placed on a bi-polar bi-regional scale. The statements, although not directive, all sought attitude differences related to sex variable.

### 2.2. The Participants

In this study 2,700 university students took part. The main reason for selecting students was basically related to the idea that students represent the social stratum significantly. In Kirbik's point of view (1977), if the social strata are not presented, then the reliability and the validity of the study can be regarded as insignificant.

Another theoretical point which was taken into consideration in the study is the sampling universe. According to Sankoff (1989), the sampling population should be representative. Thus, the sex ratio of the participants was balanced. In other words, 1350 male and 1350 female university students from 10 different universities (5 universities in North Cyprus and 5 universities in major cities in Turkey) took part in the study. All the participants in this study were Turkish Cypriots.

### 2.3. Statistical Evaluation

In the analysis of the questionnaire items, in fact, 20 questionnaire items in part B differ-

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>1</sup> The bi-polar bi regional scales are designed to measure the attitudes of the research precisely either in positive or in negative way. For details refer to A. N. Oppenheim, (1996). *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London: Pinter Publishers.

entiated the attitudinal difference of the participants on the basis of sex in relation to the lexicon.

In this part, only five items will be evaluated since this will give us a significant sampling.

**Item number: 6**

**Do you pay attention to your mother tongue?**

← -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 →

**Table 1: Mother tongue awareness**

sex	n: 2700	m	f	v
1	1350	-1	41.8	9.23146
2	1350	+2	81.2	13.538112

1 male  
2 female

As it can be seen in Table 1, the frequency of the male students was 41.8 with a variance of 9.23146 and these figures were gathered on -1 on a bi-polar bi-regional scale, which reflects an insignificant L1 awareness. On the other hand, the statistical figures of the female students were significant. The point of attention was +2 on the scale. +2 is an ideal m point on the scale. This means the female participants are sensitive to their mother tongue.

**Item number: 4**

**Do you feel the need of using foreign words in your daily speech?**

← -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 →

**Table 2: Tendency towards foreign words**

sex	n: 2700	m	f	v
1	1350	+1	51.3	11.231461
2	1350	-2	83.4	17.492412

1 male  
2 female

The figures in Table 2 support the figures in Table 1. The male students' answers were placed on +1, which means they have a significant tendency to use foreign words in their speech. In other words, they reflect an insignificant mother tongue attitude. When the female results are observed, a clear difference is seen. Their answers to the question is on the ideal point with a significant variance. In other words, they are against the use of foreign words in their L1. ( see Appendix 2)

**Item number: 7**

**Do you pay attention to the standard form of language use?**

← -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 →

**Table 3: Application of language norms**

sex	n: 2700	m	f	v
1	1350	0	53.3	12.000121
2	1350	+2	81.2	13.538345

1 male  
2 female

The figures of the male students underline the fact that mother tongue use is not related to specific norms. In other words, male students do not consider the rules of their L1. The m point, which is 0, along with frequency and variance support the statement made above. On the other hand, the figures of the female students show a great sensitivity to the mother tongue norms, i.e. standard norms. (see Appendix 1 for non standard forms)

**Item number: 5**

**Are you against the use of foreign word in L1 ?**

← -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 →

**Table 4: Reaction**

sex	n: 2700	m	f	v
1	1350	0	50.1	10.9916
2	1350	+3	84.1	18.651

1 male  
2 female

As can be understood from the table, male students display a neutral reaction towards the use of foreign words in L1 context. On the other hand, female students show a significant resistance towards the use of foreign lexical items. In other words, female students seem to be very sensitive to their mother tongue.

### Conclusion

The statistical figures clearly show that sex in Turkish society is a very significant variable in language use. The mother tongue awareness or attitude is closely linked to sex difference. In the light of our statistical results, it can be said that female speakers reflect a very sensitive attitude towards their mother tongue. On the other hand, male speakers remain neutral towards the use of foreign words. The most important finding of this study is the tendency of female participants in using the standard Turkish. A tendency to use standard language means the avoidance of foreign words and borrowings (Osam, 1997). Another finding is related to human psychology. Female participants reflected insignificant individual language-related psychological deviation. This means that they are psychologically conditioned for significant resistance towards loan words. However, the same cannot be said for the male participants. They showed no significant mother tongue awareness according to the statistical results of the study.

In conclusion, it can be said that standard language use is a psychological reinforcement for the process of language purification at every level-lexical, syntactic, morphological-, and sex is the main impetus in the whole process.

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### Appendix: I

#### Selected Examples from Loaned Words in Turkish Speech/ Yabancı Kökenli Sözcüklerden Örnekler

...**informal** mahiyette ...

..bu alanda **fidbekler** aldım.

**Fonmal** bir gündem size dağıtmadık.

....çok yüksek **korrileyşını** var.

o sınıfı **elektronik klasrum** yapacağız.

Sözü X bey de **lid** edebilir.

.. eğer çok **regular** bir iş ise..

Bir süre sonra **netvörkümüz** aşağı inebilir.

İsterseniz o **elektronik klasrumu** derhal devreye sokalım.

Benim **draftlarımı** arada alıyorlar ve çok **effişent** oluyor.

...**attaçmentler** ve saire..

,,,server denen şey gitmiştir.

...iki **server** arasında bir **brıç** var.

...**yu pi es** leri öğrenci **serverine** koyacağız.

...**treynink** anlamında mı ?

Bilgisayarda **locin** oluyor...

Araştırma görevlisi arkadaşın iyi **treyn** edilmesi lazım.

....**administratif** işler var ....

...bana **assayın** ettiler..

..çok **hat** bir konu.

..**kontaktpersin** olsun...

X aslında **multifankşinal** bir adam.

X onunla iyi **kominikeşin** kuruyor.

Bazı sınıfları dört **sekşin** yaptık

Bizim **sekşinleri** çoğaltmamız lazım.

Birkaç sınıfı **partişinlerle** bölersek belki olur.

Olay çok **triki**. Gerçekten çok **triki** bir konu

Şunu söylemek istiyorum, daha **spesifik** olmalıyız.

Yazacağımız kitaplar **kontent** yönünden iyi olabilir.

Çoğunun **bekravındı** ELT de değil.

...hizmetçi bir **treynink** ya da **selfdevelopment** gibi birşey yapılmalı

...bir **profesional trek** olsun.

..YÖK'ün durumu **bariyer** değil.

..YÖK işi **maynır** görüyor...

...**promosyonda** sertifika önemli değil ... bu **profesional digri** değil tabii..ama yüksek lisansta **promoşin** var

..kayıtlarda birçok **gracuit** görülüyor.

...projelere çok **involv** olmuşlar..mühendislikte öğrenciler çok **irregüler**...

..yönetim bakımından reddetmek gibi birçok **keyzler** oluyor.

..konuyu USIS'in **denote** etme durumu var.

...elimizdeki **meyin** kaynakları kullanmalıyız..öğrencileri **follovap** etmeliyiz.

..bunların çoğu **kominikeşin** sorunu...böylece **effişent** olamıyoruz.

## Appendix II: Questionnaire

### SORMACA / ANKET

Lütfen aşağıdaki kısımları istenilen biçimde cevaplayınız. Yardımlarınız için teşekkür ederiz.

A. Aşağıdaki kısımları dikkatlice cevaplayınız, işaretleyiniz.

1. Yaşınız : .....
2. Doğum yeriniz : .....
3. Cinsiyetiniz :  1. Erkek  2. Kız
4. Öğrenim durumunuz :  1. İlk  2. Orta  
 3. Lise  4. Üniversite
5. Bitirdiğiniz en son okul:  1. Devlet  2. Marif Koleji  
 3. Özel Kolej  4. Diğer
6. Yabancı dil biliyor musunuz?  1. Evet  2. Hayır
7. Bildiğiniz yabancı dil/ler :  1. İngilizce  2. Almanca  
 3. Fransızca  4. Diğer
8. Babanızın öğrenim durumu:  1. İlk  2. Orta  
 3. Lise  4. Kolej  
 5. Üniversite  6. Terk
9. Yabancı dil biliyor mu? :  1. Evet  2. Hayır
10. Bildiği yabancı dil/ler :  1. İngilizce  2. Almanca  
 3. Fransızca  4. Diğer
11. Annenizin öğrenim durumu:  1. İlk  2. Orta  
 3. Lise  4. Kolej  
 5. Üniversite  6. Terk
12. Yabancı dil biliyor mu? :  1. Evet  2. Hayır
13. Bildiği yabancı dil/ler :  1. İngilizce  2. Almanca  
 3. Fransızca  4. Diğer

**B.** Bu bölümdeki soruları iki bölgeli sayısal cetvel üzerinde uygun olan tek bir sayıyı çember içine alarak cevaplayınız.

1. Gazete okurken batı kaynaklı sözcüklere dikkat eder misiniz?

**Ederim**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Etmem**

2. Batı kaynaklı sözcükler okuduğunuz bir yazıyı veya dinlediğiniz bir konuşmayı anlamanızda zorluk yaratıyor mu?

**Yaratıyor**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Yaratmıyor**

3. Karşılaştığınız batı kaynaklı bir sözcüğün anlamını araştırıyor musunuz?

**Evet**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Hayır**

4. Konuşurken veya yazarken batı kaynaklı sözcükleri kullanma ihtiyacı duyar mısınız?

**Duyarım**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Duymam**

5. Batı kaynaklı sözcüklerin Türkçeye girmesine karşı mısınız?

**Karşıyım**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Karşı değilim**

6. Türkçe konuşurken kullandığınız Türkçeye dikkat eder misiniz?

**Ederim**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Etmem**

7. Yazdığınız Türkçeye özen gösterir misiniz?

**Gösteririm**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Göstermem**

8. Özenti sizce batı kaynaklı sözcüklerin Türkçeye girmesine yardım ediyor mu?

**Ediyor**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Etmiyor**

9. Politikacıların konuşması sizce Türkçede batı kaynaklı sözcüklerin artmasına yardım ediyor mu?

**Ediyor**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Etmiyor**

10. Meslek etkisi ile Türkçeye batı kaynaklı sözcük geçişi mümkün mü?

**Mümkün**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Mümkün değil**

11. Türkçeye batı kaynaklı sözcüklerin geçmesinde yabancı dilde eğitimin etkisi var mı?

**Etkisi var**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Etkisi yok**

12. Batı kaynaklı sözcüklerin Türkçe içinde kaybolacağını tahmin ediyor musunuz?

**Ediyorum**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Etmiyorum**

13. Türkçe toplumun her ihtiyacını karşılıyor mu?

**Karşılıyor**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Karşılamıyor**

14. Türkçe batı kaynaklı sözcükler karşısında çaresiz mi?

**Çaresiz değil**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Çaresiz**

15. Türk toplumunun ihtiyaç duyduğu yeni sözcükleri Türkçe üretiyor mu?

**Üretiyor**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Üretmiyor**

16. Türkçeyi nasıl bir dil olarak görüyorsunuz?

**Zengin**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Fakir**

17. Türkçenin batı kaynaklı sözcük ödünçlemesine ihtiyacı var mı?

**Yok**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Var**

18. Türkçe sizce yaygınlaşan bir dil mi?

**Evet**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Hayır**

19. Gazete ve televizyonda kullanılan dil Türkçeyi olumsuz yönde etkiliyor mu?

**Evet**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Hayır**

20. Türkçeyi bilim ve kültür dili olarak nasıl buluyor sunuz?

**Zengin**  $\leftarrow +3 \rightarrow +2 \rightarrow +1 \rightarrow 0 \rightarrow -1 \rightarrow -2 \rightarrow -3 \rightarrow$  **Fakir**

## Özet

Bir bildirişim aracı olan dilin kullanımı bireyden bireye değişebilmektedir. Dil kullanımında bireyler arası farklılıkların ortaya çıkmasında yaş, eğitim durumu, sosyal konum, güç olgusu ve cinsiyet gibi çeşitli bağımsız değişkenler etken olmaktadır. Bu değişkenlerin en önemlilerinden biri de cinsiyettir.

Cinsiyet biyolojik bir değişken olmakla birlikte dil kullanımında önemli farklılıkların oluşmasına yol açmaktadır. Bu farklılıkların en önemli göstergesi bireyin dil kullanımı sırasındaki tutum ve davranış biçimleridir. Örneğin, kadınlar anadillerinde gerek sözcük gerekse sözdizimsel bağlamda daha duyarlı davranırlarken erkeklerde bu duyarlık görülmemektedir.

Bu çalışmada evrensel bir bağımsız değişken olan cinsiyet olgusunun dil bağlamında yabancı sözcüklere karşı olan tutumun Kıbrıs ağzındaki yerinin saptanmasına çalışılmıştır.

## Women Who Save Their Husbands From Difficult Situations in *The Book of Dede Korkut*

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### Abstract

'The Book of Dede Korkut' is one of the most important literary works as a means of recognising the status and value of Turkish women in society. 'The Book of Dede Korkut' which consists of twelve epic stories and an introduction, describes several events regarding the experiences of nomadic Oghuz Turks.

The Turks who lived in Central Asia between the IX-XI centuries, created epic-stories preserving the memories of their adventures in earlier ages. Later, these texts were modified and enriched as a result of the cultural effects and events following the migration of the Oghuzs to Azerbaijan and Anatolia. These oral stories were transcribed to written form in XV. century with the addition of an introduction so that 'The Book of Dede Korkut' was completed.

The stories which were transmitted from generation to generation, orally, by bards throughout the centuries, include valuable information regarding Turkish social structure, conception of life and the systems of beliefs.

The heroines who appear as active individuals, in society with strong and positive characteristics are also described as women who save their husbands in difficult conditions applying their intelligence, knowledge, devotion and skills in fighting.

### Introduction

An important resource to be seriously and thoroughly examined in social studies, without doubt, are literary works. Folkloric studies have a unique place in literature when it comes to recognising the value and status of women in society. The basic reason is that since folkloric works are not created by individuals but by whole society<sup>1</sup>, they represent the collective cultural accumulation. So, analysing the status of women in an anonymous work will give us valuable information about the understanding of women in the society that the li-

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<sup>1</sup> Society means both bards who tell these stories and listeners. Because the works are anonymous they change and get complicated by various effects of the environment when repeated over time.

terary work was created by.

Among the many works, *The Book of Dede Korkut* is an important one that reflects the status and role of woman in Turkish society. This work, which is believed to have been transcribed at the end of XVth century, is one of the most distinguished works of Turkish literature, both in terms of literary style and folkloric material that it contains. In this book, which consists of epic stories, describes events that Oghuz Turks<sup>2</sup> have experienced. During those events, that are mostly based on struggle, the hero escapes from dangerous circumstances, sometimes by his own good fortune, but mostly with the help of his relatives. His wife is significant among these people who help him.

In the eight out of twelve stories, which recount the daily lives of Muslim Turks, it is interesting that men are saved in difficult conditions with the help of their wives. These women help their husbands applying their knowledge and skills with weapons. Men also solve their problems by "the words of female wisdom" and consequently are saved by their wives' love, sword and sacrifice. In the stories, which were transmitted to later generations by bards, while being altered by time, the wives who help their husbands and the men's acceptance of this assistance reveals an important aspect of Turkish social structure.<sup>3</sup>

For this reason, we will analyse women's status and value in Oghuz Turks by evaluating how wives save their husbands and by what means in *The Book of Dede Korkut*.

### The Book of Dede Korkut

This book, which is identified as belonging to the transformation from the epic to the narrative era, is composed of an introduction and 12 epic stories named as "boy". In the introduction Korkut Ata's personality and his proverbial statements are recorded. Even though the topics of the stories are different from each other, they show a unity in terms of the cast of characters, the way of daily life, social values, composition and style. In these stories, the Oghuz nobles who are loyal to Bayındır Khan, and their families, the Inner and Outer Oghuz society live under a certain social order regarding the hunt, breeding stock and fighting with infidels.

There are several theses regarding the creation of *The Book of Dede Korkut*. By examining geographical, historical, folkloric and literary clues in the text, the following thesis is currently dominant;

<sup>2</sup> Oghuzs who were a Turkish tribe, assembled several independent tribes under one state starting from VI. century who were living in the vast geography between China and Black Sea. A portion of these people who later united with other Turkish states but kept their unique characteristic for centuries, settled in Anatolia under the name of Turkomans. Today, apart from Anatolia, Turks who are living in Azerbaican, Iran, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria belong to this race. For further information see Faruk Sümer (1961). *Oghuzs (Turkomans)*, İstanbul.

<sup>3</sup> Woman have a very unique status in *The Book of Dede Korkut*. As in the books written specifically on this subject: (Mehmet Kaplan (1985/1991). *Dede Korkut Kitabında Kadın, Türk Edebiyatı Hakkında Araştırmalar, Tıp Tahlilleri*. İstanbul; Müjgan Cunbur (1997). *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri'nde Kadının Sosyal Durumu, Türk Kadını İçin*, Ankara), also in the books and articles that give information about the stories, this subject is mentioned. (e.g. Gökyay, Ergin, İnal, Boratav etc.) *The Book of Dede Korkut* is accepted as one of the main references of woman's status and value in Turkish society. *The Book of Dede Korkut* is mentioned because of its properties of showing the characteristics of women and the continuation of the value of women in society. Necla Arat (1980). *Kadın Sorunu*, İstanbul. pp. 53-56; Mehmet Eröz & Ali Güler (1998). *Türk Ailesi*, Ankara. pp. 19, 24, 48, 50, 55-57, 60, 62, 64; Necdet Sevinç (1987). *Eski Türklerde Kadın ve Aile*, İstanbul. pp. 18-20, 28-29, 73.

Turks who lived in north of Sır Derya from the IX-XIth centuries, created new epic stories that connected memories of earlier ages and their struggles. Then, these texts partially changed and were enriched by the events and cultural effects when Oghuz people moved to Eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan. In time, new stories were created by the effect of these older stories.<sup>4</sup>

When these stories were told by bards, they were listened to by people with emotion which left a noticeable influence. These effects suggest that people believed that the text belong to "master of bards" or "the wise one"<sup>5</sup>

We have two manuscripts of *The Book of Dede Korkut* today.<sup>6</sup> In these manuscripts it is not certain whether stories were created by an individual or written by someone who collected rumours among people.<sup>7</sup> In these works, some parts are vital among people<sup>8</sup> of the same geography even today, and new stories are being created in the tradition of existing stories.<sup>9</sup>

*The Book of Dede Korkut* was printed several times as an academic translation today in modern Turkish and is translated in Russian, German, English and Serbian.<sup>10</sup>

### Context

Since the title of this paper is "Women who save their husbands from difficult situations in *The Book of Dede Korkut*", a summary of the episodes regarding this topic is provided in order to draw attention to properties relating to our theme:<sup>11</sup>

- A- The event that left the hero in difficulty
- B- The difficult circumstance
- C- The woman's attitude towards the situation, her solution proposal and her actions

<sup>4</sup> According to this idea *The Book of Dede Korkut* extend back to ages before IXth century, for that reason it includes an extensive amount of information. This characteristic of *The Book of Dede Korkut* makes it one of the primary resources of researches related to Turkish history. For the connection of these stories with reality and traces of history see: Orhan Şaik Gökyay (1973). *Dedem Korkud'un Kitabı*, İstanbul. pp. XLV-LXXIII and for belief system, social life, traditions: *ibid* pp. CCLXXXIX-CDXIII.

<sup>5</sup> The respect to bards for their characteristics and duties and for the common belief that they are sacred is still alive on "aşık" and "şaz şairleri". According to belief Korkut Ata/Dede Korkut is "master of bards". For his ever-living spiritual influence and his historical-epic personality see; Orhan Şaik Gökyay (1994). *Dede Korkut, TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 9, İstanbul, pp. 77-78.

<sup>6</sup> The one found in Dresden King Library by H. O. Fleisher and presented by H.F. von Diez in 1815 is entitled as *Kitab-ı Dedem Korkud ala Lisan-ı Taife-i Oğuzhan*. The copy found in Vatican and entitled *Hikaye-i Oğuzname-i Kazan Big ve Gayrı* is an incomplete one with only six stories.

<sup>7</sup> Boratav thinks that stories belong to an individual who collected rumours among people. Even in that case it is accepted that stories keep their original characteristics. Perlev Naili Boratav (1939/1982). *Dede Korkut Hikayeleri Hakkında, Folklor ve Edebiyat*, vol.2, İstanbul. pp. 94-95.

<sup>8</sup> Orhan Şaik Gökyay (1994). pp. CDLII-DLXXVI.

<sup>9</sup> Metin Ekici (1995). *Dede Korkut Hikayeleri Tesiri ile Teşekkül Eden Halk Hikayeleri*, Ankara.

<sup>10</sup> For researches related to Muharrem Ergin (1958). *The Book of Dede Korkut*, İstanbul.

<sup>11</sup> In the case of having more than one events narrated within the same story, these are mentioned separately under the same heading.

- D- Man's attitude towards his spouse's manner and behaviour  
 E- How the man is escaped from the difficult situation  
 F- The qualities and characteristics of woman that helped her husband escape from a difficult situation.

**Setting : First Story: Tells the story of Boghach Khan son of Dirse Khan, O My Khan (Lewis, 27-41)**

1. A - Once a year the Khan of Khans, Bayındır Khan, made a feast to entertain the Oghuz nobles. He had a white tent pitched in place, a red in another, a black tent in a third place. He gave orders thus: "Put anyone who has no sons or daughters in the black tent. Spread black felt beneath him. Set before him mutton-stew made from the black sheep. If he will eat it, he may; if he will not he can get up and go. Put him who has a son in the white tent, and he who has a daughter in the red tent. But him who has neither, God Most High has humiliated, and we shall humiliate him too; let him mark as well." Dirse Khan called his forty warriors and comes to Bayındır Khan's feast. Bayındır Khan's young men meet Dirse Khan and take him to the black tent. Beneath him they spread black felt, before him they set mutton-stew made from the black sheep. "What shortcoming has Bayındır Khan seen in me, whether in my sword or in my table? What is the offence that he puts me in black tent?" Dirse Khan asks and Bayındır Khan's young men reply, "Lord, the order of this day from Bayındır Khan is this. He has said, "Him who has no son or daughter God Most High has humiliated, and we shall humiliate him too" Dirse Khan leaves the feast immediately and comes home. He calls his wife, recounts what he has experienced and asks; "Is it your fault or my fault? Why does God Most High not give us a fine hefty son?" First he talks to his wife calmly then anger surrounds him, he starts to shout at his wife and he even threatens her with death.

B - Dirse Khan has several difficulties here: Even though he is a remarkable warrior, he is heavily insulted just because he has no son or daughter, particularly in a society which considers having a child as very important. Maybe this incident stirred his desire for a son and he behaved indelicately to his beloved wife without knowing who was at fault.

C - Dirse Khan's wife, who was a daughter of a Khan, does not respond in the same manner. She tells him to calm down and do what she says using the following words:

*Dirse Khan, don't be angry with me;  
 Don't be vexed and speak bitter words.  
 Rise and bestir yourself; have the tents of many colours  
 Set up on the earth's face. Have your men slaughter  
 Of horses the stallions, of camels the males, of sheep the ram.  
 Gather round the nobles of the Inner Oghuz and the Outer Oghuz.  
 When you see the hungry, fill him;  
 When you see naked, clothe him;  
 Save the debtor from his debt.  
 Heap up meat in hillocks; let lakes of kumis be drawn.  
 Make an enormous feast, then ask what you want and let them pray.  
 So, with prayerful mouths singing your praises,  
 God may grant us a fine hefty child.*

D - Dirse Khan, despite being sorrowful and angry, listens to his wife. He makes an enormous feast, when he sees the hungry, he feeds him; when he sees the naked, he clothed him, and he saves the debtor from his debt. He raises his hand and asks for a son.

E - God Most High accepts the praise performed after the feast and grants this couple a child.

F - Dirse Khan's wife who is not named in the text, is a patient, understanding lady who knows traditions well. With her manner, knowledge and her influence over her husband, she rescues Dirse Khan from this hard situation.

2. A - When Dirse Khan's son grew up to be 15 years old, he proved that he is a warrior and as granted by his name Boghach, became a Bey. When the boy ascended the throne he neglected his father's forty warriors. They decide to speak evil of him so that his father would kill him. In that way, they would gain their respect and honour in the eyes of Dirse Khan again. They go to Dirse Khan and tell him that his son has become evil and wicked, that he dragged beautiful girls off, that he reviled white bearded elders, that he tore the hair of white-haired women. Khan gets very angry when he heard these words about his son whom he felt most proud of. He said "I do not need such a son" and decides to kill him. One of forty treacherous warriors approaches the boy and says, "These are your father's words: Let him chase the stags and drive them and kill them before me; I would see how my son rides and handles a sword and shoots, then I shall be proud and confident." After that the forty treacherous warriors go to Dirse Khan and say, "Do you see the boy Dirse Khan? He is chasing the stags over field and plain and driving them before you. Be on your guard! He will pretend to shoot the stag, but it is you he will kill. Before he can kill you, see that you will kill him". Dirse Khan takes his bow and shoots; the arrow strikes the boy between the shoulder blades. Seeing that his son was shot and fell to the ground, Dirse Khan felt deeply sorry but he leaves the boy there and returns to his camp.

Realising that his son did not come back from the hunt, Boghach Khan's mother goes to hunting field to search for her son. She finds him with the help of Hızır<sup>12</sup> and heals him and saves him from certain death. Having saved the life of Boghach Khan she says "If Dirse Khan sees his son he won't spare any of us; he will kill us all". Consequently they send him off to the lands of the "bloody infidel".

B - In this episode Dirse Khan has several difficulties: He was easily convinced what was told about his son without examination. He saw that his forty warriors betrayed him by accusing his innocent son who was granted by the God Most High after endless vows. He felt regret. His hands tied, he was about to be delivered to the enemy by his own men.

C - When Dirse Khan's wife learns that her husband is in the enemy hands, she weeps but keeps her integrity. Since it is her son's duty to rescue his father, she goes to Boghach Khan and says;

*Do you see my son, what has happened?  
 The steep rocks have not stirred but the earth has gaped,*

<sup>12</sup> Hızır: The holy person that is believed to drink *Âb-ı Hayat* (water of immortality) and become immortal. He helps people in hard times.

*There was no enemy in the land but enemies fell on your father.  
Your father's forty coward comrades seized him,  
They bound his white hands behind his back,  
They tied a rope of hair around his white neck,  
They on horseback drove your father walking,  
With him they made their way to the lands of the bloody infidel  
My lord, my son, arise!  
Take your forty warriors, deliver your father from those forty cowards.  
Bestir yourself, son; if your father showed no mercy to you,  
Do you show mercy to your father.*

D - After these words by his mother Boghach does not hesitate to get ready in order to save his father even though he is deeply hurt.

E - He reaches the forty treacherous warriors, before they deliver his father to enemy. He attacks the forty men and kills all of them in battle and saves his father.

F-In this example, the husband is saved because of his wife's ability to gather intelligence and her influence on her son to make him save his father. Boghach respects his mother and trusts her. He survived death thanks to his mother. He obeys his mother's orders who, at the same time begged to his son. He saves his father and his family integrity.

### **Second Story: Tells The Story of How Salur Kazan's House Was Pillaged (Lewis, 42-58)**

3. A - Kazan Khan who was the son-in-law of Khan of Khans Bayındır Khan, is one of the most noble of Khans. One day he drinks too much and the strong wine rises up to his forehead. He takes his noble men with him and leaves his camp to hunt prey, disregarding the fact that his camp is close to the Georgia border. His son Uruz is young and inexperienced. Informed that Kazan Khan left his camp to his inexperienced and young son, King Shökli, ruler of Georgia, pillacks Kazan Khan's camp, takes his son, his wife and others as hostages. The same night Salur Kazan has a strange dream and worries about his family so he returns to check his camp.

Meanwhile infidels are celebrating their surprise attack on Kazan Khan's land. "Nobles" said King Shökli, "do you know what we ought to do to bring shame on Kazan? We must fetch the Lady Burla and make her our cupbearer". Lady Burla hears this and instructs her forty slender-waisted maidens thus "Whichever of you happen upon and ask if she is Kazan's wife, you must all forty of you call out together, That's me!". Her maidens do so. The infidels cannot discover which one is Kazan Khan's wife. One of the infidels advise "Bring Kazan's son Uruz, hang him on a hook, chop up his white flesh and make a nice brown roast, and offer it to the forty-one noble ladies. Whoever eats it is not the one; the one we want is the one who refuses it; fetch her and let her be our cupbearer".

B - The infidels seized Kazan's land, killed his warriors, looted his treasures, capture his wife and son. On top of this King Shökli is attempting to make the daughter of the Khan of Khans Bayındır Khan's, wife of Kazan Khan, infidels' cupbearer. Kazan Khan is unaware of any of this.

C - Lady Burla hears the King's plan but stays calm and goes her son and tells of the catastrophe that is about to happen and asks "Shall I eat your flesh or shall I enter the bed

of infidel of foul religion and defile the honour of your Lord Kazan? What shall I do my son?" His son replies; "Were it not that they say a mother's due is God's due, I should rise up and kill you". By his words it is clear what the son decided.

D - Uruz is very committed both to his family and to his honour. What value was his life in this situation. Of course he is going to sacrifice his life for the honour of his family. Luckily, Kazan Khan arrives on time and saves his son.

E - In the first example, Lady Burla's instructions to her forty maidens are very clever. In the other example, even though she escaped from inevitably eating her son's flesh, in the text are convinced that if the need arise she was ready to do so.

F - In this story, we meet a very strong spirited woman. If she had not been very calm and resolute when she heard the enemy's plan and cried, the infidels would have identified her.

### **Third Story: Tells the Story of Bamsi Beyrek of the Grey Horse (Lewis, 59-87)**

In this story the theme is the help to Beyrek's of his future wife.

4. A - Beyrek and Lady Chichek who were betrothed in the cradle are preparing for their wedding ceremony. A spy informs the lord of the castle of Bayburt who also wants to marry Lady Chichek. The lord attacks Beyrek's tent and takes him as his prisoner. Sixteen years pass, people think that Beyrek is dead. Banu Chichek's brother Crazy Karchar tells people that, whoever brings news from Bayburt Castle proving that Beyrek was dead, may marry his sister. Yaltajuk son of Yalanji dips one of Beyrek's shirts in blood and brings it to Bayındır Khan. Since he proves that Beyrek is dead, he achieves his goal and begins to prepare to marry Lady Chichek. A merchant informs Beyrek about this shocking news.

B - During all these sixteen years Beyrek was unable to escape from the Bayburt Castle, and could not even send a word to his family that he is still alive. Now his beloved fiance<sup>13</sup> is about to marry a liar from a family famous for lying. This situation makes Beyrek think that he is the only one responsible for all this. He is helpless. He must escape as soon as possible and reach his land before the wedding.

C - The daughter of the lord of Bayburt Castle is in love with Beyrek. When she sees him crying, she asks what had happened. Once she learns the situation, she offers to let him go and save his fiance if only he accepts to return and marry her.

D - Beyrek is very happy and promises to marry her once he returns.

E - the Lord's daughter believes him and helps him to escape. Beyrek reaches his land before his fiance marries Yaltajuk. Yaltajuk's lie becomes apparent. At the end of the story Beyrek returns to the castle as he promised, saves his fellow warriors and takes the Lord's daughter with him, before he marries Banu Chichek.

F - In this text the infidel lord of the Bayburt Castle's daughter is the main subject of concern. This girl is brave enough to tell her incentives clearly and self-devoted enough to help her lover to escape in the danger of death.

<sup>13</sup> Banu Chichek is very skilled in riding a horse, archery and wrestling.

#### **Fourth Story: Tells the story of How Prince Uruz Son of Prince Kazan Was Taken Prisoner (Lewis, 88-107)**

5. A - Even though Salur Kazan's son, Uruz, has become 16 years old, he has not yet cut off heads, spilled blood, taken booty and won a name. "I thought of my end and I wept, for on a morrow when time comes round and I die and you are left, they will not give you my crown and my throne" Kazan complains. Uruz replies "When have you ever taken me to the infidel frontier, brandished your sword and cut off heads? What have I seen you do? What am I supposed to learn?" Kazan decides to take his son and go out hunting. Barehead Daidan of fortress Aksaka attacks Kazan and his men and takes his son as a hostage. Kazan, not aware of any of this, thinks that his son got scared and returned home. He also returns home, but when he realises that his son has not yet returned, he worries. He orders his men to follow and goes to check if his son is taken prisoner. He finds his son in the hands of enemy, but drawing up battle he is wounded and finds shelter.

B - Even though Kazan is an experienced warrior, he acts thoughtlessly and goes to enemy territory without enough reinforcements. While he is battling with enemy which is far superior in numbers, he is wounded across his eyelid and can not see for the blood in his eyes.

C - During that time Lady Burla the Tall thinks about her son and her husband. With her forty slender maidens, she gets on her horse, grasps her black sword and eventually finds her husband.

D - Her husband cannot recognise her. "To sword Kazan, I am here!" she yells. Kazan starts to fight again, at that time Oghuz nobles arrive to save Prince Kazan.

E - The Oghuz nobles defeat the enemy where Lady Burla the Tall fights bravely to save Uruz.

F - In this example, the woman do not save her husband alone. In spite of this, it is she who worries when her husband does not return, and follows the tracks of her husband, which makes him fight in a very dangerous situation.

#### **Fifth Story: Tells the Story of Wild Dumrul Son of Dukha Koja (Lewis, 108-116)**

6. A - Among Oghuz there is a man called Wild Dumrul who challenges everyone. One day, in a tribe, encamped near him, he sees that a fine handsome warrior dies by God's command. He asks who has killed him. "Azrael<sup>14</sup> killed him, it was ordered by God most High" they reply. Wild Dumrul looks up to heavens and say; "Almighty God, I conjure you by Your Unity and Your Being to show me Azrael, that I may fight and struggle and wrestle with him and save that fine warriors life." Dumrul's words do not please God Most High and he orders Azrael to take his life.

B - As Wild Dumrul feasts with his forty warriors, suddenly Azrael appears. Wild Dumrul gets scared, but he attacks Azrael. Azrael suddenly becomes a dove. Dumrul tries to hunt Azrael with his falcon but dove disappears. After a while, Azrael shows himself to Dumrul's horse, in fear the horse throws Dumrul to the ground. At first Dumrul groans, but then he begins to howl.

He says to God:

*If you will take my soul, take it Yourself;  
Do not let Azrael take it.*

Wild Dumrul's words please God Most High. He calls Azrael and says; "Since this crazy pimp has recognised my Unity, tell him to find a soul in place of his own and his soul can go free".

Wild Dumrul is a young man with good intentions, but he knows no limits in bravery. He challenges God without respect. Neither his father, nor his mother, who he trusted most are going to sacrifice their soul for Wild Dumrul. Left helpless, he accepts his fate. He is about to leave his beloved wife and two young children and serve his sentence.

C - He goes to his wife and tells what has happened. Dumrul's wife, surprised to hear his husband's words, accuses Dumrul's parents of being cowards. His wife says; "May mighty God be my witness, Let my life be sacrificed for yours."

D - When Azrael comes to take the lady's life, Wild Dumrul cannot bring himself to let his wife suffer, and thereupon he supplicates to God Most High. He says;

You are higher than the high

*No one knows what You are like,  
Beautiful God!*

*If You will take, take both our lives.  
If you spare, spare both our lives.  
Most honoured, mighty God!*

E - Wild Dumrul's words please the God Most High and he orders Azrael to take the lives of Wild Dumrul's parents and grants the young couple 140 years of life.

F - In this story we witness a wife who sacrifices her life for her husband without hesitation. With the women's sacrifice, Deli Dumrul escapes death.

#### **Sixth Story: Tells The Story of Kan Turalı Son of Kanlı Koja (Lewis, 117-132)**

7. A - Kan Turalı wants to marry a girl who is deserving and brave. He can not find a girl neither in the Inner nor in the Outer Oghuz. Infidel King of Trebizond has a very beautiful and much beloved daughter, Princess Saljan who has the suitable characteristics. However, he has to pass a very difficult test. Kan Turalı accepts the challenge and earns the marriage upon killing three beasts. The bridal bower is set for him and Princess Sal-

<sup>14</sup> Azrael: Angel who is believed to take souls by the order of God.



jan, but Kan Turalı refuses to enter bridal bower without seeing the faces of his lord father and lady mother. For this reason, he and his spouse travel to Oghuz land and they encamp along the way. Kan Turalı falls asleep. While he sleeps, the girl thinks that her suitors were many and they can gallop after them and seize them, kill his warrior and take her. Quietly she takes Turalı's horse, dresses for battle, takes up his spear and goes up to a high ground to watch for the enemy.

B - It seems that the King is repented of what he did. He picks six hundred infidels, they gallop night and day and without warning they arrive.

C - Princess Saljan sees that raiding party is approaching. He wakes Kan Turalı up and says;

*Wake up! Raise your head, O warrior!  
The foe has come, the enemy is here!  
Why do you sleep? Arise, warrior!  
My part was to rouse you; yours, to fight and show your skill.*

D - Turalı agrees and prepares to fight.

E - Thus he escapes a surprise attack by the alarm of his wife in her cautious act.

Princess Saljan knows the environment in which she grew up and the behaviour of her father as well. She is also cautious and knows how to watch for enemy.

8. A - Princess Saljan does not leave her husband alone in this battle. They decided to meet in the camp after they defeat the enemy. After the battle, she supposes that the enemy was defeated and returns to camp, but he can not find Kan Turalı there. She climbs to a high ground and looks around. She sees that they shot Kan Turalı's horse and he himself is wounded by an arrow over the eye.

B - Kan Turalı cannot see properly since blood is blocking his eyes.

C - Like a peregrine falcon falling on a flock of geese, she drives her horse at the infidel, she smashes through them from one end to the other.

D - Kan Turalı gets upset since a warrior comes and fights with his enemy without permission. Soon he realises that this warrior who is attacking and scattering the enemy is Princess Saljan and continues to fight.

E - They crush the enemy together.

F - In this episode, Kan Turalı escapes death thanks to his wife's skills in finding the wounded and fighting the enemy.

9. A - After the attack he decides to kill his wife, fearing that once they return to Oghuz land she would tell everyone that she saved him from certain death while he was helpless. She becomes aware of his thoughts and she behaves tenderly. She says that boasting is special to men not women because for a woman boasting is scandalous. Kan Turalı insists, so she gets angry and says;

*"Pimp son of a pimp! So you will not meet me half-way. Come over here and let's carry on the discussion; what will you have, arrows or swords?"*

They prepare their bows and arrows.

B - Kan Turalı got wounded in his eye. His wife saved him while he was about to be killed by enemy. He was unsuccessful in that battle. The possibility of her telling that she saved him on the battle makes Kan Turalı so angry. He insists on killing his wife despite being wounded, therefore he hurts the woman he loves. Moreover, he is challenging the girl even though he is wounded in the eye. Under these circumstances it is highly possible that the girl would shoot him first.

C - She removes the *temrens*<sup>15</sup> of two arrows, for she cannot bring herself to shoot with a pointed arrow. She says; "Warrior shoot your arrow".

D - Kan Turalı says "Girls shoot first".

E - Princess Saljan shoots her arrow at Kan Turalı so close that he gets very scared. Kan Turalı understands what his wife meant and they kiss each other and reconcile.

F - Princess Saljan is a self-confident lady and brave enough to risk her life for her beloved husband. Moreover she is aware of nomadic man's psychology and his pride. She wants to give a message to her husband who insists in his wrong decision. She achieves her goal at the end.

### Ninth Story: Tells the Story Emren Son of Begil (Lewis, 151-160)

10. A - Begil, who protects the Georgian border goes to Bayındır Khan's assembly. They all go hunting after the assembly. Begil is a brave hunter. He does not draw his bow or shoot an arrow. He would at once throw off his bow and hurl it at the neck of the stag and stop it in its tracks. If it is thin he would pierce its ear to make it recognisable in the hunt, while if it is fat he would kill it. When the nobles catch a quarry, if its ear was pierced they would send it to Begil to give him pleasure.

"This skill" asks Prince Kazan, "is it the horse's or the man's?", "the man's Lord" the nobles say. "No!" says the Khan, "If the horse does not play its part the man can not vaunt itself; the skill belongs to the horse". These words do not please Begil, he leaves the hunt in the middle and returns to his land with his brave men. His wife, seeing that her husband is displeased asks what happened. Begil says;

*"I saw our Khan's regard had left me.  
Let us move with all of our household to Georgia of the Nine Provinces;  
I have rebelled against the Oghuz, mark this well."*

B - It is a very serious thing to rebel against the Khan according to Oghuz customs. Begil leaves not only himself but also the ninety thousand people loyal to him in danger by acting emotionally.

C - Begil's wife responds to her husband calmly. She does not encourage him to revolt against his Khan and says "It seems that the Khan acted unfair". She invites her husband to collected and calm by saying "My warrior! Emperors are the shadow of God. None who rebels against his emperor prospers. If there be any tarnish on a pure soul, wine

<sup>15</sup> Temren: Sharp metal in front of arrow.

will remove it. Since you left, there has been no hunting over your many coloured mountains, which lie askew. Mount your horse and go hunting in order to ease your soul."

D - Begil, despite being angry and sorrowful, listens to his wife.

E - He goes hunting instead of preparing for migration. When he goes to mountains, he calms down.

F - In this story, the woman remains calm all the time and her loyalty to her tribe and her husband saves her husband family and ninety thousand people from a difficult situation.

### Analysis

Epic works are the kind of texts that describe the effects of historical events on society, personalities and social relationships that are standard for that era. *The Book of Dede Korkut*, which is an epic-story, reflects the historical events, daily lives of the people and the mentality of the time, but less than an epic does. In order to understand women's qualities related to this prospect, the society's perspective towards them, and the association of these concepts with fact, we need to determine the natural, social, religious and historical conditions that stories were created in.

Unfortunately this is a very difficult task to accomplish, because, throughout the centuries, the stories changed while the bards orally presented them. While being transformed, they became increasingly complex by overlapping with of older stories and by invisible effects of forgotten events, etc. All these factors prevented researchers for completely solving the text. Moreover, we do not have enough historical documents to review the events related to the book. Also, the analysis of the existing clues, by the various researchers, differs.

Despite all this, by making use of the resources and past researches, and giving examples from relevant stories, we want to demonstrate the natural, social and religious conditions that existed during the creation of *The Book of Dede Korkut*.

### Natural Environment

It is a widely accepted fact that physical, biological and geographical conditions affect people's physiological and social relationships.<sup>16</sup> Some of the main natural factors that effect people are climate, food, soil and their attitudes about nature.

The Mainland of the Turks is the area between the Ural and Altay Mountains, and the north-eastern part of the Caspian Sea. The Turkish tribes, who extended their borders towards north, west and east lived in this hard climate environment in several high mountains and on wide steppes.

The events in *The Book of Dede Korkut* take place in this geographic area extending to Eastern Anatolia.

<sup>16</sup> Nihat Nirun (1991). *Sistematik Sosyoloji Yönünden Sosyal Dinamik Bünye Analizi*, Ankara.

### Daily Life

The Turkish tribes who lived in this area for centuries, were nomadic people<sup>17</sup> who relied on hunting and stockbreeding. Eventually they established a unique steppe culture that included a powerful social unity and governmental system.<sup>18</sup>

These people who spent their times in winter by farming in low lands and in summer by hunting and stockbreeding lived in "kil tents" and used bows and arrows as well as swords in battles. Despite difficult living conditions, and weak defences, in order to solve their problems, they created a moral system<sup>19</sup> that depended upon social solidarity and personal quality. All of the society either obeyed these rules, that are called *Töre*,<sup>20</sup> or simply were forced to obey. It was an imperative to obey the oral rules in an environment that covers vast open areas of nomadic life in order to preserve order.<sup>21</sup> They learned by practice that even one individual's rebellion would cause catastrophic consequences throughout the time. These rules, which are based on the natural<sup>22</sup> order were either mentioned in the introduction sections of stories or used in the stories as a main theme.

### System of Moral Values

The most important value for Turks is **heroism /alplik**.<sup>23</sup> The difficulties that are faced during the periods of seasonal migrations of wild animals, fights among the tribes foster values related to heroism. The other characteristic sought among nomads is being wise. In order to solve daily life's ordinary problems to ruling a state, necessary knowledge and people who have this knowledge were very much appreciated among these people. Wise was a highly regarded title given to both men and women. Generousness / *akı*, was another important value for this society. Generousness, both in terms of material and spiritual, gives rise to helpfulness, sacrifice, kindness and appreciation.

<sup>17</sup> As Emel Esin points out in reference to A.D. Graç (1980). *Drevnie Koçevniki u Zentre Azii*, Moscow, the Turks were a small farming society usually gathered around a mother at the beginning although later in the first centuries of millenary before Christ, a change of existence had occurred in Inner Asia. The earlier small agricultural communities, possibly matriarchal units, had altered their way of life into semi-nomadic. Emel Esin (1991). Katun (On Turkish Women), *Erdem*, Vol. 7, No. 20, pp. 485-503.

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### Status of Woman in Family and in Society

The old Turkish family structure was a model for other social institutions. For this reason, examining the position of the woman will shed light on the status of the woman in society.

The core family structure consists of a mother, a father and children. The main principle in marriage is to choose a spouse by one's free will. The characteristics sought in choosing a spouse are appropriate for relevant living conditions and point of view. In this nomadic society in which personal skills and solidarity is much needed, equal marriages are appreciated.<sup>24</sup>

Also in *The Book of Dede Korkut*, young people chose their spouses by their own free will and their families confirmed their sons' or daughters' decisions, and the wedding was organised by son's father. The most important feature, that both sides look for in their spouses, is heroism/bravery. In relation to that, both sides test each other in horse riding, using weapons and courage. As an example, the main feature that Kan Turalı looks for is neither beauty, virginity, grace nor belonging to same religion but being strong and fearless. This tradition survives in today's world with small differences,<sup>25</sup> and is a common pattern seen in Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek epics.<sup>26</sup>

The married couple sets up a new home with their trousseau.<sup>27</sup> This home, which has been set up in equal conditions, is regarded as common property of the couple. Monogamy is the principal in these marriages.<sup>28</sup> The leading spouse is the man in this structure.<sup>29</sup> However, this structure is different in terms of status, liberty and legal rights from patriarchal family type. In the Turkish family structure the husband's leading role is not one that relies on despotism but guardianship. Both the spouses and the children are free in their acts and decisions as long as they follow basic principles.

As we have seen in several examples from *The Book of Dede Korkut*, even though the final decision and proprietorship belongs to the husband, the wife also has some legal

<sup>24</sup> This widely accepted tradition is mentioned in Turkish proverb "Davul dengi dengine çalar". Ömer Asım Aksoy (1978). *Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü*.vol.1, Ankara, p. 157.

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rights.<sup>30</sup> In the fifth story, Wild Dumrul mentions that he leaves all his property to his wife before he dies. In the text, it is mentioned that Dirse Khan's wife also has a separate treasury and an army.

In this society, hunting and raiding were dominant activities having children was important.<sup>31</sup> Male children were preferred since society was ruled by males and physical strength was necessary for hunting and battles likewise, daughters were never disdained.<sup>32</sup>

Women were highly regarded as mothers, the status of woman who give birth to a child –especially a son- is definitely different than those who do not. In *The Book of Dede Korkut*, especially in the story of Dirse Khan this concept is emphasised. The other theme that is frequently stressed reflects the characteristic of woman as guardian applied to other areas.

Education starts in cradle and would continue under the supervision of the family. In this education, which comprises oral and practical methods, children would learn horse riding, using weapons, stockbreeding and the principles of migration all together. Besides, the basic knowledge regarding sex would be taught by mothers to daughters and fathers or other men<sup>33</sup> to sons. At the end of this education sons would become excellent warriors and hunters but also talented girls could have similar skills.<sup>34</sup>

Because men were away from home most of the time to hunt, fight or graze cattle, women were left responsible to raise children and maintain the house, eg. to prepare the food, making cloths out of wool, weaving carpets, selling her products in market, protecting the house and her husband against many dangers. They also would take care for the health problems of their children and other members of the family as well as the animals.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Women have their own property and legal inheritance rights in most Turkish tribes. It is known that, rulers' wives commonly known as "terken" had their own incomes, palaces and even separate armies. Osman Turan (1965/1999). *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk İslam Medeniyeti*, İstanbul, p. 315.

Even an ordinary woman could manage her home and take care of her children if her husband had passed away. The mentioned situation in Wild Dumrul's story is also present in an Uyghur manuscript. On the 18th day of 8th month, the year of *Rat*, on a will of an Uyghur man called Tumisi, it is written for his wife Silang that: "After me, she should take care of my home and my son Altmış Kaya, but she should not marry". Reşit Rahmeti Arat (1964). *Eski Türk Hukuk Vesikaları, Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*. Vol. 1, p. 40.

<sup>31</sup> The story of Boghach Khan son of Dirse Khan is a striking example.

<sup>32</sup> Sons were preferred in Turkish society, but to have a daughter was not a cause of shame like it was in some cultures. In *The Book of Dede Korkut*, in the third story, Pay Biçen requests Khans to pray for him to have a daughter.

<sup>33</sup> For further details on father's role in child's education; Şeyma Güngör (2000). *Dede Korkut Kitabı'nda Baba-Oğul İlişkisi, Tarih Boyunca Türklerde Ev ve Aile Semineri, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi*, İstanbul pp. 33-54.

<sup>34</sup> The are records mentioning that some girls were superior to boys on riding, using weapons etc. Famous traveller Marco Polo (d. 1324) introduces Turkistan sovereign Kaydu Khan's daughter Ayyürek as follows; "Ayyürek was a strong and brave girl. She was superior in shooting arrows and fighting with swords over many men." Filiz Dokuman (no date). *Marko Polo Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 2, Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, İstanbul, p. 197. In the third story of *The Book of Dede Korkut*, Beyrek who wrestles with Banu Chichek, escapes defeat by cheating.

<sup>35</sup> Emel Esin tells everyday life of an ordinary semi-nomadic Turkish women as follows; "The seasonal alteration of the mode of life, which continued into the historical period, beginning in the ca the Vth century, caused a duplication of the feminine personality. In winter, within the tribal circumvallation, woman presided, both as cook and as priestess fire, at the family hearth and altar. She spun, dyed wools and felts, wove and embroidered...With the advent of spring and the move of the flocks towards the pastures, the condition of women changed. The women also must be on horseback, herding the sheep, encounter or flee before an enemy attack and, if the castle were robbed, hunt for subsistence. In this existence, where defeat sometimes ended in massacre, manly qualities were needed." Emel Esin (1991). *Katun (On Turkish Women)*, *Erdem*, Vol.7, No. 20, pp. 485-486.

Moral problems related to sex were next to none.<sup>36</sup> Devotion of spouses was a frequently emphasised fact in the stories. It is extremely rare to see a problem related to women's sexuality. For example, in the story of Kazan Khan, the enemy's wish to make Lady Burla their cupbearer and King Shokli's desire to sleep with her has nothing to do with woman herself but to humiliate her husband.

According to the Turkish tradition, despite the lack of religious or legal obligations, marriages last a lifetime. Divorce is never considered during disagreements between spouses. As it was seen in the Wild Dumlul episode the widowed women could care for herself and her children or could marry again.

Historical resources, archaeological discoveries and other travel literature manuscripts show that women were assigned duties in the higher levels of society. Starting from Huns (III B.C.-III A.D.), khan's wife who earned the "katun" title, was influential in the administration of the country and in the absence of her husband and son, she ruled the country with the title "terken" (türkan). Among these katuns, there were women who were famous for their intelligence, knowledge of law and victories in battle such as Attila's wife Arıkan, Uygur Khan İlteber's mother Uluğ Katun, India Turkish ruler İltutmuş's daughter Raziyye, Selchuklu sovereign Tuğrul Beg's wife Altun Can Katun, Alp Arslan's sister and Elbasan's wife Gevher, Sultan Sencer's wife Terken, Sultan Meliksah's wife Terken Katun.<sup>37</sup> The assignment of women in ruling continued until XIVth century, even though women stayed in the background in following centuries but maintained their influence in administration.<sup>38</sup>

In relation to the changing way of life over time, the status and value of woman in the family and society has also changed. One of the best examples of this situation is the section related to women in the introduction of *The Book of Dede Korkut*, which is believed to be added during the XVth century. The women in the introduction of this book, in which the sedentary life style is dominant, are different when compared to the ones in stories and are valued according to their home duties such as cooking, keeping the house clean, respecting their husband. These women are identified in four groups which are "solduran sop", "tolduran top", "ivün tayağı", "niçe söylersen bayağı". Even though nearly all of the women in the stories have good qualities<sup>39</sup>, only one of the four women in the introduction regarded as good.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Especially this issue drew much attention from foreign researchers. For example İbn Fazlan who traveled in the Turkish land in the Xth century, states that Turkish women do not run away from men, do not hide their bodies from men and adds; "They don't know what adultery is and if they find out someone has committed this crime, they tear her/him into two pieces." Ramazan Şeşen (1975). *İbn Fazlan's Journeys*, Ankara. p. 31. Same author wrote these sentences for Bulgarian Turks; "Women and men have bath together in rivers. They don't run away from each other. Neither they commit adultery which is a very serious crime for them." *ibid* p.57. Same author writes that Karluk women are very beautiful and honest, therefore their husbands are not jealous on them at all. *ibid* p. 91.

<sup>37</sup> Some of these women, just like in *The Book of Dede Korkut*, saved their husbands from countless difficult situations. One of these remarkable women is Altun Can Katun. Tuğrul Beg took shelter in Hemedan castle when he was defeated by his brother. His wife Altun Can Katun, played a vital role in rescuing his husband by commanding Oghuz Army. Osman Turan (1965/1999). *op cit*, pp. 137 and 314.

<sup>38</sup> Bahriye Üçok (1993). *İslam Devletinde Kadın Naibeler ve Kadın Hükümdarlar*, Ankara. In her book, she mentions about 30 women who ruled in Muslim countries.

<sup>39</sup> In the stories, all of the women except Boğazca Fatma are mentioned with their good characteristics.

<sup>40</sup> Women who identified as "Solduran sop" are of too much eating, continuously complaining, lazy and ungrateful or ungrateful type; "Dolduran top" are of same lazy and gossip type, "Nedersen bayağıdır" are of acting improperly even near her husband type. Dede Korkut society's opinion on this kind of women is "God save you from these women, God save you from marrying them and have children from these women."

## Turkish Belief System and Status of Women in Religion

The Turks who lived in a widespread geographic area were affected by different religions and belief systems. Even though there is little agreement among scholars on this issue, it is believed that starting from ancient times the Turks accepted animism, totemism and naturalism. In accordance with historical documents in the following ages Turks also accepted Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

In the belief system of the Turks who established states in Central Asia,<sup>41</sup> the universe is divided into three parts, namely the sky, ground and underground. *Gök Tanrı* (Sky God) is the superior man and he is male. In addition to that the goodness deity *Ülgen* and the evil deity *Erlig* are also male. There are several other deities that serve these superior ones. In this system, sun/fire, soil, water and tree cults have also a particular place though not as holy as the others.

Women generally have good and positive characteristics in this belief system. In the Altay Creation Epic, the one who gives the idea of creation to God *Ülgen* is *Ak Ana* (White Mother)<sup>42</sup>.

The most important goddess *Umay* protects children and young animals<sup>43</sup>. Mother of people/state *İnkey* and *Ana Maygil* protect the society. *Ayzit* is the goddess that creates, and provides prosperity. According to Shamanist Altay Turks the source of life is *Gün Ana* (Sun). The one who represents *Od Ana* (fire) is also a female. She is the holy one who feeds the hungry, warms those who feel cold, and clears the combats. According to the hymn for *Od Ana*, "aile ocağı/family home"<sup>44</sup> and the fire cult *Ülgen's* daughters *Ak Kızlar* (white girls) also inspire the Shamans.

Turks believed that shamans, who conducted some rituals, made magic and healed people, had extraordinary powers so they were much respected. There were "kam-katun"s (women shamans) in some regions<sup>45</sup> and these shamans were considered superior to male shamans. For example, one of the two shamans in the Kirghız's epic *Manas* is a woman and she in fact is Muslim and has superior powers to her male companion.

Even after the transformation to other religions the traces of Shamanism are still visible. This is even valid for Muslim Turks. Research shows the traces of this religion in today's Anatolia.<sup>46</sup>

Starting from IX. Century, in which Islam is accepted by a vast majority of Turks, parallel to Islamic rules, women's status and value in society started to change. Despite the-

<sup>41</sup> Until the end of VIII. Century, Turks who lived in northern parts of Central Asia believed in Shamanism. The belief of Shamanism among Turks differ from tribe to tribe in terms of names of Gods and Goddesses.

<sup>42</sup> Bahaeddin Ögel (1989). *Türk Mitolojisi*, Ankara.

<sup>43</sup> This feature shows the importance of children and therefore mothers who give birth to them. In the VIII. century Orkhon Monuments built by Göktürks, Khan is resembled to *Gök Tanrı/Sky God* and women to *Umay*.

<sup>44</sup> "Ocak" means fire used in house/tent, and as figurative means members of family. The word "aile ocağı" is still valid today and its connection with *Ot Ana*, shows women's status and prestige at home.

<sup>45</sup> Same belief continues among Kirghız and Yakut Turks even today. For further information regarding this issue see, Jean Paul Roux (1984). *La Religion Des Turcs et Des Mongols*, Paris. Aykut Kazancigil (Trans.) (1994). *Türklerin ve Moğalların Eski Dini*, İstanbul, p. 56.

<sup>46</sup> For example, Abdülkadir İnan (1952). *Müslüman Türklerde Şamanizm Kalıntısı, İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.4, pp. 19-30; Fuat Köprülü (1928-1966). *Türk Edebiyatının Menşei, Edebiyat Araştırmaları*, Ankara. pp.49-130; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (1983). *Bektaşî Menakıbnamelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri*, İstanbul.

se rules as accepted by the people who settled in cities, nomadic Turks resisted and changed these rules to some extent.<sup>47</sup> In the wise precepts of Dede Korkut we observe not a clergyman's advice but a bard/shaman who transmit national experiences to next generations.<sup>48</sup>

*The Book of Dede Korkut* tells of nomadic Muslim Turks' adventures. Despite these Turks accepting Islam with their free will and obeying its rules, they maintained their old life style and social relationships. For this obvious reason, we can observe that several duties of women in the pre-Islamic times still exist in Muslim Turks' *The Book of Dede Korkut* such as; feeding children, providing comfort (Ot Ana), providing peace and prosperity (Ayasıt), protecting children (Umay), advising men (Ak Ana), to see future and past and to heal (female Shaman).

### Literary aspects of the husband-wife relationships in *The Book of Dede Korkut*

*The Book of Dede Korkut* has been formed by the epic legacy's transformation by the addition of other events and by alteration according to ever changing preferences and necessities. We know that some characters mentioned in the book had really existed.<sup>49</sup> Among the significant women in the stories, Boyı Uzun Burla Hatun (Lady Burla, The Tall), was in fact, one of the seven ruling women in Oghuz lands.<sup>50</sup>

In *The Book of Dede Korkut*, which is identified as belonging to transformation from epic to the story era, women are mentioned with their ideal characteristics, like in the epics,<sup>51</sup> and men are mentioned with both their good and bad characteristics like in stories.

In epic stories the primary heroes are males. Women are secondary characters in the ongoing events. There are six women who saved their husbands from difficult situations in the book. Except Salur Kazan's wife Lady Burla and Selcan Hatun, others are mentioned such as Dirse Khan's wife, Wild Dumrul's wife, Begil's wife and the Khan of Bayburt's daughter.

Female heroines' husbands and fathers are well known people who have political and socio-economical privileges in society.<sup>52</sup> Women's status in society is only provided by being a daughter or wife of these important people.

A significant point that needs careful consideration contained in *The Book of Dede Korkut* is that women are the ones who act and decide by their minds most of the time rat-

<sup>47</sup> For the social status of women in city life in Islamic ages XIII-XIV century see; Taneri Aydın (1988). *Türkiye Selçukluları Kültür Hayatı (Menakübü'l-Arifin'in Değerlendirilmesi)*, Ankara.

<sup>48</sup> Female Shaman in Manas Epic is also a Muslim.

<sup>49</sup> Orhan Şaik Gökyay (1973). *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*. pp. XXXIII-LXXI.

<sup>50</sup> Ebulgazi Bahadır Han (no date). *Şeceri-i Terakime, Türklerin Soy Kütüğü*, (Muharrem Ergin ed.) İstanbul. pp. 96-97.

<sup>51</sup> We are emphasizing heroines who are of interest in relation to our topic.

<sup>52</sup> Primary characters in epics and stories are usually people who belong to higher social classes.

her than by their emotions. The basic reason men have trouble is because they lose their calmness whereas women are calm and patient in these stories<sup>53</sup>.

The most common event regarding women saving their husbands is that their bravery. In the stories, Dirse Khan's wife, Selcan Hatun and Lady Burla save their husbands applying their knowledge and distinguished skills in fighting.

Knowledge is highly valued in *The Book of Dede Korkut*. Korkut Ata and other bards transmit their ancestors' knowledge to the following generations. The second most important people who convey knowledge are women. Women, both as wife and mother, transfer their knowledge about traditions, health, cooking, child raising to girls. In the eighth story, as a striking example, Begil's wife reminds us of the state and political tradition regarding revolts and displays her knowledge and influence on her husband.

### Evaluation and Conclusion

In *The Book of Dede Korkut*, the bard both preserves and transmits his ancestors' memories and realities, and at the same time educates the younger generations. Throughout the life, people face many problems. People who have a strong character always try to solve their problems individually, but sometimes they may need help. In these times, family members are the ones who help first.

In these stories, the heroes' are saved especially by their wives who have certain historical, social and moral reasons. In nomadic societies women have several very important properties. The primary reason for that are the environmental conditions. Nomadic women who had to live under different conditions according to seasons, had both "female" skills such as household management, motherhood, cooking as well as the rather "male" skills such as horse riding, archery and even fighting. A woman, whose husband died or was taken prisoner by the enemy was obliged to take on her husband's responsibilities as well.

These conditions make women not a passive consumer or someone that needs protection but rather a producing, active, protecting, useful individual in the society. These characteristics are worthy of mention in literary works.

*The Book of Dede Korkut*, which is a product of the transformation from the epic to story era, includes both nomadic and settled cultural properties. In the stories which originated under different conditions, the relationship between spouses also differs. For example, in the first story Dirse Khan listens to his wife even though he is very angry. On the contrary in the third part of sixth story, the husband does not believe in his wife's words. It is clear that the women's status and prestige is in the process of decline even though women are acknowledged right at the end of every story. Moreover, in the introduction which is believed to belong to later ages, the women's area of activities and prestige declined even more. In this section only one of the four women was evaluated by her cooking, child ra-

<sup>53</sup> In most of the western and eastern cultures, it is accepted that women act with their emotions rather than their minds. However, experts state that this condition differs with the effects of different historical and cultural environment. Güngör, Erol (1993). *Değerler Psikolojisi*, Amsterdam. p. 59.

ising, following her husbands' order, as good. Women, by changing living conditions, religious rules, effects of foreign cultures, especially in city life, inevitably were forced to stay in background. In relation to this situation, some characteristics of women mentioned in *The Book of Dede Korkut* have declined and unfortunately others have faded.

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### Özet

*Dede Korkut Kitabı*, Türk kadının toplum içindeki yeri ve değerinin belirlenmesinde kaynak teşkil eden önemli eserlerden birisidir. Giriş ve oniki epik-hikayeden meydana gelen kitapta, göçebe hayat yaşayan Oğuz Türklerinin başından geçen bazı olaylar anlatılır.

IX-XI yüzyıllarda Orta Asya'da yaşayan Türkler, daha önceki devirlere ait hatıraları ile kendi maceralarını birleştiren destanî-hikayeler meydana getirmişlerdir. Daha sonra bu metinler, Oğuzların Azerbaycan ve Anadolu'ya göçmelerinden sonraki olayların, kültürel etkilerin ilavesiyle zenginleşmiş ve değişmiştir. Söz konusu hikayeler XV. yüzyılda yazıya geçirilmiş ve giriş kısmının eklenmesiyle *Dede Korkut Kitabı* meydana gelmiştir.

Asırlar içinde ozanlar tarafından sözlü olarak kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılan hikayeler, geniş zaman dilimi içindeki Türk sosyal yapısına, hayata bakış tarzına, inançlarına ait aydınlatıcı bilgiler taşımaktadır.

*Dede Korkut Hikayeleri*'nde güçlü şahsiyetleri ile toplumun aktif bir bireyi olarak yer alan kadın kahramanlar, diğer olumlu niteliklerinin yanında, akılları, bilgileri, fedakarlıkları ve savaşçılık vasıflarıyla, zaman zaman kocalarını zor durumdan kurtaran eşler olarak da işlenmektedir. Bununla beraber, aynı kitabın giriş kısmında, yalnız ev temizlemek, yemek yapmak, misafir ağırlamak, kocaya itaat gibi, çok dar alana ait niteliklerle değerlendirilen kadının, toplum içindeki yeri ve değerinin epeyce gerilediği anlaşılmaktadır.



## The Changing Role of Cypriot Women in Urban Residential Exterior Spaces

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### Abstract

*Residential exterior spaces are the complimentary elements of the internal living volume and are utilised to meet the sheltering needs of human being. This is especially true of exterior spaces in hot countries, which offer a variety of opportunities for their users.*

*As the summer periods are relatively long and hot in Northern Cyprus, residential exterior spaces have had great influence upon the life of Cypriot women. Throughout history, door front streets, gardens, balconies, and transition spaces have been designed in conformity with women activities in houses and opportunities have been provided for women to use these spaces intensively during most of daylight hours. In recent years, however, due to the emergence of design with low input costs, most of the residential exterior spaces of multi-storey apartments, which have had great significance in women lives, tend to lose their physical, functional and local qualities. Therefore, the daily uses represented by the social interactions in outdoor spaces are almost completely lost or change into individualised private activities.*

*In the light of these issues, the role of the Cypriot women in urban residential exterior spaces in Northern Cyprus is being studied within this scope and in this connection; that is the exterior space components like door fronts, streets, gardens, balconies and transition spaces are being evaluated in terms of their meanings and uses from the Ottoman Period until today. This study consists of two parts, which includes examining the role of the Cypriot women in urban residential exterior spaces and evaluating residential exterior spaces, and analysing a research questionnaire answered by women living in multi-storey apartments. The data required for this research has been collected in terms of the literature review, while the research questionnaire applied a random sampling based upon an empirical observation method.*

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The authors would like to acknowledge to Assist. Prof. Dr. Naciye Doratlı for commenting on the first draft of this article besides of Hüseyin Kuruç and Assist. Prof. Isaac Lerner for their proof reading.

**Introduction**

Residential exterior spaces are the complementary elements of the internal living volumes. Exterior spaces in hot countries are of great significance in daily life. The success of housing depends more on how the spaces between the buildings are efficiently utilised than their interior designs (Marcus & Sarkissian, 1986). Throughout history, residential exterior spaces provided useable outdoor rooms for the Cyprus women.

Cyprus is an island in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea and due to its location, possesses great strategic significance. Throughout history, it has been ruled by many nations. Hittites, Egyptian, Assyrians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Lusignans, Venetians, Ottoman and British were among the occupiers of the island. All the societies who had lived on the island had distinct cultures represented by economic and administrative infrastructures. These characteristic infrastructures influenced both the physical environments and the exterior spaces. In 1974, as a result of war, the island was divided into two zones. Since then, the Greek Cypriots have been living in southern part and the Turkish Cypriots have been living in northern part. This study covers the northern part of the island.

Because summers are very hot and long in Cyprus, outdoor spaces in housing areas have an important place in Cypriot women's lives. Throughout history, these spaces have consciously been designed and efficiently been used by the Cypriot women as part of their daily lives. However, today, while outdoor spaces in houses are used, as much as or sometimes more than interior volumes, however in multi-storey apartments, these spaces seem to have no appropriate formation and adequate uses (Fasli, 1997, 103).

Having realised the importance of the residential exterior spaces for the Cypriot women as well as the problems encountered, this paper will proceed to explore the role of Cypriot women, in urban residential exterior spaces in houses and multi-storey apartments. However, although it is out of the scope of this study, it is also important to mention here that the rural vernacular architecture has a great influence on the creation of architecture in the urban areas of the island (Numan et al., 2001, Dinçyürek, 1998).

Archaeological evidence shows that Cyprus has had a long history. The early men came to the island about 7000 BC and settled in the south-eastern part at a place called Khirokitia and then Northern coast at Vrysi (Yıldız, 1996, 79, Cattling and Brown, 1975, Cattling, 1996). However, due to the lack of the written sources about women's role in residential outdoor spaces, therefore in this study, the components of residential exterior space in urban environments will be evaluated -in terms of meaning and use- from the Ottoman Period until today. The Ottoman civilisation on the island dates back to the end of the 16th century.

As defined by Faslı (1997), the street door fronts, gardens, balconies and transition spaces are the main components of the residential exterior spaces of the cities in Northern Cyprus. These spaces will be evaluated in terms of Cypriot women activities. In order to collect the necessary data for this research, a literature review, questionnaire research and random observation methods have been used.

**Examining the Role of Cypriot Women in Urban Residential Exterior Spaces**

As in all other societies, women have a significant position in the Turkish Cypriot society. When women's roles are examined, it is seen that women are employed in a diversity of occupations some of which even held important positions at government or nongovernmental organisations. However, their success is not limited to clerical duties and social services, but they are also successful in their houses. Throughout history, women activities and requirements have affected the formation of the residential exterior spaces. In Tables 1-4, the components of the residential exterior space like street door fronts, gardens, balconies and transition spaces are presented separately. In each of the tables, one of the components regarding the origin and evolution process is illustrated in the top row. In Table 1, the second row shows the list of the street types with regard to use, below which each use in the respective cultural period is indicated by hatching in each column. In Tables 2-4, each column represents the origin of a type of component, the duration of construction and uses are indicated by hatching for each cultural era. In what follows more detail information will be given about women's role in these spaces.

**Table 1: Evolution and uses of the streets throughout history**

EVOLUTION OF THE STREET PATTERNS THROUGH DIFFERENT CIVILISATION PERIODS				
	Narrow organic streets	Cul-de sac	Street widening	Wide and straight streets
ACTIVITIES IN STREETS	TRANSPORTATION	TRANSPORTATION	TRANSPORTATION	TRANSPORTATION
	COMMUNICATION WITH NEIGHBOURS WHILE GETTING WATER FROM STREET FOUNTAINS	COMMUNICATION WITH NEIGHBOURS WHILE GETTING WATER FROM STREET FOUNTAINS	COMMUNICATION WITH NEIGHBOURS WHILE GETTING WATER FROM STREET FOUNTAINS	COMMUNICATION WITH NEIGHBOURS WHILE GETTING WATER FROM STREET FOUNTAINS
	SITTING AND SOCIALISING	SITTING AND SOCIALISING	SITTING AND SOCIALISING	SITTING AND SOCIALISING
	CHILDREN PLAYING	CHILDREN PLAYING	CHILDREN PLAYING	CHILDREN PLAYING
OTTOMAN PERIOD 1571-1878				
BRITISH PERIOD 1878-1930 1936-1960				
AFTER 1960 1960-2000				

**Table 2:** Evolution and uses of the gardens throughout history

EVOLUTION OF THE GARDENS THROUGH DIFFERENT CIVILISATION PERIODS	Courtyard house		Little balcony houses		Row houses with rear gardens		Row houses with front and rear gardens		Modern houses in traditional environments		Modern Houses in newly developing areas		Multi-storey apartments	
	OTTOMAN PERIOD 1571-1878													
BRITISH PERIOD 1878-1930 1930-1960														
AFTER 1960 1960-2000														
ACTIVITIES IN GARDENS	Rear garden	Rear Garden	Rear garden	Front Garden	Rear garden	Rear garden	Front garden	Rear garden	Common outdoor space					
COOKING														
BAKING														
LAUNDRY														
PREPARE FOOD FOR WINTER USE														
STORING														
DRYING LAUNDRY														
LOOKING AROUND														
SITTING														
SOCIALISING														
DINNING														
CHILDREN PLAYING														
PASSAGE														
GROWING FLOWERS														
KEEPING DOMESTIC ANIMALS														

**Table 3:** Evolution and uses of the balconies throughout history

EVOLUTION OF THE BALCONIES THROUGH DIFFERENT CIVILISATION PERIODS	Little balcony houses		Row houses with front and rear gardens		Modern houses in traditional environments		Modern houses in newly developing areas		Multi-storey apartments	
	OTTOMAN PERIOD 1571-1878									
BRITISH PERIOD 1878-1930 1930-1960										
AFTER 1960 1960-2000										
ACTIVITIES IN BALCONIES										
LOOKING AROUND										
SITTING										
SOCIALISING										
DRYING LAUNDRY										
STORING										
GROWING FLOWERS IN POTS										

**Table 4:** Evolution and uses of the transition spaces throughout history

EVOLUTION OF THE TRANSITION SPACES THROUGH DIFFERENT CIVILISATION PERIODS	Row houses with rear gardens		Row houses with front and rear gardens		Modern houses in newly developing areas		Multi-storey apartments	
	OTTOMAN PERIOD 1571-1878							
BRITISH PERIOD 1878-1930 1930-1960								
AFTER 1960 1960-2000								
ACTIVITIES IN TRANSITION SPACES								
LOOKING AROUND								
SITTING								
SOCIALISING								
PASSAGE								
GROWING FLOWERS IN POTS								

**1571-1878 Period**

For about 300 years Ottomans were the rulers of the island. They brought their own architectural and urban characteristics to the island. Islamic Law, which had accompanied the Ottoman civilisation, positively affected the legal position and the family life of Cypriot women (Jennings, 1993, 14). In reality women's social lives, legal rights and economic levels were not very different from the Anatolian women (Yildiz, 1997, 182). As mentioned by Kuban (1986, 49), if the city center with its mosques, madrasas, baths, khans, covered bazaars, open market stalls and cafe houses have all been an expression of masculine life, then the residential quarters were more likely to reflect feminine life.

Ottomans constructed much new housing, as a whole, during their period in Cyprus. In the early years of the Turkish rule, the Turks themselves preferred to make use of and adapt the existing buildings from the Latin period, rather than construct new palaces or mansions for high-ranking people (Yildiz, 1996, 80). During this period, human scale courtyard houses were constructed. These houses were located along the narrow organic streets and cul-de-sacs (dead end streets). Cul-de-sac is a semi-public street space, which mainly belongs to the housing units surrounding it. The concept of cul-de-sac is seen in different forms, as the effort for creating an individual community is seen as the main idea for almost all housing organisations (Aru, 1998, 11).

The plan of Ottoman Houses was always based on the privacy of family life as well as on climatic conditions. They do not vary much in this respect from most of the Anatolian Ottoman houses (Yildiz, 1996, 85). There are two fundamental elements constituting the formal organisation of the houses. These are rooms and the sofa. The house is open to a

courtyard, that is surrounded by a high wall in order to isolate family life from the outside world (Küçükerman, 1978, 95). One of the most conspicuous features of these houses is the projections or cantilever of the upper storeys, called *Cumbas* over the street. It serves the purpose of increasing living spaces and providing a better overview. Furthermore, provides shade and shelter from the rain for the passer-by in the street (Solesten, 1993, 294). In addition, as is mentioned by Demi (1993, 61), the *Cumba* allows the women to watch the street without being seen.

As in Anatolia, the Ottoman houses, in a general sense, was the women's world, while working outside was the duty and responsibility of husbands and sons (Pulhan, 1997, 116). In spite of the friendship of neighbours, the maintenance of privacy within the house and the courtyard used to be perceived as a very important matter. Usually, entry inside was through a simple doorway opening towards a sofa and oriented toward a courtyard or garden, or it opened directly into a courtyard (Yıldız, 1996, 86). Almost every house has a courtyard or garden with a number of orange and lemon trees and gigantic palm trees towering over them. All these gardens were bounded by a clay wall on the street side. The side adjoining the sofa is fenced only by a low wooden balustrade (Salvator, 1983, 26). Besides, it was a place for growing flowers and keeping domestic animals. Service spaces were at the back edge of courtyard, which provide direct access. Those courtyards were the focal point of women's activities. The women used to spend most of their time in courtyards. Many activities of families were carried out in the courtyards; such as cooking, baking, laundry, preparation of food for winter, storing, drying laundry etc. Women used to sit with their neighbours in the courtyard, while children played in the presence and security of their mothers.

As mentioned by Dreghorn (1979, 32), most of the houses had their own wells in the courtyard. Otherwise, a fountain of running water, which was located at street corners, was used to meet the water requirements. At the fountain, women had a chance to meet with neighbours and communicate whilst getting water. İmamoğlu (1992, 210) pointed out that, the neighbourhood was not only a physical entity, but also a social unit providing social and economic co-operation among neighbours. In the Ottoman Period, neighbourhood cohesion was strong and widespread. Families used to care about their neighbours and neighbourhoods.

### 1878-1960 Period

The British period can be evaluated in two parts according to the characteristics of the built environments: the first (1878-1930) and the second British Periods (1930-1960). During the first period, the pre-existing buildings, traditions and cultural aspects of the local people were greatly respected. As is indicated by Yıldız (1997, 193), although Cyprus had become a British colony by 1914, Cypriot customs and traditions continued. Besides, at the beginning of this period, the built environment showed great similarities with the previous period. The street pattern kept its previous characteristics and the construction of *courtyard houses* continued. In this period, *little balcony houses* started to be constructed. From about 1880 to 1920 the idea of the balcony houses came the island (Dreghorn,

1979, 32). Those houses had a small rear garden. Then, the construction of *row houses with a rear garden* was initiated.

Generally, these *row houses* were single storied. In some types, front facades were set back to provide a transition from the public exterior domain in residential areas to the private interior space of the dwelling. The experience of entering a building influences the way you feel inside the building. If the transition is too abrupt, there is no feeling of arrival (Alexander, 1977, 551).

Towards the end of the first period, one or two storied *houses with a front and a rear garden* started to be constructed. Most dominantly, in the double storied types, a small balcony existed in front façade, together with a transition space, that was defined by an overhead projection on the ground floor.

In the second period, radical changes took place in the physical environment. During this period, the narrow streets in the traditional historic environments were subject to street widening in order to provide a wider space for vehicular traffic. Besides, partially defined wide and straight streets were added to the street pattern. Towards the end of this period, the influence of the Modern Movement was also felt in Northern Cyprus. Many *modern houses* were constructed in the cities. Those houses in the newly developing areas had both front and rear gardens as well as balconies. Most dominantly, they were one or two storeyed houses. Generally, the ground floor was set back to provide a transition from exterior spaces to the interior volume. Moreover, *multi-storey apartments* started to be constructed. Those apartments were of four or five storeys. Generally, two flats were designed for each level. Each flat might have one or two balconies. One was on the front facade and the other was either on the sides or rear façade. Transition to the apartment was marked by small overhead projections. After a brief description of the housing types and the exterior space components pertaining to British Period, an account of the role of Cypriot women in these spaces will be provided.

During the British Period, due to the political changes, privacy began to lose its significance, which restricted the behaviour of women in public spaces. Since most women were housewives, communication between neighbours frequently took place in the residential exterior space components.

The streets were the communal meeting places for the Cypriot women, which can be considered as somewhat an extension of the house at the ground floor. In this period, provision of water from street fountains was still a part of daily life (Figure 1). Getting water from the street fountain provided leisure to women (Thomson, 1985, 36). Since then, women have been using street spaces for sitting and socialising with neighbours. Children of similar age have played together in the streets. Accordingly, women have been in visual and physical contact with the street spaces. As is defined by Hikmetağalar (1996, 107), engagement, wedding and circumcision feasts took place in the garden and -as an extension- in the street spaces in front of the houses. Women organised the occasions and were proud of having parties in their homes.



Figure 1: Women getting water from a fountain (Thomson, 1985, 37).

As mentioned above, the gardens have been the complementary elements of the interior living volume throughout history. They provided various opportunities during the day and night for the Cypriot women. Considering the gardens in different periods, it can be seen that, they show similar characteristics in terms of their uses. The gardens - courtyard, front and rear gardens - were consciously designed and efficiently used by the women except for the multi-storey apartment type. As was previously mentioned, the houses either had a rear garden or both a front and a rear garden. Starting with the British Period, as a result of introduction of front and rear gardens, women have been carrying out different activities in different gardens. While the front gardens have been used for viewing, sitting, socialising, and as a passage (Figure 2), the rear gardens have been used for the preparation of food for winter uses, storing, and laundry drying. Activities that took place in the either part of the garden include dining during the hot summer nights, children playing, growing flower and keeping domestic animals. It is a habit for the Cypriot women to decorate their gardens with flowers and to be proud of having such decorated gardens. In case of a house that had a rear garden, all these activities would take place in there.

In Northern Cyprus, an important argument in favour of balconies is based on their climatic function. In such a hot climate, it is the only breathing space as well as functioning for various purposes. From the British Period until today, balconies in apartments have been used for viewing, sitting, socialising, drying laundry, storing and growing flowers in pots. If there were two balconies, then



Figure 2: Sitting and socialising in a front garden (Photo: M. Fasli).

the rear or the side balcony was used for drying laundry and storage and the front one for the other facilities.

As mentioned above, towards the end of the first British Period, building façades were set back and that provided transition spaces between the street spaces and the entrance hall. In Northern Cyprus transition spaces are the most useful and complementary elements for the internal living volume (Fasli, 1997, 64). Similar to the other residential exterior space components, the transition spaces have been consciously designed and efficiently used by the Cypriot women throughout history. In private houses, transition spaces have been used for gazing around, sitting, socialising, as a passage and growing flowers in pots, but in apartment types they have been used only for passage purposes.

### 1960-2000 Period

At the beginning of this period, constructions of the *modern houses* were predominantly continued in the newly developing areas. Besides, modern houses started to be constructed in the traditional environments as *houses with long balconies* on the street-line. Most of the *modern houses* are successful in terms of architecture and outdoor space organisation. The balconies in *modern houses* in traditional environments have often been used for viewing, sitting, socialising and growing potted plants. During this period, construction of the *row houses with a front and a rear garden* and *multi-storey apartments* continued.

In 1978, a Social Housing Law was enacted by the Government in order to meet the increasing housing demand after 1974. Since then, the government and private companies have constructed a great number of multi-storey apartments in every city of Northern Cyprus (Figure 3). Generally, buildings are located set in a grid pattern and the outdoor spaces are covered by hard surfaces without consideration of women's needs and climatic conditions. In these housing developments, due to the economic considerations, no significance was given to the construction process as well as buildings and exterior space qualities taken for granted. In this study, it is observed that the formation of the residential



Figure 3: Government multi-storey mass housing in an urban environment (Photo: M. Fasli).

exterior spaces were greatly affected by women's activities in houses throughout history; a lost in their tradition since the arrival of *multi-storey apartments*. In most of the apartments common outdoor spaces covered by concrete, small balconies are added and transition spaces are designed

just for circulation. These physical changes negatively affect women's behaviour and social life. Therefore, in order to test the existence of the observed problems of the users (women), a questionnaire was presented to the women living in multi-storey apartments. The women were asked to indicate the uses, satisfaction and the problems related to the residential exterior space components. Additionally, they were asked to describe, with their reasons, which type of houses they prefer to live in.

### Evaluation of A Questionnaire Research Conducted on the Women Living in Multi-Storey Apartments

The aim of the questionnaire was to understand how the residential exterior space components - streets, common outdoor spaces, balconies and transition spaces - are evaluated by the women. The survey was carried out among 100 Cypriot women living in multi-storey apartments who are selected by random sampling. While more than half of the women (60%) are housewives, less than half of the women (40%) are working outside.

**Streets:** Street, in addition to being a physical element in the city, is also a social fact (Moughtin, 1992, 131). As is verified by Oktay and Önal, the streets are still significant in daily life in Northern Cyprus (Figure 4). According to the questionnaire, in *multi-storey apartments*, streets are only used for circulation purposes as well as being playing areas for children (Table 5).

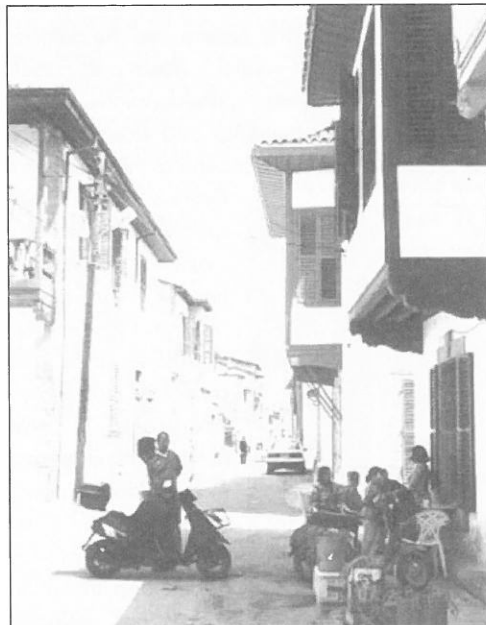


Figure 4: Socialising in street space remains ever popular in most of the housing area (Photo: M. Fasli).

### Common Outdoor Spaces:

Common outdoor spaces are the places which provide a large social system and meeting opportunity to their users (Alexander, 1977, 337). When the common outdoor spaces are evaluated, it is observed that, they include various functions, such as circulation, car parking, sitting and looking around and children playing area (Table 6). However, the provision and maintenance of the common outdoor spaces do not satisfy all women (100%). While a large majority of the women (73%) complained about the lack of organisation -for outdoor space activities-, a quarter of the women (25%) were unhappy with the concrete covering of the whole outdoor space and a few women (2%) were disappointed with the use of the outdoor spaces just as car

parking areas.

**Balconies:** According to the result of the survey, it is clear that the balconies are used for looking around, sitting, socialising, drying laundry, storing and growing potted plants (Table 7). Nevertheless, the balconies are referred to as one of the most disappointing elements. The majority of the respondents (95%) were unhappy with the balconies and only a few women (5%) had no complaint. While a considerable proportion (80%) of the women complained about the small size of the balconies, less than a quarter of them (15%) were unhappy with the orientation and only a few people (5%) complained about the lack of privacy.

**Transition Spaces:** Transition spaces include the entry foyer that establishes the transition, or passage, from private domain to common territory (Trancik, 1986, 103). The survey has revealed that the transition spaces that have been used for various purposes throughout history, today, are being used for only passage purposes in multi-storey apartments.

The questionnaire has confirmed the author's observation regarding the residential exterior space components in the apartments, being decreased in size, inappropriate organisation and lack of maintenance, decrease in the use of these spaces and limiting the women activities in exterior spaces. While more than half of the women living in multi-storey apartments (60%) have been complained about the lack of social life and communication between neighbours, a quarter of women (25%) have been unhappy with the inadequacy of the exterior spaces that put limits on their activities and a few women have been worried about the lack of privacy (7.5%) and possibility of danger for their children (7.5%). Therefore, if they had a chance, all of the women (100 %) would prefer to live either in *courtyard type houses*, *row houses with a front and rear garden* or *modern houses surrounded by gardens* instead of multi-storey apartments (Table 8).

Table 5: Uses of the street spaces around the multi-storey apartments

Type of use	%
Circulation	70.0
Circulation purposes besides their being children playing areas	30.0

Table 6: Uses of the common outdoor spaces around the multi-storey apartments

Type of use	%
Passage	58.0
Car parking areas	15.0
Sitting and looking around	10.0
Children playing areas	7.0
Passage besides their being car parking areas	7.0
Passage besides their being children playing areas	3.0

**Table 7:** Uses of the balconies in the multi-storey apartment

Type of use	%
Sitting and socialising besides of drying laundry	45.0
Drying laundry besides of growing flowers in pots	20.0
Drying laundry besides of using it as a storage	20.0
Looking around besides of drying laundry	10.0
Sitting and socialising besides of looking around	2.5
Sitting and socialising besides their being storage	2.5

**Table 8:** The preferred house types by Cypriot women

Type of use	%
Courtyard type houses (Ottoman types)	75.0
Modern houses surrounded by gardens	15.0
Row houses with a front and a rear garden	10.0

## Conclusion

From the Ottoman period until today, the formation of the residential exterior spaces have been affected by the women activities and necessities. These spaces have been used as much as possible or sometimes more than interior spaces, throughout history. Today, their meaning and uses still continue in most of the housing areas.

Having evaluated the existing situation and the women's responses to residential exterior spaces in Northern Cyprus, one can conclude that Cypriot women, as the real organisers of house activities, have accomplished different roles in residential exterior spaces, throughout history. However, recent design principles in most of the multi-storey apartments introduced a different "Privacy Concept" into Cypriot women's lives, especially to those who are not working outside their homes. The newly emerged privacy concept is different than the fact of privacy inherited from the Ottoman Period. In that period, privacy had been associated with the religion and that was then given up during the British Period in Cyprus. Nevertheless, the new privacy concept is related with the design principles that have changed women roles in multi-storey apartments.

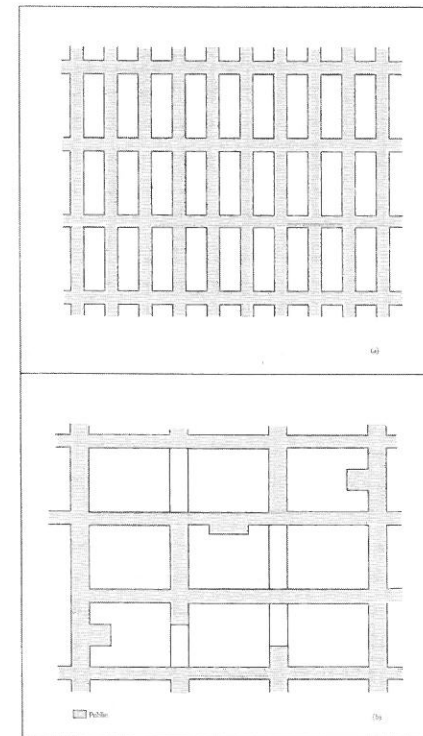
Today, most women's activities used to take place outside and are being transferred inside or have been completely lost. Accordingly, neighbour relationships and the social phenomenon related to the outside have almost completely been transformed to individualised private activities, which is a situation that can be regarded as an impulsive change in the Cypriot women's lives.

Therefore, in order to change the lives of women, especially those who are not working outside, in a positive manner, both planners and architects should try harder to create

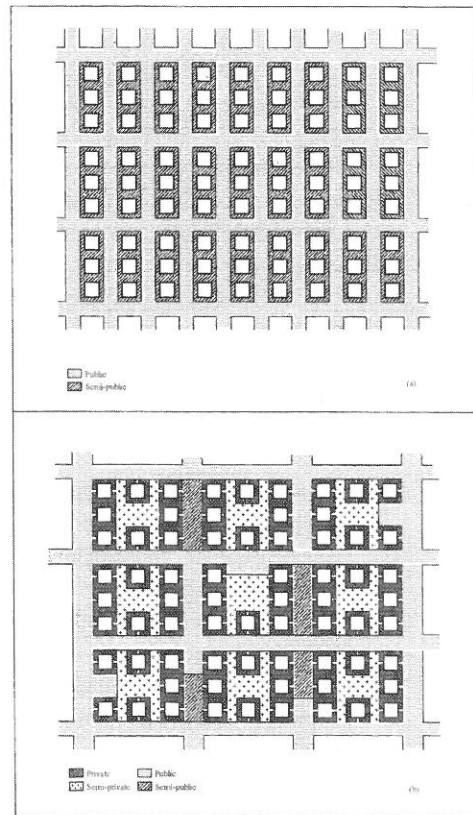
more satisfactory residential exterior spaces, such as the following:

**Streets:** Streets should satisfy more activities than just the circulation such as meeting, socialising, sports and leisure. Therefore, in this study, two alternative suggestions are made for both the existing streets and the future ones. More immediately, appropriate landscaping and street furnishing should be added to the existing street spaces in order to improve their aesthetic and functional qualities. Then, for the future, a set back street model is proposed as in Figure 5 for improving the quality and activities in street spaces. In figure 5(a) a schematic presentation of a typical existing street pattern is seen and in 5(b) a schematic proposal for improvement is illustrated. In the proposal, the set backs of the streets are altered in dimension in order to provide variety to the street spaces. Furthermore, it is proposed that, these spaces will be designed by considering landscaping, street furnishing and cafes / buffets in order to satisfy diverse activities. Besides, these spaces will provide resting nodes for the women, particularly those who prefer the sport of walking - which is a very popular sport for Cypriot women - and the activity nodes for all women in neighbourhood areas.

**Common Outdoor Spaces:** It is believed that the following recommendations have considerable potential for the improvement of the quality of the common outdoor spaces in residential areas. Primarily, in order to create more liveable environments in the existing multi-storey apartments, properly designed landscaping should be applied to these environments, because, landscaping has potential to foster social activities and improve the aesthetic quality in these environments. Besides, these spaces could be maintained with the co-operation of the users. However, for the future, instead of arranging four or five storied buildings in a grid pattern, two or three storied buildings should be arranged around a courtyard. In Figure 6, a part of a typical multi-storey mass housing project as well as a new proposal are schematically shown. In Figure 6(a) a schematic site plan of existing mass housing is illustrated. In this case, the semi-public spaces belong to everybody, but are not being used. Since, nobody is respon-



**Figure 5:** A set back street model for improving the quality and activities in them.  
 (a) A schematic presentation of a typical existing street.  
 (b) A schematic proposal for improvement



**Figure 6:**

- Defensible space model for multi-storey apartments,  
 (a) A schematic site plan of a typical multi-storey mass housing  
 (b) A schematic site plan proposal for improvement

sible for design and maintenance, generally these spaces become lost spaces around the apartments. Figure 6(b) illustrates a proposal that the buildings be arranged around semi-private courtyards. These courtyards will belong to all the people living around them and will be designed according to their requirements. This defensible space will provide women with a secure children's playing area, as well as a meeting place for socialising and resting. The immediate outdoor spaces around the buildings will belong to the women living in the ground floors and will be private. These private spaces will be designed according to the owner's need. Besides these, various semi-public spaces are also offered which are proposed as shared car parking areas among the blocks. These semi-public car parks provide the women with communication area while entering and leaving the parking lots. Furthermore, public activity nodes are offered on the streets as a result of set backs of these streets, as explained above. In this way, safer and liveable

spaces will be created within these environments. As is mentioned by Newman (1996), these defensible spaces will allow the residents to control the areas around their homes.

**Balconies:** In order to increase the quality and use of the balconies more sensitivity should be given to their designs in terms of dimension, orientation and form. Actually, it is very difficult to decrease the problems for the existing balconies. However, by decorating them with flower-pots, a more liveable atmosphere could be created for the women. For the future, the size of the balconies should be increased compared to the existing ones, in order to satisfy more of the women's needs. Besides, the shape of the balconies should be square or enclosed within the square shape, because linear balconies limit women activities and communication; as most of the existing balconies do not even allow the arrangement of two chairs facing each other.

**Transition Spaces:** The design of transition spaces should provide a feeling of arrival, transition and social contact to users. Therefore, for improving the quality of exist-

ing transition spaces, landscaping elements and various floor materials, can be useful. In the future, with recessed doors and by creating appropriate overhead planes and landscaping, more beneficial and useful transition spaces will be created.

By considering the above design recommendations in relation to the residential exterior space components, more liveable and useful environments could be created in Northern Cyprus.



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## Özet

### Kıbrıslı Kadının Kentsel Çevredeki Konut Dış Mekanlarında Değişen Rolü

İnsanın barınma gereksinimini sağlayan ve iç mekanların tamamlayıcısı olan konut dış mekanları, özellikle sıcak ülkelerde, günlük yaşantı atmosferi içinde kullanıcılarına çeşitli olanaklar sunar.

Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta yazların uzun ve sıcak olması nedeniyle konut dış mekanları, her dönemde Kıbrıslı kadınların hayatında büyük bir önem taşımıştır. Tarih boyunca kapı önü, avlu, balkon ve giriş terası gibi dış mekan bileşenleri kentsel çevredeki birçok konutta kadın aktivitelerine uygun olarak tasarlanmış ve günün birçok saatinde, kadınlar tarafından yoğun olarak kullanılmasına imkan sağlanmıştır. Son yıllarda ise yeni inşa edilen birçok çok katlı apartmanda, yalnızca maliyet düşürücü girdilerin dikkate alınarak tasarlanması, kadın yaşamında önemli bir yeri olan, dış mekanların fiziksel, fonksiyonel ve yerel değerlerini tamamen kaybetmeye başlamalarına etken olmuştur. Buna bağlı olarak, dış mekandaki günlük kullanımlar ve sosyal aktiviteler yok denecek kadar azalmış ve yerini bireysel aktivitelere bırakmıştır.

Bu yaklaşımlar ışığında, Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki kentsel çevrede bulunan konut dış mekanlarında Kıbrıslı kadının rolü bu çalışma kapsamında araştırılmakta ve buna bağlı olarak kapı önü, avlu, balkon ve giriş terası gibi dış mekan bileşenleri, anlamları ve kullanımları açısından Osmanlı Döneminden günümüze değerlendirilmektedir. İki bölümden oluşan bu çalışma, Kıbrıslı kadının kentsel çevredeki konut dış mekanlarında rolünün irdelenmesi ve çok katlı apartmanlarda yaşayan kadınlarla yapılan dış mekanlara yönelik anket çalışmasının değerlendirilmesini içermektedir. Çalışma için gerekli veriler ise, literatür araştırması, anket çalışması ve raslantısal gözlem metodu kullanılarak elde edilmiştir.

## A Market Place in the Ottoman Empire: Avrat Pazarı and its Surroundings

Burcu ÖZGÜVEN\*

### Abstract

In the Ottoman Empire, the bazaars were considered among the most important places in a city. Here the appearance of people from various levels reflected the pluralistic side of the Ottoman society. On the other hand, bazaar areas, such as Avrat Pazarı (the Women's Market) in Konya or Bartın were those areas where women also could be present and contributed to the commercial activities. Because Ottoman women's relationship with the communal spaces remained limited, Avrat Pazarı was an important urban area for the spatial perception of women.

Women's relationship with the public spaces could be summarized in two aspects: Women who used the space, and women who sponsored the construction of architectural works. The only means of space creation for women in the Classical Period could be by beneficiary facilities, such as a foundation of religious külliyes. Royal women, such as the mother, wives or daughters of the Sultan might initiate a waqf in order to contribute to social life for Allah's sake. In doing this, they proposed to raise their prestigious status and to be remembered eternally by the pious. These charity works in İstanbul Haseki Complex played an important role. Before its construction there were some waqf works built by other female benefactors, such as Keyci Hatun, Gülbahar Hatun or Gevher Sultan, and probably provided for female users.

Another area for women was the Avrat Pazarı in the district, where the shops or removable desks took place. The bazaar once occupied the former Byzantine Forum of Arcadius, which was a large square on the imperial street, Mese, until the sixteenth century. The Forum also included the Column of Arcadius, where historical war scenes were carved. When the city views from the 15th and 16th centuries are investigated the various transformations, the Forum survived could be perceived. For example, Matrakçı Nasuh's İstanbul map reflects the architectural development of this part of the capital, depicting the shops and domed buildings next the Arcadius Column.

Although the Avrat Pazarı does not exist today, its remains could be traced up until the 1912s. In the 19th century maps, not only the bazaar area, but also neighboring public and religious buildings, the street pattern and the environment were extant.

To conclude the Haseki district, including the Avrat Pazarı, acquired its urban

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*identity through the architectural works of the benefactors who were mostly women. Through this effort, women founders acquired prestigious status and an immortal name on the one hand, and on the other hand, the district appeared as an area where the public works for women were varied and enriched.*

### Introduction: Women's Social Life in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century was regarded by strict regulations of society. Religious codes of Islam organized the social classes, religious beliefs, social genders status in daily life, according to a hierarchical order. Religious rules differentiated the Muslim, Christian and Jewish people. Every professional group, even the marginal layers of the society belonged to a certain guild, a fact that reinforced the authority of ruling elites. The servants of the Ottoman palace were completely segregated from ordinary people whose mentality and way of life were opposites.<sup>1</sup>

Also man and woman lived in separate spiritual worlds where the woman occupied only a small area for improving or expressing her personality. The life of the Ottoman woman was programmed nearly at birth. At the age of fourteen or fifteen her marriage was arranged. She was expected to fulfill her marital duties, to bear many children and to raise them. The best years of her life began as an elder. She could reach a higher status within the larger family where sons and grandsons obeyed her rules. The mother of the patriarchal family was considered as the secret patron of the house.<sup>2</sup>

This article is a study of Turkish woman's relationship with her enclosed area by exemplifying the market street, Avrat Pazarı. Avrat Pazarı was a commercial street in İstanbul, where among sellers and customers were women. The article also investigates the bazaars' position in its environment and within the historical urban pattern.

### Woman's Spatial Boundaries in the Sixteenth Century

The definition how the Ottoman women perceived space could be viewed in two ways: women as space creators and women as space users. As architects in the Empire worked at the status of engineer and artisan, it was beyond imagination that a woman could be directly involved in the construction process. The only involvement with space creation for women in the Classical Period was through beneficiary facilities, such as the foundation of religious *külliyes*. Royal women, such as the mother, wives or daughters of the Sultan might initiate a *waqf* in order to contribute to social life for Allah's sake. Through this effort they tried to escape from the fate of anonymity. Female members of the Sultan's family founded charity works, such as the mosque, *medrese*, primary school, hospital, fountain or bath for the public use. These buildings were named after their nickname and sta-

<sup>1</sup> Suraiya Farouqhi (1998). pp. 116-117.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie P. Peirce (1998). p. 177.

tus. Mimar Sinan built two mosques for Mihrimah Sultan, Süleyman's daughter. Süleyman's wife, Hürrem Sultan initiated a religious complex in İstanbul and works in Mekka, Medina and Jerusalem.

Other religious buildings, such as Yeni Valide Cami'i or Yeni Cami'i reflected women's contribution to the growth of the city. In the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries İstanbul's urban pattern continuously changed, as the complexes appeared as the nucleus of the *mahalle* establishment, displaying focal points for the population. However, the shift in the pattern was a result of the Mehmed II's urban politics. The contribution of the women founders was probably the inner composition of buildings in the complex. Later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries palaces around the Bosphorus were re-founded and furnished by female members of the Ottoman court.<sup>3</sup>

The Ottoman woman, as user, had a limited physical space to live in. For example, she could rarely exit the house. The traditions gave the right to woman only to visit the public bath outside of the house freely, while the other outside activities depended on the husband's permission. The 'outside' and the 'inside' were strictly separated in everyday life. The outer area, especially the public area, was considered as a place of insecurity. Woman could face various threats and dangers. According to the traditional belief, she was weak, naïve and could easily be deceived. Therefore, she also tended towards immorality. Ottoman woman were not allowed to visit anywhere, except for the public bath. In short, the 'outside' belonged to the men, and it was generally closed to women. Upper class ladies in İstanbul wholeheartedly accepted these limits, and they never voluntarily went 'outside' alone. For security reasons many preferred to stay at home for most of their lives. They might use the private bath of the *'konak'* and had numerous relatives and servants at home, and never felt the necessity to face the outside world. Women were allowed to visit close relatives or friends, accompanied by servants. She might appear 'outside' for social activities, such as weddings or other social events with other women, however going to bazaar might also be tolerated by the husband.<sup>4</sup>

On the contrary, the house as the 'inside,' offered a kind of micro cosmos to women. There she could find her peace and comfort, reflections of her existence. The upper class woman possessed female slaves, numerous servants and those who accompanied her. She could organize there whatever entertainment she wished. Small groups of dancing and singing girls were invited to the house. She was also free to decorate the house according to her taste. Traders of precious textiles could come to the house to exhibit the goods. Ladies often possessed a private bath at the *konak*, so that they remained away from middle or lower class women. The upper class usually imitated Palace life.

The contrast between the 'outside' and 'inside' was reflected by the arrangement of large *konaks*. Such as the differentiation within the Imperial Palace's organization, '*Enderun*', '*Birun*' and '*Harem*', the *konak* should include '*Selamlık*' and '*Harem*' parts. *Selamlık* was the office where only men could meet and talk about business and relevant issues, often on a formal basis. The building was built as a separate part of the house, so that guests

<sup>3</sup> Farouqhi (1998), p.117.

<sup>4</sup> During the Tulip Age the spatial freedom of woman ceased to enlarge. Picnics parties on the Kağıthane Meadow and romantic tours on the Göksu River changed woman's perception of nature. She became more interested in the open-air activities that were popular in this age. Farouqhi (1998). p. 122f

had no possible contact with the house. On the other hand, the harem was almost synonymous with the families introverted life. Within the *konak* it was not only the space, peculiar to women, it included also all the daily life and rooms occupied by women (mother, wives, unmarried sisters), children, other relatives, long-term guests and servants. The head of the family always remained at the focus of the Harem life.

As the Ottoman women's visit to communal spaces was limited we could only look at certain occasions the women shared the public area. As pointed out above, a woman occasionally went out from the house. Servants who carried the goods accompanied ladies from upper class. The street she walked on was narrow and access to see other places in the city was limited. Woman on the street could go in the carriages, especially if she belonged to the upper class. With the curtains pulled across the openings, there was no possibility to see the lady inside. Traveling on a boat with a man was strictly forbidden for woman. That she left the *mahalle* or close neighborhood area was rare. Woman probably assumed that the entire world consisted of the *mahalle* and close surroundings. Her knowledge of the world was naïve, nearly childish. Therefore, it is not difficult to guess that her experiences on space remained just as limited and superficial. However, this did not mean that women were not curious of others' life and living spaces. Because they did not find any possibility to explore through experiences, she would suffice with popular sayings, gossip and tales told in the city. Inheriting many superstitions from the Byzantine time, Ottoman men and women could 'discover' the mysteries of İstanbul through these imaginative tales. Evliya Çelebi gives many examples on İstanbul's mysterious corners.

One of the rare occasions that woman could socialize occurred in the public bath. Because Muslim law allowed for regular visits to the bath, she could meet with relatives, friends or neighbors. Stories were told here; music, dance or ceremonies were spontaneously organized in the public bath. We can compare the women's bath with men's coffeehouses where he shared his individual space with others. Men had certainly more opportunity to visit other communal spaces. On the squares, for example, men of various ages, religion and class could be seen. Cerasi notes that there was a strong tendency in the Ottoman society to share the public open space and to spend time together.<sup>5</sup> However, the 'public space' always remained the domain of men. Bazaars, on the other hand, was primary place of 'sociability', where a pluralistic society meet, such as the Covered Bazaar in İstanbul (Kapalıçarşı) that attracted women's attention from various levels.

The centralization tendency of the commercial spaces in the eighteen-century led the inhabitants to visit the market area in central urban places. People could not reach the goods in their enclosed neighborhood areas. Khoury points out that local religious foundations challenged with religious monuments in the central urban areas in Ottoman Aleppo. Considering the small workshops, mosques and coffeehouses, the local character of the neighborhood area ceased to vanish. Men preferred to stay in the central market areas for longer durations. Another result was that women's existence in communal spaces might be distinguished from the center.<sup>6</sup> However, in the case of Hungarian towns, for example,

<sup>5</sup> Maurice M. Cerasi, (1999). p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> Dina Rizk Khoury (2000). p. 113. The definition of 'public' and 'private' spheres of the Ottoman city as observed through the Muslim law and women's status was mentioned by Rhoads Murphy (1990). p. 120-128.

it is observed that the centrality of the market area, i.e. fairs, resulted in a more civilized manner among men and women. According to a 17th century traveler, Heinrich Ottendorf, intercultural encounters during the great fair season in Osijek (today in Croatia) encouraged Ottoman men to behave politely towards women. Therefore, men in this town did not strictly control their wives.<sup>7</sup>

Travelers to the Ottoman Empire noticed that no women never appeared as seller in the open markets. An observer from the eighteenth century, D'Ohsson says that no woman shopkeepers were to be encountered in any Moslem city. In the same way no women vendors were to be seen in the streets or squares. The only women going around the city, as vendors, were the women peddlers, the *bohçacı*, who could sell textiles by visiting large *konaks* or palaces.<sup>8</sup>

However, exceptions could also be seen. Circumstances forced the ordinary women from the rural districts or urban settlements to earn money, if they lived alone or without any income. Most common facilities were basic manufacturing and trading of textiles. The guilds, such as in Ankara, were not willing to accept women as manufacturer. Farouqhi states that those women who tried to found a workshop of textiles was better to organize it at home. On the other hand, the wife of the artisan might also be involved in the textile manufacturing process.<sup>9</sup> Women specialized in fine embroidery were free to sell goods to the Harem or elite women. In the seventeenth century there was a bazaar in Bursa where women could sell their handmade textiles from which they were exempted from the tax.<sup>10</sup>

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the central market area was still open to women's production, such as cotton textiles.<sup>11</sup> Women who were in the position of trader or seller were considered as 'marginal' by society.<sup>12</sup> We could draw the conclusion that those rare examples, such as women's position as shopkeeper or vendor, could contribute to a perception of space. It was also known that rural or lower class women could often benefit the communal areas. In Üsküdar, on the Anatolian side, rural women used to ride goods to the bazaar.

### The Tradition of Avrat Pazarı

Women rarely found occasions to sell their products in open bazaars such as Avrat Pazarı. These bazaars can be observed in various parts of Anatolia. For example, in Bartın the tradition still survives as 'Kadınlar Pazarı.' Also, in Konya it is said that this kind of market place was in use until recent times and a *mahalle* was called 'Avrat Pazarı.'<sup>13</sup> Go-

<sup>7</sup> Heinrich Ottendorf (1665). fol. 55f.

<sup>8</sup> Burçak Evren, Dilek Girgin Can (1996). pp. 30-31. As '*bohçacı*' was an elder woman who could meet several people in different houses, she was considered as intermediate person for helping to find spouse for unmarried women or to widespread the gossips

<sup>9</sup> Farouqhi (1998). pp. 126-127.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> Khoury (2000). p. 113.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 114.

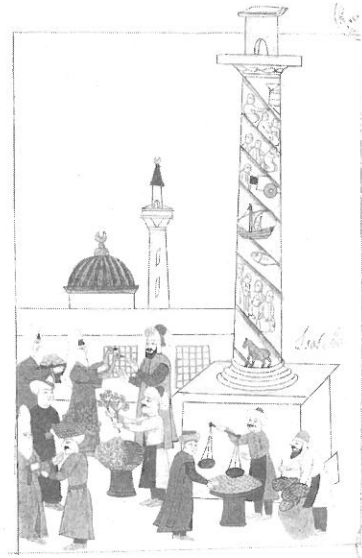
<sup>13</sup> Sakaoğlu (1993). pp. 430-431.

ods brought to market places were mostly local products, especially from villages in the vicinity.

Kömürçiyân (1637-1695), an eyewitness of the seventeenth century lists various weekly bazaars in and around İstanbul. They all specialized on certain products. The markets rarely included shops, and generally they consisted of removable desks. Friday bazaars were founded in Üsküdar, Edirnekapı, Mustafapaşa (around Sulumanastır) and Kasımpaşa. The latter was a popular market for textiles. As Friday was the off day for working people in Islamic countries, the bazaars were probably directed to Muslim customers. Alipaşa and Kulaksız (around Kasımpaşa) were Saturday bazaars. On Sunday the Avrat Pazarı, on Monday Macuncu and on Tuesday Salı Pazarı were organized. On Thursday the sellers who specialized in liquid medicines (*şerbetçi*) met in Galata.<sup>14</sup>

Market places, including Avrat Pazarı, appeared as exceptional examples that enlarged the Ottoman women's limited spatial freedom.<sup>15</sup> As mentioned above, Avrat Pazarı was a commercial street. The sellers and customers were women. These markets were generally areas where essential products for living were sold. Usually organized on a large square, two rows of shops were aligned on each side of the street. Cabins were usually erected from ready-made materials, e.g. wood, easy to construct and removable. Certain goods would especially attract the interest of women, such as henna, candlesticks, slippers or pharmacy and were sold from tables. According to Evliya Çelebi three hundred shopkeepers were active on the market.<sup>16</sup>

İstanbul's Avrat Pazarı was an open market area in the Haseki district. Unlike large fairs, held in centers such as Osijek, or unlike commercial areas such as the Covered Bazaar, Avrat Pazarı, as a traditional market place had the local character. Rural women, who brought their local products and those who came to buy goods at a fair price, could meet here. A miniature painting in the archive of the Correr Museum, Venice, from the seventeenth century (Figure 1) displays the atmosphere in the weekly market. Considering the column that is depicted, it can be assumed that the market must be Avrat Pazarı.<sup>17</sup> Men and



**Figure 1:** Anonymous miniature depicting the bazaar (from: Istituto Italiano di Cultura (ed.) (1995). *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, İstanbul, p. 261. The work is originally placed in: 'codice in folio, piccolo, cartaceo del secolo XVII', Venice- Correr Museum, Ms. Cicogna 1971 (MCCCCXLVIII)).

<sup>14</sup> Kömürçiyân (1988). p. 48; Hovhannesyân (1997). p.8.

<sup>15</sup> Peirce (2000). p. 174: 'Avrat' (in the colloquial language, 'avrat' means woman or wife. Many historical sources including the codices took the word as a standard term. There was a building in İstanbul called as 'Avrat Hamamı', women's public bath.

<sup>16</sup> Evliya Çelebi (1984). p.42; Sakaoğlu (1993). p. 430.

<sup>17</sup> This anonymous miniature belongs to the Museo Correr Collection in Venice. The illustration is taken from: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, (ed.) (1995). no. 179.

women came together on the street to weigh goods, buy and sell different products, such as flowers, ducks, home-made cakes, fruits etc. It can be assumed that women with covered faces in the miniature are Muslim. However, there is also an unveiled woman, whose mouth and nose could be seen.

Because its name relates to women, the Avrat Pazarı always recalled slave markets in İstanbul. However, the slave market was not directly connected with the bazaar. The Circassian and Georgian female slaves were put onto the market at the Bayram Paşa Han. Bayram Paşa served during the reign of Murad IV. (1623-1640), and he died during the Baghdad campaign. He was buried in the tomb he built in Cerrahpaşa.<sup>18</sup>

### Avrat Pazarı's Location in İstanbul

The bazaar was within the boundary of the Haseki Mahallesi. It covered an area between the Cerrahpaşa and Davud Paşa neighborhoods (*mahalle*). Following the conquest, Davud Paşa founded this religious complex.<sup>19</sup> In order to provide income for a charity foundation Davud Paşa opened some shops which formed the basis of the bazaar. The former Arcadius Forum provided an available area for such a commercial enterprise. Several catastrophes occurred in the district. Earthquakes in 1633 and 1660 damaged the Column of Arcadius. This changed the shape of the Roman forum. In 1757 the great fire destroyed the bazaar. Thereafter it probably gained a stable character. In the nineteenth century a roof was built over the shops.<sup>20</sup> When the roof was removed the shops stood alone and it was said the bazaar lost its architectural characteristics. Avrat Pazarı survived until 1912. The original situation of the market area remains uncertain. Sources, such as illustrations and maps or historical texts shows the market's original place within the urban pattern, as well as the architectural relationship with the Haseki complex, neighboring streets and buildings in the vicinity. Before continuing with the Avrat Pazarı's position in Ottoman İstanbul, let us examine its former place in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

During the Roman era İstanbul had several forums on the imperial street, Mese. They were: Forum Constantine, Forum Tauri, Forum Bous or Bovis and finally Forum Arcadius. The latter, named according to the Column of Arcadius, symbolized the successful wars of the Roman Emperors, Theodosius and his son Arcadius. It was approximately 47 meters high. The statue of Arcadius was placed on top of the column. Although the column was damaged by earthquake during the Byzantine period, it maintained its position until the 18th century.<sup>21</sup> The Column of Arcadius was later named as 'Avrat Taşı' (the stone of woman) due to its location next to Avrat Pazarı. Similar to the Forum Tauri or Forum Bovis,

<sup>18</sup> Sakaoğlu (1993). p. 431.

<sup>19</sup> Goodwin (1997). p. 102

<sup>20</sup> Sakaoğlu (1993). p. 431.

<sup>21</sup> In the year 543 AD. an earthquake and in 550 a thunderbolt destroyed the monument. During the 15th century Gyllius could climb up the inner staircase, but in 1605 a traveler noted that iron rings were added for strengthening the column, and in 1666 another said that the staircase was destroyed and it was impossible to climb up. Semavi Eyice (1994), pp. 306-307. The column was partially removed in 1711, because of the threat of a sudden collapse. Arseven notes that the base was preserved by the İstanbul Archaeological Museum. Celal Esat Arseven (1989). p. 181.

the Arcadius Forum symbolised the Roman character of the city. It stand where Mese turned southwestward, towards the imperial Golden Gate (Porta Aurea), the ultimate point of the city next to the Marmara Sea shore.<sup>22</sup>

On the miniature mentioned above, the Column of Arcadius on a large pedestal appears as the main figure. According to the traditional hierarchy in Ottoman miniatures we can draw the conclusion that the column as the main figure dominates all the area. Although the figures display the Roman war scenes, the miniature probably represents an interpretation of the Ottoman artist. When we compare the figures from the travel book of Petrus Gyllius (1490-1555), printed in 1561, the scenes mostly include riding, standing and walking groups of soldiers with long weapons.<sup>23</sup> On the base, on the upper side groups of nobles, in the middle, soldiers and finally near the bottom dead people are observed. However on the miniature, figures without any weapon are seen in the sitting position, such as listening to a preacher at the tekke. Another interesting figure on the relief is a man who fills a wheeled cannon with a cannonball. Also a long ship in the manner of paintings on İznik tiles, a single fish symbolizing the Christianity and a dark horse without the rider are figures probably imagined by the Ottoman artist. We can observe another figure on the miniature, a mosque with the minaret in the background, presumably the Haseki Camii and its outer walls made of iron fences.<sup>24</sup> In the Roman period the seventh hill was named Xerolophos (the dry hill). According to Gyllius the twelfth district included the Golden Gate, the Porticos of Troas, Forum of Theodosius, Harbor of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius.<sup>25</sup>

Some other columns, such as those belonging to Theodosius, the younger, Valentinianus and Marcianus once existed near the Column of Arcadius, however earthquakes destroyed them all. The column could be compared with another one built later. Until the age of Justinianus, who planned to rebuild the capital, the Forum of Theodosius was decorated with high columns and sculptures. They were all destroyed, and according to Procopius, the history writer of the Justinianus Era, and the Emperor erected a new column bearing his statue dressed as Achilles. The figure pointed a finger towards the East, probably towards the Persians, and carried a small globe in his hand symbolizing his domination on the world. Although it survived the Latin conquest (1204) the statue was destroyed by a storm in 1316.<sup>26</sup> Forum Constantine, the third forum on the Mese was built on the old necropolis and formed a central meeting place for the citizens. The Column, called Çemberlitaş today, carried the figure of Emperor Constantine, represented as Apollon Helios, a symbol for Christianity, especially considering Neo-Platonic philosophy.<sup>27</sup> Forum Bovis, according to Gyllius, was probably named according to Bovis Locus (The Place of Ox), which was the sculpture of an ox, and reminiscent of horrible tortures of history. Gyllius provides another explanation for the monuments 'raison d'être' which would be the imperial taste of decoration enriched by the trophies from distant lands.<sup>28</sup> There was

<sup>22</sup> Petrus Gyllius (1997). p. 100.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.101.

<sup>24</sup> Sakaoğlu (1993). p. 431.

<sup>25</sup> Gyllius (1997). p. 185.

<sup>26</sup> Doğan Kuban (2000). pp. 74-75.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pp. 36-37; Gyllius (1997). p. 131 f.

<sup>28</sup> Gyllius (1997), pp. 174-176.

also a sculpture of a Roman personality, called Eleuterius, probably dated to 4th century. Another meaning for the Forum was that it took place near the harbor where grain was imported.<sup>29</sup>

In short, during the Byzantine period İstanbul was decorated with imperial columns, which dominated the surroundings, in order to reinforce the image of the monument by contrast with the vertical and the horizontal lines of perception. The Ottomans were not directly against the columns. They obviously considered them as reminiscent of the Byzantine heritage. Sometimes they admired them as a magnificent work of art, or attributed to them mystical power, and they repaired them when necessary.<sup>30</sup> However, considering other parts of the Empire, there are examples of Turkish administrators who were not this tolerant towards the historical columns. Maktul İbrahim Paşa, the grandvizier of Sultan Süleyman II brought some columns with sculptures from the Palace of the Hungarian Kings in Budin to his palace. It is said to transfer the symbols of monarchy (a challenge against the Sultan), was one of the reasons that finally brought his end.<sup>31</sup>

After the conquest of Lefkoşa (1570), on the other hand, the Venetian column in the middle of the city was removed, although not destroyed, and British colonial rulers put it back on its place.<sup>32</sup> After 1453, the Byzantine image of İstanbul was transformed into the Ottoman way of life. The city was nearly deserted. In the first twenty years, however, large construction projects occurred in the city. Two imperial palaces (the Old and New), Yedikule Fortress for the Treasury, the Grand Covered Bazaar, the large religious complex founded by Mehmed II and other *külliyes* of viziers and finally the neighborhood settlements around the charity buildings facilitated the repopulation of the city.<sup>33</sup> Mehmed II planned to revitalize İstanbul's social and economic life, and he encouraged his viziers to build *külliyes* in the historic peninsula. The religious complexes, as a social infrastructure, would be the nuclei of neighborhood settlements where Anatolian people immigrated. Forums, one by one, were replaced by religious structures. Mahmud Paşa, one of the viziers of Mehmed II built his religious complex on the Forum of Constantine. Forum Bovis was converted to a residential district, where the people of Aksaray in Caramania, emigrated. Bayezid II Complex occupied the third forum, Tauri (Theodosius).

Also Avrat Pazarı displaced the Forum Arcadius, but without replacing the column. Following the urbanization program of Mehmed II, Davud Paşa, the vizier during the age of Bayezid II, decided to build his *külliyeye* around Mese. The religious complex of Davud Paşa included a mosque, *medrese* and primary school (1482-92). As mentioned above, all these *waqf* works should be funded by a commercial organization. Therefore, he fostered the building of 108 shops in a row where goods from the neighboring villages were transported.<sup>34</sup> Kuban states that it was still possible to find such a site for the marketplace in the late fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Before Avrat Pazarı's foundation, this part of İstanbul

<sup>29</sup> Kuban (2000), p. 63.

<sup>30</sup> Arseven notes that the thick wall reinforces the Çemberlitaş was built in 1701. Arseven (1989), p. 182.

<sup>31</sup> The Hungarian King, Matthias, who tried to regenerate the Renaissance culture at his Palace, placed the sculptures at the Budin Palace.

<sup>32</sup> George Jeffery (1983). p. 60.

<sup>33</sup> During the age of Bayezid II architectural activities sustained and large projects were presented, such as the Galata bridge projects prepared by Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo.

<sup>34</sup> Kuban (2000). p. 250

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, pp.250-251.



details about the last years of the Byzantine period. Buondelmonti drew one of the schematic maps of Byzantine İstanbul around 1420's.<sup>45</sup> Along the Mese, the columns on each Forum could be observed clearly. The column of Arcadius is represented here as close to the Lycos River near Forum Bovis. Although the open area is visible on the drawing, it is understood that no large building was constructed around the monument. Another image of the early 15th century İstanbul belongs to Hartman Schädell's '*Liber Chronicarum*' (printed 1493), which hardly gives any information about the Column's Byzantine situation. On the other hand, Bertrandon de la Brocquiere's birds-eye-view of İstanbul under the Ottoman siege is imaginary and unreliable, as it represents Hagia Sophia as a Gothic Church.<sup>46</sup> However, the late 15th century illustrators were more successful at representation of the Ottoman capital's new face. Vavassore's drawing was published as to inspire other illustrators of later periods.<sup>47</sup> In this wooden engraving the city was depicted from above, and many monuments were indicated as symbolical. The Arcadius Forum and its surroundings can be identified here through the column, surrounded by a wall, rectangular in plan. There are narrow streets and open areas between the residential quarters. Considering also the symbolic drawing technique of the Vavassore map, it can be assumed that the Forum of Arcadius was not yet affected by the construction in 1480's. The large complex of Mehmed the Conqueror and the old and new palaces on the drawing signal the changing pattern of the Ottoman period. Later drawings of this kind, such as Giovanni Francesco Camacio's scene (1566-1574), Theophilum Urbinum's scene (1664) and '*Thesaurus Exaticorium*' dated to 1688, as inspired by Vavassore, do not display additional information about the situation around the Arcadius Column.

Also, Schweigger notes the Column of Arcadius on his map, as 'die Säul mit Historien' (the column with historical scenes.<sup>48</sup> Dillich's map (1556), on the other hand, clearly shows the column of Arcadius on the seventh hill (Figure.3), where a large square, surrounded by a residential quarter and religious buildings, are indicated.<sup>49</sup>

When we look at the Ottoman illustrations we can also find certain information about the Avrat Pazarı's environment. Mitrakçı Nasuh's illustration of İstanbul as a 16th century miniature<sup>50</sup> was prepared in 1537 after Süleyman's Campaign to Iraq (1533-36). According to Mitrakçı's iconographical technique (Figure.4), Arcadius Column is depicted with major buildings around it. On the left side of the column there exists a building with double domes which is obviously a public bath. A mosque, accompanied by a slender minaret, was probably the Davud Paşa Mosque, can also be traced with its three-domed portico and a main dome. There is another building on the left hand side; a *medrese* separated into two inner courtyards (described as 'Double Medrese' by Denny) raises some questions. The structure has a small courtyard at the entrance looks like a subsidiary building

<sup>45</sup> Kuban (2000). p. 164.

<sup>46</sup> From: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Y.B. 3470.

<sup>47</sup> 1477, printed in 1575. From: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Y.B. 3854.

<sup>48</sup> Salamon Schweigger (1608 / 1964). p. 102.

<sup>49</sup> For the reliability of the Dillich map, another building, such as Yedikule Fortress can be compared with the original situation. The pentagonal scheme and the Fatih Mosque inside, as Dillich represents, seems to correspond to the original situation of the fortress. Dillich's drawing is published in: Karoly Kos (1995). p. 83.

<sup>50</sup> Nasuhü's-Silahi (Mitrakçı) (1976). p. 47 and fol. 8b.



Figure 3: Dillich (From: Kos, Karoly (1995). İstanbul – Şehir Tarihi ve Mimarisi, (Translated by: Naciye Güngörmüş), Ankara.)



Figure 4: Mitrakçı Nasuh (from: Nasuhü's-Silahi (Mitrakçı), (1976). The work is originally placed in: Beyan-i Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn, (Edited by: Hüseyin Yurtaydın), Ankara.



and a large gate opens to the first part of the inner garden. According to its orientation this building might be the *medrese* of the Davud Paşa Complex. Another possibility might be that it denotes the Haseki Medrese or imaret, which must have been nearly completed at that time.<sup>51</sup> On the right side, a three part building with a timber roof probably represents a group of houses or an Ottoman neighborhood area (*mahalle*). A row of shops under the column apparently indicates a commercial area or a market. Visual description of commercial buildings or workshops at the scenes of Matrakçı are generally of one-store building with several openings and a timber roof. On the upper part of the Column a larger structure with oriental type windows represents another commercial area. The shops next to the Column might relate to those of Davud Paşa founded in the late fifteenth century. The area was next to the Column and it could also define the old Roman forum. Another Ottoman miniature from the İstanbul map belongs to *Hünername* (Figure.5), prepared by Nakkaş Osman and his companions in 1584-85.<sup>52</sup> In this depiction, the Column of Arcadius is again evident, and the row of shops nearby shown by Matrakçı is represented by means of the same technique.



**Figure 5:** Nakkaş Osman (from: Istituto Italiano di Cultura (ed.) (1995). *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, İstanbul, p. 23. The work is originally placed in: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1523, fol. 158b-159a).

<sup>51</sup> Walter B. Denny (1970). pp. 49-64; Denny also discusses if the building belongs to the Haseki Complex, p. 62.

<sup>52</sup> From: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1523, fols. 158-159a.

<sup>53</sup> He also pointed out the place of the column surrounded by an open area printed in Amsterdam, 1701, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Y.B. 2083, no. 1.

A modern representation of the area can be observed from the 1882 map published by E. H. Ayverdi. Here historical buildings and the street pattern are indicated.<sup>53</sup> Since the map represents the situation before the great earthquake in 1890's and before the Cibali fire in 1918 we can perceive the original Ottoman pattern on the site. Here Haseki İmareti with the mosque, soup kitchen, primary school, *medrese* and hospital could be seen clearly. The Haseki Mosque was close to the Tomb of Bayram Paşa and Tekke, Mekteb and Medrese. The Başçı Hacı Mahmud Complex and Nevbahar Mosque remain on the northern part of the Haseki Külliye. Avrat Pazarı was probably on the Davud Paşa Mahallesi Street that separated Haseki and Bayram Paşa complexes. However, the street pattern was obviously different from the time when the Haseki Complex was erected. In 1890 the mosque remained on one

side of the street and the subsidiary buildings on the other side. On this street there were also open spaces that allowed for temporary market places and workshops. According to the description of İşli, Dellak Baba's Tomb was probably the unidentified building on the corner at the beginning of Molla Gürani Sokak. There are small *cul-de-sacs* on the Davud Paşa Street, which extends towards the Davud Paşa Medresesi.

Today the basic pattern of streets still keeps its characteristics, but some buildings and small *cul-de-sacs* are no longer present. Sebzevatçı Street from Ayverdi map is today called the Güzel Sebzeçi Sokak. Similarly, Davud Paşa Mahallesi Caddesi is changed to Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Caddesi. However, Nevbahar Mahallesi, reminiscent of the Nevbahar Hatun Mosque survives. Little remains of the Avrat Pazarı which could still be observed. According to İşli, one or two shops with arches exist next to the square of the Dellak Baba's tomb, so that all shops were arranged according to the 'agora' plan. Another researcher, Nimet Taşkiran, declares that the shops were in total seventeen, as four of them were destroyed long before.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, Dethier noted that in nineteenth century İstanbul there was a workshop of an ironsmith next to the Arcadius Column ruin; he could climb up the column from the roof of the workshop.<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusion

Avrat Pazarı's original plan was probably an introverted combination of typical rows of shops and workshops of the public bazaar areas in the Ottoman Empire. In the sixteenth century the bazaar had semi-temporary nature, which was a factor for attracting attention of the female customer. Although there were shops founded earlier by the charity foundation of Davud Paşa, the weekly open market provided an atmosphere of tolerance where women could act both as the seller and the customer. The fact that the women benefactors, such as Keyci Hatun, Selçuk Hatun, Nevbahar Hatun, Gevher Sultan and Haseki Hürrem Sultan traditionally initiated charity works gives an important significance to the area. One could describe this place as a 'quarter of women benefactors', such as the religious complex of Empress Helena in medieval Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup> Avrat Pazarı's surrounding buildings were not completely allocated to women, and it would be an exaggeration to describe the area as a 'women quarter'. However the benefactors' profile displays that the built environment contributed to the founders' prestigious status, so that their names would not be forgotten in the darkness of the past.

Another point to note is that the old Roman Forum on the Mese was turned to a religious district accompanied by civil settlement areas of the Ottomans. The Roman-Byzantine forum with the statue signaled power and superiority in war. There the hero was rep-

<sup>54</sup> Nimet Taşkiran (1972). pp. 78-79, 81.

<sup>55</sup> Philip Anton Dethier (1993). p. 61.

<sup>56</sup> Peirce (1998) notes similar practices of women benefactors in Jerusalem, such as the religious complex of Empress Helena, mother of Constantine I. The Haseki Külliye was placed on the site of the Palace of Tansuk el-Muzafiriye who lived during the Mameluke period. This area was named later as 'Hill of Women', and the street in front of the building as 'Women's Street' or 'Street of Queen Helena'. Peirce underlines that the East Mediterranean tradition of women benefactors survived during the Byzantine and the Ottoman periods.

resented according to the Roman concept of universe. The huge column could be observed from far distances, and the imperial street recalled invincible battles of the Roman army. Natural disasters helped much, but actually after the sixteenth century it lost its main characteristics. Considering the transformation after Mehmed II, religious complexes replaced the old ruins of the Byzantine heritage. Neither large columns narrating stories of the heroes, nor wide squares and mythological figures existed anymore. Charity buildings were allocated for the public use of the Muslim subjects. At this stage, Avrat Pazarı's commercial atmosphere signals the transition from the antique monumental concept into the Ottoman usage in a mundane manner.

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### Özet

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda kentlerin en önemli bileşenlerinden biri çarşılardır. Burada toplumun çeşitli kesimlerine ait kişiler alışveriş yaparak Osmanlı toplumun çoğulcu yapısını yansıtır. İmparatorluğun çeşitli yerlerinde (Konya, Bartın) bulunan Avrat Pazarları ise daha çok kadınların alış ve satış yapabildikleri yerlerdir. Osmanlı kadınının kamusal mekanla ilişkisi oldukça kısıtlı bulunduğundan, Avrat Pazarları kadınların kentsel mekanı algılamasında önemli yer tutar.

Osmanlı kadınının kamusal mekanla ilişkisi iki cephede gözlenebilir. Birinci cephede mekanı kullanan kadınlar ve ikincisinde mekanın yaratılmasına öncülük edenler bulunur. Bu aşamada toplumsal işleve sahip dini vakıf binalarının ve külliyelerin yapımında kadınların rolü ön plana çıkmaktadır. Padişahın ailesine mensup veya toplumun üst katmanında bulunan Valide Sultanlar, Haseki Sultanlar ve padişahın kızları yaptırdıkları hayır eserleri nedeniyle, toplumsal yararın yanısıra, hem padişah ailesinin kadınlarına prestij kazandırmayı, hem de adlarını ölümsüz kılmayı amaçlarlar. Bu nedenle kurulmuş eserler arasında Haseki Külliyesi İstanbul semtlerinde önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Külliye'nin kuruluşu ile birlikte burada daha önce Keyci Hatun, Gülbahar Hatun, Gevher Sultan gibi kadınlar tarafından kurulan ve yine kadınlara yönelik olduğu sanılan diğer hayır kurumları da ön plana çıkmıştır.

Bölgede yine kadınlara yönelik kurulmuş bir diğer alan da Avrat Pazarı'dır. Bu Pazar yeri gerek sabit dükkanları, gerekse taşınabilir tezgahları ile çevrede bulunan semt sakinlerine yönelik bir ticari alandır. Kapladığı alan Bizans dönemi'ne ait Eski Arkadius Forumu'dur. Bizans döneminin İmparatorluk Caddesi olan Mese yolu üzerinde bulunan büyük alanlardan biri olan Arkadius Forumu, 16. yüzyıla dek Arkadius Sütununu da içeren geniş bir meydan kimliğindeydi. İstanbul'un 15. ve 16. yüzyılına dair Osmanlı öncesi ve sonrası düzenlenen haritalara bakıldığında forumun geçirdiği aşamalar da gözlenmektedir. Örneğin Matrakçı Nasuh'un İstanbul haritasında sütunun bitişiğinde yer alan dükkanlar ve kubbeli binalar buradaki mimari gelişmenin de habercisidir.

Avrat Pazarı bugün mevcut olmamakla birlikte, izleri 1912'lere kadar uzanabilmektedir. 19. yüzyıla ait haritalarda Avrat Pazarı'nın kapladığı alanın yanısıra, çevresinde bulunan kamusal-dini yapılar, sokak dokusu ve pazarın kent içindeki konumu gözlenebilmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, Avrat Pazarı'nı da içeren Haseki Mahallesi, kadın girişimcilerin kurdukları mimari eserlerle kimlik kazanan ve böylece hem bu kişilerin adlarının kalıcı olması hedeflenen, hem de İstanbul'da kadınlara yönelik kamusal mekanların zenginleşmesini ve çeşitlenmesini sağlayan bir alan olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

## Kadın, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik Araştırmalarında Araştırmacı ve Katılımcı İlişkisi: Yeni Arayışlar ve Yönelimler\*

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### ÖZET

1990'larda gelişen postmodern-feminist ve sosyalist-feminist yaklaşımlar, toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik araştırmalarında pozitivist ve niceliksel yaklaşımların yetersizliği kadar araştırmacı-araştırılan ilişkisinin de sorgulanmasını tartışmaya açmıştır. Bu makalenin amacı kadın, toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelimle ilgili araştırmaların metodolojilerinde araştırmacı ve katılımcı ilişkisini kuramsal ve uygulama boyutları ile tartışmaktır. Bu amaçla yazarların tamamladıkları iki alan çalışmasının metodolojik bazı unsurları irdelenecektir.

Makalede ele alınan iki araştırmadan birincisi, kendi ürettikleri tarımsal ürünleri haftalık kent pazarında satışa sunan köylü/üretici pazarıcı kadınlar üzerinedir. Çalışmada pazarıcı kadınlar açısından pazarcılığa başlama nedenleri, pazarı onlar için çekici kılan unsurlar ve pazarcılığın sosyo-ekonomik değeri incelenmiş ve pazar yerinin nasıl bir kamusal alan olduğu anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır. Her iki tarafın da kadın olması, araştırmacı katılımcı arasındaki ilişkisinde birçok engelin aşılmasını sağlamasına karşın, araştırmacının sosyal konumu pazarıcı kadınlarla arasında kaçınılmaz bir mesafeye neden olmuştur. Bu araştırmada, özellikle, özel-kamusal alan ayrımının belirleyici olduğu kapalı topluluklarda, kadınlarla yapılan araştırmalarda erkek araştırmacıların bu düzeyde bir kabul görmesinin neredeyse imkansız olduğu sonucuna varılabilir.

İkinci araştırmada ise Türkiye ve Britanya'da finans sektöründe cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitliği incelenmiştir. Araştırma kadın ve erkek çalışanların karşılaştırılmasını, araştırmacı ile katılımcılar arasında güç ve otorite farklılıklarını içermektedir. Bu araştırma boyunca, ikinci araştırmacı, erkek araştırmacı olarak feminist bir araştırma yürütmenin yararları ve zorluklarını sürekli sorgulamış ve kendi cinsiyetinin bu araştırmayı yapmasına engel olmayacağı sonucuna varmıştır: Öncelikle,

\*Bu makale 2-4 Kasım 2000 tarihleri arasında düzenlenen Üçüncü Ulusal Sosyoloji Kongresi'nde tebliğ olarak sunulmuştur. Bu makaleye her iki yazar da eşit ölçüde katkıda bulunmuşlardır.

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yürütülen araştırma hem kadın, hem de erkek katılımcıları kapsamaktadır. Dolayısıyla araştırmacı ve katılımcı arasında cinsiyet farkı kaçınılmazdır. İkinci araştırmacının, ülke ve kurum dışından, genç, Türkiyeli araştırmacı kimliği iki ülke ve kültürden gelen katılımcılar için farklı anlamlar taşımaktadır. Bu araştırmadaki araştırma-araştırmacı-araştırılan ilişkisi incelendiğinde, ikinci araştırmacının cinsiyetinin, sosyal sınıfı, ve uzmanlığı gibi etkenlerin katılımcılar, araştırma amaçları, süreçleri ve sonuçları üzerinde statik değil, bileşik ve dinamik etkileri olduğu yorumu yapılabilir.

Makale, alan çalışmasında araştırmacı ve katılımcı arasındaki ilişkinin cinsiyetlerinin önemli birer rol oynadığını tartışmaktadır. Ancak bu, statik bir rol değil, aksine toplumsal cinsiyetin anlamı ile şekillenen dinamik bir roldür. Her iki araştırmada da araştırmacıların cinsiyetlerinin yanı sıra, kentli ve öğrenci olmaları, çalışma ortamı dışından gelmeleri, politik görüşleri, yaşları ve diğer sosyo-ekonomik konuları, katılımcılarla olan ilişkilerini etkilemiştir.

Sosyal bilimcilere düşen yaptıkları alan araştırmalarında kendi toplumsal cinsiyetlerinin rolünü inkar etmek veya yok saymak yerine, kendi cinsiyetleri ve katılımcıların cinsiyetlerinin araştırma süreçleri, yöntemleri, amaçlarına ve sonuçlarına olan dolaylı ve dolaysız etkilerini yazılarında ortaya koymak ve katılımcı, araştırma ve araştırmacı üçleminde toplumsal cinsiyetin etkisini toplumsal eşitlik, kişisel hak ve özgürlük ilkelerini göz önünde bulundurarak dengelemeye çalışmıştır.

## Giriş

Bugün toplumsal gerçekliği açıklayan tüm genel yaklaşımların kadınları da doğal olarak ve her hal ve koşulda içereceği görüşü terkedilmiştir. Sosyal bilimler alanında, araştırmacı ile araştırılan (katılımcı) arasındaki geleneksel ilişkinin hiyerarşik yapısı sosyalist, feminist ve postmodern yazarlar tarafından araştırma etiği açısından eleştirilmiştir (Fawcett 2000, Parker & Gagnon 1995, Lather 1991, Maynard 1994 & Stanley 1990). Bu yazının amacı kadın, cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelimle ilgili araştırmalarda ve bu araştırmaların metodolojik irdelenmesinde araştırmacı ve katılımcı ilişkisi üzerine geliştirilmiş söylemleri ve bu alandaki yönelimleri incelemektir. Bu yönelim ve söylemler yazarların 1995 ve 1999 yılları arasında birbirlerinden bağımsız olarak gerçekleştirdikleri iki saha araştırmasına göndermeler yapılarak örneklendirilecektir.

Kadın, cinsiyet ve cinsellikle ilgili araştırmaların tarihsel gelişimi incelendiğinde, araştırmacı ile katılımcı arasındaki ilişkinin üç aşamalı bir dönüşüm geçirdiği izlenmektedir. Özellikle 1970'ler ve öncesinde örneklerine rastlanan ilk tarihsel süreçteki metodolojik yaklaşımlarda kadınlar, toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelim azınlıklarına ilişkin 'bilimsel araştırmalar', erkek egemen bir anlayışla kadınlar ve cinsel yönelim azınlıkları 'üzerine' yürütülmüşlerdir. 'Bilimsel', 'pozitivist' ve 'objektif' araştırma söylem ve iddialarının araştırmalara saygınlık ve geçerlilik kazandırmak için sıkça kullanıldığı bu dönemdeki araştırmalara, çoğu erkek olan beşeri sermaye teorisyenlerinin, kadınların üretime ve ekonomiye katılımlarına ilişkin geliştirdikleri ve kadınları ikincil ekonomik güç olarak değerlendiren teorik yaklaşımları (örneğin Becker 1982) ve çoğunluğu heteroseksüel olan

araştırmacıların cinsel yönelim azınlıkları<sup>1</sup> ve yaşam tarzları üzerine yaptıkları araştırmalar (örneğin Humphreys 1970) örnek olarak verilebilir. Bu araştırmalarda katılımcıların kendileri olarak değerleri yoktur ve hatta *katılımcı* olarak bile adlandırılmamaktadırlar. Araştırmacı ile katılımcı güç farklılıkları ve hiyerarşik bir ilişki vardır: Katılımcıları tanımlamak için kullanılan 'denek', 'kobay', 'araştırma nesnesi' ve 'subjekt' kavramları bu farklılığın terminolojik dışavurumları olarak göze çarpmaktadır.

Bu eşit olmayan ilişki, sosyal bilimlerde zamanla sorunsallaştırılmış, kadınların ve cinsel yönelim azınlıklarının heteroseksüel-erkek egemen bakış açısıyla yürütülen bu tür araştırmalarda, yeterince temsil edilmedikleri ve hatta görünmez kılındıkları tezleri ortaya atılmıştır. Bu eleştiriler sonucunda belirginleşen ikinci dönemde, kadın ve cinsel tercihleri heteroseksüellik olmayan gruplara mensup araştırmacıların, kendi ait oldukları sınıflar, etnik gruplar ile cinsel yönelim azınlıkları veya baskın grupları ilgilendiren konulardaki araştırmalarda söz sahibi olmaya başlamaları, araştırmacı-katılımcı ilişkisinde demokratikleşme ve eşitlik sürecinin başlangıcı olmuştur. 1980'lerin başlarından itibaren, yukarıda sözü edilen araştırmalardaki güç dengesizlikleri ve etik sorunlar Shapiro (1981), Kelley (1987), Wilson (1987) ve Nielsen (1990) gibi yazarlar tarafından tartışılmıştır. Bu dönemde gelişen kadın çalışmaları, toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik üzerine araştırmalar, kadınların ve cinsel yönelim azınlıklarının yakın zamana dek konuşulmayan ensest, aile içi şiddet, taciz ve ayrımcılık sorunlarını sosyal bilimlerin konuları arasına katmışlardır. Antropolojik araştırmalar, kadın araştırmacıların hemcinsleriyle daha kolay ilişki kurabildiğini, özellikle batılı kentli kadının özel alandaki sorunlarını kadın araştırmacılarla daha rahat paylaşabildiğini ortaya koymuştur. Kadın araştırmacıların ortak kadınlık deneyimleri ve değerleri nedeniyle kadın katılımcıların deneyimlerini daha kolay anlayabilecekleri tezi sıkça savunulmuştur. Bu yaklaşım, kadın ve erkek araştırmacıların kendi hemcinslerinin deneyimlerini ortak cinsiyet deneyimleri nedeni ile daha iyi anlayabileceklerinin altını çizmiştir. Bu demokratikleşme yönelimi doğrultusunda, araştırma terminolojisi bir değişime uğramış ve *katılımcılık* kavramı sosyal bilimler içinde giderek benimsenmiştir (Reece & Siegal 1986).

Bu eğilim, kadın araştırmaları içinde hemcinsler arasında olan çalışmaların da başka dinamiklerle etkilenebileceği gerçeğini tartışmaya açmış, ancak, 1990'larda gelişen postmodern-feminist ve sosyalist-feminist yaklaşımlar, kadınlar ve cinsel yönelim gruplarının kendi içlerinde de sınıf, eğitim, ırk ve yaşa bağlı farklılıklar ve eşitsizlikler olduğuna işaret ederek ikinci dönem yazarlarının araştırmacı-katılımcı ilişkisinde eşitlik iddialarını da tartışmaya açmışlardır. Buna göre toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik araştırmalarında pozitivist ve niceliksel yaklaşımların yetersizliği kadar, araştırmacı-araştırılan ilişkisinin de bir egemenlik ilişkisi olmasının da sorgulanması gereklidir (Mies 1995: 48). Böylece aslında cinsiyetleri, toplumsal cinsiyet deneyimleri veya cinsel yönelimleri ortak olsa bile, araştırmacı-katılımcı ilişkisinin eşitlikçi ve kendini ifade etmeye açık olduğu iddiasının da tartışılabilir olduğu ortaya konmuştur.

İkinci dönemden üçüncü döneme geçiş, sosyal bilimler alanında tek yönlü araştırma

<sup>1</sup> Cinsel yönelim azınlıkları ifadesi cinsel tercihleri heteroseksüellik olmayan gruplar için kullanılmış genel bir ifadedir. Azınlık ifadesi ise daha çok etnik grupları ifade etse de politik olarak burada da kullanılmasının yerinde olacağı düşünülmüştür.

geleneklerinden uzaklaşılması çok boyutluluğu esas alan toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmalarında yaş, sınıf, eğitim, ırk ve dini inanç gibi toplumsal boyutları da kapsayan çalışmaların önem kazanması ile, daha yavaş ve karmaşık bir süreç içermektedir. Batılı ve ataerkil anlayışın hakim olduğu sosyal bilim araştırmalarına toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik boyutları katılarak, varolan tüm marjinal grupların bu baskın söylemler içinde yeterince temsil edilmediği gösterilmiştir. Bu dönemde kadın araştırmaları alanı kadınlığı sorgular ve kadının araştırma süreçlerindeki ikincil ve eşitlikli konumunun nedenlerini irdeleyerek bu durumu dönüştürmeye yönelik projeler geliştirirken (Muzychka *et al.* 1996), erkek araştırmaları da popüler, akademik ve hatta terapi amaçlı olarak (Biddulph 1999) erkeklik rollerini yeniden tanımlamaya çalışmıştır (bkz. Collinson & Hearn 1996).

Feministler bilimsel araştırma mitini irdeleyerek, bu araştırmalarının bilimsellik ve öznellik iddialarını da sorunsallaştırmışlardır. Bu konuda ortaya atılan en önemli eleştiri araştırmacı, araştırılan ve araştırma arasında yaratılan kutuplaşma ve 'yapay' ayrımcılık konusunda yönelmiştir. Oakley (1981) feminist bakışı ile sorunsallaştırdığı araştırma görüşmelerindeki güç dengesizlikleri konusunda, Cook ve Fonow (1990) katılımcılara 'yanıt ve soru hakkı' verilmesini savunmuştur. Aynı şekilde Maynard (1994) da araştırmacı ve katılımcının cinsiyetlerinin farklı olması durumunda, kadının politik olarak öznelendirilmesi durumunun ve sorununun ortaya çıkabileceğine işaret etmiştir. Ancak Maynard (1994) aynı güç dengesizliklerinin kadın katılımcılar ve onlara ilişkin araştırma yapan kadın araştırmacılar arasında da ırk, toplumsal sınıf, yaş, ve dini inanç gibi sosyo-ekonomik, politik ve kültürel farklılıklar nedeniyle de çıkabileceğini açıklamıştır.

Feminist yöntem yazını, feminist araştırmalarda kullanılacak araştırma yöntemlerini kısıtlamazken, kullanılacak yöntemlerin etik, toplumsal sorumluluk ve dürüstlük ilkeleri göz önünde bulundurularak kullanılmasını önerir (Kirby 1997; Kirby & McKenna, 1989). Ortodoks bilimsel araştırma geleneği araştırmaların topluluklar 'üzerine' veya 'hakkında' yapılabileceğini öngörürken, feminist araştırma etiği, araştırmacının topluluklar 'ile' ve topluluklar 'için' yapılmasını önerir. Bu yaklaşımın kökeninde araştırmacıdan toplumsal bilinç sergilemesini isteyen politik bir beklenti vardır. Yine geleneksel yaklaşımlardan farklı olarak, feminist yaklaşım, araştırmacının katılımcıyı aktif şekilde dinlemesini ve katılımcıların tartışma konularını belirlemede serbest iradelerini kullanabilmelerinin sağlanmasını önerir (Davidson & Layder, 1994). Bu iki yaklaşım arasındaki fark, feminist yaklaşımın toplulukların bağımsızlıklarına saygı göstererek adaletsizlik ve toplumsal baskılara karşı çıkma isteğinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Feminist etik yaklaşımın ısrarla savunduğu dürüstlük ve açıklık ilkeleri katılımcıların araştırma öncesinde, araştırma sırasında ve sonrasında araştırmacının amaçları, yöntemleri, sonuçları, olası yararları hakkında aydınlatılması ve rızalarının alınmasını gerektirir.

1980'lerde yaygın olan erkek ve kadını, eşcinsel ve heteroseksüel, azınlık ve çoğunluk mensubu olarak kutuplaştıran yaklaşımlar, 1990'larda sosyalist-feminist ve postmodern söylemlerin gelişimi ile eleştirilere hedef olmuşlardır. Araştırılanı, araştırmacının nesnesi, yani *öteki* olarak görmek, orta ve üst sınıf, beyaz, batılı ve erkek-egemen bir *bilimsel* anlayışa dayanır. Bu *bilimsel* anlayış ve önerdiği araştırma teknikleri, kadınlar ve marjinal grupların görünmezliğini pekiştirmekte etkili olmuştur. Feminist yazarlar ve diğer marjinal gruplar, feminist (ve postmodern) yaklaşımların (Nordquist 1996) araştırma yöntem ve tekniklerini kullanarak toplumsal bilginin sadece nesnelere değil aynı zamanda öznelere

olduklarını göstermiş, böylece bilen ve bilinen, dolayısıyla araştırmacı ve araştırılan arasındaki hiyerarşik ilişkiyi sarsmışlardır (bkz. Gillespie-Sells, Robbins & Hills 1998, Weston 1998, Walker 1997). Bu yeniden tanımlanan ilişki, araştırılanla aynı düzlemde yer alan araştırmacının kendi öznel kültürel durumunu (sınıf, ırk, cinsiyet, cinsel yönelim, inanç) da analize ve araştırmaya katması gerektiğine işaret etmektedir. Bu anlayış gücünü büyük oranda niteliksel araştırma tekniklerinden alır. Araştırmacı kişisel değerlerini ilk dönemde olduğu gibi 'objektiflik' veya 'bilimsellik' uğruna inkar etmek yerine, bu değerlerin araştırma öncesinde, sırasında ve sonrasında belirleyici rolünü kabul eder ve açıklar. Araştırmacının, katılımcıların sorunlarına onların (katılımcıların) cephesinden bakabilme, onlarla bağ kurma, subjektif olan bilgileri de araştırmacının konusu yapma rolü (Atauz, Kardam & Toksöz 1997), bu yeni anlayışın temel yaklaşımını oluşturmaktadır.

Feminist yazındaki metodoloji sorunsalı ise daha tartışmalı bir gelişme izlemiştir. Bazı yazarlar, sosyal bilimlerdeki bir takım araştırma yöntemlerini feminist araştırma yöntemi olarak adlandırırken, Cook ve Fonow (1990: 71) şu uyarıda bulunmuşlardır: 'Feminist metodoloji konusuna aceleci sınırlamalar koymak, feminist araştırmacının kullanabileceği geniş yöntem yelpazesini daraltarak, bunları bir dizi 'doğru' yönetime indirgemeye neden olabilir'.

Yazarların gerçekleştirdikleri iki alan araştırması, yukarıda aktarılan tartışmaların açıklanmasında yardımcı olacak bulgular içermektedir. Birinci ve ikinci araştırmacının kullandıkları metodolojik yaklaşımları ve veri toplama teknikleri, katılımcı, araştırmacı ve araştırma arasındaki ilişkilere açıklık getirmek bakımından örnek olarak kullanılacaktır.

### Birinci Araştırmacının Çalışması<sup>2</sup>

Birinci araştırmacının çalışmasının hedef kitlesi Akçakoca (Düzce)'daki Köylü Pazarı'nda satış yapan ücretsiz aile işçisi, köylü kadınlardır. Antropolojik veri toplama tekniklerinin kullanıldığı araştırmada, kendi ürettikleri tarımsal ürünleri haftalık kent pazarında satışa sunan pazarıcı kadınlar açısından, pazarcılığa başlama nedenleri, pazarı onlar için çekici kılan unsurlar ve pazarcılığın sosyal ve ekonomik değeri ve pazar yerinin nasıl bir kamusal alan olduğu anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır (Aliefendioğlu 2000: 63). Ön ziyaretlerin ve pilot araştırmacının ardından, Ağustos 1998 tarihinde başlayan alan çalışması Ekim 1999 tarihine dek sürmüştür. Alan çalışmasında katılarak gözlem, soru kağıdı ve derinlemesine görüşme yöntemleri uygulanmıştır. Akçakoca Pazarı'nda satış yapmakta olan pazarıcı kadınlarla, demografik durumları, pazarla ilişkileri, günlük yaşamları, üretim-gelir-güvence ve kentle ilişkiler olmak üzere beş temel alanda soru kağıdı uygulaması yapılmıştır.<sup>3</sup>

Bir soru kağıdı uygulaması ortalama elli dakikada tamamlanmaktayken derinlemesine görüşmeler ortalama beş-altı saat sürmüştür. Köylerde, evlerde veya bahçelerde yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler sonrasında köyde yaşayan akraba, komşu ve arkadaşların

<sup>2</sup> Hanife Aliefendioğlu

<sup>3</sup> Araştırmada toplam 93 pazarıcı kadınla görüşülmüştür. Bunların 82'si üretici köylü pazarıcı kadınlar 11'i ise kentli profesyonel pazarıcı kadınlardır.

katılımı da sağlanmıştır. Derinlemesine görüşmelerin üçü, pazarıcı kadınlar arasında en kalabalık grubu oluşturduğu köyden üç<sup>4</sup> pazarıcı kadınla, evlerinde veya bahçelerinde yapılmıştır. Köy ziyaretleri sırasında pazara yönelik hazırlıklarının gözlenmesi olanağı da bulunmuştur. Araştırmada, görüşmeler ve soru kağıdı uygulamaları kadar katılımcıların pazarlık faaliyetine hazırlıkları ve pazara hazırlık sırasındaki aktivitelerin de gözlenmesiyle bir bütünlük sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Zira araştırma için pazar yerinde pazar sırasında olduğu kadar pazar öncesi ve sonrası etkinlikler de önemlidir.

Araştırma boyunca ses kaydı kabul görmemiş ve hazırlanan sorular okunarak katılımcılara yöneltilmiştir. Ancak soruların bir kağıttan okunmasının da dikkat dağıtıcı ve yabancılaştırıcı olduğu görülerek sorular ezberlenmeye çalışılarak, konuşma bölünmeden sırası geldikçe sorulmuştur. Görüşmeler sırasında bazı hatırlatıcı notlar alınmış veya kimi ifadeler aynen not edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Daha sonra fotoğraf çekimi konusunda da görüleceği gibi, bu araştırmada, araştırma verilerini zenginleştirecek ve geriye dönük kontrollerini kolaylaştıracak tekniklerin kullanılması katılımı olumsuz etkileyeceği düşüncesiyle kullanılmamış ve kısıtlı biçimde kullanılabilmiştir.

Metodoloji ve veri toplama teknikleri yukarıda açıklanan bu araştırmanın bu makale kapsamında tartışılacak olan boyutu, araştırmacı ile katılımcı pazarıcı kadınlar arasındaki ilişkidir. Bu ilişkinin, bir kadın araştırmasının gerektirdiği şekilde mümkün olduğu kadar eşitlikçi, dostça, dürüst ve yardımlaşmacı bir ilişki olması hedeflenmiştir. İlk ziyaretlerde, on pazarıcı kadınla görüşülmekteyken, görüşülen pazarıcı kadın sayısının azaltılmasıyla, pazarıcı kadınlarla başka konularda sohbet etme veya araştırmacıya yönelttikleri soruları cevaplama fırsatı doğmuş olduğu için görüşmeler her iki taraf açısından da daha verimli bir hal almıştır. Araştırmacı-katılımcı eşitliği ve katılımcıya da soru ve yanıt hakkı ilkesi doğrultusunda pazarıcı kadınlardan araştırmacıya yöneltilen sorulara da yanıt verilmeye çalışılmıştır. Pazarıcı kadınlar tarafından araştırmacıya özel yaşamıyla ilgili sorular da yöneltilmiştir. Örneğin medeni hali, kaç para kazandığı, bir gününü nasıl geçirdiği, bu araştırmayı yapmakla ne kadar para ve ne gibi bir mevki kazanacağı gibi sorular sorulmuştur. Araştırmacıya yöneltilen soruların başında araştırmanın neden yapıldığı ve sonucunda pazarıcı kadınların lehine ne gibi gelişmeler olacağı konusu gelmektedir. Bu nedenle, görüşmeyi kabul eden pazarıcı kadınlar için sorulan soruları yanıtlamak, "ödevini yapmakta olan ve ta Ankara'dan gelen bir talebeye yardım" amacını taşımıştır. Pazar yeri ve ev ziyaretlerinin bir doktora tezinin alan araştırması olduğu açıklaması pazarıcı kadınlar tarafından çok karışık, yabancı ve anlaşılmaz bulunmuştur. Araştırmacının Akçakoca yöresini genel olarak tanınması, fındık üretimi ve bahçecilikle ilgili süreçleri bilmesi ve yerel bazı ifadeleri anlaması ve kullanmasının sosyal kabul sürecini hızlandıran bir etkisi olmuştur. Bu araştırmada kabul görmenin benzer deneyimleri ortaya çıkarması bakımından, araştırmacı ve araştırılan arasındaki hiyerarşiyi ve uzaklığı azaltan bir etkisi olmuş ve bu etki ortak toplumsal cinsiyet deneyimlerinden daha geniş bir ortaklık zemini yaratmıştır. Ancak görüleceği gibi bu etki sadece araştırmacı ve araştırılan gruplar arasındaki ortak toplumsal cinsiyet deneyimlerinden değil, diğer toplumsal kültürel ortaklıklardan da kaynaklanmamaktadır.

Araştırmacı ile pazarıcı kadınlar arasında, görüşmeler ardından ahbablıklar kurul-

muştur. Pazar ziyaretleri sırasında tezgahlarını araştırmacıya emanet edenler bile olmuştur. Satış sırasında pazarıcı kadınlara yardım edilmiştir. Daha önce görüşülen bir pazarıcı kadın, bir sonraki ziyarette veya hemen görüşmenin ardından araştırmacıyı başka pazarıcı kadınlara yönlendirmiştir. Bu referans sistemi sayesinde daha önce, araştırmacının uzun uzun kendini tanıtmayı ve amacını anlatması gerekirken, kendisini gönderen kişinin adını vermesi görüşmeye başlamak için yeterli olmuştur. Bu araştırmada sosyal kabul görme süreci zincirleme bir referans sistemiyle yürümüştür.

Pazar yeri ziyaretlerinden önce, Hacettepe Üniversitesi'nden alınan bir yazı ile ilçe kaymakamlığına başvurulmuş ve ardından yerel yönetimden izin alınmıştır. Araştırmacı ile katılımcı arasındaki ilişkiyi birinci araştırmacının zabıta yetkilileri ile diyalogu hem olumlu, hem de olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. Zabıta yetkililerine araştırma konusunda bilgi verilmesi zorunluluğu, pazarıcı kadınlar arasında -zaman zaman aralarında çıkar tartışmaları olan- yerel yönetimle bir ortaklık ve işbirliği içinde bulunduğu algısının doğmasına yol açmıştır. Öte taraftan yerel yönetimin bilgisi dahilinde yapılan bir araştırma olması da bazı pazarıcı kadınlar açısından güven verici olmuştur. Cinsiyetlerin eşit olması, böyle bir eşitsizliğin doğmasına neden olmadığı gibi, giderilmesine de çözüm teşkil etmemiştir. Yerel yönetimle ilişki araştırmacı için yardımcı bir etken iken, pazarıcı kadınlar için güven kırıcı bir etki olarak da algılanabilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın her aşamasında toplumsal cinsiyet deneyimlerinin ortaklığı dışında başka türden eşitsizlik ve gerginliklerin doğması olasılığı hep olmuştur.

Araştırmanın başlangıcında alışveriş etmeksizin veya çok az şey satın alarak günün büyük bir bölümünü pazar yerinde geçirmek, başlangıçta araştırmacı ve pazarıcı kadınlar açısından yabancılaştırıcı bir unsur olmuştur. Zira Köylü Pazarı içinde pazarıcı kadınlar dışında bulunan herkes alışveriş yapmak, neler satın alınacağına karar vermek, veya fiyatlar konusunda fikir edinmek amacıyla bulunmaktadır. Bu sorun hem araştırmacı, hem de pazarıcı kadınlar tarafından zamanla aşılmıştır. Kısaca araştırmacının topluluğun tüm dinamiklerine katılan ve topluluğun müşteri, satıcı ve köylü olarak tam bir üyesi gibi olması mümkün değildir. Bu gerçeklik bize katılarak gözlemin sınırlarını da göstermektedir. Her ne kadar yabancılık duygusu ve gerçekliğinin ortadan kaldırılması için çaba harcanmış olsa da, birinci araştırmacının kentli, yüksek eğitimli, bağımsız bir kadın öğrenci olarak katılımcılar tarafından pazar dışından birisi olarak algılanmasının en azından başlangıçtaki ziyaretlerde kaçınılmaz olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Zamanla ve kurulan arkadaşlıklarla bu mesafenin üstesinden gelinmesi mümkün olmuştur. Araştırmacının fındık üretimi ve bahçecilikle ilgili bilgisi bir tanıdıklık yaratırken, araştırmacının sosyal konumu pazarıcı kadınlarla arasındaki mesafeyi tam olarak kapatmaya yetmemiştir. Bu çalışma, ortak toplumsal cinsiyet deneyimlerinin bulunması durumunda da katılarak gözlemin ve 'gruptan biri' olmanın sınırlılıklarını göstermektedir.

Bu araştırmada, herhangi bir konuda bilgilerinin sınırlı olduğunu düşünen kadınlar, soru kağıdı uygulanması teklifini, 'bir şey bilmedikleri', 'cahil bir köylü kadın' oldukları gerekçeleri ile reddetmişlerdir. Ancak zaman içinde bilgi değil sadece onlara özgü olan deneyimlerin alınmasına yönelik bir araştırma olduğunun açıklanması ve katılan pazarıcı kadınların da teşviki ile yeni katılımlar sağlanabilmiştir. Böylece araştırmaya katılanların kişisel deneyimlerinin araştırma açısından değerli olduğu gerçeği ve bilgisi katılımcılara ulaştırılabilmiş, katılımın nitelik ve nicelik olarak artması sağlanabilmiştir. Başka bir deyişle

<sup>4</sup> \*Derinlemesine görüşme yapılacak olan pazarıcı kadınlar da soru kağıdı uygulananlar arasından seçilmiştir.

pazarıcı kadınlar açısından kendi deneyimlerinin ve pazarcılığın hayatlarında yarattığı dönüşümün kentli ve okumuş bir kadın için değerli olduğunu anlamaları, katılımı ve diyalogu teşvik edici olmuştur.

Akçakoca Köylü Pazarı'na ve pazarıcı kadınların yaşadığı köylere on dört ay boyunca yapılan otuzu aşkın ziyarette, pazarıcı kadınlar tarafından araştırmacı hakkında kullanılan iki tanımlamadan biri *araştırmacı*, diğeri de *bizi yazan kız* ifadeleridir. *Araştırmacı* ifadesi, daha formel bir tanımlama olarak benimsenirken, pazar yerinde müşteri veya satıcı olmadığı halde bazı şeyleri yapabileme ayrıcalığını pazarıcı kadınların gözünde meşru kılmıştır. Örneğin, fotoğraf çekmek için izin istendiğinde çekingen davranan bir pazarıcı kadına arkadaşı, "bir şey olmaz, o araştırmacı, bizi de çekti" demiştir. Bu ifade araştırmacı kimliği ile bir başka kentli kadının uzmanlığına teslim olmanın veya meşru kabul etmenin bir yolu, bir biçimi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Ancak ikinci tanım, yani *bizi yazan kız* ifadesi içinde, kayıtlara geçmek, vergi vermek, kayıtlı olunmadığı durumda paylaşılan tezgahı kaybetmek gibi şüpheleri de barındırmaktadır. Bu araştırmada kabul görme sürecinin katılımcıların araştırmacıyı, kendilerinden biri gibi görmekten ziyade 'dışlayarak içselleştirmeleri' söz konusudur. Çelişkili gibi görünen bu açıklama aslında gruba dahil olmanın, ancak katılımcıların kendi geliştirdikleri *araştırmacı* veya *bizi yazan kız* tanımlarıyla dışardan biri olduğunun altı çizilerek gerçekleştirilebileceğini göstermektedir.

Pazarıcı kadınlarla araştırmacı arasındaki ilişki, pazarın iç dinamikleri ile sınırlı değildir. Pazarıcı kadınlardan bazıları türbanlı genç kızların okullara alınmaması, imam-hatip liselerinin kapatılması gibi konularda görüşlerini dile getirmişlerdir. Pazarıcı kadınların doğum kontrol yöntemlerini nasıl kullandıkları, cinsel yaşamları ile ilgili sohbet ve şakalarına da tanık olunmuştur. Cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık konusunda pazarıcı kadınların büyük bir çoğunluğunun görüş dile getirmedikleri, ancak sorulduğunda kadına yönelik ayrımcılığın bir şans/kader olduğunu düşündükleri ve kadınların 'kendi başına öyle her şeyi yapamayacağı'na inandıkları gözlenmiştir.

Katılımcılardan hiç biri araştırmanın bitmiş halini görmeyi veya sonuçlarını öğrenmeyi talep etmemiştir. Ancak araştırmacının 'dersinden geçip, geçmediğini' merak etmişlerdir. Araştırmacıdan pratik yararlar bekleyen pazarıcı kadınlar, yerel yönetimle ilişkileri konusunda birçok şikayetlerini araştırmacıya iletmeyi tercih etmişlerdir. Burada araştırmacı resmi makamlarla katılımcılar adına ilişki kuracak kişi konumuna gelmektedir.<sup>5</sup>

İlk ziyaretten başlayarak pazarıcı kadınların görüntülerinin yayınlanması konusunda çok hassas oldukları görülmüştür. Bu nedenle araştırmacının fotoğraf çekiminin daha ileri bir tarihe ertelenmesi gerekmiştir. Alan araştırmasına başladıktan yaklaşık yedi ay sonra katılımcılardan fotoğraf çekimi için izin alınabilmektedir. Ardından gelen tüm ziyaretlerde fotoğraf çekilmiş ve/veya daha önce çekilen fotoğraflar pazarıcı kadınlara dağıtılmıştır. Fotoğraf çekmek istemeyen pazarıcı kadınlar, eşlerinin ve ailelerindeki diğer erkeklerin bilgisi dışında fotoğraflarının herhangi bir yayın organında yayınlanmasından ve başka erkeklerce görülmesinden çekinmişlerdir. Ancak hemen tüm pazarıcı kadınlar, kendilerinin kareye alınmaması koşuluyla ürünlerin fotoğraflarının çekilmesini kabul etmişlerdir.

<sup>5</sup> Bunun dışında bazı uzman hekim ad ve adresleri öğrenilmesi gibi büyük kentteki bazı ihtiyaçlarını dile getirildiği olmuştur.

## İkinci Araştırmacının Çalışması<sup>6</sup>

İkinci araştırmacının çalışması Türkiye ve Britanya'da finans sektöründe cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitliği üzerinedir. Bristol Üniversitesi'nde yürütülen bir doktora programı çerçevesinde 1995 ve 1997 yılları arasında Türkiye'de üç ve Britanya'da beş finansal kuruluşta alan çalışmaları yapılmıştır (bkz. Özbilgin 1998).<sup>7</sup> Bu araştırmada tarihsel-karşılaştırma,<sup>8</sup> etnografi, örgütsel ve kültürel karşılaştırma yöntemleri (Adler 1983: 39) yanı sıra feminist yaklaşım yoğunlukla kullanılmıştır.

Pilot çalışmanın sonuçlarına dayanarak ev ve iş yaşamına ilişkin sorulara ağırlık verilmiş, Batı Avrupa ve Türkiye'de yapılmış benzer çalışmalar incelenerek, katılımcıların öykü ve deneyimlerini daha iyi aktarmalarına olanak tanıyacağı için açık uçlu sorular tercih edilmiştir. Çalışmada şeffaflığı artırmak amacı ile soru kağıtlarında araştırmacının amaçları, olası sonuçları açıklanmış ve katılımcılardan araştırma yöntem ve içeriğinin geliştirilmesi amacı ile önerilerini soran bir bölüme yer verilmiştir. Saha çalışmalarında yüz yüze görüşme, anket ve araştırma günlüğü teknikleri kullanılmıştır. Anket ve görüşme soruları Britanya ve Türkiye için ayrı ayrı hazırlanmış, ancak fırsat eşitliği temasının korunması ve karşılaştırmalara olanak sağlaması amacı ile benzer sorular da sorulmuştur.

Kurumlardan resmi izin alma ve bireysel görüşmeler için katılımcılardan kişisel izin alma aşamalarında farklılıklar ortaya çıkmıştır.<sup>9</sup> Kurumlardan alınan izin aşamasında her iki ülkede de, araştırmacının *konuya hakim*, *profesyonel* ve *uzman* olması yönünde bir kurumsal beklenti ile karşılaşmıştır. Bunun yanında görüşmelerin süresi, konunun ilginçliği, yararlılığı gibi kişisel beklentileri olan katılımcılardan da izin alınması araştırma etiğinin önemli şartlarından. Ancak, katılımcının araştırmacıdan beklentileri ile araştırmacının demokratik ve eşitlik temeline dayalı bir ilişki kurma isteği çelişmektedir. Araştırmacının kurumlara girerken kullandığı uzman kimliğinden sıyrılıp, gözlemci kimliğine bürünmesi kolay bir dönüşüm değildir. Katılımcılara gönderilen araştırmaya çağrı mektuplarında araştırmacının temel rolünün ve beklentisinin öğretmek değil, dinlemek ve öğrenmek olduğu vurgulanarak katılımcı ve araştırmacının bu araştırmanın süreçlerindeki rolleri ve beklentilerinin daha az hiyerarşik bir platforma taşınmasına çalışılmıştır.

Bu araştırmada feminist araştırma yazınından hem içerik, hem de araştırma yöntemine getirdiği yaklaşımlar bakımından yararlanılmıştır. İçerik olarak feminist araştırmalara değinilmiş ve her feminist araştırmada olduğu gibi Maynard'ın (1994) açıkladığı

<sup>6</sup> Mustafa Fatih Özbilgin.

<sup>7</sup> Türkiye'deki alan araştırması denemesi Nisan 1995'te başlamış ve alan araştırması Aralık 1995'te tamamlanmıştır. Britanya'daki çalışma finans kurumlarından araştırma izni almakta karşılaşılan zorluklar nedeni ile 1997 yılı ortalarında tamamlanabilmiştir.

<sup>8</sup> Neuman 1991 ve May 1993 bu yöntemin geniş açıklamasını içermektedir.

<sup>9</sup> Türkiye'deki alan çalışmasında finans kurumlarından araştırma izni alma aşamasında kurumların üst düzey yetkililerine, bu sektörle bağlantısı bulunan akademisyen tanıdıklar aracılığı ile ulaşılması izin almayı kolaylaştıran, etkili bir yöntem olmuştur. Başvurulan beş büyük finans kurumundan üçünden araştırma izni alınmıştır. Britanya'da aynı tanıdık ağı olmadığı için zorluklarla karşılaşmış, yazılı dilekçe ile başvuru 15 kuruluşta yalnızca ikisi kısmi araştırma izni vermiş, diğerleri ise başvuruyu reddetmiştir. Bu araştırma süresince kurulan bağlar kullanılarak üç farklı finans kurumunda çalışanlarla bireysel görüşme olanağı yaratılmıştır. Türkiye'de araştırmaya katılan üç finans kurumunun farklı alan ve kademelerinde çalışan kadın ve erkek elemanlar ile 21 yüz yüze görüşme ve 312 anket, Britanya'da ise 25 görüşme ve 50 anket yapılmıştır.



kadınların ortak toplumsal dezavantajlarının irdelenmesi ve bu durumun değişik toplumsal platformlarda eşitliği sağlayıcı biçimde dönüştürülmesini öngören bir politik tutum benimsenmiştir. Bu tutumun, aşırı pozitivist bir yaklaşımla, 'tarafli' ve 'tek yönlü' olarak nitelendirilmesi mümkündür<sup>10</sup>.

Stanley ve Wise (1983) soyut ve teorik çalışmaların feminist yöntemin önemli unsurları olduğunu söylerken, Cook ve Fonow (1990) bu tarz kutuplaştırıcı yaklaşımlardan kaçınılması gerekse de soyut ve teorik çalışmaların da pratiğe yönelik çalışmalar kadar önemli olduğunu açıklamışlardır. Cook ve Fonow'un (1990) bu çok kapsamlı ve çok yönlü yaklaşımı benimsenerek, bu çalışmada cinsiyete dayalı eşitlik konusu çalışmanın teması ve yöntemini de belirleyici bir rol oynamıştır. Bu rol, beş ana başlıkta açıklanabilir: Cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılığın ortaya çıkarılması, araştırmanın ayrımcılık ve eşitlik konularında bilinç düzeyinin yükselmesine katkıları, kişisel deneyimlerin bilim dışı oldukları, kuramsallaştırılamayacakları ve öznel olarak açıklanamayacakları yolundaki önyargının aşılması, araştırmanın etik kapsamının açıklığa kavuşturulması ve erkek egemen kurum ve oluşumların dönüştürülmesine katkıda bulunulması.

MacKinnon (1982) cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılığın açığa çıkarılmasının, kadın konusunun araştırmanın temel konusu yapılması ile mümkün olduğunu söylerken, Morgan (1996) bunun erkeklerin tarihsel süreçler içinde kadınları toplumsal araştırmalardan dışlayışının gözler önüne serilmesi ile başarılabilirliğini iddia etmiştir. Eichler (1980) ise araştırmacının cinselliği, cinsiyeti ve toplumsal cinsiyeti olan bir varlık olduğunun açıklanmasının önemine işaret etmiştir. Bu araştırma, bu tartışmalardan etkilenecek şekilde oluşturulmuştur. Amaç, iki ülkede finans sektöründe cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılıkları açığa çıkartmaktır. Ayrıca çalışma boyunca kadın ve erkek katılımcıların görünür veya dolaylı yollarla gerçekleşen ayrımcılıkların sürmesine katkıları ve ortadan kaldırılması için geliştirdikleri stratejiler incelenmiştir. İkinci araştırmacının cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık konusunda araştırma yapan, Türkiyeli, genç ve erkek bir doktora öğrencisi olması çok yönlü ve karmaşık ilişki dinamikleri ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılıklar konusunda toplumsal bilinç yaratmak ve bu bilinci geliştirmek radikal feminist araştırmaların önemli amaçlarındandır (Stanley & Wise 1983). Bu amacı kendi araştırma yöntem ve yaklaşımına katmak için ikinci araştırmacı, kendisine araştırma olanağı tanıyan şirketlere ve katılımcılara araştırmanın anonim ve güvenilir hale getirilmiş raporlarını yollamayı teklif etmiştir. Ayrıca araştırma sonuçlarının basılması, ders dokümanı olarak kullanılması ve konferans tebliğleri ile daha büyük dinleyici kesimlerine ulaşması da bu amaca hizmet etmektedir.

İkinci araştırmacının çalışması gibi tek araştırmacı tarafından yürütülen, finans sektöründe çalışan kadın ve erkek elemanlar üzerine kültürel karşılaştırmalar içeren bir araştırmada araştırmacı ile katılımcıların bazıları arasında güç ve otorite farklılıkları olması kaçınılmazdır. Bu araştırma boyunca, ikinci araştırmacı erkek araştırmacı olarak feminist bir araştırma yürütmenin avantajları ve dezavantajlarını sürekli sorgulamış ve kendi cinsiyetinin bu araştırmayı yapmasına engel olmayacağı yönündeki sonucuna varmıştır: Öncelikle, yürütülen araştırma, hem kadın hem de erkek katılımcıları kapsamaktadır. Dolayısı ile araştırmacı ve bazı katılımcı arasında cinsiyet farkı kaçınılmazdır. Feminist araştırma yazınının öngördüğü gibi, ikinci araştırmacının erkek oluşunun araştırma süreç ve sonuçlarına etkisi olmasına karşın, Türkiyeli ve doktora öğrencisi

olmasının da araştırmadaki güç dengeleri üzerinde en az cinsiyeti kadar bir etkisi olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. İkinci araştırmacının, kurum dışından, genç, Türkiyeli araştırmacı kimliği iki ülke ve kültürden gelen katılımcılar için farklı anlamlar taşımaktadır. Ayrıca, Türkiye'deki katılımcılar sahip oldukları sosyo-ekonomik konum ve eğitim düzeyleri ile beşeri sermayesi yüksek bir kesime mensupturlar. Bu kesime mensup kadın ve erkeklerin beraber çalışması, düşünce alışverişinde bulunması, aynı düzeylerde olmasa da, çalışma hayatında karar alma süreçlerine ortak katkısı alışılmış durumlardır. Dolayısıyla ikinci araştırmacının araştırmacı rolü için veya araştırmanın doğallığını bozacak bir güç dengesizliği yaratmamaktadır. Ancak, araştırmacının kadın deneyimlerini kadın bakış açısı ile anlayabileceği iddiası olmamasına karşın, erkek olarak gözlemleri de araştırmaya farklı bir boyut kazandırmaktadır. Stoltenberg (1990)'ın otobiyografik eserinde 'erkek olarak doğmak ve feminist olmak' biçiminde açıkladığı gibi, araştırmacının bu çalışmadaki feminist yaklaşımının araştırma boyunca bazen kuşku ile karşılanması ve onun kendi konumunu sürekli sorgulamasına neden olmuştur.

Araştırma süreçleri incelendiğinde ilginç güç dinamikleri açığa kavuşmaktadır: Kadınlarla olan görüşmeler yaklaşık 70 dakika sürmüş olup, erkeklerle yapılan yaklaşık 50 dakikalık görüşmelerden daha uzundur. Araştırma boyunca katılımcılarla samimi ve içten bir ilişki geliştirilme çabası, özellikle üst düzey yöneticilerle yapılan görüşmelerde, böyle bir durum katılımcıların otoritelerinden bir ölçüde vazgeçmelerini gerektirmesi nedeniyle engellenebilmiştir. Yönetici olmayan katılımcılarla, araştırmacı arasında güç dengesi daha kolay kurulmasına karşın, bazı katılımcıların araştırmacının, araştırmacı konumunu ön plana çıkartarak kendi görüşlerine onay ve destek aradıkları veya bazı konularda araştırmacının uzmanlığından yararlanmak istedikleri olmuştur. İkinci araştırmacı bu istekleri mümkün olduğu kadar yerine getirmeye ve uzmanlığının sınırları konusunda katılımcıları aydınlatmaya çalışmıştır. Bu çalışma özelinde, araştırma, araştırmacı ve araştırılan ilişkisi incelendiğinde, araştırmacının cinsiyeti, sosyal sınıfı, milliyeti, ırkı ve uzmanlığı gibi etkenlerin katılımcılar, araştırma süreçleri ve sonuçları üzerinde ayrı ayrı statik birer etki değil, bileşik ve dinamik etkiler yarattıkları sonucu çıkarılabilir.

## Tartışma ve Sonuçlar

Her ikisi de niteliksel birer araştırma olarak tasarlanıp yürütülen bu çalışmalarda araştırmacılar uygulamaya bizzat katılmışlardır. Birinci ve ikinci araştırmacının çalışmaları araştırmacı, araştırma ve katılımcı üçleminde irdelendiğinde, toplumsal cinsiyet dinamiklerinin belirginleştiği görülmektedir. İki çalışmadaki kabul görme süreçleri benzerlikler göstermektedir. Katılımcılar tarafından önce şüpheli ve çekingen yaklaşılacak her iki çalışmada da zamanla alan çalışmasının hem kurumsal ve hem kişisel düzeyde yürütülmesi mümkün olmuştur. Birinci araştırmacının çalışmasının zabıta, belediye ve üniversite gibi kurumlardan aldığı izin ve katılımcı pazarıcı kadınlardan gördüğü kabul ile ikinci araştırmacının üniversite ve finans kurumlarından aldığı izin ve katılımcılardan gördüğü kabul benzerlikler göstermektedir. Bir taraftan kurumlar araştırmacıların yetkin, bilgili ve konularında uzman olmalarını beklerken veya varsayarken, araştırmacıların

amacı, katılımcılardan öğrenmektir. Katılımcıların bilgileri kadar deneyimlerinin ve öykülerinin araştırmacı için önemli olması, hiyerarşiyi azaltan ve katılımcıların kendi gözünde katılımın niteliğini artıran boyutları her iki araştırmada da ortaktır.

Toplumsal cinsiyet deneyimlerinin benzer ya da farklı olması boyutu kadar sınıf, yaş ve eğitim durumu gibi birçok faktör kabul görme süreçlerini etkilemiştir. Örneğin, iki araştırmacı da öğrenci olarak tanındıkları için katılımcıların *çalışan* kimliğinden ve onlardan biri olmanın verdiği avantajlardan yoksundurlar. Araştırmacıların katılımcılara kıyasla daha genç olmaları, katılımcıların araştırmacıları öğrenci olarak kodlamalarını ve yaş farkı nedeniyle katılımcıların kurguladıkları bir hiyerarşik ilişkide onlara üstünlük sağlamasını meşrulaştırmıştır. Araştırmacıların kişisel özelliklerinin araştırma süreçlerine etkisi, ancak katılımcıların deneyimleri incelenerek tahmin edilebilir.

Mahremiyet duygusu ve kültürü de, kabul görme ve alan çalışması aşamasında katılımcılar ile araştırmacılar arasındaki ilişkiyi etkilemiştir. Birinci araştırmacının görüşmeleri katılımcılar için bir kadın kamusal alanı olan ve dolayısıyla görel olarak mahrem olan Köylü Pazarı ve pazarıcı kadınların evlerinde gerçekleşirken, ikinci araştırmacı görüşmelerini finans kuruluşlarının formel ortamında gerçekleştirebilmiştir. Finans kuruluşlarından alınan izin araştırmanın kurumsal ortam içinde sürdürülmesini gerektirdiği için ev ve ev dışı ortamlarda görüşme yapılmamıştır. Katılımcıların fotoğraf çekimine çekimser yaklaşımlarından da hareketle, birinci araştırmacının çalışmasının bir erkek araştırmacının gerçekleştirmesi mümkün olmadığı sonucuna varılabilir. Son derece güçlü bir mahremiyet duygusu ile iş ve ev yaşamlarını yürüten pazarıcı kadınlar ile, iş yerinde mekan olarak cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılığın aynı şekilde açığa vurulmadığı finans kuruluşlarında çalışan kentli kadınların araştırmaya, araştırmacıya ve özellikle araştırmacının cinsiyetine karşı olan tavırları farklılık göstermektedir.

Pazarıcı kadınlar erkek müşteriler ile çok sık karşılaşmaz ve erkek pazarıcılarla yan yana çalışmazken, finans sektöründeki kadın çalışanlar için erkek müşteriler ve erkek iş arkadaşları ile konuşmak ve aynı mekanı paylaşmak günlük çalışma rutininin yadırganmayan bir parçasıdır. Bu etkenler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda ikinci araştırmacının fırsat eşitliği üzerine yaptığı çalışmanın neden yadırganmadığı ve birinci araştırmacının çalışmasında fotoğraf çekiminin nasıl itirazla karşılanabildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu gözlemlerden yola çıkılarak, kapalı ve cinsiyetçi mahremiyet kültürünün baskın olduğu topluluklarda özellikle kadınlarla yapılan araştırmalarda erkek araştırmacıların kabul görmesinin zor ve neredeyse imkansız olduğu sonucuna varılabilir. Öte yandan ikinci araştırmacı finans kurumlarındaki çalışması sırasında işyerinde yaptığı görüşmelerde her ne kadar yadırganmamış olsa da çalışmasını evlerde veya başka mekanlarda görüşmeler yaparak derinleştirme şansına da sahip değildir. Böyle bir çalışma sınırları net bir biçimde belirlenmiş olan kentli kamusal ve özel alanın birbirine karışması, katılımcının kamusal alanda gerçekleştirdiği bir ilişkiyi özel alana taşıması demek olurdu. Ev görüşmeleri veya iş ortamı dışında görüşme, ikinci araştırmada katılımcılar tarafından da araştırmacı tarafından da dile getirilemezken, birinci araştırmada katılımcılar açısından araştırmacının evlerde kabul edilmesine büyük bir önem verilmiş -ailedeki erkeklerin karşı çıkmaması halinde- ev ziyaretlerine çok sıcak bakılmıştır. Hatta ev davetleri araştırmacı dile getirmeksizin katılımcılardan gelmiştir.

Birinci araştırmacının çalışmasında ise ses kaydına izin verilmezken, ikinci

araştırmacının çalışmasında bu iznin rahatsızlık duyulmadan verilmesi de iki alan çalışması arasındaki önemli farklılıklardan biridir. Buna göre kamusal ve formal ortamlarda veri kaydedilmesi araştırma sürecinin doğal bir parçası iken, kapalı kamusal ortamlarda kayıt, sürecin akışını bozan, yabancılaştırıcı ve tedirginlik yaratan bir müdahale olarak algılanmıştır.

Birinci araştırmacının pazarıcı kadınlarla yürüttüğü çalışma, antropolojik bir çalışma olması nedeniyle de daha uzun süreli görüşmeler gerektirmiştir. Görüşmelerin ortalama süresi ikinci araştırmacının çalışmasından daha uzundur. Ayrıca finans sektöründe çalışma saatlerinin sıkı şekilde kontrol edilmesi ve araştırmaya izin aşamasında görüşme sürelerinin önemli bir pazarlık konusu olması dikkat çekicidir. Pazarıcı kadınlar da hem işleri, hem de ev yaşamları sırasında sürekli meşgul olmalarına karşın araştırmacıya zaman ayırmışlar ve araştırmacıya zaman ayırmak bakımından finans sektöründe görülen kurumsal katılımda değil, daha esnek yaklaşmışlardır.

İkinci araştırmada araştırmacının, bir erkek olarak kadın katılımcılarla olan etkileşiminde kendi konumundaki bir kadın araştırmacıya göre, daha empatik olacağı iddiası olmamasına karşın, birinci araştırmada ortak cinsiyet deneyimlerinin varlığı da tek başına araştırmacı-katılımcı arasındaki uzaklığı ortadan kaldırmada yeterli olmamıştır. Bu süreçle ikinci araştırmacının feminist yaklaşımın kuşkuyla karşılanması kendini sorgulamaya neden olurken, birinci araştırmacının feminist yaklaşımı da aynı biçimde sorgulamaya yol açmıştır. Bu nokta farklı sorunlardan kaynaklansa da araştırmacıların araştırma ile ilişkilerindeki ortak noktaları olmuştur.

İkinci araştırmada araştırmacı-katılımcı farklı cinsiyetlerden olsa bile beşeri sermaye göstergeleri açısından bir ortaklık içinde bulunduğundan empati kurulması mümkün olabilmıştır. Birinci araştırmada, araştırmacı ve katılımcılar ortak cinsiyete sahipken, okumuş-okunmamış, kentli-köylü, evli-bekar ayrımları başka türden mesafeler doğmasına neden olabilmıştır. İkinci araştırmada deneyimler kadar katılımcının bilgi birikiminin de katkısı araştırmaya veri sağlayacakken, ilk araştırmada katılımcılar kendi bilgi düzeylerinin ölçüleceği izlenimini edinmiş ve benzer gerekçelerle araştırmaya katılmakta çekimser davranmışlardır. Oysa her iki çalışmada teorik olarak araştırmacı ve katılımcının katkısı eşit değerde düşünülmüştür. İkinci araştırmada, araştırmanın sonuçları ve çıktıları ile katılımcılara tekrar ulaşmak ve onların görüş ve yorumlarını almak mümkün görünürken, birinci araştırmada katılımcılar sonuç ve çıktılarla ilgili değildir. Katılımcılar arasında güç dengesizlikleri ve hiyerarşi açısından bakıldığında birinci araştırmada pazarıcılık yapan kadınlar arasında görel bir eşitlik ve homojenlik varken, ikinci araştırmada hem ülkeler arasında, hem de katılımcılar arasında araştırma çıktılarına da yansiyabilecek belirgin bir üst-üst ilişkisi ve hiyerarşik yapı göze çarpmaktadır.

Bu çalışmalardan elde edilen sonuçlar, alan çalışmasında araştırmacı ve katılımcının cinsiyetlerinin önemli birer rol oynadığına işaret etmektedir. Ancak bu rol basite indirgenerek, veya karikatürleştirilerek açıklanabilecek statik bir rol değil, aksine toplumsal cinsiyetin sosyal ve kültürel anlamı ile şekillenen ve ancak onunla açıklanabilecek dinamik bir roldür. Her iki araştırmada da araştırmacıların cinsiyeti yanı sıra, çalışma ortamı dışından gelişleri, kentli ve öğrenci olmaları, politik görüşleri, ekonomik konumları, yaşları ve buna benzer birçok özellikleri katılımcılarla olan ilişkilerini olumlu ve olumsuz yönlere etkilemişlerdir. Sosyal bilimcilere düşen yaptıkları araştırmalarda kendi cinsiyet-

lerinin rolünü reddetmek veya yok saymak yerine, kendi cinsiyetleri ve katılımcıların cinsiyetlerinin araştırma aşamaları, yöntemleri, süreçlerine ve sonuçlarına olan dolaylı ve dolaysız etkilerinin bilincinde olmak ve bunu yaparken de araştırmacı, katılımcı ve araştırma üçleminde toplumsal cinsiyetten kaynaklanan dezavantajları ortadan kaldıracak biçimde toplumsal eşitlik, kişisel hak ve özgürlük ilkelerini göz önünde bulundurarak dengelemeye çalışmaktır.

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### Abstract

In the 1990s, postmodern-feminist and socialist-feminist writers have started problematising not only the inadequacy of positivist and qualitative approaches to research on gender and sexuality, but also the dynamics of the relationship between research, researcher and the 'researched' in these studies. The aim of this article is to discuss the relations between participants and researchers on theoretical and implementative dimensions in the methodology of research about gender, sexuality and sexual orientation. Towards this purpose, some methodological elements that are related with two research projects completed by the authors of the paper will be explored.

The first project that is investigated in this article is on women who sell their own agricultural products in a weekly town market. The research evaluates their reasons for coming to market, the factors that make the market place attractive to them, the socio-economic value of the marketing activity and what kind of public sphere the market place is. In the relationship between researcher and participants, obstacles were overcome because both parties are women, however, the difference in the social status of the researcher and the participants inevitably created a gap between them. The study concluded that in research with women participants and especially in closed/conservative communities where gender segregation of public and private space is evident, it would be almost impossible for a male researcher to gain this level of acceptance.

The second research project investigates opportunities regarding gender in the finance sectors in Britain and Turkey. This project contains comparisons between female and male workers, power and authority differences between researchers and participants. During this research, the second researcher who was male, questioned his position and pros and cons of his study and concluded that his gender was not an obstacle to do this research. Firstly, there were both male and female participants where gender difference between researcher and some participants was inevitable. The fact that the second researcher was young and from outside the country, had different significance for participants from two countries and cultures. When we looked at the relationship between the researchers, it can be concluded that his gender, social status, class and profession had a dynamic but not static effect on the processes, objectives, participants and outcomes of this project.

This paper argues that, during the field study, the gender of participants and researchers play an important role. This is not a static role but a dynamic role shaped by the social and cultural interpretation of gender. In both research proj-

ects, their outsider and student status, the researchers' urban origins, their political views, ages and other socio-economic attributes may have had as much influence on the relationship between them and the participants as their gender.

The responsibility of a social scientist is not to deny or ignore the role of his/her gender in the field, but to assess the direct and indirect impact of his/her gender as well as the participants' gender on the study's steps, methods and conclusions and to try to balance the impact of his/her gender, by upholding the principles of social equality, and of individual rights and liberties.

## Kitap Tanıtımı / Book Reviews

**Serdaroğlu, Ufuk, *Feminist İktisat'ın Bakışı (Postmodernist mi?)*, İstanbul, Türkiye: Sarmal Yayınevi, 2000. ISBN 975-576-029-b 128 sayfa.**

Ufuk Serdaroğlu'nun Sarmal Yayınevi tarafından 2000 yılında yayınlanan *Feminist İktisat'ın Bakışı (Postmodernist mi?)* isimli kitabı, hemen hemen tüm dünyada yeni olan feminist iktisat kavramını irdelemektedir. Kitap, 'Niçin feminist iktisat?' sorusuna yanıt ararken, feminist iktisat nedir, neyi amaçlıyor sorularını cevaplayarak 'iktisat yazınındaki mevcut yaklaşımların, iktisatta kadın bakış açısının içerilmesine olanak vermediği' iddiasını da tartışma alanına getirmektedir.

Kitap üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde 'Farklı Bilme Biçimlerine Açılım Postmodernizm ve Feminizm'; ikinci bölümde 'İktisatta Postmodernist Esintiler' ve üçüncü bölümde de 'İktisatta Kadın Bakış Açısı: Feminist İktisat' ele alınmaktadır.

Serdaroğlu önsözünde bu kitabı, 'kadın bakış açısını da içerecek bir iktisat arayışı sürecinin bir ürünü' olarak sunmaktadır (s.1). Yazara göre kitabın ortaya çıkışı 'iktisat disiplini çerçevesinde ekonomi üzerinde çalıştığı düşünün bir kadın akademisyenin, akademisyen olarak ajandasında yer vermesi gereken konuların ve bunlar üzerinde çalışırken, çalışmalarını sunarken kullanması beklenen yöntemin ve söylemin, bir kadın olarak kendi deneyimlerini ve ekonomiye ilişkin kendi algılarını yansıtmaya imkan vermeyen toplumsal cinsiyetçi sınırlar içerdiğini farketmesi ve bu sınırları sorunsallaştırmasıyla başlamıştır' (s.1).

Serdaroğlu'nun birinci bölümde postmodernizmin ortaya çıkışına, modernist düşüncenin 'erkek egemen ideoloji' temelinde sorgulanış sürecine ve modernist bilimin sınırlandırılmalarına bir başkaldırı olarak sunulan postmodern feminizme yer vermiş olması kitaba yalnızca iktisatçıların değil, kadın çalışmaları içinde yer alanların da başvuru kitabı olma özelliğini kazandırmıştır.

İkinci bölüm iktisatta postmodernist esintilere ayrılmıştır. Bu bölümde feminist iktisatla iktisattaki postmodernist bakışların buluşma noktaları irdelenmektedir.

Üçüncü bölümde iktisatta kadın bakış açısı ve feminist iktisat ele alınmaktadır. Feminist iktisadın amacı, hareket noktası, hedefi ve feminist iktisatçıların ana akım iktisada getirdikleri eleştiri ve alternatif öneriler özetlenmektedir. Serdaroğlu'na göre feminist iktisadın amacı ekonomide 'kadın'ı değil 'kadın bakış açısı'nı da içerecek biçimde ekonomiyi incelemektir. Feminist iktisadın hareket noktasını ise ana akım iktisadın köklü bir eleştirisinin yapılması oluşturmaktadır.

Serdaroğlu'na göre yerleşik iktisadın ideolojisi cinsiyetçi, masculine (eril), sınıfsal, ve emperyalist yaklaşımlarla temellendirilmiştir. Bu nedenle radikal, ya da ana akım iktisat yazınındaki kadının konumuna ilişkin çalışmalar, feminist iktisat yazını içerisinde kabul edilemezler. Çünkü bu çalışmalarda iktisat kuramının oluşturulmasında toplumsal cinsiyetin rolü ihmal edilmektedir. Neo-klasik ve radikal iktisat, hipotezleri ve modelleri itibarıyla

la çok farklı olmalarına karşın ev içindeki ve toplumdaki cinsiyetçi iş bölümünü biyolojik veri olarak almaktadır. Böylece de kadınların ücretli ve ücretsiz işçiler olarak karşılaştıkları olumsuzluklar gözardı etmektedir. Radikal ya da ana akım iktisat kapsamında kadının konumuna ilişkin yapılan çalışmalar, kadınların karşılaştıkları olumsuzlukları gözardı ederek hem iş piyasasındaki hem de ailedeki ayrımcılıklara ve eşitsizliklere ilişkin soruları cinsiyet rollerini birbirlerini tamamlayıcı ve doğal kabul eden bir anlayışla kapsam dışı bırakarak, iktisat disiplininin sınırları dışına itmektedir. Bu nedenle de yazara göre 'normların iktisat araştırmalarını etkilemediği' şeklindeki pozitivist görüşün de sorgulanması gerekmektedir. Ancak modernist bilim anlayışının oluşumundaki maskülen normların etkisinin uzanımlarını iktisat özelinde irdeleyen ve eleştiren çalışmalar, feminist iktisat yazını kapsamında kabul edilebilirler (s.74).

Dolayısıyla feminist iktisat, iktisat literatüründe yer alan tüm kuram, kavram ve ilkelerin, toplumsal, kültürel ve tarihsel bağlamları göz önüne alınarak, hiçbirini diğerine üstün tutulmadan, bir eleştiri sürecinden geçirilmesini, iktisat kuramlarının yeniden, daha zengin bir perspektifle ele alınmasını ve hatta kurulmasını önermektedir (s.75).

Serdaroğlu'na göre feminist iktisatçıların ana akım iktisada getirdikleri eleştiri ve alternatif önerileri iktisatta yöntem, iktisadın kapsamı, iktisatta modelleştirme ve iktisat eğitimi ana başlıkları altında toplanmaktadır.

Mantıksal akıl yürütme yönteminin iktisada egemenliği, iktisat - toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisini belirlemede ve iktisat disiplini kadın deneyimlerine ve kadına yakın söylem biçimlerine ve dolayısıyla kadın bakışına kapılarını kapamaktadır. Serdaroğlu'na göre feminist iktisadın bu eleştiriye yönelik önerisi, yönetsel sınırlandırmaların kaldırılmasıdır. İktisadi bilgi onu üretenlerin yaşam ve deneyimlerinden bağımsız değildir. Bu nedenle durum odaklı ve kısmîdir. Farklı bilme biçimleri, insan bilgisi tablosuna hiçbir hiyerarşik sınırlamaya tabi tutulmadan dahil edilmelidir.

İktisadın kapsamına yönelik eleştiriler de, sadece piyasa değişimlerine konu olan üretim ve tüketim faaliyetlerini kapsadığı, piyasa değişimlerine konu olmayan ama yaşamsal önemi olan üretim ve tüketim faaliyetlerini dışladığı şeklindedir. Bunun yerine insanların yaşamlarını sürdürmeleri ve geliştirmeleri için gerekli ihtiyaçların teminine ilişkin faaliyet ve politikaların tümünü içeren, kamusal alana ilişkin piyasa temelli faaliyetler ile özel alana ve toplumsal yaşama ilişkin faaliyet ve politikalar arasındaki ayrımı kaldıracak bir iktisat tanımı önerilmektedir. Serdaroğlu'na göre bu tanım, iktisatta kadının ve kadın deneyimlerinin içerilmesine olanak tanıyacaktır.

Serdaroğlu, iktisadi modellere getirilen eleştirilerde feminist iktisadın amacını, ana akım iktisadın modelleştirmede dayandığı kavram ve sorunları (kıtık, bencillik, rekabet) reddederek yerine tezatlarının (bolluk, diğergamlık, işbirliği) konulması değil, çoklu insan davranışlarını anlayabilmek için, bunların birbirlerini dışlamadan, birlikte içerebileceği, hatta yenilerinin eklenebileceği dinamik ve açık bir modelleştirme anlayışını önermek olarak sunmaktadır.

Feminist iktisadın eleştirilerini odakladığı bir diğer konu ise 'iktisat eğitimi'dir. Feminist iktisada göre iktisat eğitimi, iktisadın ve dolayısıyla ekonomiye hakim kurum ve mekanizmaların toplumsal cinsiyetçi, ırkçı vb., yanlılıklarından arındırılmasını hedefleyen çabalara ilişkin süreçte son derece önemlidir. Öğrenciler 'iktisadın ne olduğu' ve 'iktisatçı gibi düşünmeyi' iktisat derslerinde öğrenmektedirler. Feminist iktisatçıları iktisat dersi verenlerin

bunları öğretirken söylemlerini belirleyen ideolojiyi de aktarmalarının kaçınılmaz olduğuna inanmaktadır. Bu nedenle feminist iktisatçıları iktisadın kapsamının onun bağlantılarını da içerecek bir şekilde irdelenmesini, kuramları doğuran ortamı ve kuramı inşa edenlerin arka plânının iktisat dersi verilen sınıflara taşınmasını bir gereklilik olarak görmekte ve önermektedirler.

Feminist pedagojik yöntemi benimseyen iktisatçıları, iktisat derslerinde, hocanın yerine öğrenciyi merkeze koyarak hiyerarşik yapıyı kırmayı ve böylece tartışma ortamı içerisinde öğrencilerin iktisadi bilgiye ilişkin görüşlerini kendi deneyimlerinin (işçi, öğrenci, ailenin bir üyesi, bir kurumun üyesi, kadın-erkek vb.) keşfi sürecinde oluşturmalarını tercih etmektedirler.

Serdaroğlu'nun kitabın sonuç bölümünde yer alan 'iktisadın bu eril (masculine) yanlılığı deşifre edilirken amaç, sözkonusu metaforların yerine zıtlarını yerleştirerek dişil bir iktisat oluşturmak değildir. Sadece bu metaforlarla tanımlandığında iktisadın nasıl sınırlandırıldığı (neleri, hangi bakışları göz ardı ettiğini) göstermektedir.' sözleri kitabın amacını özetlemektedir.

Sonuç olarak yazar, 'Feminist iktisadın bakışı postmodernist mi?' sorusunu da feminist iktisatçıları, postmodernist bakışa sahip iktisatçıları, 'farklı deneyim ve algılara dayanan farklı iktisat yaklaşımları, 'farklı ama eşit' şiarıyla -hiyerarşik bir sıralamaya tâbi tutulmadan- kucaklayacak bir iktisat anlayışına disiplinin kapılarını açmak' noktasında buluşmaktadırlar şeklinde cevaplamaktadır.

Kitabın yazarı Ufuk Serdaroğlu, Robert Kolej'deki eğitiminin ardından Boğaziçi Üniversitesi - İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Ekonomi Bölümünü bitirmiştir. Yüksek lisans ve doktora çalışmalarını ise Ankara Üniversitesinde tamamlamıştır. Halen Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi İktisat Bölümü öğretim üyesi olan Serdaroğlu'nun burada tanıtılan kitabı ekseninde çalışmaları ve yayınları bulunmaktadır.

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**Zeynep Hanım, Zeynep Hanım Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını [A Turkish Woman's European Impressions], (Editör: Grace Ellison, Çeviren: Nuray Fincancıoğlu), İstanbul, Büke Yayınları, 2001. 193 sayfa ISBN 975-845-432-3**

*Zeynep Hanım Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını* daha önce *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions* özgün adıyla yayınlanmış bir kitap. Eserin editörü Grace Ellison, 1906-1912 tarihleri arasında kendisine iki Osmanlı hanımı tarafından gönderilen mektupları bu kitapta toplamış. Kitap birkaç bakımdan ilgi çekici görünüyor. En ilginç tarafı mektupların sahibeleriyle ilgili. Zeynep ve Melek Hanımlar iki kardeşler. Onları orijinal kılan taraf, Zeynep Hanımın daha önce bir roman kahramanı olarak sunulmuş olmasıdır. Pierre Loti'nin *Les Déschanteés* adlı romanının kahramanlarından olan Zeynep Hanım II. Abdülhamit istibdadının takibatına uğramış ve Avrupa'ya kaçmak zorunda kalmıştır.

Pierre Loti, bildiği gibi, Türk dostu bir yazar. Aslında bir seyyah. Hatıralarından yararlanarak yazdığı roman boyutundaki eserlerinde gezdiği yerleri, özellikle de Doğu ve İstanbul'u anlatmaktadır. Avrupa'da eserleri etrafında bir Türk modası oluşturmuştur. *Aziyade* ve *Les Déschanteés*'de, *Binbir Gece Masalları*'na özgü bir Şark atmosferi hazırlayan Loti, büyüdü harem dünyaları, esrarlı Şark odaları ile oryantalist zevke uygun Türk evleri anlatarak –nasıl kültürümüzde yazdıkları ile Batıyı büyüleyici bir mekân olarak anlatanların bir tarafından ateşlediği Avrupa sevdası ve hatta kaçışlar başladıysa- Batıdan Doğu'ya bir tutkuyu başlatmıştır. Loti'nin kurduğu dünyaların tesiriyle Doğu'ya, özellikle de İstanbul'a gelen Batılılar burada masallardaki gibi bir hayat bulmak istemişler, fakat tersine Avrupa'ı çizgiler taşıyan İstanbul karşısında şaşkınlığa uğramışlardır. (Bu konuda bkz. İnci Enginün (2000). Loti'nin Türklere Bakışı ve Edebiyatçılarımızın Yorumu, *Araştırmalar ve Belgeler*, Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul, s. 400-416; Zeynep Kerman (2000). Türkçe'de Pierre Loti Tercüme ve Hakkında Yazılan Yazılar", *Türk Dili*, s. 580, Nisan 2000.) Fakat onun eserleriyle edebiyatımızda oluşan hülyalı kadın tiplerine, solgun gençlere, hummalı bir şekilde Türk evi bulmak için dolaşan Avrupalıların İstanbul'da başlattıkları bozulmalara ve Şark odası merakıyla kültürümüzün cansızlaştırılarak müze haline getirilmesine rağmen hiç dostumuzun olmadığı bir zamanda Avrupa'da Türk dostluğu yapmıştır. Bazı yazarların bizi yanlış tanıttığı için tenkit ettiği ve Enginün'ün deyişiyle "kendi kendisine yabancı gözle (oryantalist) bakma" yabancılığına rağmen bazı yazarlar tarafından ise beğenilen ve takip edilen bir moda olmuş, buna bağlı olarak Türkiye'de Loti günleri düzenlenmiş, hatta Loti'yi Sevenler Cemiyetleri kurulmuştur.

*Zeynep Hanım Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını*, Pierre Loti'nin Türkiye'de oluşturduğu Şark modasının dışında ama yine onun eserlerinin tesiriyle meydana gelmiş bir hayatı anlatıyor. 1879'da yayınlanan *Aziyade*'de 1876'da bir gemiyle uğradığı Selanik'teki hatıralarına da bağlı olarak bir Çerkes kıza âşık olan delikanlının, bu kıza İstanbul'da Eyüp'te geçen aşk hikâyesini anlatan yazar 1906'da yayınlanan *Les Déschanteés*'inde ise 1903-1906 arasında İstanbul'da yaşadığı başka bir aşkı anlatır. Loti her ne kadar romanının başında kitapta yazılanların bir hayal ürünü olduğunu, "Zeynep'in ya da André'nin gerçek adlarını öğrenmeye çalışanlar boşuna zahmet ederler, çünkü onlar hiçbir zaman var olmadı." (*Zeynep Hanım*, s.7) şeklindeki sözleriyle anlatmaya çalışırsa da Zeynep ve Melek Hanımlar daha roman yayınlanmadan Avrupa'ya kaçarlar. Çünkü 1908 öncesidir.

II. Abdülhamit'in 1876'dan başlayarak 33 yıl süren istibdadının devam ettiği günlerdir. İçinde yaşanan tarihî şartların tesiriyle şiddeti artan istibdat, özellikle aydınları takibe uğratarak bilindiği gibi onlar üzerinde bir umutsuzluk duygusu oluşturmuştur. Buna bağlı olarak, *Les Déschanteés*'te kadın hakları ve özgürlükler etrafında kendi hikâyeleri anlatılan Zeynep ve Melek Hanımlar takibe uğrama ihtimallerinin yüksekliğine bakarak Avrupa'ya kaçarlar. Dolayısıyla *Zeynep Hanım Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını*, okuyucunun karşısına bir roman kahramanı olarak değiştirilmiş hikâyeleriyle çıkan cesur iki kadın hakları savunucusunun gerçek hikâyelerini anlatır. Etraflarında oluşturulmuş kurgu dünya onların hayatlarının başka bir kanalda akmasına yol açmıştır. Bir anlamda romanın sihirli değneği, gerçeği değiştirerek kendi gerçeği haline getirirken Zeynep ve Melek Hanımlara da dokunmuş ve onların sonraki hayat çizgilerini değiştirmiştir. Bu kitapla okuyucu bir roman kişinin gerçek hayattaki başlangıcıyla karşılaşmaktadır.

*Zeynep Hanım Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını*, 1906-1912 tarihleri arasında editör Grace Ellison'a yazılmış 29 mektuptan oluşmaktadır. Bu mektuplardan yalnız dokuzuncu mektup Melek Hanım tarafından yazılmıştır. Diğer 28 mektup Zeynep Hanıma aittir. Bu, maceraya iki kadın olarak atılmalarına rağmen elimizdeki kitabın neden Zeynep Hanıma izafe edildiğini anlamak için yeterli bir sebeptir. Üstelik Melek Hanım, Ellison'un düştüğü nota göre 1908 yılında evlenerek Zeynep Hanım'ın hikâyesinden çekilmiş ve maceranın tamamen Zeynep Hanıma ait olmasına yol açmıştır: "Yine o yıl Melek evlendi. Zeynep tek başına kaldı." (*Zeynep Hanım*, 137)

Kitapta yer alan mektupların hepsi Avrupa'nın değişik merkezlerinden Fontainebleau, Territet, Caux, Nice, Paris, Londra, Venedik, Marsilya ve Napoli'den yazılmışlardır. Kitabın ilgi çekici taraflarından biri de budur. Avrupalıların özellikle Avrupalı kadınların "sedit üzerinde nargile çekerek yaşayan büyü Şark kadını" tasavvurlarına rağmen Zeynep Hanım ülkesinden zorunlu olarak ayrılmış ve Avrupa'nın değişik yerlerinde tek başına dolaşma cesaretini göstermiştir. Bu durum kapalı bir toplumun insanı olan Osmanlı kadını için oldukça farklı bir örnektir. Bu bize Osmanlı kadın eğitimiyle ilgili olarak ne kadar çok şeyi bilmediğimizi düşündürmektedir. Ellison bile "Önsöz"de bu duruma olan şaşkınlığını ifade eder: "İki ya da üç Avrupa dilini ana dili gibi konuşan Türk kadınlarına rastlamanın pek güç olmamasını (bir Türk harem dairesinde kaldığım zaman bu bana çok şaşırtıcı gelmişti.)..." (*Zeynep Hanım*, 7). Gerçi bir kaynak *Les Déschanteés*'in kadın kahramanının Tahrirat-ı Hariciye Başkâtibi Nuri Beyin kızı Cenân olduğunu belirtirken bizi hem maddî, hem de sosyal konum bakımından yüksek sınıfa mensup bir ailenin kızlarıyla karşı karşıya olduğumuzu hatırlatır. Dolayısıyla aydınlanma dönemi olarak nitelediğimiz Tanzimat sonrasında kadınlar hakkında bile bazı beklentiler içerisinde olmaya hazırlar. Ama Zeynep Hanımın karşısında duyduğumuz şaşkınlığı pek engelleyemez. Bu sebeple Ellison, Zeynep Hanımın birikimine rağmen Osmanlıdan Avrupa'ya uzanan çizgisini "tavadan ateşe atlamak" olarak yorumlar. "Bu el üstünde tutulan kadınların, amaçsız, sağlıksız yaşamını peçenin arasından gözlemleyen ben, yine de eminim ki Türk kadınları için Batı Avrupa uygarlığı tavadan ateşe atlamak demek." (*Zeynep Hanım*, 8). Kitap tam bu noktada Zeynep Hanımın şahsi macerasından Türk kadının tarihine doğru genişler. Zeynep Hanım sembolleşir. Onun etrafında Osmanlı kadınının haremden başlayan sosyal hayata atılış hikâyesi yerleşir. Bu sancılı bir yoldur. Kadının çok sistemli olmasa da eğitimine, kültür almasına, kabiliyetlerini geliştirmesine izin verilmiştir. Ama sosyal hayat onun gelişine ha-



zırlanmamıştır. Kendisine aralanan perdeden dışarıyı seyreden kadının bir gün bu perdeyi iterek dışarıdaki hayata karışmak isteyebileceği düşünülmemiştir. Bu durum Türk kadınlarının toplumda yer kazanma mücadelelerinin uzun sürmesine ve bir tarafından Türk kadınının sosyal hayata katılma tarihini tamamlayan başka kadın hikâyelerinin oluşmasına yol açmıştır. Fatma Aliye Hanım, Emine Semiye Hanım, Nezihe Muhittin, Halide Edip, Şükufe Nihal gibi isimlerin yanında birçok isimsiz kadın. Loti, o günlerde bu mücadeleyi kaygı verici buluyor. Ellison, onun bu kaygısını eserinin önsözünden aktardığı cümlelerle verir: "Öykümde gerçek olan, Türk kadınlarının edinmesine izin verilen kültür ve bunu izlemesi kesin olan acılardır. Benim yabancı gözlerime belki olduğundan daha da yoğun görünen bu acı, sevgili dostlarıma da kaygı veriyor; onu gidermek istiyorlar. Bu derdin çaresini bulabildiğimi iddia edemem, çünkü Doğunun en büyük düşünürleri çare bulmak için hâlâ canla başla uğraşıyorlar." (Zeynep Hanım, 8) Zeynep Hanım da mektuplarından birinde bu duruma yer verir: "Büyükkannelerimizin gözü kapalı kaderciliği bizde de olsaydı belki daha az acı çekerdik. Ama çoğu kez olduğu gibi, kültür bizi, kaderin bilgeliğinden kuşkuya düşürdü. –oysa bizi o teselli edebilirdi." (Zeynep Hanım, 20). "Alinyazılarını eleştirisiz kabul eden büyükkannelerimizin aksine, biz yaşamımızı çözümlenmeye çalıştık ve haksızlıktan, acımasız ve gereksiz üzüntüden başka bir şey bulamadık. Tevekkül ve kültür bir arada olamaz. (...) Ve bizim için artık tevekkül mümkün değildi. Çünkü artık inancımız sendelemeye başlamıştı." (Zeynep Hanım, 25-26).

Zeynep Hanım, kitap boyunca yer alan mektuplarında kapalı kapılar, örtülü kafesler ve peçeler arkasında devam eden Osmanlı kadınının sosyalleşme macerasını Avrupa'nın özgür mekânından hüznle özetler. Bir taraftan da Avrupa'daki yeni hayatını örnektir. Karşılaştığı ilk sıkıntılar Avrupa insanı Osmanlıyı ve Türk kadını anlatmak olmuştur. Haremde etrafında oluşmuş dedikodu ile çok eşlilik ve Osmanlı kadınının bilgi düzeyi bir anlamda onun ispatlaması gereken durumlar olarak görünürler. Ağır ağır mukayeseler yaparak ilerleyen Zeynep Hanımın en dikkat çekici tarafı hiçbir konuda yüzeyle kalmayarak kültürü oluşturan felsefeyi yakalamaya çalışmasıdır. Bu onu bazen sadece kadınla değil, erkekle de ilgilendirir. Bu noktadan bakılınca onun mektupları cinsiyetlerden çok insanla ilgili olması bakımından farklı bir boyut kazanırlar.

Zeynep Hanım *Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını* adlı kitabın belki de en ilgi çekici yanlarından biri Avrupalılaştırma tarihimize kattığı farklı boyuttur. Tanzimatın etrafındaki yıllarda Avrupa'ya gönderilen elçilerin hazırladıkları sefaretnamelerde, bir nevi raporlarda, muhatabına karşı baştan hazırlanmış hayran bakışlara karşılık Zeynep Hanımın değerlendirmeleri önemlidir. Evet, Zeynep Hanım bir anlamda elçidir. Hatta istibdat yıllarının memleketten kaçma arzusuyla dolu romantik edalı aydının idealini gerçekleştirebilmiş sembolüdür. Hatta o bir anlamda *Kiralık Konak*'ın Seniha'sında kendisini bulan tiplenenin gerçek hayattaki örneğidir. Yakup Kadri, romanında anlattığı devir gençlerinin Avrupa hayranlığı ve oraya kaçma eğilimlerini bu kadın kahramanı ile örnektir. Ancak Zeynep Hanım, hem Osmanlıya hem de Avrupa'ya şuurlu bir bakıştır. Üstelik bir kadın tarafından gerçekleştirilmiş şuurlu bir bakıştır. Çünkü o, yargılamak ya da kabullenmek için bakmaz. Adım adım mukayeselerle yürür. Bulduğu sınırsız özgürlük artık karşıda kalan medeniyetini görmesini engellemez. Avrupalı insanı ve özellikle kadını gözlemler. Osmanlı ile karşılaştırır. Daha da önemlisi, Avrupa adına kendilerine öğretilenleri, anlatılanları ve okuduklarını gözden geçirir. Bu sebeple Zeynep Hanımın yüzde yüz değilse bile, Batı

medeniyeti hayranlığıyla başlayan macerası Batıyı anlamak ve tespit etmekten Doğu ve Batı mukayesesine geçer. Doğuyu, ya da Osmanlıyı tercihle biter. Zeynep Hanım bu noktaya getiren yaşadıklarıdır, gözlemleridir, bildikleridir. Zeynep Hanım Batı hakkında bir düş kırıklığına uğramıştır: "Benim ülkemin değerini Batıda öğrendim. Ülkemin kökenini, tarihini burada inceledim (hâlâ da pek az şey biliyorum), Türkiye hakkında çok önemli bilgilerle dönüyorum. Ama bir kez daha söyleyeceğim, Batı benim için nasıl da düş kırıklığı oldu! Evet, her yanıyla düşününce itiraf etmeliyim, ben yine bir déschantéeyim." (Zeynep Hanım, 189).

Zeynep Hanımın Avrupa'yla ilgili ilk izlenimleri özgürlük izlenimleri olur. Kendilerine ilk hediye edilen şeylerin *Kiralık Konak*'taki damat Servet Beyi andırıncasına şapkalar olması dikkat çekicidir. Tenis oynayan, dağa tırmanan, yürüyüşe çıkan, dans eden insanları seyrederek. Bir anlamda şaşkındır. Grace Ellison'a bu duygularını itiraf ederken kırılganlığını da belirtir: "Bu garip yaşam biçimini anlamaya çalışırken doğal olarak haremdeki yaşamımızla karşılaştırıyorum ve düşündükçe daha çok şaşırıyorum. Cesaretim olsa bu insanlara şunu sormak isterim: yaşamlarından gerçekten memnunlar mı, yoksa bizim Türkiye'de yaptığımız gibi mutlu görünmeye mi çalışıyorlar? (...) Biz Türkiye'de Batılı kadınların yaşamını kıskanırdık. (...) Bizler sanırdık ki, Avrupalı kadınlar (...) hemcinslerinin daha iyi yaşamaları için, düşüncelerini eyleme dönüştürürler. Acaba buradaki kadınlar istisna mı? Düşünüyorlar mı, yoksa düşünmüyorlar mı? Merak ediyorum, acaba (...) benliklerini tüketmek istemeleri yaşamlarını çok boş bulmalarından mı?" (Zeynep Hanım, 47).

Avrupa'yı 1906'dan 1912'ye kadar uzun sayılabilecek bir zaman içerisinde her sahada ve değişik açılardan izleyen Zeynep Hanım, Batılılardan umudunu keser. Samimiyetsizlikleri, düşünceden uzak oluşları, budalaca kibar tarafları, sosyete tutkuları hatta okumayı pek sevmeyişleriyle Avrupa onun gözünde yavaş yavaş değerini kaybeder. Buna karşılık Doğu ve Türkiye yükselir. Zeynep Hanım değişimin farkındadır. O nasıl Batıya Doğu diye anlatılanlar yanlışsa; Doğuya Batı diye anlatılanların da yanlış olduğunu bilir. Hatta Osmanlı toplumundaki insanların büyük çoğunluğunun onun yaşadığı tecrübeleri yaşamadıkça Avrupa medeniyeti hakkındaki beklentilerinin değişmeyeceğini de bilir. Fransa'ya özgürlük, eşitlik, kardeşlik şeklindeki üç sihirli sözcüğün uygulamasını görmek için gelmiş olan Zeynep Hanım parçalanmış bir güvenle uygarlık kavramını da sorgular: Biz Doğulular, uygarlık sözcüğünün birçok iyi nitelikte eş anlamlı olduğunu hayal ederiz, başkaları gibi ben de buna inanmıştım." (Zeynep Hanım, 179).

Zeynep Hanım *Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını* editörü tarafından 20 bölüme ayrılmış. Her bölüme ayrı bir başlık veren Ellison, Zeynep Hanımın mektupları etrafında kendi şahsi görüşlerini de ifade ediyor. Bir müddet İstanbul'da da kalmış ve Zeynep Hanımın tersine Osmanlı hayatını gözlemlemiş olan editör, mektuplar arasındaki bu geçişleriyle parçaların bir bütün oluşturmasını ve birbirlerini tamamlamasını da sağlıyor. Mektuplar dışında devam eden hadiseleri, yer değiştirmeleri, Melek Hanımın evlenmesini, Zeynep Hanımın babasının vefatını, maddî sıkıntıları onun aracılığıyla öğreniyoruz. Bir anlamda 20. asrın başlarında Lady Montagu olma rolünü üstlenen Grace Ellison, bir taraftan Zeynep Hanımın Avrupalı insanı ve özellikle kadını ile ilgili gözlemlerine bir Avrupalı olarak açıklık getirirken, diğer yandan da yine Zeynep Hanımın mektuplarının da yardımıyla Osmanlı hayatını anlamaya çalışır. Ellison, Osmanlı ülkesi için Montagu'den çok farklı izlenimlere sahiptir. Kitaba bu açıdan bakıldığında Avrupa'yı anlatan bir Osmanlı

kadınının etrafında Osmanlıyı tanımaya çalışan bir Avrupalı kadın kimliğiyle de karşılaşılır. Bu anlamda Ellison'un Avrupalılaştırma tarihimizi değerlendirmesi önemlidir. O da Zeynep Hanım gibi Türk insanının Avrupa'yı taklide zorlanmasını zalimlikle eşdeğer görmektedir. Çünkü iki dünyanın temel değerleri birbirlerinden farklıdır. Ellison, Türk kadınının modern Türkiye'nin gelişiminde yükleneceği rolü başaracağına inanır.

Son olarak kitabın çevirisine değinmek gerekiyor. Kitabın çevirisi Nuray Fincancıoğlu tarafından yapılmış. Çok rahat ve Türkçeyi hemen hiç zorlamayan bir çeviri. Kitabın kolay okunmasının bir sebebi de çeviri yaptığı dil kadar Türkçeyi de bilen çevirmende gizli.

*Zeynep Hanım Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını*, Zeynep Hanımın özel albümünden seçilmiş fotoğrafların yanı sıra, Osmanlı ve İstanbul hayatını yansıtan fotoğraflarla sunulmuş. Kitap bütün olarak değerlendirildiğinde, kadın tarihimize yaptığı katkıların yanısıra, bir tarafından da Batılılaşma serüvenimizi aydınlatıyor. Bu sebeple, Zeynep Hanımın hikâyesinde, bu kısa yazı çerçevesinde sadece değinilen, fakat üzerinde daha fazla durulması gereken pek çok şey var. Kitabın mektuplardan, üstelik mektup olmak için yazılmış, samimî ve değiştirilmemiş duyguların ifadesini taşıyan mektuplardan meydana gelmesi diğer önemli tarafı... Ve kitap ayrıca, birbirlerine ait dünyaları tanımaya çalışan iki kadının hikâyelerinin de kesiştiği nokta... Ferdî hikâye etrafına toplanmış sosyal tespitlerle Türk kültür tarihinin bazı boyutları sergilenmiş. Bu bakımdan kitap okuyucusuna kolay takip edilen bir macera tadında yeni düşünce iklimleri açıyor. Özellikle ilerici bir Türk kadınının dışarıdan, 20. asır başındaki Türkiye'ye bakışı ve yorumları da kitabın önemini artırıyor, okunmaya değer kılıyor.

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**Öztürkmen, Neriman Malkoç, Edibeler, Sefireler, Hanımefendiler, İstanbul: Reyo Matbaacılık, 1999. 161 sayfa.**

*Edibeler, Sefireler, Hanımefendiler* adlı kitabın yazarı Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türkoloji Bölümünden mezun olduktan sonra uzun yıllar gazetecilik yapmış. Daha fakülte yıllarından itibaren başladığı gazeteciliğini *Yeni İstanbul*, *Milliyet*, *Vatan* ve *Son Havadis* gazetelerinde devam ettirmiş. 1958 ve 1970 yıllarında Almanya basın atışeliğinde çalıştıktan sonra 1976-1988 tarihleri arasında 12 yıl edebiyat öğretmenliği yapmıştır. Okurlar onu edebiyat ve gazetecilik faaliyetlerinin kesiştiği çalışmalarıyla tanıyorlar. Yazarın diğer kitapları şunlardır: *Ankara ve İstanbul Kütüphaneleri* (1957), *Mehmet Âkif'te Mekân* (1988), *Kalkınan Türkiye'de Eğitim ve Gençlik* (1968), *Mehmet Âkif ve Dünyası* (1969), *Esir Kartallar* (1970), *Londra'da Kaybolan Rus* (1973).

*Edibeler, Sefireler, Hanımefendiler*, Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen'in yine hem edebiyata, hem de gazeteciliğe olan ilgisini belirleyen bir eser. Kitabın yazar tarafından sunuşunun da yapıldığı "Önsöz" bölümünde bu çalışmanın hangi duygularla, niçin ve nasıl oluşturulduğunun hikâyesi anlatılmış. Yazarın bu kitabı hazırlamaya son yıllarda gazetecilik ve edebiyat alanında ön plâna çıkan başarılı kadın yazarlar yüreklendirmişler. Ardından yazar, kendi içinde bir hesaplaşmaya yönelmiş. Osmanlı'nın son yıllarından Cumhuriyete ve oradan günümüze kadar uzanan çizgide gittikçe yükselen, yükseldikçe duyguları ve yaptığı işler bakımından da durmadan zenginleşen kadınıma bugünkü kimliğini kazandıran unutulmuş, hatta yeterince fark edilmemiş isimleri yeniden hatırlatmak istemiş. "Yaşamlarını bu günkülerden farklı kılan tüm koşullara ve koşullamalara rağmen, bu kadınların içinde yaşadıkları topluma kişilikleriyle öncülük etme çabalarını bir kadın gözüyle görmek ve göstermek" (s.5) gerekmektedir. Bambaşka şartlar içerisinde, meseleleri sadece başarılarına başarı eklemekten çok, öncelikle kimlik kazanmak olan bu kadınların, kadın tarihimiz açısından yaptıkları bu günün kadınlarından çok daha önemlidir. Onlar, yazarın da vurguladığı gibi 'muhafazakâr' ve 'batılı' olmak arasındaki kişiliklerini mukayeseli bir ortamda kazanmışlardır. Onlar için mensup oldukları İslâm ve Türk tarihi en az öğrenmek ve geçmek istedikleri batı kadar önemlidir. Bütün bu özellikler bu kitapta yer alan kadınların hikâyesini yazarının hikâyesiyle özdeşleştirmiştir. Çünkü yazar olmak yolunda verdiği uğraşlar yanında, annelik, edebiyatçılık ve gazetecilik kimliklerinin kendisine yüklediği görevleri yerine getirirken konuştuğu Cumhuriyet kadınlarının hatıraları onu cesaretlendirir.

*Edibeler, Sefireler, Hanımefendiler*, yazarın 1950-1989 yılları arasında değişik zamanlarda yapılmış röportajlarından oluşuyor. 1999'da gelinen yeri övgüyle seyreden yazar, Türk kadın tarihinde önemli bir dönüm noktası oluşturan bu Cumhuriyet kadınlarını modern kadının gündemine yerleştirmek istiyor.

Kitap Önsöz dışında, "Neden Cumhuriyet Kadınları?" başlıklı "Giriş"le birlikte beş bölümden oluşuyor. "Kadın Ediplerimizle Röportajlar" isimli birinci bölümde, Halide Edip Adivar, Samiha Ayverdi, Şükufe Nihal Başar, Cahit Uçuk, Kerime Nadir, Safiye Erol, Muazzez Tahsin Berkant, Halide Nusret Zorlutuna ve Nezihe Araz ile 1954 yılında *Yeni İstanbul* gazetesi için yaptığı röportajlar yer alıyor. Bu röportajlara öncelikle konuştuğu yazarlarla ilgili izlenimlerini aktararak başlayan Öztürkmen, albümünden seçtiği resimlerle

de kitabını renklendirmiş. Yazarlara biyografileri, yetişmeleri, sanat anlayışları ve Türk kadınının durumuyla ilgili sorular yönelmiş. Son derece samimî bir ortamda ve sohbet havasında yapıldığı hemen belli olan bu söyleşilerde yazarların çok fazla bilinmeyen yönleri de ortaya çıkıyor. Devrin iyi hocalarından özel dersler alarak kendilerini yetiştirmişler. Devrin onlara yüklediği, Cumhuriyetin ilk kadın yazarları ve aydın kadın olma bilincini taşıyorlar. Aynı zamanda Anadolu duyarlığına sahipler. Aydın ailelere mensup olmaları onları edebiyatla erken yaşlarda karşılaştırmış. Hepsinde de çocukluktan itibaren yerleşik bir okuma bilinci oluşmuş. İyi ve doğru yazmanın yollarının çok okumaktan geçtiğini biliyorlar. Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen'in eserini sunarken belirttiği, röportajların asıl yapıldığı 1950'li yıllarla günümüzün üslup farklılığı endişeleri yersiz görünüyor. Çünkü bütün söyleşilerde duru bir Türkçe kullanılmış.

İkinci bölüm "Sefireler" başlığını taşıyor. Bu bölümde sefire olarak Müfide Ferit Tek ve Emel Esin'le yapılmış röportajlara yer verilmiş. İkisi de edebiyat ve kültür dünyamızın seçkin şahsiyetleri olan Müfide Ferit Tek ve Emel Esin, kişilikleri ile yazar üzerinde derin tesirler uyandırmışlar. Bu sebeple bu bölümde sadece onlarla yapılmış röportajlarla yetinilmemiş, hatıralara da yer verilmiş.

"Sefireler" başlıklı bölüm, girişinde verilen bilgiye göre Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen'in 1958'de Almanya'ya basın ataşeliğine gitmeden önce hazırlanmış. Ancak yazar röportajlarını bu görev öncesinde bir dosya halinde çalıştığı *Yeni İstanbul* gazetesi yazı işlerine bırakmış. Gazetenin o yıllarda el değiştirmesi bir anlamda bu dosyanın da kaderini değiştirmiş. Çünkü yazar sonradan gazetenin koleksiyonları üzerinde yaptığı araştırmada bu yazılara rastlayamadığını belirtiyor. Aynı zamanda edebiyat dünyamızın önemli isimlerinden olan Ziya Tepedelenli ve Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver'in eşleriyle yapılmış söyleşilerin bulunduğu bu dosyanın yayınlanmamış olması büyük bir kayıp olarak görünüyor.

*Edibeler, Sefireler, Hanımefendiler*, kitaplaşırken elinde bulunan iki sefireyle yapılmış söyleşiyle yetinmek zorunda kalan yazar, aynı zamanda anne-kız olan Müfide Ferit Tek ve Emel Esin'in kişiliklerinde örnek birer sefireyi buluyor. Basın ataşeliği yaptığı yılların verdiği tecrübe ve gözlemlerle sefir ve sefirelik hakkında bilgiler aktarırken eleştiriler de yapan yazar, bu iki temsil görevinin önemini vurguluyor. Bu temsilciler, görev yaptıkları ülke ile vatanları arasında kültürel ve siyasal bir 'köprü' vazifesi de görüyorlar. Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen, bu sebeple onların tam donanımlı ve temsil kabiliyetine sahip, Türkiye gerçeklerini bilen kişiler olmasını istiyor. Sefirelik bir anlamda fahri bir görev. Onların konumunun önemini belirten yazar, sefireliğin bir kültür meselesi olduğunu ve bu vesileyle her yabancı dil bilen hanımın kültürlü sayılamayacağını da vurgular.

Kitabın üçüncü bölümü "İstanbul Hanımefendileri" ismini taşıyor. Bu bölümde Müfide Ferit Tek, Nezihe Muhittin, Melek Celal Sofu, Münevver Ayaşlı ve Nezahat Ege ile yapılmış söyleşiler yer almış. Yine *Yeni İstanbul* gazetesi için yapılmış olan ve 'Edibeler, Sefireler' dizisinin bir devamı olarak gerçekleştirilen bu söyleşiler de 'Sefireler'in uğradığı akıbeti uğramışlar ve ilk üç isim yayımlandıktan sonra 1956'da gazete el değiştirenince yayını durdurulmuş ve dosya kaybolmuş. O günün şartları içerisinde hazırladığı dosyaların bir kopyalarını saklayamayan yazar, büyük emeklerle gerçekleştirdiği bu dizinin yayınlanmamasından duyduğu üzüntüyü de belirtiyor. Kitabın "İstanbul Hanımefendileri" başlıklı bölümünün tanıtıldığı kısımda yer alan son cümlelerde, *Yeni İstanbul* gazetesinde yayınlanma şansına sahip olan bu üç söyleşinin hiç değiştirilmeden aynen aktarıldığı belirtilir-

ken, yanlışlıkla, bu diziyeye Samiha Ayverdi ile yaptığı bir görüşmenin metnini ilâve ettiğini söylüyor. Halbuki bölümün sonunda Münevver Ayaşlı ve Nezahat Ege ile yapılmış sohbetler yer almış.

Yakın zamanlara kadar hayatta olan romancı ve eski İstanbul hanımefendilerinden Münevver Ayaşlı ile 1988'de görüşen Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen, onunla Osmanlı hanedanını konuşuyor. Özellikle Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kuruluşundan sonra yurt dışına giden ve oralarda yaşamaya devam eden Osmanlı soyundan gelen prensesler ve onların hikâyelerinden söz ediliyor. Burada birçok ilgi çekici, bir o kadar da hazin hayatları tanıyoruz. Bunlar arasında tanıdık bir isim var: Kenize Murat. Son yıllarda yayınlanarak meşhur olan *Saraydan Sürgüne* adlı eserin yazarı olan Kenize Murat, bir Osmanlı prensesi. Annesi Sultan Murat'ın kızı. Hindistan'a gelin giden prenses, Fransa'da doğum yaparken ölüyor. Hintli eş bir daha arkasını arayıp sormuyor. Böylece daha doğarken annesiz ve babasız kalan Kenize Murat, Türk konsolosluğu aracılığıyla verildiği İsviçreli bir aile tarafından yetiştiriliyor. Sonraki yıllarda kimliğini araştırırken annesinin bir Osmanlı prensesi olduğunu öğrenen Kenize Murat, onun hayatını anlattığı *Saraydan Sürgüne*'yi yazıyor. 1989'da görüşülmüş olan Nezahat Ege, bir eğitimci. İçinde yaşadığı ve kendisine intikal etmiş konağını bir kolej haline getirmiş. Aynı zamanda konağın en üst katını da özel eşyalardan oluşmuş bir müze yapmış olan Ege ile 1908 Meşrutiyeti yıllarına kadar gidiliyor. Bu sohbette Nezahat Ege'nin gençliğinde Prens Sabahattin hayranı olması dolayısıyla onun fikirlerine de yer veriliyor.

Kitabın dördüncü bölümü, "Beyrut'ta Türk Hanımları" başlığını taşıyor. 1962'de Beyrut'a giden Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen, dört yüz yıldan fazla Osmanlı hanedanında kalan bu şehirde birçok İstanbullu hanımla karşılaşıyor. Bu kadınların bir kısmı Osmanlı meclisinde görev yapmış mebusların eşleri, bir kısmı da İstanbul'dan gelin gitmişler. Yazara göre zengin ve asil Arap aileleri arasında bir yarış haline gelen İstanbul'dan gelin getirme geleneği, bu gelin hanımların kendi oğullarını da Türk kızlarıyla evlendirmek istemelerine bağlı olarak bugün bile devam etmektedir. İstanbul'dan âdetâ yalvararak getirilen bu gelinler Beyrut'ta bir Türk sosyetesini kurmuşlar.

Yazar bu bölümde Linda Sursok, Nazlı Kocatuna, Vesime İzzettin, Sebahat Hanım, Sündüs Nur Sibai, Suhhiyye Fahuri ile yapılmış söyleşilerine yer vermiş. *Milliyet* gazetesinde yayınlanan bu yazı dizisini de olduğu gibi kitabına almış. Güzel, kültürlü, ağır başlı oldukça zengin ve âdetâ 'taçsız kraliçe' olan bu kadınlar Türkçe konuşuyorlar. İhtişamlı bir hayat sürmelerine rağmen vatan hasreti onların mutluluklarını hep gölgelemiş. Onlar da 'daüssıla'larını Beyrut'ta yaşayan Türk hanımlarıyla oluşturdukları dostluklarla gidermeye çalışmışlar. Çocuklarına iyi bir eğitim vermişler. Ayrıca çocuklarının ve torunlarının Türkçeyi öğrenmelerini ve konuşmalarını sağlamışlar.

*Edibeler, Sefireler, Hanımefendiler* adlı kitabın "Beyrut'ta Türk Hanımları" başlıklı bölümü bir anlamda "İstanbul Hanımefendileri" bölümünde Münevver Ayaşlı ve Nezahat Ege ile açılmış bir parantezi tamamlıyor. Elbette bu parantezin bir köşesinde Samiha Ayverdi var. Onlarla Cumhuriyet öncesi tarihine ve coğrafyasına bir yolculuk yapılıyor.

Yaşanan hayatlardan dolayı özlem ve hüznü dolu bu yolculuk, Türk kadınının tarihî portresini oluşturan çizgilerden. Çünkü Türk kadını, ona bugünkü kimliğini elden ele devreden bir bayrak gibi zamanın içerisinde adım adım hazırlanmış olan geçmişini kendinde taşımaktadır. O, zaman içerisinde sürüp giden bir devamlılığın parçası olduğunun far-

kindadır. Amacı zincire sağlam bir halka olabilmektir. Neriman Malkoç Öztürkmen, bu kitabıyla bugünün kadınına zincirin halkalarını hatırlatmak ve satır aralarına işaret etmek istemiş, aynı zamanda kendisi de bir halka olmuştur. Kendisine uzun ve sağlıklı bir ömür dilekleriyle teşekkür ederken eserin bundan sonraki baskılarında imlâ ve baskıdan kaynaklanan hataların gözden geçirilmesini rica ediyoruz. Kitabın sonuna eklenen 'düzeltmeler listesi' oldukça yetersiz kalmış. Bir kısmı cümlelerin anlamını değiştiren bu hatalar yazarı da çok rahatsız etmiş olmalı ki okuyucusundan özür diliyor.

*Edibeler, Sefireler, Hanımefendiler* kadın tarihimizin önemli dönüm noktalarını temsil eden kadınlarımızla yapılmış söyleşiler içerdiği için önemli bir kaynak eser olma özelliği de taşıyor.

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**Tatar, İsmet, *Kıbrıs Sandıkları / Dowry Chests of Cyprus*, Eng. Text translated by A. Onar, Graphic Design by Havva Tatar, İstanbul. Printed at Mega Offset Printing Centre, 2001. ISBN 975 97476-0-X, 139 pp.**

İsmet Tatar is a well-known Turkish Cypriot woman artist who had exhibited her works several times in North Cyprus as well as abroad. She is now contributing to the culture of Cyprus with a book on the folk art of Cyprus.

The book entitled *Kıbrıs Sandıkları / Dowry Chests of Cyprus* is published in Turkish / English as a bilingual book with lots of colourful illustrations. The graphic arrangement of the book is designed by Havva Tatar, daughter of the author, as a graduation project. The book includes several illustrations, including photographs of chests and drawings of the ornamentation copied from the chests and arranged in an artistic manner. Anber Onar translated the text into English and the book was printed at the Mega Offset Printing Centre in İstanbul solely using the financial means of the author.

The contents of the book covers a wide range of topics including different aspects of chests as well as explanations about the evolution of art and Cyprus folk art. The book is designed in an oblong horizontal shape which reflects the shape of chests. The main headings of the subjects presented in the book are as follows: The Preface, Introduction: some technical terms; Researching this book: A Memoir: Cultures, Roots and Influences; the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus; The art of wood carving; the nature and language of chests; The creation and crafting of Cyprus Chests; Cyprus Chest Decorations; Types of Motifs; Cyprus Chests by Photographs and Sources for the study. Unfortunately, the author did not arrange these parts with headings including chapter or part numbers and the titles in Turkish and English appear only at the beginning of the Turkish texts.

### Objectives of the Book

*The Dowry Chests of Cyprus* is an original study regarding the long tradition of chest making and woodcarving as well as stories and legends revealed in the ornamentations embellishing their surfaces. Although the author focuses upon the dowry chests and the ornamentation of these chests, she explains in the preface of her book that her main aim is to suggest certain ideas on the origin of the culture of the island.

İsmet Tatar attempts to clarify the meanings of culture, ethnography, folk art, artefacts and the antique in the first part of her book entitled "Introduction: some technical terms." (pp. 2-5).

### Research Methods

After this explanation, in the part entitled "Researching the book: a Memoir" (pp. 6-15), Tatar explained how she got interested in the research of the ornamentation of the dowry chests as well as her life experiences as a teacher, -instructing arts and crafts to elder students and her profession as an artist. The author provides information about antique dealers or craftsmen like Mehmet Öksüzer, Remzi Yektaoğlu, Ali Nazım Borova and Meh-

met Etiz, who are all experts on the Cypriot chests at present. They either sell antique chests or produce new ones that she had studied or consulted for information during her research. It is also interesting to find reference to the Folk Art Museum in Kyrenia (Girne), which is hardly visited by the majority of the local people since it only opens during working hours and not open for several days from time to time due to the lack of staff at the Department of Antiquities and Museums. Accordingly, dowry chests, which had been stored in the Folk Art Museum at the beginning of her research, were all transported to other newly opened ethnographical museums such as Mansion of Derviş Paşa or The House with Eaves (Saçaklı Ev). It is upsetting to read in these pages how the author witnessed alterations of the chests by some non-experts in the Department of the Museums who had them painted in ridiculous colours, which bears no resemblance with the original. Tatar expressed the difficulty she encountered researching the dowry chest due to the lack of resources on the subject although this is not unexpected for studies in folk art. As she remarks, the only source she had consulted dealing directly with the Cypriot chests is a book in Greek language dealing with the crafting techniques used for chests made in Cyprus, written by Rina Catselli, a Greek folklore researcher.

### Authors' Explanations about Culture and History of Cyprus

In the following chapter of the book (pp. 16-19) there is an explanation about the root of the culture. Unfortunately the author narrates this part in a complicated manner and chronological order as compared with many books on history of civilisation or art history. Tatar somehow starts to narrate this evolution from 3500-2500 BC and ends with the description of the art of the Palaeolithic Age and then suddenly mentions the Hittite culture in this brief chapter. Then, the book follows with a brief history of Cyprus culture and explains the connections of the island with the other Mediterranean powers like Mesopotamia, Hittites, Egyptians or Phoenicians.

This part is followed by another brief explanation about the cultural heritage of Cyprus (pp. 20-25). Here, the early dwellers of the island as well as the neighbouring countries of Mediterranean world that had commercial relations with Cyprus are all cited to show the formation of a culture on the island.

### Cyprus Folk Art and the Art of Woodcraft

The author tried to explain the art of woodcraft in general and attempts to derive a conclusion for the uniqueness and difference of the Cypriot chests from the Anatolian examples (pp. 26-31). She tries to emphasize the Selchuk and Anatolian art in her attempts to establish comparison between Cypriot chests and Anatolian ones, which leads her partly to wrong decision since these two groups belong to different categories, as the objects of folk art and court art. Selchuk or Ottoman art, a part of the Islamic art developed through the patronage of the palace usually, which is classified as court art. All art creations were designed and created by a team of experts, each of which were specialized for the cre-

ation of the object. Therefore, looking for such sources with the intention to compare the dowry chests would lead the research into a wrong decision. In this case, comparison should be made between Cypriot folk art and Anatolian folk art, as well as the folk art of other Middle Eastern cultures. Folk art has local characteristics although basically they show resemblances with each other. It is an art, which survives for many generations without many alterations since it is an art transferred from generation to generation, from mother to daughter, father to son or master to artisan. (Gilbert, Rita (1992). *Living with Art*, New York. McGraw-Hill Publ., Third Edit. pp. 7-8.)

### Literary Sources About the Dowry Chests

The author has selected rather interesting examples from literature to explain the meaning of the chest (pp.32-35) and also various usages of the word 'chest'. Her quotation from *The Old Testament* and Homer's *Iliad* are examples, which show the old tradition of using chests to store valuables. The author draws a parallelism between chests and coffins or sarcophagus since the Turkish word 'sandık' (chest) and 'sanduka' (coffin) shows similarities, which are in fact derivatives of the Arabic word 'sanduk.' Together with these examples I would like to add that there are several examples from Cypriot literature, or folk literature, to remind us of the importance of chests in Cyprus houses.

### Local Characteristics of the Dowry Chests

A rather comprehensive map shows the reader locations like Lefkoşa (Şehir), Lisi, Yenağra, Konedra, Akatu, Elye, Lapta etc., that are the main areas for chest production in the past in Cyprus. (p. 37) I could say that the original research about the chests begins here. Therefore, we read about the creation and crafting of Cyprus Chests in Cyprus. She described the type of timber used for Cyprus chest and also the techniques used for the design of the ornamentation of these chests. (pp. 38-41)

### Ornamentation of the Chests

The author tried to clarify the meaning of 'ornamentation' and 'design of the ornamentation' in Cyprus chests. Unfortunately, there is a complicated explanation in the English text for the meaning of 'ornamentation' and the translator used unnecessary Turkish words in the attempt to explain the words 'embellishment' and 'ornamentation' while confusing the terminology with 'decoration'. Also, the English text is rather different than the Turkish text in these pages.

Although there is valuable information in this part of the book, more consideration is required regarding the author's comment about the theme of death, as the first theme in history of art, or that this theme originates in the Iron Age. Well-known art historians such as Gombrich, Hugh Honour, John Fleming, or Rita Gilbert claims that 'magic and ritual' for

survival are the first themes and the purpose of art which then reappeared as the theme of religion. Magic or religion was a stronger theme in the formation of art since people had always thought of survival in their struggle to find more food and face the hardships of life and even in the mystery of death. (Gilbert, Rita (1992. p. 60.)

The main and most important part of the book, deals with the types of ornamentation of the motifs used on the Cypriot chests and their iconographical analysis in universal folk art and literature (pp. 42-91). She classified these with no explanation for her logic of sequence in this order: Flowers, in a bouquet or vase, sun, cross, swastika, star, crescent, trees and plants (cypress, palm, vine, grape), tree of life, acanthus leaf, birds (pigeon, dove, eagle), dragon, lion, buildings and structural elements (house, mosque, church, doors, arches), border motifs. Although the author suggests that these motifs differ locally, her explanations are not adequate to explain these facts. The author provides lots of graphic representations traced either from the Cypriot chests or from other examples to explain different variants of the motifs.

### Chests From Different Areas of Cyprus

The last chapter of the book gives examples of chests produced in different parts of Cyprus. In this part of the book, the chests are classified according to regions, such as Lapta, "Şehir" (Lefkoşa / Nicosia), Lyci, Karpas, Paphos as well as those produced by the Armenian masters. Each of these are explained and illustrated with selected examples.

Beautiful illustrations show Lapta chests (pp. 92-103), which usually have rosettes, cypress trees and architectural elements such as aqueducts. The architectural ornamentation, as well as the Cypress trees and flowers, on the chests produced in Lapta remind the importance of the aqueducts in this area which were used for irrigation as well as to transport water to the olive mills, which were the main economic resource of the area. There are a series of aqueducts in Lapta and Alsancak area, which are not even recorded in the list of ancient monuments although a paper has been published about them. (Yıldız, Nette, (1996). Aqueducts in Cyprus, *Journal for Cypriot Studies*, Volume: 2/ Issue: 2, pp. 89-112.) The motifs embellishing the chests of Lapta area may give some hint about the possibility of aqueducts, which survive as ruins today.

Şehir (Nicosia) Chests (pp. 104-105) ('Şehir' which is in fact the rural variation for 'şehir,' in the sense of 'city' is the name simply used to say Nicosia (Lefkoşa), the capital city of Cyprus), are delicately ornamented with flowers arranged in vases and border motifs, while Karpas and Akatou chests (pp. 106-115) show flower arrangements in vases as well as bird figures, rosettes, cypress trees. Paphos chests are embellished with geometrically arranged *marguerite* or sunflowers and cypress tree motifs. (pp. 116-121) The Armenian chests (pp. 122-123) are rather richly decorated with scroll vine motifs and unusually dated and signed by the producers. The author included some less ornamented examples under the title of "Old Chest" with no written information about them. (pp.124-125).

The chests embellished with architectural forms are assumed to express nationalistic ideas of their producers. (pp. 126-133) As for the ornamentation of these chests, they are not merely motifs of ornamentation to embellish the surfaces, but they are in fact the reflecti-

on of the inner life, or fantasies, of the people as well as the sign of their social status. The author tried to improve her research in the case of some particular chests by determining the producer or even sometimes the stories connected with them. For this reason, Tatar frequently referred to the explanations of Mehmet Öksüzer, the antique dealer, and Ali Nazmi Berova, the woodcarver and sculptor who are both residents of Kyrenia (Girne). The story quoted from Mr. Mehmet Öksüzer, connected with one of the chests, now in the collections of Department of Museums and Antiquities, is rather interesting because it reflects the cooperation of two masters, a Greek and a Turk. The chest is embellished in a rather unusual manner rather than the usual chest motifs that bear geometrically arranged floral and architectural patterns. There are two building depictions, a church on the left and a mosque on the right sides, topped with the inscriptions bearing the names of the masters. An equestrian figure dressed in eastern costumes, holding a dagger in his hand is in the middle of the chest. According to the story quoted from Mr. Öksüzer, he was the one to discover this in an auction on the Greek side before 1974 and bought it for 400 Cyprus pounds, which was originally the property of the Hilton Hotel in Nicosia. The most interesting part of his story for the recent provenance of the chests, is connected with the troubles encountered by the hotel director for displaying this in the hotel. It is said that this made Archbishop Makarios, the Greek leader, rather angry, as soon as he noticed it on his visit to the Hilton Hotel and blamed the director of the hotel for making propaganda on behalf of the Ottoman rule of the island. Accordingly, this chest had been bought by the hotel authorities from an auction and displayed in the hotel as an authentic, rare item of Cyprus folk art. After this event, the chest was then put on auction for 800 Cyprus pounds by the hotel director and after a while it was purchased by Mehmet Öksüzer for 400 pounds. Although it was later sold to a foreign person residing in Bella Paix village, it found its way to the museum collection after 1974.

Lysi Chests are the last illustrations, which are embellished with flower bouquets, cypress trees or crescent or cross motifs. (pp. 134-135)

### Artistic Attempts for the Design of the Book

It is upsetting to see some mistakes in the arrangement of the pictures in some parts of the book by placing them on the far edge or top of the page, or unequal, asymmetrical columns in spite of all the efforts to create an artistic design in the book. The author recommended that the reader add pictures of their own chests, or any other they may find in family or friend's houses to the empty spaces in the book. The preface of the book, which is the acknowledgement can be criticised for citing different names in Turkish and English text. One criticism I would like to make regards the size and shape of the book, which makes it difficult to read while studying on the table or arranging it in the bookcase.

### Chests, as a Cultural Asset in the Middle East

It is a well-known fact that house interiors in Middle Eastern domestic culture were usually

furnished with few portable separate units. The fitted-in cupboards were preferred to free standing furniture except the type of furniture that can be carried on animal backs or chariots in the Eastern traditions due to their nomadic origin. It was customary for the families to keep their valuable belongings, including their costumes, documents or jewellery, in the chests that were possibly carried off whenever needed. It was in a way like a safe or a bank for the whole family, as well as a box to keep the secrets that were usually the responsibility of the elder woman of the household. These were the chests that contained the most important part of the dowries in the form of valuable embroidery, textiles and even the jewellery brought from the parent's house to her new home. They would always keep the most valued things for special occasions or even to be given as dowry to their daughters. These chests were usually carved or painted and were almost used in the whole domestic culture of the Middle East and they were kept usually neatly stacked at the back of a room and covered with a fine cloth. (Scarce, Jennifer (1996). *Domestic Culture in the Middle East*, Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland Publ. pp. 60, 63, 66) Sometimes these chests were transferred to the eldest daughter as a dowry and the same chest may have continued to be used from generation to generation. Tatar quotes the famous folk saying "As soon as the girl baby is in the cradle, her dowry would be ready in the chest."

### Publications on Dowry Chests and Originality of the Book

It is a known fact that, publications about the dowry chests of Cyprus as well as the ornamentations in folk art or the iconographical meanings of these are almost rare except for the publications of Has-Der (Halk Sanatları Derneği / Association for Folk Art). Furthermore, it can be said that publications dealing with the Anatolian dowry chests are not so common although there is an increase in the research and publications on the iconographical meaning of the Anatolian folk art ornamentations. But it is well known also, that the majority of this research is mainly concerned with the ornamentation of the *kilim* (rug) motifs. Since identical motifs are also used on the wooden works, a study of the motifs on chests or other wooden works would show similar idea, meaning and styles shared with the art of Cypriot folk creations and also have similar meanings to the folk art of Anatolia, mainly on the ornamentation motifs on the rugs.

Wooden furniture, either traditional folk art specimens or more valuable ones belonging to the richer people are very rare specimens as compared with pottery, sculpture or metal objects since wood is a perishable material. The best surviving examples of secular wood-carving came from Akathou, Ayios Epiktitos, Lapiithos and several villages in the Mesaoria and Karpas. The most important examples of wooden furniture are chests, shelves, wall-cupboards, chairs and beds. They are decorated with geometric and floral designs (pot with flowers, cypress trees, rosettes), stylised animals, birds and human figures. They are engraved or in low relief, and are often painted in red, blue and green. (Pieridou, Angeliki (1964). *Folk Art, in Cyprus, A Handbook on the Island's Past and Present*, Nicosia, p. 113)

Ismet Tatar produced research in an area, which had not been studied. After studying several dowry chests both in museum collections and private households, just because of

her interest, she decided that her research could be published as a book. She copied the motifs found on the surface of these chests and recorded their physical characteristics. She then tried to give meaning to each of these motifs. These recalled a number of mythological stories as well as beliefs of the people. It is interesting to find ethnographical information about the location of productions of these chests giving typical characteristics, which helps one to identify them topologically.

She illustrated her explanations with the designs of motifs copied from the chests or photographs of the chests and details of the motifs. Each page of the book makes one feel as if one is going round the rooms of a museum. One would stop to take a closer look or even desire to touch the surface in order to feel these motifs or think about the meaning of a dragon figure or the architectural motifs on these chests.

### Italian Cassoni and Dowry Chests of Cyprus

While discussing this beautiful book it is impossible not to mention about another interesting book about dowry chests, which is a universal custom for the wedding gifts given to the daughters by the parents: Hughes, Graham (1997). *Renaissance Cassoni, Masterpieces of Early Italian Art: Painted Marriage Chests 1400-1550*, London: Starcity & Art Books International). This book describes the dowry chests that were beautifully painted by Renaissance artists. The pictures show how they had been paraded in the streets on horseback or by men during the wedding processions, containing valuable gifts given to the bride by her parents. It is obvious that the quality of the art displayed on the Italian dowry chests cannot be compared with the folk art of the Cypriot chests. But the information given in this book about Italian chest ornamentation, that tended to change to the geometrical ornamentations rather than figurative paintings (Hughes, (1997) p. 31) leads us to consider the possibility of connecting the use of dowry chests and the motifs of the Cypriot chests with the Venetian Period of the island. But the common concept they share is that each book deals with artefacts that contained the valuables given to the daughters as dowry on her marriage. The Italian dowry chests referred to as *cassoni* exhibited paintings of Italian artists such as Sandro Boticelli, Lo Sheggia, Appolinio Di Giovanni di Tamasso and Pesselino, while the Cypriot ones were designed by craftsmen who usually remained anonymous. Like the *cassoni*, the Cypriot chests contained goods brought from their parents' house, usually in the form of valuable textiles and embroidered items to be used for the decoration of their houses or their costumes as well as silver or gold items. The chests also remind us of the tradition of dowry preparation, which has almost disappeared today.

### Expectations After the Publication of the Dowry Chests

*The Dowry Chests of Cyprus* with all the beautiful illustrations and interesting information it contained would increase the interest and value of the chests that are now rarely produced by a few wood-carvers.

It is obvious that people nowadays are in need of more practical furniture in their life which cause the disappearance of the traditions and as well as arts and crafts. We hope that İsmet Tatar's book would encourage more people to make research on our past traditional objects and the techniques for their creations. But above all, it is hoped that *The Dowry Chests of Cyprus* would encourage the preservation of the existing rare examples and support precautions to be taken for the exportation of ethnographic objects.

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**Slatkin, Wendy, *Women Artists in History, From Antiquity to the Present*, Third Edition, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1985/1997. ISBN 0-13-432873-6 267 pages**

Students studying history of art are predominantly subjected to the work of male artists such as the works of Ictinos, Lysippus, Giotto, Leonardo da Vinci, El Greco, Goya, Picasso or Dali during their whole education life. It is the same in the studies of Turkish art where there is almost no woman name mentioned in all courses except in 20th century art. Therefore, Wendy Slatkin has written this book entitled as *Women Artists in History, From Antiquity to the Present* as a textbook for the art history students studying at undergraduate level that may be used as an introductory text in junction with other art history books.

As the number of scholarly papers dealing with the women artist has increased, within the last two decades, it is now possible to discuss several female artists with well-known male artists in history of art courses.

Wendy Slatkin's book does not merely name the artists, but also deals with the evolution of women's art as part of the feminist movement. Therefore, since the book is designed as a textbook, the author introduces some important explanations as criteria for the evaluation of a successful artist and defines the importance of gender for the understanding of these artistic works. In her book, Slatkin discussed the difficult conditions experienced by female artists from the Renaissance until the mid 20th century. As she said:

" (...) to become a "painter," a "sculptor," or (in the case of Julia Morgan) an "architect" involved for women in the periods since 1550, acceptance of the rules of the game was essential. To enter the arena of painting was to challenge many of the fundamental assumptions on which the discourses of patriarchy were grounded. Since the Renaissance, art was a profession, and women who entered this professional arena produced works that could only be judged by the criteria of excellence of its institutional matrix, whether it was the French Royal Academy of the eighteenth century or the New York art world of the 1940s and '50s. There were no alternative systems of evaluation. Quite obviously, these institutions and their critical discourses were dominated by men. Most artists were men, most patrons were men, most writers of critical texts were men. The criteria of excellence were invented and perpetuated by men. But since they had fulfilled these requirements they were welcomed to the universe of art. So among these early artists, there were members whose contributions are rather great and even some of them introduced new styles and new methods or subjects in the art arena. (p.4)

Slatkin presents her material chronologically beginning from prehistory until today. She introduces her material briefly, explaining to the reader the social conditions for each period. The cultural, social and family background and education of the women artists in all of these eras, is also discussed to illustrate what influenced the themes and subjects of their creations. For example in the earlier periods women were involved with the crafts rather than paintings or sculptures. Paintings or potteries from antiquity usually depicted women with ceramic making or weaving textiles. Hatshepsut, the Egyptian Queen was an exception by supervising the construction of the mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, which is the only example of a large-scale stone architectural monument built by a woman ruler.

In the Middle Age women of high aristocratic standing were involved with various crafts and book illuminations. It is interesting to note that they had established guilds while in



Florence, during the Renaissance, women's membership in the guilds was restricted. Studying art was also difficult since art students were expected to visit different art centres during their education. (p. 63) Slatkin tried to show the reasons why few women become successful artists particularly during the Renaissance by not having sufficient practice in anatomical studies particularly with male figures. Women artists were usually the daughters of artists or craftsmen and predominantly goldsmiths. Due to the conservative mode of living, it was not possible to behave like men in practice. For this reason, they usually painted portraits of woman and children or genre paintings since they could at least use their servants as models or even observe their own anatomical features. Slatkin explained that this was the case of Artemisia Gentileschi, one of the revolutionary woman artists who painted mythological subjects, mainly Judith story during the Baroque period. Although Gentileschi was considered a successful follower of Carravaggio, the powerful, monumental, and robust anatomy figures of Judith, her heroine, in many paintings, are more convincing than Carravaggio's, showing excellent knowledge of the female anatomy.

On the contrary, figures of Holofernes in her paintings show her knowledge of male anatomy less sophisticated. (p. 76)

The most interesting part of the book deals with the spread of feminist activities during the 19th century during the international exhibitions such as the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition (1876) and Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893). In the former, a woman pavilion had been constructed where state and foreign woman's committees organized six hundred exhibits. Displays ranged from embroidery and other needlework, to paintings and other forms of "art," to a steam engine that powered six looms and a printing press. This resulted in the establishment of New York Society of Decorative Arts in 1877. (p. 120) Wendy Slatkin considers the 'Woman Building,' constructed for the purpose of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 as another success for woman artists. A woman architect, Sophia Hayden, designed the building and the walls were decorated with the murals of Mary Cassat and other noted woman painters. The building included a library with 7000 books written by women together with exhibits of several examples of the women's industrial artefacts as well as art creations. There was also a large dormitory for the accommodation of woman members who exhibited at the exhibition or for the guests that included a nursery for their children. (p. 121)

Wendy Slatkin makes a necessary contribution to art history emphasizing the existence of women in the art arena from the earliest times of the human civilization until today. This book teaches that the importance of some crafts, like textile and clothing design can be appreciated by art students and would enable deeper research and understanding of the materials exhibited in museums and in private collections. Also, it would enable students to understand the role of the observer as well as the creator in determining the value of art objects and in their critical analysis. Hence, the students could evaluate the importance of gender in the appreciating of art objects. A student would also discover general information about the methods of iconographical or semiotic analysis in this art survey based on a chronological narration.

Over one hundred works of art are illustrated in *Women Artists in History*. These oeuvres have been selected from typical examples, which reflect the contribution of woman artists to history of art. The author narrated the history of the artists by describing the social

background that contributed to their education and art experimentation rather than merely talking about their oeuvres. Slatkin also encourages further reading and research by providing a list of suggested reading at the end of each chapter and also with the annotated bibliography of general sources

Wendy Slatkin remarks in her conclusion that the artists mentioned in this book are only a limited number of the many talented and successful women, and therefore were selected as typical examples from each period since they are the outstanding representatives of major avant-garde movements or trends in art history. Although Wendy Slatkin suggests *Women Artists in History, From Antiquity to the Present* to be used as a textbook at the introductory level in art history studies, however it is also a book for those who like reading about art history, as an introduction to the subject.

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**DOĞU AKDENİZ ÜNİVERSİTESİ**  
**KADIN ARAŞTIRMALARI VE EĞİTİMİ MERKEZİ**  
**KADIN/ WOMAN 2000**

**Yayın İlkeleri**

**Genel İlkeler**

- 1) Yazarlar, KADIN / WOMAN 2000'de yayınlanmasını istedikleri bilimsel çalışmalarını her yıl 30 Mayıs veya 31 Aralık tarihlerine kadar aşağıdaki adrese göndermeleri gerekir:

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 KADIN / WOMAN 2000  
 Kadın Araştırmaları ve Eğitimi Merkezi  
 Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi  
 Gazimağusa – Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti

- 2) KADIN / WOMAN 2000, Türkçe ve İngilizce olmak üzere iki dilde yayın yapar.
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- 4) Tüm yazılar konu ile ilgili iki akademik danışman tarafından incelenir.
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- 6) Dergiye kabul edilen yazıların yayın hakkı, başka türlü belirtilmedikçe KADIN / WOMAN 2000'e aittir.

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ilmelidir. İngilizce yazılarda ise Oxford English Dictionary veya ekleri örnek alınmalıdır.

- 4) Yazılar başlık sayfası, hem Türkçe, hem de İngilizce özet, ana metin, kaynaklar, ekler, tablolar, şekil başlıkları, şekiller, yazar notları ve yazışma adresi ile yazı Türkçe yazılmış ise İngilizce, İngilizce yazılmış ise Türkçe olarak genişletilmiş uzun özet (Abstract) bölümlerini içermelidir.
- a) Başlık sayfası en fazla 10-12 kelimeden oluşan makale başlığı, (kelimeler arasındaki boşluklar ile beraber en fazla 50 karakter), yazarların adı ve soyadı, ünvanı ve çalıştığı kurumu içermelidir.
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- c) Ana metin yeni bir sayfadan başlamalıdır.
- d) Metin içinde atıfta bulunulan kaynak ve şahıslar ve metinle ilgili ek bilgiler üst numaralarla verilmeli, metin altında veya metin sonunda yazar soyadı ve adı, kitap veya makale ismi ve sayfası belirtilmelidir. Metin içinde (Yazar soyadı, Yayın yılı, atıfta bulunulan sayfa numarası) şeklinde de verilebilir.
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