

MASCULINITIES AT NIGHT IN THE PROVINCES

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MASCULINITIES AT NIGHT IN THE PROVINCES

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Osman Özarslan, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Masculinities at Night in the Provinces

This thesis seeks to analyze the provincial nightlife and the relationalities that are attached to it. With this aim, firstly, I analyze the theme of 'distance' that constitutes the province as a historical geography and an administrative unit, and the theme of 'boredom' that constitutes the province as a sociological phenomenon. Based on these themes, I explain how the province, beyond a rural production unit and social relations surrounding it, is intertwined with the city. On the other hand, the province and its nightlife that promises a modern experience, leads to authentic masculinity experiences within its own social relations. The reproduction and continuity of masculinity is analyzed here in terms of nightlife typologies that each reproduce its own masculinity. At the same time, hostess women are regarded as major actors in nightlife in this study. I analyze the socioeconomic and sociocultural background that has led to their formation in nightlife through Turkey's neoliberal transformation, and through the themes of indebtedness and poverty. The way hostesses try to survive in nightlife is analyzed in terms of passive resistance forms and their relations with the local community and the costumers. Hence, this study is about what constitutes the province rather than where it is constituted. It is about how nightlife relations are formed and to what kind of masculinities and femininities this leads to.

ÖZET

Taşra Gece Hayatında Erkeklikler

Bu tez, taşra ve onun gece hayatı etrafında şekillenen ilişkileri ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu maksatla, öncelikle, taşrayı tarihsel bir coğrafya ve idari birim olarak kuran mesafe ve güncel bir sosyolojik olgu olarak kuran sıkıntı temaları üzerinden, taşranın coğrafi olarak nereye, sosyolojik olarak ise neye tekabül ettiği ele alınmıştır. Bu temalar üzerinden gidilerek, taşranın kırsal bir üretim birimi ve onun etrafında kümelenen sosyal ilişkiler olmanın ötesinde, taşranın kentler ile artık nasıl da iç içe geçmiş olduğu ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Öte yandan, taşra ve onun bir tür modernlik deneyimi vaad eden gece hayatı, kendi sosyal ilişkileri ile birlikte, orijinal erkeklik deneyimlerine yol açmıştır. Erkekliğin üretilmesi, sürdürülmesi burada belirli tipolojilerin gece hayatında kendi erkekliklerini inşaa etme biçimleri üzerinden ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Son olarak, gece hayatının asıl aktörleri, konsomatris kadınlardır. Bu kadınları yaratan sosyo-ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel arka plan, Türkiye'nin içinde debelendiği neo-liberal dönüşüm, borçluluk ve yoksulluk temaları aracılığıyla tartışılmıştır. Kadınların gece hayatında kendilerini var etme çabaları ise daha pasif direniş formları etrafında ve onların yerel ahaliyle ve müşterileriyle giriştikleri ilişkiler üzerinden ele alınmıştır. Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, taşranın neresi olduğu kadar ne olduğuyla ilgilidir ve taşra mekanının özellikle gece hayatı penceresinden görünen ilişkilerinin nasıl kurulduğu ve bu ilişkilerin ne tür erkeklik ve kadınlık durumları yarattığıyla ilgilidir.

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To my precious daughter Fatma Dilâ and

To my beloved friend Neco

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Çavdır is a province of Burdur. Geographically, it is part of the South Western Mediterranean region and culturally, it is part of the locality called Teke (Yöre). Çavdır was a small village and township during the 1960s, and until the early 1990s it had a population of 2,000. Since 1990, when Turgut Özal declared Çavdır a province for political considerations, the general environment of Çavdır has not changed radically, despite its slightly growing population and business community. Currently, Çavdır has a population of 4,000 that is composed of around 500 army officers, 250 small traders and the rest of the population is a blend of farmers and agricultural workers.

I lived almost all my life in the small town of Çavdır, except for short periods. It seems that I will continue living in Çavdır for most of the rest of my life. The main facilitating aspect of this study — or even the main reason why I decided to pursue this study — is my provincial identity and the fact that my family has been involved with the nightlife in the province. When I was born, my father went bankrupt as a transportation carrier and he started a business as a pub owner in the province. Since my early childhood, to the extent that my age and physical appearance allowed, I strived to help my father in his business. This is how my initial observations about nightlife started to come about.

As mentioned above, Çavdır is geographically and administratively connected to Burdur, a province of the Western Mediterranean region of Turkey. However, in cultural terms, Çavdır is connected to the Teke locality, which is highly different from the coastal side of the Mediterranean region. In the Teke locality, which carries the characteristics of Alevi-Turkoman culture, alcohol consumption,

womanizing, and gambling are tolerated as components of manhood and masculinity. During the 1980s and mid-1990s, the nightlife businesses in Çavdır and its surroundings were vivacious during the summer months and stable during winters, related also to the season and the harvest time. Since the mid-1990s, business in restaurants where alcohol was consumed started shrinking. The main reason was that some drinking houses started employing “customer-like” hostesses and customers started preferring such places. As many other pubs, we ended our business in Çavdır and moved to Antalya. Indeed, what forced our family to change its business was part of a larger transformation in the provincial nightlife and entertainment.

The first transformation took place in the business mentality. In the past, in drinking establishments (*meyhane*) people used to consume alcohol and appetizers, listen to background music, and talk about how to save the country, perpetual complaints of family members, the children and their studies, and economic issues regarding the family. The essence of this nightlife culture was constituted by the conversations and informal chats taking place among customers themselves (all of whom were men). There was no communication taking place between employees and customers and there were no women except in very rare circumstances. It can be said that these drinking houses were the “private” public space of men.

The provincial drinking houses where men socialized were rapidly transformed into new entertainment places that were established as the “provincial versions” of city nightclubs (*gazino*). The modern appearance of those more “promising” places and the women working there rendered the chat among men inadequate. Since then, loud music and hostesses in transparent dresses whom they talk with, have become the norm of the country nightclubs. Men who try to attract hostesses no longer give importance to communicating with each other in the

nightclub. Men started to pay attention only to the hostess that sat at their table and to spend large amounts of money in order to keep her at the table and then they would try to seduce her.

My interest in this issue was transformed from childhood memories into academic curiosity as a result of general transformation in the province, our migration to Antalya, and the increasing visibility of nightlife employees — especially women — in the provincial public life. Since the 2000s, so-called hostesses have become visible at internet cafes, hairdressers, in their cars, and in the provincial coffee houses, which they started frequenting in order to find customers.

The appearance of such women in the public space of a conservative provincial district attracted my attention and I started to engage with the stories of these women, the men that moved from one place to another following these women, and the customers spending their personal wealth on nightlife.

While paying increasing attention to this issue and engaging with the stories of these hostesses, I gradually observed that the outrageous visibility of these women in the provincial public space is a symptom of a deep transformation in the relationships between the male and female actors of nightlife and nightlife mentality in general. Beyond revealing new relationalities between men and women, the symptom reveals deep transformations in the concept of entertainment in the cities and provinces. Through this transformation, from drinking houses to nightclubs, the entertainment structure, the business structure, the profiles of the employees, and most importantly, the meaning that men as loyal customers in nightlife attributed to it and the relationships among them have deeply changed.

Focusing on these transformations, I decided to pursue my academic studies on the structure of the province and its nightlife, on the subjects in nightlife (women,

customers, employees, managers) and the relationships among them. In other words, this study focuses on the provincial nightlife and the relationalities within it; on men as primary actors and the relationalities among them; on women, who moderate those relationalities; and on the processes as a result of which these actors came together in a provincial area in Turkey in this particular historical period.

1.1 How to encapsulate

I first reflect on how this provincial venue has given shape to the above-mentioned relationalities, not only by bringing them together but also by surrounding, producing, constraining and expanding them. The province, both as a space and as a metaphor, has already been conceptualized in various ways, including as an area of restrictions, as a homeland, and as an important marker of backwardness. In this study, I aim to arrive at an understanding of the province with a different formulation. I argue that the province signifies feelings closely related to the notion of boredom. These feelings encompass not only the rural area of the province that has no access to the center but also the derelict and claustrophobic areas of the cities.

The fact that the province is an administrative unit with no access to the center is both a historical and an administrative issue. The process whereby the province is transformed into a constellation of feeling is a highly complex one. The reproduction of the province as a space of boredom has been the result of the sanctions imposed by the entertainment industry in the cities (Harvey, 2003). The precise definitions of entertainment (which might be exemplified by phrases such as ‘entertainment is dance, entertainment is alcohol, entertainment is speed, entertainment is sport’, *etc.*) see the city as merely a space for entertainment. To register only entertainment activities to be commodified can be traced as examples of these alterations. The internalization of this transformation in our country has been

observed mostly in literary products (Gurbilek, 2010). The constellation of feelings that constitute the province, such as boredom, claustrophobia, and the sense of entrapment, have been transferred from the province to the desolated places of the cities through cinematographic products (Suner, 2006). However, in order to obtain a complete picture of the impact of the province on the cities and rural areas, an analysis of the historical evolution of boredom is needed. Boredom as a feeling constituting the province was an important privilege of the clergy and the aristocrats, especially during the pre-modern times (Khun, 1976), and it is considered by some modern thinkers as a source of creativity (Benjamin, 2002; Nietzsche, 2004). However, the modern entertainment industry detaches boredom from seclusion and redefines it within the “framework of monotony” (Heidegger, 1995), designates this “area of uniformity as unqualified experience” (Goodstein, 1995), and “exports it to the province” (Harvey, 2003). Hence, this study is an attempt to analyze boredom as a constitutive aspect of the province and the historical moments that identified boredom with a form of negative stagnant notion and exported it to the province through the entertainment technology and market of capitalist modernity.

Invoking Yıldırım Türker’s claim that boredom is a chronic sickness for men (Türker, 2004), in this thesis I argue that the province as a feeling and the notion of boredom as a geographical locale are closely related to masculinity. This is because masculinity as an identity is in need of public visibility and of the performative usage of the public space (Butler, 2003). Provincial men who stay out of the public space defined by the modern entertainment industry get bored, and, in order to get rid of their boredom, they engage in nightlife, as it provides them the opportunity to experience modernity and postpone their feeling of boredom.

The masculinity performance in nightclub nightlife has led to the erosion of male-to-male confidentiality, chatting, politicization and the propriety culture that were part of the drinking-house culture. The culture of chatting and pouring out one's grievances to others has dwindled after the increasing use of loud music that is central to nightclubs. The friendship that formed a central characteristic of the drinking-house culture has been transformed into a competition among men for hunting women. Accordingly, it seems meaningless to study men in provincial nightlife within the categories of drunkenness and debauchery. To the extent that they have been studied, these two categories, which have generally remained outside the realm of academic interest, have produced two issues: first, secular propriety, which was used to render profane the religious spaces of political Islam during the 28 February process which is known to be post-modern coup de'tat declared by Turkish Army General Staff, and second, a constellation of rituals that defined the agency of the middle-classed white-collar workers in the cities. In both cases, the two categories of *akşamcılık* and *alemcilik* are both performed at the rakı table . This study does not focus on the secularism-laicism dichotomy nor does it focus on the upper- and middle-class "white" men of urban spaces but on the provincial, uneducated, unemployed or/and low-income class of workers. Additionally, due to the fact that nightclubs have been out of date, these two categories, these concepts that are still waiting for academic research seem to have become historical rather than sociological issues for the province.

With this in mind, in the following parts of this study, men of provincial nightlife are analyzed under the headings of the moneyed (*paralı*), the bully (*belalı*), and the handsome (*yakışıklı*). Each of these typologies have been established based on the symptoms of contradictions in nightlife.

Based on the oral interviews and ethnographic observations I conducted, I maintain that masculinities in the rural nightlife scene, rather than being determined entirely by the subjects' social status, political opinions, religious views or professions, are significantly shaped by how a man performs his masculinity. In other words, it is not only the forms of encoding the term of masculinity, but also how the word is signified by bringing it into different discursive and material relationships with women, family, money, and other relationships, all of which vary depending on how one is situated in the scenery of nightlife.

Hence, as it is stressed above, the classification of men in nightlife depends on different rules. Based on oral interviews and my ethnographic observations, nightlife frequenters can be labelled as one of three distinct types. As A. Nurlu says:

there are three men in a slut's life: the first is to be fucked, the second is the fucker, the third is protector. The first is a rich man, The slut consumes his money and never gives back. The second is the handsome, who fuck her and consumes her money for gambling and other women. The third is the bully. The bully solves all the slut's problems. He fights for her, goes to prison for her, kills for her, he may even be killed for her problems. (personal communication, May 2012) (See Appendix B, 1)

Although I label these typologies as the *paralı* (the moneyed one) – the *belalı* (the bully) – *yakışıklı* (the handsome one), they are reflected by the use of various other terms in nearly all interviews (personal communication, June 2012 [1][2][3] and July 2011). For example, the moneyed is described as “an easy touch” by Japon, the bully is defined as “a friend” by Genç Osman, and the handsome is seen as “a gigolo” by Kör Ayhan. Hence, the definitions of masculine typologies are various, but I prefer my uncle's abstractions. My uncle, as a national lottery ticket seller and a careful observer, wanders into all the nightclubs in the city center and around the rural areas to sell lottery tickets. He was always curious about my thesis and asked me questions, shared his observations, and criticized and evaluated my opinions.

During one of our conversations, he rejected my abstractions and instead offered me a way, the “right way” of referring to masculine types. He said: “my son, all these you talk about, “the easy touch”, “the friend”, “the gigolo” or whatever, are known as the *paralı*, the *belalı*, and the *yakışıklı* in Burdur”. Hence, I prefer this abstraction to refer to rural nightlife’s masculinity typologies.

The first type, the *paralı*, refers to the one who generously spends money on nightlife; he is not simply wealthy. This type seems to be the financier of nightlife. There are instances where the *paralı*, despite spending his wealth for the sake of obtaining a woman he is after, has lost all his wealth without even kissing her.

At first sight, it seems unreasonable that these men pay very high prices to exist in the nightlife scene. However, in the masculine world this has a reasonable explanation. Here I first try to analyze the auction that men engage in so as to overpower other men and gain status within the framework of Marcell Mauss’s gift giving concept (Mauss, 1967). Additionally, Bataille’s “accursed share” concept has also been very useful for the current study. What Bataille calls accursed share is the surplus that may lead to destruction in case that it is not spent, but at the same time constitutes a source for status both for the community and for its governors in case it is spent (Bataille, 1989). At least some provincial men think that overspending and gift-giving bring them status. Accordingly, the *paralı* type will be analyzed within the framework of their spending on nightlife with the aim of gaining status and the implications of this kind of spending.

The *belalı* type is the one that spends all his time following a hostess and, depending on the circumstances, he may act as a waiter or bodyguard, but he is never a customer. The stories of these men are analyzed within the framework of the

notions of suffering and maturation, both central to the hegemonic masculinity theory.

The *yakışıklı* is actually a by-product of nightlife. This type is chosen among “weak” guys that are employed at the businesses peripheral to the nightclub and they themselves are not actors in the nightlife scene. The fact that they are indistinct and that they are neither *paralı* nor *belalı* is not a defect for them but actually the opposite. This is what makes them distinct for hostesses in nightlife. Whatever they lack actually fills the gaps in the lives of hostesses who seek to run away from over-performances of masculinity. This characteristic of the *yakışıklı* provides a space of pleasure for the hostess, who seeks to reshape this inexperienced “child” based on her past experiences. However, this is the case until the *yakışıklı* “learns” from the hostess herself how to become a man.

The *yakışıklı* type is introduced by the hostess to nightlife and has various impacts on it. The impact of the *yakışıklı* type on nightlife is analyzed in as follows: “*the state of exception*” Schmitt (2005) that the *yakışıklı* establishes in nightlife) and, related to that, the construction of the hostess not only as *erotic* but also as *sexual* (Hunt, 2003), the constitutive or triggering impact this has on nightlife, and the destructive impact that the *yakışıklı* has on the woman’s life after she teaches the *yakışıklı* the masculinity forms that she herself learnt from nightlife.

The fourth chapter is about the transformation of a woman into a hostess. The transformation of women, provincial nightlife and the relationalities attached to it, are closely related to the neoliberal transformation Turkey experienced after the military intervention on 12 September 1980. This transformation seems to be closely related to the dissolution of the traditional family structure and of the rural social space as a result of neoliberalization in Turkey. The dissolution of the traditional

rural family structure, the impoverishment, indebtedness, and the expansion of the informal economy seem to be the results of the broader economic and social transformations after the 1990s in Turkey. As a result of these processes, nightlife managed to illicitly employ an increased number of impoverished women.

Accordingly, the work of a hostess is analyzed here as a job undertaken as a cure for poverty and then as a subjectivity which has its own limits. In other words, in this chapter, the transformation process of a woman to a hostess, its socio-economic background, and the question of why women insist on doing such a job will be examined.

1.2 Methodology

In this study, my informants are consisted of the subjects of nightlife: I talked to hostesses, bouncers, managers, and frequent visitors to provincial nightlife venues.

I used qualitative methodology in order to gain deep insights on the issue under investigation. Because quantitative methodology focuses on the quantitative aspects of an issue rather on the deeper meaning and the relationships inherent in it, quantitative analysis was not appropriate due to the nature of the topic and due to the fact that the number of informants in the focus group was not sufficient.

It is because both men and women work informally in nightlife and they somehow engage in illegal activities (such as drug consumption and sale, debit-confiscation, fighting, mobbing, extortion, women hiding from their families etc.). As expected, it proved difficult to reach women in nightlife; yet I managed interviews with seven Turkish, one Daghestani, and three Georgian women. While it was easier to get in contact with male customers, they were also hesitant to talk due to family considerations. I managed to talk to twenty men in sum, either as a result of personal efforts or thanks to acquaintances (among ourselves the activity of going to

nightclub was referred to as “MA thesis writing”). In sum, I managed to talk to thirty people.

I used snowball sampling to form the focus group to interview. As I already stated, it was especially difficult to reach the women. The managers are unwilling to let the women to talk with men outside working hours. Even when the managers permitted it, it was difficult to persuade the women to be part of an MA research. As a result, I sought to talk to women working with managers I am acquainted with or I asked friends who were frequent visitors of such nightclubs to introduce me to managers they already knew.

After the managers, I managed to get in contact with other women either through men that were their lovers or through other women who convinced them that I was a “good guy”.

I used semi-structured in-depth interviews. Despite the fact that all the women shared a similar socio-economic background and they had the same profession, their narratives were varied. As soon as I realized that, I refrained from dominating the conversation and asked open-ended questions in order to let them narrate their stories freely.

Interviews were not the only method for collecting and evaluating data. Since I work for our family restaurant, I occasionally had chances to find new informants and information. The restaurant close to the local nightclub, for which reason our restaurant is the main supplier for orders from the nightclub people. Serving as a waiter for nightclub actors, I got the opportunity to pay special attention to what they speak about and observe how they pose, how they act, how they gesticulate and so on. Moreover, I personally served their food orders, to see how nightclub actors

entertain themselves and observe their daily behaviors outside of their working spaces.

The third source of data was daily conversations that took place among my male friends in the nightclub scene. Every one of them was curious about my MA thesis, and they were very generous in telling the stories about nightlife. They knew that I was working on an MA thesis, and that every narration of profligacy (*hovardalık*) was connected to my research.

In short, this study was initiated as a result of academic curiosity emerging from my personal life and family background. I try to analyze the province through the concept of boredom, and analyze boredom through nightlife and through the relationships between men and women in that nightlife scene.

There is a shortage of academic studies on nightlife and especially on nightlife in Turkey. I was able to find only two articles, one blog, and a single book on the issue. Anne Allison's book *Nightwork* focuses on nightlife entertainment of high-class and high-income Japanese business managers (Allison, 1994). One of the articles focuses on the post-Mao Era hostesses in China (Zheng, 2008). The blog focuses on hostesses working at nightclubs in Ankara and contains a series of ethnographic observations with no explicit theoretical framework (Özer, 2012). An ethnographic study on waste paper collectors by Demet Ş. Dinler focuses on waste collectors and analyzes their class pathologies (Dinler, 2014). These studies, while being valuable in terms of the theoretical framework they provide, were of limited use for the current study as they focus on totally different spaces and conjunctures, engaged with different focus groups, and sought to draw different conclusions from the current study.

Therefore, in order to compensate for the theoretical gap, I engaged with the anthropology literature on masculinity and status-hegemony. My childhood background in drinking houses and my current profession as a hotel-restaurant manager gave me the opportunity to engage more deeply with nightlife. Surely, childhood memories, an academic background, and being a local shopkeeper (*esnaf*) would be insufficient for this study to be completed. It would not have been possible for me to complete such an ethnographic study had it not been for my relatives, fellow townsmen, and childhood friends from Çavdır who have different lifestyles and who are now frequent visitors, managers, and bodyguards in the nightlife scene of the Çavdır region.

CHAPTER 2

THE PROVINCE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter, in general, is concerned with *the province*. Here, I will deal mainly with the questions of why, how, and where the province is constituted, and what kind of representations the province embodies.

As with all other objects of inquiry in social sciences, the province as an object has also been postulated and imaged in many different ways. These postulates and imaginations regarding the province may not always be pejorative but they are mostly negative. Religious bigotry, social boredom, and political conservatism usually accompany these imaginations, which constitute the great bulk of representations of the province. Nevertheless, to my mind, a specific territory should not be equated with particular political positions and feelings, since, as Massey argues; “the space is not a fixed, closed, non-changing entity. It is open like history and time.”(Massey, 2005, p. 12)

I believe that thorough analysis of the province cannot be done through the perspective of an analyst who explores a social phenomenon in general, and the province in particular, as an external observer with a checklist of certain social attributes in mind. It is only through an ethnographic approach that one can decipher the province, that is, by focusing on the relationships and interrelationalities of the subjects and their surrounding worlds.

Where shall the inquiry about the province start? The nightlife of the province, to my mind, opens up a window for us to study the limits and possibilities of attributions to provincial life such as conservatism, boredom, bigotry, and

entertainment. Before proceeding to the nightlife scene and its actors, we should first focus on the province that has made possible the existence of that nightlife and its actors.

2.2 Arguments

In this study, the province will be conceptualized not only as a geographical space but also as a social and economic structure, more specifically, as a peripheral position with regard to a center, historically and socially constructed in relation to the center to which it is peripheral. Even though most of the representations of the province have been discussed as a geographical concept and they seem to be strictly bounded by material space, we should remember that the province is also a historical and social construct. That is to say, the constitution of the province cannot be understood by merely isolating it as a bounded geographical space. One should investigate the ways in which it is representationally and practically constituted in relation to an outside: by those relating from inside out and those from outside in. Province, as both a material and ideal form, is constituted within historical center-periphery relationality. The primary concern of this chapter will be the historical formation of the representations regarding the province and provincialism; political positions, administrative structure, and the widely acknowledged principles they produce. In other words, the historical background of the province will be evaluated through its geographical proximity with the center and the resulting social marginalization.

As a second issue, this chapter will deal with what the province actually refers to. Especially after the 1990s, mostly under the influential depiction of the cinematographic productions of Nuri Bilge Ceylan and Zeki Demirkurbuz and literary works which focus on the province, the province was transformed from the

state of geographical belonging to social feelings. Inspired with this new understanding of province, I will employ an anthropological approach which seeks to understand relationships among the inhabitants of province through various feelings and emotions rather than discussing the province as an administrative category within a state organization. This section will focus on the “new places” of the province and on the question of how the province has been constructed in association with the notions of boredom and claustrophobia. Based primarily on the sense of boredom, I will assert that, this kind of feeling is a central problem not only of the province but also the problem of the cities, which are regarded as entertaining. I will try to elaborate this argument under three subsections. Prompted by the discovery of the boredom of province in the literary work and the movement of this boredom from the province to the city through cinematographic productions, I will focus on how concepts such as distance, boredom, and claustrophobia have come into being in the countryside, which is the focus of this study. Then, I will elaborate on the question of why these concepts are important within the framework of my study.

Later, I will focus more on the emotion of boredom, which seems to be the main emotion that constructs the identity of the provincial. Boredom has always existed and as I will try to reveal in this part, boredom, according to some thinkers, has always been a part of human life and was considered the root of the privileges and the creativeness of the clergy during the Middle Ages. From this viewpoint, boredom is not necessarily something negative and inherently provincial. At what point did provincial boredom become boredom and when did the negative aspect of boredom become part of the provincial boredom? At what time in history was the province constituted as a boring place while the cities were constructed as entertaining? How were such processes formed in Europe and Turkey? These are

some of the questions I will tackle in this part to further elaborate on the links between the province, boredom, and entertainment.

These questions lead us to the main problematic of this chapter. I will try to demonstrate that, through binary opposition between boredom and entertainment, the stories of the subjects of the province are integrated into a homogenous, empty temporality of modernity. The boredom of the province has an intricate relationship with the modern understanding of entertainment: the man of the province experiences “an extended, slow time” (Heidegger, 1995) which gives birth to boredom. Following this paradox, I will argue that such a boredom-entertainment duality plays an immense role in the formation of provincialisation of the province.

2.3 Historical background of the Turkish province

“ In this godforsaken place ”¹

As stated above, the province means a lot more than the socio-economic administration of a geographical area. Yet still, it is closely related to the historical relationship that has been established between the province as a geographical location and the center. The relationship between the province and the center is defined based on distance. Hence, the province is a place that cannot reach the center, and a form of spatial exteriority created by this inaccessibility. Let us first look at the historical background that gives rise to this exteriority and inaccessibility of the province from late Ottoman period to the modern Turkish Republic.

In history, the composition of administration based on a division between the center and the province was first realized in the Roman Empire (Gamsey & Saller, 2010). This formulation later influenced the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman Empire

¹ “Allahın siktir ettiği bu yerde” (personal communication, May 2011 [4])

and other Islamic civilizations². In the Ottoman Empire, this administrative structure was applied more thoroughly in the Balkans (Jelavich, 1983). As the Balkan and Syrian cases reveal, the province has been constituted as a relatively autonomous entity (Barkey, 1994), while its human and natural resources have been transferred to the center through the institutions and administrative personnel of the center. Similarly, important segments of the center (such as the Roman legions, the Byzantine cavalries (*pronia*), and the Ottoman feudal cavalries (*sipahis*) were recruited from the province both as workforce and as part of the security system. Segments of land in the province were reserved for the Roman legions or for the Ottoman cavalries in order to provide logistical support for the center. This portion of the land was named as “Pronia” in the Roman Empire and as “Fief (*Tımar*) land” in the Ottoman Empire. The Byzantine and Ottoman Empires sustained a system of representation that the Roman Empire constituted in the province through the center’s generals, senators, and governors of the province. (Philip, 1986)

Under each circumstance, the relationship between the province and the center was defined on the basis of distance. According to Price (2004), in the Roman Empire, the cults were mainly constituted thanks to the effort of the center to penetrate into the province through its divine presence rather than its physical presence. In other words, the effort to resolve the social and economic problems

² *The effect of Byzantium institutions on the Ottoman Empire* is one of the constitutive discussions of the early Turkish Republic. Some European scholars claimed that Ottomon and Byzantine Empire provincial institutions such as the Byzantine pronia and the Ottoman Tımar, had close similarities. Stressing these similarities, those scholars evaluated the Ottoman Empire as the predecessor of the Byzantium Empire (Busbecq 2013, Gibbons 1998). Accepting some inspirations and continuation between the aforementioned institutions, however, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Uzunçarşılı 1988) and Fuad Köprülü (Köprülü 1931) claimed that the geneology of the Ottoman Empire’s institutions dated back to historical Turkish states of Central Asia and the early period of Islamic civilisation. To insist the discussion is improper for this research but it should be said that early İslamic civilisation had been inspired by Roman and Byzantine Empire institutions. The relationship between the Umayyad Dynasty and the Umayyad of Andalusia, the relationship between the Abbasid Dynasty and the Seljuks had features that closely resembled the Roman Empire institutions which connected the province, such as the African province, to the center. (Philip, 1986)

between the province and the center and to integrate them is the result of a need to transfer human and natural resources from the province to the center.

While this structure succeeded in integrating the social and economic structure of the province and the center up to a point, the social distance between the province and the center has actually never disappeared. We can have a stronger sense of this distance particularly when we examine the etymological background of the Turkish word “*taşra*”, which is the closest word in meaning to “province”.

In his work on the province in Turkish poetry, Selim Temo, studying this modern phenomenon, argues that the word province (*taşra*) is etymologically derived from the word meaning “outside”. According to Temo, the etymological construction of *taşra* can be traced as follows: “The Turkish term *taşra* is an old form of the word for “outside”. Its historical transformation is Taş-garu<taş-ğaru<taş-arı<taş-arı<dış-arı”³ (Temo, 2010, p. 19). In other words, Selim Temo elaborates the interplay of social and economic power between the center and the province through distance etymologically. Similarly, Nişanyan (2013) argues the same thing. According to Nişanyan, *taşra* is equal to outside, referring to the distance between center and periphery: “In the old script, it is written as ‘*taşra*’ (the county) but pronounced as ‘*taşgaru*’ (the outside). In this respect, the official use, which means to appoint to outside of the palace, retains the archaic pronunciation.”⁴ (Nişanyan WEB Dictionary, 2013)

Hence, the way one of my informants, bodyguard Ahmet, has described the province as a “godforsaken place” (personal communication, May 2011 [4]) is not a novel approach; on the contrary, it is a social and historical process which is very

³ “Türkçe bir sözcük olan ‘taşra’, bugünkü ‘dışarı’ sözcüğünün eski formudur. Tarihsel süreç içinde ‘Taş-garu<taş-ğaru<taş-arı<taş-arı<dış-arı şeklinde bir dönüşüm geçirmiştir.”

⁴ “Eski yazıda 19.yy’a dek taşra (طشره) yazılır ‘dışarı’ okunurdu. Resmi kullanımdaki taşra çıkarmak /taşra göndermek (saray dışında görevlendirmek) deyiminde arkaik telaffuz korunmuştur”

much constructed through distance, dependent center-periphery relations. In fact, one may argue that the entrance of the province into Turkish social life has been accomplished through exiled *Tanzimat* intellectuals, and their feeling of being thrown out, of being outside. According to A.Turan Alkan, (2011) province (*taşra*) is a modern phenomenon that was invented in the *Tanzimat* era:

The province is a Tanzimat invention; it is a modern phenomenon, which is described by the class of bureaucrats, who described it with disappointment and who could never really accept it, after they found themselves in a whole different world contrary to their expectations of seeing the remote corners of the homeland – itself a Western imagination – as if they were like the poor neighborhoods. (A.T.Alkan, 2011, p. 70)(See Appendix A, 1)

On the other hand, within the process of the historical evolution of province as a term, there are several periods where the term acquired a positive connotation parallel to some historical ruptures in the Ottoman/Turkish history. The period between the Second Constitutional Era and the Early Republican Period is such a period. Within this period, the fact that the Ottoman center was under occupation and that the institutions of the center were in the process of deconstruction has led to the re-imagining of the territories outside Istanbul as “motherland” or “homeland” (Temo 2011, p. 96).

Especially after World War I, with the occupation of Istanbul, the province used to mean “*outside of Istanbul*” and hence was defined in relation to the capital city. In this period, the province was narrated in favorable terms by the naturalist romanticism of literary authors such as Refik Halid Karay on the one hand, and by the realism of the *Kadro* novelists like Yakup Kadri on the other. The descriptions of the province in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’s novel *Yaban* provides us with a summary example of the nature of the imagined relation between the Republic and the province:

It is the middle of Anatolia; the center of the real homeland, an infertile country which simply consists of salty lakes and limy land. Here, the Turkish people reminds of the Tribe of Simeon in the desert. But now, it is surrounded all around by a circle of hell. All the fertile and rich lands are taken from it. (Karaosmanoğlu, 2004, p. 66) (See Appendix A, 2)

The central idea in Yakup Kadri's novel *Yaban* is the aspiration for transforming the Ottoman province into the center of the young Turkish Republic. According to Yakup Kadri and other intellectuals of the young Republic, the former Ottoman province and the center of the new Turkish Republic were crucial factors that would contribute to the process of the Turkification of the young Turkish Republic as opposed to the Ottoman culture, which was contaminated by Oriental-Islamic elements.

Within this framework, when the Republic was established and the capital moved to Ankara, the province was no longer a distant place. It was even considered as immanent to the center; but the distance between the elites in the center and the people of the province did not disappear. The effort to eliminate the gap for different reasons can be summarized through the lyrics of a well-known folk song: "There is a village there far away/ this village is ours even if we do not go there and see it"⁵ (Tecer, 2009, p. 58). This poetry, which carries the trace of what is called *memleket* literature, is important because it reflects the mentality of the Early Republican era. The Ottomans ignored Anatolia, made Istanbul into a center, ornamenting it with mosques and fountains, and thus deepened the distance between the province and the center. In other words, while the Ottomans chose to reach out to the province, the Early Republic was not able to do so. However, even if predominantly in the form of a romantic aspiration for a rural hometown, the Republic did want to go to the village

⁵ "Orda bir köy var uzakta/gitmesek de görmesek de o köy bizim köyümüzdür." "There is a village there far away/ this village is ours even if we do not go there and see it"

and at certain times, it even made this into a concrete project. The political elites of Early Republic such as Yusuf Akçura and Dr Reşit Galip and intellectuals like Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Hasan Ali Yücel, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and Nusret Kemal Köymen (Karaömerlioğlu, 2001) made two important moves to close the gap: First the *Kadro* circle, and then the founders of the Village Institutes engaged in attempts to eliminate this distance⁶. But these attempts failed. The modernization-conservatism binary, the most frequently used approach in describing the distance between the province and the center, continued to have a major role in Turkish socio-political life.

Ömer Laçiner (2011) provides an alternative explanation for this gap between the province and the center that could not be eliminated throughout the Ottoman and the Republican periods. He argues that the province and the center are related to each other through power relationships based on the distinction between the center and the periphery. According to Laçiner, the province (*taşra*) in Turkey is an imaginative category that occasionally overlaps with other units administratively, economically, politically and sociologically defined. He argues that *taşra* is a conceptual and moral category in Turkey, which can be loosely translated as “the periphery”; in doing so, Laçiner adds a new layer to Wallerstein’s (1974) center-periphery problematic:

In an ordinary center-periphery relationship, the determinate position of the metropolitan center, with its political activity, population density, or economic/commercial/cultural load, can be perceived as normal; it is interesting however, that in the Turkish province, this can be perceived as a forcefully imposed hierarchy. Again, in an ordinary center-periphery relationship, the metropolitan lifestyle is seen as a different and more complication form of the same lifestyle; but in the Turkish province, the metropolitan center is seen as distant, alien and most importantly, described

⁶*Yaban*’s major concern, which can be presumed to be the constitutive text of Kadro Circle, indifference of peasants toward national war that held against imperialist occupation of Anatolia, whose village is very close to Ankara, the center of the new Turkey and national war. Karaosmanoğlu, in this novel, criticizes peasants but he does not blame them. According to Karaosmanoğlu, the Ottoman state and its intellectuals should be responsible for this indifference.

as a dominant life-style, as a power that scorns and oppresses; this is definitely a consequence of how modern Turkey was formed. (Laçiner, 2011, p. 14-15) (See Appendix A, 3)

Ömer Laçiner draws a distinction between the center-periphery relationships in Turkey and elsewhere while he depicts the center as a more domineering and foreign subject. This conceptualization adds another layer into the distance between the center and the periphery. This layer is not defined by geographical distance but by a relational aspect. According to Tanıl Bora (2011), the main characteristics of this socio-psychological layer are as follows:

The province is a mental context where the province and the city interacts reciprocally, constituting each other through mutual scorn and aspiration (p. 44). In other words, there is no province before provincializing: the province is a construct which is provincialized and rendered provincial through literary conventions and representative tropes. Examples of this would include novels written in the republican era by writers such as Adivar or Karaosmanoğlu, who see themselves as the real owners of the country and base their modernness in juxtaposition to the conservatism of the province. Conservatism, provinciality, religious intolerance, stagnation and the geography of the province are tightly intertwined in republican aesthetic representations. It is as if nothing other than these pre-defined qualities is experienced in the province.

To sum up so far, “the province”, which entered the Turkish public imagination in the Tanzimat era as a place of exile, became in the later years, first country then, homeland both designating the essence of Turkishness, and finally construed as places in which reactionaries and backwardness are widespread.

All these relationships that form a connection through the insurmountable distance between the province and the center are historical arguments to convert

these distances' artificial fabric into natural ones and making the distance between the province and the center even more insurmountable, rough, and stratified. From the Tanzimat period to the 1980s in Turkey (even if there were attempts like the Village Institutes, the result was the same and the province kept being defined in terms of distance. But then, the neoliberal transformations have done away with the distance and created new centers within provinces and provinces within centers), the provincialization of the places distanced the center from the country and vice-versa, reproduced another form of elitism, a detached relationship to places that are far from the center. Thus, the exteriority of the province and its distance from the center makes this place more closed to its residents, as the distance of the center is mutually experienced subjectively by provincial inhabitants.

2.4 The places and people of the province

As discussed above, the province has long been used as a term that referred to a geographical, administrative, economic, and historical unit, which was rural and outside the center. However, especially in the late Ottoman and Early Republican period, the province often had connotations that went beyond the rural geography. Recently, particularly in some literary and cinematic works, we witness that the province acquires the meaning of "places" defined in terms of claustrophobia as a result of the inability of superseding specific relational bonds and the resulting sense of boredom. Within this conception, the sense of boredom leads to the multiplication of the provinces. In this way, the province comes to be defined through an association with specific emotions rather than through locality. Such a definition is grounded on two basic tenets. The first refers to the definition of the province in terms of the inability to exit from, which is in terms of entrapment. The second uses a definition of the province by reference to a people who, despite being at the center,

have no access to it. Within this framework, the two central emotions of boredom and claustrophobia have extended the definition of the province from being more strictly associated with a rural landscape to including the suburbs and the desolate neighborhoods of metropolitan urban centers. Let me now focus more closely on the representations of the province. I will try to demonstrate how provinciality is defined through boredom and entrapment in the recent literary and cinematographic works.

2.4.1 The province of literature

The first ever literary representations of the people of the province and their claustrophobic emotions appeared in the stories written by people coming from the province themselves, or who had, at least for a while, lived in the province.

However, in these pioneering representations, the people of the province are depicted as part of small towns in rural areas.

Among several examples of this early provincial literature are Nurettin Topcu's not-so-well-known literary output *Taşralı* (Topçu, 2013), Yusuf Atılgan's *Aylak Adam* (The Loiterer) (Atılgan, 2007) and *Anayurt Otel* (Motherland Hotel) (Atılgan, 2001), and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's *Beş Şehir* (Five Cities) (Tanpınar, 2001) and other literary works, which were based on his experiences as a teacher in the province, mostly stories about provincial places and people. The above-mentioned works can be singled out as the main examples of Turkish literary works focusing on the province and the provincial people.

Nurdan Gürbilek, an important scholar who dealt with the province through intertextual readings of literary texts, argues that “the subjective feeling of being restricted” defines provincial existence (Gürbilek, 2010). Contemplating Yusuf Atılgan's and Ahmet Hamdi's stories, Gürbilek (2010) argues:

We mentioned how Atılgan's language can preserve subjectivity only at the cost of a restriction and working through this restriction. The life which is simulated in language, is nothing but this; restricted life. Almost all of these stories are about restricted people, who are people of restricted worlds, and worlds that are surrounded by determinate limits. The young woman in *Evdeki* [The One in the House] wants to see the world outside the tiny village she lives in, dreams about the world she reads in books. In *Dedikodu* [Gossip], the young bride wants to leave the village and to go to the city. In *Kümesin Ötesi* [Beyond the Coop], the chicken longs for the huge yards beyond the high walls, outside the tiny coop. In *Tutku* [Passion], Boncuk Osman [Osman the Glass Bead] lives with the dream of the girl behind the curtain with purple flowers. In *Saatlerin Tıkırtısı* [Rattling of Clocks], the troubles of the writer himself are referred to the clockmaker; the narrator thinks that the clockmaker, who fixes clocks every morning in his tiny shop, will one day wonder about that snow-covered country where clocks are actually made... (p. 54) (See Appendix A, 5)

According to Nurdan Gürbilek, this form of provincialism, which has repercussions in literature in the restrictedness of characters, is nothing but another manifestation of boredom, a significant aspect of the province.

Let's call this provincial boredom; imbuing the word province with a meaning that is not solely spatial; not solely meaning the village or the towns; they, too, but more than them, an experience that could also be lived in the city; to express lives that are lived that way, as an experience of having left on the shelf, a being left out, a restrictedness. To have left on the shelf, a life, which has to be shared with an old mother, constantly sleeping with an undesired husband in bed, eating meals over at the older brother's house while being aware of a feeling of indebtedness, the trouble of dinners that are eaten without talking, accompanied by the sound of forks and spoons, in the presence of a harsh father ... A trouble that only those who felt such provincial restrictedness at some points of their lives can understand, those who lived their lives as a province, those who felt something getting tightened within them, those who felt that a part of their selves have remained remote and incomplete, more and more consisting barely of the province... A feeling of trouble which is lived at every hour in the province, a feeling which is only lived in Sunday afternoons for the urbanites, when the alterity-promising weekend is over, when the angry father at home has to be endured without getting too much attention, those Sunday afternoons which prolong with the match commentator's voice (Gürbilek, 2010, p. 55-56).

For Gürbilek, in other words, the experience called the province is first and foremost boredom, full of an uneasiness created by a time that seems not to pass. This uneasy boredom of the province has intensified with the Oedipal, generational conflict between the father and son, and has become even more unbearable when combined

with the obligatory familial relationships such as those between husband and wife, or between younger and older brothers.

2.4.2 The move of the province to the metrocity by cinema

Based on Nurdan Gurbilek's viewpoint, we may argue that the literary work on the province has reconstituted the province through boredom. This is different from the definition of the province based on distance. Boredom, defined as such, has the meaning of being extremely restricted and, in this respect, it is highly claustrophobic. In line with this idea, Asuman Suner (2006) claims that provinces can be found both in rural areas and cities, since province is an affective space that triggers particular emotions. Prisons, backstreets, third-class hotels, comfortless trains are all provincial in that sense (Suner, 2006).

She maintains this kind of claustrophobic boredom is being moved to the city from the geographically peripheral rural areas. Particularly, she argues, recent cinematographic productions have led to the provincialization of the metropolis. According to Suner, the cinematographic productions by Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, and Reha Erdem reveal the move of the provincial boredom to the cities. Zeki Demirkubuz's films, on the other hand, are set in the urban province and expose us to the urban versions of those claustrophobic vortexes (Suner, 2006).

Demirkubuz has adopted the notion of claustrophobia, first in his movies *Masumiyet* (Innocence) (Demirkubuz, 1997) and then in other productions *Itiraf* (The Confession) (Demirkubuz, 2001), *Yazgi* (Fate) (Demirkubuz, 2001), and *Kader* (Destiny) (Demirkubuz, 2006). In Nuri Bilge Ceylan's films, province is mixed with plays and defeats where we are exposed to the state of boredom in the province. The notion of boredom and entrapment are central to the productions of Nuri Bilge Ceylan, especially in his movies *İklimler* (Climates) (Ceylan, 2006) and *Uzak*

(Distant) (Ceylan, 2002). In both films, the notion of boredom is defined reciprocally between the province and the cities.

2.4.3 The province of boredom

During the Ottoman and Early Republican periods, the province acquired various meanings, as we have seen above. Recently, thanks to cinematographic and literary productions, the province has been transformed into a kind of emotion that characterizes the metropolis, too. I argue that the transference of the province to the city and the formation of the “people’s province” has been based on the notions of entrapment and claustrophobia. Furthermore, the interviews that I conducted in Çavdır reveal that the provincial boredom was a common reasoning to the question of why the people prefer to go to nightclubs. The fact that people in the countryside experience boredom in a similar manner and that they find identical solutions to boredom is closely related to the social structure. In this part, I will first focus on the invention of modern boredom, on its historical background, and on its transference to the province. Then, I will focus on the social process that led to the formation of a uniformly defined conception of entertainment and the dehistoricizing of the traditional forms of entertainment.

The concepts and feelings of modernity are generally constituted as monolithic categories (Bauman 1991; Hall, 1992). These categories are established based on binary oppositions rather than definitions per se (Said, 1978) such as black-white, East-West, and entertainment-boredom. However, no concept or emotion can be defined based solely on simple oppositions. The contemporary definition of boredom in a negative and monolithic manner is closely related to the entertainment industry of today. Based on this definition, in what follows I will try to analyze modern boredom and its relation to the entertainment industry within its historical context

and its transformation as a human mood open to manipulation rather than as a monolithic and ahistoric feeling. Within this framework, the relationship between boredom, entertainment, the province, and the city will be analyzed extensively. First, I will focus on the pre-modern context of boredom. I will focus on the thoughts of philosophers such as Kant and Kierkegaard, who have analyzed boredom in ontological and existential terms and the thoughts of some other anthropologists who have tried to distinguish between modern conceptions of boredom and those of the Middle Ages. Then, I will discuss the peculiarities and main characteristics of modern boredom. As a final issue, I will focus on the peculiarities of modern boredom based on the duality between boredom and entertainment, and I will analyze how these peculiarities have constructed the idea and materiality of the province in Europe and in Turkey.

2.5 Boredom: Depression or creativity?

Today, when we dislike something or a situation, we say that it is boring. When we are present at a place that we do not want to be (for example, in a province) we get bored. Boredom is a negative feeling in today's world, especially in Western philosophical thought. According to some thinkers, boredom is part of human existence and therefore it is impossible to avoid. We will now turn to the historical evolution of the mood of boredom.

What wonder, then, that the world goes from bad to worse, and that its evils increase more and more, as boredom increases, and boredom is the root of all evil. The history of this can be traced from the very beginning of the world. The gods were bored, and so they created man. Adam was bored because he was alone, and so Eve was created. Thus boredom entered the world. And increased in proportion to the increase of population. Adam was bored alone; then Adam and Eve were bored together; then Adam and Eve and Cain and Abel were bored en famille; then the population of the world increased, and the peoples were bored en masse. To divert themselves they conceived the idea of constructing a tower high

enough to reach the heavens. This idea is itself as boring as the tower was high, and constitutes a terrible proof of how boredom gained the upper hand. The nations were scattered over the earth, just as people now travel abroad, but they continued to be bored. (Kierkegaard 1992: 258)

Kierkegaard is not alone in his idea that boredom is an inescapable part of life regarding the existence of the world and the individual. Specifically, it is very common among the literary schools that emerged after the Enlightenment. For example, Proust (*In Search of Lost Time*), Kafka (*The Castle*), Dostoyevsky (*Crime and Punishment*), Tolstoy (*Resurrection*) and Sartre (*Nausea*), discussed Western individuals' deep boredom depressions in different contexts. Despite the fact that there were writers who approached boredom and its source differently, in all cases, , boredom for these thinkers is a universal phenomenon of existence that has spread over time and place.

For some, boredom has some positive connotations. For instance, according to Lars Svendsen, during the Middle Ages, boredom was the privilege of monks and the aristocrat classes. This is because, for these classes, it would have been impossible to stand against theocracy and power without these instances of privilege (Svendsen, 2005). Similarly, Nietzsche and Benjamin affirm the contemplation moments that grow out of boredom. According to Benjamin (2002), boredom in fact triggers creativity:

We are bored when we don't know what we are waiting for. That we do know, or think we know, is nearly always the expression of our superficiality or inattention. Boredom is the threshold to great deeds. –Now it would be important to know: What is the dialectical antithesis to boredom? (Benjamin, 2002: 103).

This Benjaminian boredom is not a negative mood, because it is a nest for creativity: “If sleep is the apogee of physical relaxation, boredom is the apogee of mental relaxation. Boredom is the dream bird that hatches the egg of experiences. A rustling in the leaves drives it away” (p. 149). Similarly, Nietzsche also establishes

connection between boredom and creativity. According to Nietzsche, working might be supposed as a shield to protect oneself from boredom: “To elude man either works harder than is required to satisfy his other needs or he invents play, that is to say work designed to assuage no other need than the need for work as such.”(Nietzsche 1996, p. 194).

On the other hand, Kuhn (1976) is one of the first thinkers to investigate boredom as a mood within its historical context. He argues that there is a large difference between modern boredom and boredom in pre-modern times. According to Kuhn, boredom has taken different forms throughout the history (acedia, melancholy, *taedium vitae*, ennui, etc.); in its essence, it was the same mood of feeling. Kuhn combines all these forms of boredom under ennui and defines this kind of boredom in an ahistorical, universal manner as follows: “[...]”

the state of emptiness that the soul feels when it is deprived of interest in action, life, and the world, a condition that is the immediate consequence of the encounter with nothingness, and has an immediate effect a disaffection with reality (Kuhn, 1976, p. 13)

Here, Kuhn identifies acedia as an indispensable part of religious existence for the clergy and the ontology of the human body in general. In that sense, what is called acedia is not a sense of emptiness but rather the most precious time period when the creative potential peaks all the way up to its limits. (Kuhn, 1976).

What accounts, then, for the negative aspect of modern boredom? Heidegger has focused on the notion of time which is closely related to the notion of boredom. In his evaluations of the experience of boredom, Heidegger starts by asking what exactly is experienced when one gets bored (Heidegger, 1995). For him this is a phenomenological question and answers as follows: when the experience of boredom emerges, time expands (lengthened), and a mood of depression emerges. In this mood, man feels lost, abandoned, and in vain: “[...] when time becomes something

whose duration one has to endure, like waiting for a train, listening to a long lecture, or reading and writing about boredom for your advisor, perhaps” (Heidegger, 1995, p. 172).

According to Heidegger, what makes time boring is the notion of endurance. So why is the notion of endurance important? Kant, similar to Heidegger, argues that boredom is related to time, but the source of boredom is not the purposefulness or purposelessness of the action that fills the time but rather the issue of repetition (cf. Kant, 2001, p. 151). That is to say, for Kant and Heidegger, regardless of the quality of the activity being undertaken and of the purpose of the acting individual, it is repetition which makes time more felt, heavier, and boring.

2.5.1 Modern bored man: Chasing after progress

The transformation of the meaning of boredom from being a privilege of the aristocracy in the Middle Ages to being a mundane problem for the modern man is accompanied with the development of progressive understanding of history. In modernity, boredom is not accepted as a privilege or a source for creativity. It is even regarded as something pathological. In Simmel’s works, boredom is the loss of identity and meaningfulness (Simmel, 1991) but the reason for this loss of identity is not boring time, but rather the socio-cultural experience that creates boredom.

The socio-cultural changes that create this boredom are the results of a specific historical evolution. Andersen analyzes this transformation as follows: The phenomenon of modern boredom is said to emerge with Romanticism. The era provided a warm conceptual climate for transformative alterations, which include 1- secularization and the growing meta-physical void; 2- individualist focus on the self; 3- a new dichotomy between work and leisure time through the expansion of capitalism; 4- the rise of the belief in individual happiness; 5- an increase of the

evolvment and expansion of the media; 6- bureaucratization and “standardized and standardizing organizations of time-space” (Anderson, 2004, p. 740-741). In short, the experience of boredom is generally taken as a condition in mutual relation with modernity and capitalism (see Goodstein, 2005).

2.5.2 Exploring boredom in Europe

To summarize briefly, in the Middle Ages, boredom used to refer to a kind of seclusion which was considered as cultivating piety and providing privileged spare time for the aristocrats. Thinkers such as Benjamin and Nietzsche regarded boredom as a mood that deepens reasoning and reflection. On the other hand, in modernity boredom was transformed into a common problem of man and regarded as an unqualified experience which stems from repetition and manifested as rhythm (Goodstein, 2005) or loss of identity (Simmel, 1950).

The modern capitalist system sought to invert, in two ways, the transformation of boredom into a daily and pathological manifestation. Firstly, it commodified different modes of entertainment and fashion as antithetical to boredom and it renounced the traditional epistemological systems as anachronistic. Traditional modes of entertainment were either commodified as folkloric or declared as anachronistic, and therefore not appropriate for consumption. In contrast, entertaining and luminous cities were rendered as places of commodification. Secondly, boredom was refuted as a mode of existence or a source of creativity and equated to stagnation rather than repetitiveness. This enabled the transference of boredom (as defined within the framework of stagnation) to the province. However, neither the transference of boredom to the province nor the supposition that the cities are entertaining rescued modern man from boredom.

According to many thinkers there is a close relationship between city life and entertainment. Thinkers such as Benjamin, Baudliere, and Simmel (Wilson, 1992) have sought to analyze modernity through the entertainment structures of the cities⁷. Similarly, Postman has analyzed the relationship between cities and entertainment based on his conception of cities as being established only for the sake of entertainment (Postman, 2006).

According to Simmel, the entertaining structure of the cities forms a source of rhythm for those cities and raises the neural stimuli (Simmel, 1950). Simmel argues that the main difference between the province and the city is the difference in the level sensitivity of human mind. Simmel and others hold that the main characteristic of the city, which also differentiates it from the province, is the vigorous, entertaining, and charged with neural stimuli structure (Simmel, 1950).

With each crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life, the city sets up a deep contrast between small town and rural life with reference to the sensory foundations of psychic life. The metropolis exacts from man as a discriminating creature a different amount of consciousness than does rural life. Here the rhythm of life and sensory mental imagery flows more slowly, more habitually, and more evenly. Precisely in this connection the sophisticated character of metropolitan psychic life becomes understandable –as over against small town life which rests more upon deeply felt and emotional relationships. These latter are rooted in the more unconscious layers of the psyche and grow most readily in the steady rhythm of uninterrupted habituations (Simmel, 1950, p. 410).

This quotation, which is full of clean-cut and universal designations of the province, reveals how, through the entertaining and vivacious structure of the cities, stagnation and quietness are transferred to the province as negative notions.

According to Harvey (2003), the difference between the city and the province, or the deepening of the spatial differentiation, was first realized in the literary work

Madame Bovary, where, he argues, the leaving of this mental transformation and

⁷Adorno has established the notion of ‘culture industry’ with reference to the commodification of the cultural practices in the cities. (Adorno, 2001)

boredom in the province and moving of entertainment to the city can be best observed. For him, in terms of the personality of Bovary and her position in the novel, she is like a person from the utopian and romantic era. In a sense, she is like the denial of Balzac, who gracefully remembered the province of the pre-modern period. The silence of the province is no longer a form of religious submission or purgation; it is a type of deprivation in which the people who live are ready to submit themselves to the entertaining world of Paris in every possibility similar to Bovary. However, the utopian romanticism of the province cannot possibly find a place in the modern world and, according to Harvey, Bovary subsequently and meaninglessly commits suicide. That is to say, in Flaubert's novel, the harmony between the city and the province is sacrificed to a modern realism, the romantic era comes to close, and there remains no place for Bovaries (Harvey, 2003).

There might have been no place left for Bovaries in the entertaining world of cities, and cities might have become the spaces of entertainment markets. Yet, no matter how much Paris tried to outsource boredom to the province and escape boredom by leaving itself in the arms of entertainment, it has never fully succeeded in doing this. Now, let me further elaborate the case of Paris, which seems to be a typical case for Europe. This detour I believe might be helpful in understanding the relationship between boredom and entertainment in the case of Turkey and its experience with modernity.

2.5.3 Unqualified experience in Europe

Focusing on the case of Paris, one of the leading centers of the European entertainment market, at a time when the entertainment market promised amusement to the people, Benjamin analyzes the collapse of the entertainment market through the metaphor of the collapse of the dream world.

Despite the urban transformations led by Haussman and the reduction of a dream world to the capital of modernity, Benjamin states that “Paris is bored to death” (as cited in Harvey, 2003, p. 38). Actually, this mood of boredom is closely related to the relation between modernity and time. At this point, it is useful to remember Baudelaire’s definition of modernity: “By modernity I mean the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable” (as cited in Benjamin, 1997). This experience is applied specifically to fashion, architecture, aesthetics and cultural structures. This synthesis of the mythological and the secular has witnessed the capitalist centralization starting from Paris and at first created a fascinating effect on the crowded cities. However, this fascination is nothing but illusion. The issue of boredom, which Benjamin tries to explain through attributions to Baudelaire’s mythic temporality, is compared to the repetition punishment of Hades, the god of the dead. Therefore, even if the repetition in fashion, architecture, aesthetics and cultural structures is the transmissivity between mythic time and present time, in reality it is nothing but the punishment of Hades and thus, his condemnation to the living (Benjamin, 1997)

The essence of being mythic is repetition. Here, the hidden figure lies the superfluous that is written with stars under the name of a few heroes of the underground world — Tantalus, Sisifos or Danaides. (Buck Morris, 2010, p. 123)

Novelty feeds monotony. The time that is hellishly repetitive, and the endless waiting with few interruptions, composes the specific modern form of the boredom that started in the 1840s in Paris as “as an epidemic”. Lamartine says “*France is bored*” in 1829 (as cited in Harvey, 2003, p. 38).

The Haussmanization of Paris and its new form did not provide a remedy to the problem. Benjamin made the following comment: “*To the degree the life is*

organized in an administrative manner, man has to learn to wait.” (Buck Morris, 2010, p. 38) Games of chance have an attraction in terms of saving people from waiting. (Buck Morris, 2010)

Even when modernity reigned supreme and confident, boredom was dominant in Europe and in Paris. In subsequent years, while various factors such as adrenalin, narcotics, speed, fashion, alcohol, and sex that trigger entertainment increased in volume, a solution to boredom was not found. With the establishment of new sources of entertainment, people were getting even more bored and this situation became even more worrisome for some. (Modleski, 1998; Özkan, 2011)

2.6 Making Turkey province by modern boredom and entertainment

Now I am going to return to the Turkish case and examine to what extent we can see the repercussions of the conceptual and historical discussion on boredom I carried out apply to Turkish context. From the start I should say that the invention of boredom as a negative mood and its identification with the province has been realized during the Late Ottoman and the Early Republican period and it has followed a similar path to that of the European context.

The process of the identification of boredom with the province and of entertainment with the city initially began between the Second Constitutional period and the Republican period and after several pauses and fractures it was eventually formed during the 1950s (Aytar, 2011; Özpazarcık, 1998). In order to understand this formation in the 1950s, we should first analyze the modernization of boredom and entertainment throughout Ottoman-Turkish history.

As it is well known, seclusion has an important place in the mystic interpretation of Islam. The ethical dimension of Islamic mysticism includes resignation from worldly affairs, disciplining the body by protecting the flesh from

worldly pleasures (or: by staying away from worldly pleasures), enduring the related suffering, and learning not to get bored of non-entertaining/leisure time (Gündüz, 2013). On the other hand, several aphorisms put forward by Kemal Atatürk, including “Turk! Trust, Work and Be Proud of Yourself” and “The Turkish Nation is smart and hardworking”⁸ aimed at combating the religious mystic culture referred to above. Additionally, Mustafa Kemal was also against the dervish lodges (*tekke*) and their music and philosophy culture, as lodges were the most prominent devices of the oriental-Islamic culture. In this context, the Early Republic took the decision to close down the dervish lodges not only as part of the process of building the new regime but also as part of the effort to intervene in the public sphere and the way people spent their leisure time. According to Aytar, for the administrators of the Early Republican period, leisure time was so important that it should not be left for “leisure”. In this context, leisure time was redesigned in a Western manner (Aytar, 2011; Özkan, 2011). On the one hand, the oriental-Islamic mysticism and its tradition of seclusion were considered as laziness and were discredited, as they were inconsistent with the Protestant ethics of the regime, and the entertainment forms of the Ottoman period (Çengi, Hacivat Karagöz, Zenne, Orta Oyunu) were deemed banal (Meriç, 2011). While capitalism made significant inroads in the economy, including employment relations, Western forms of entertainment were imposed for leisure times (Aytar, 2011). Balls and tangos became the primary forms of Western entertainment (Beşiroğlu, 2011).

However, the sphere of boredom is not only related to the discretion of the seclusion-dervish lodge-hermitage culture. It was more than this. The invention of boredom during the Early Republican period was due the re-definition of

⁸ “Türk! Öğün, Çalış, Güven” “Türk Milleti Çalışkandır! Türk Milleti Zekidir!”

entertainment and, related to this, the elimination of traditional and daily forms of entertainment. This contributed heavily to the transference of boredom to the province.

Similar to Europe, modern Turkey has a given program of entertainment that is part of the program of statism. The ideal of forging this form of entertainment is an important part of the Westernization project of the Early Republican period. However, as opposed to the European trajectory, and partly as a result of the “*yes to the European civilization but no to its culture*” policy, the Early Republic tried to transform the province by establishing “People’s Houses” (*Halkevleri*), Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*), Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) balls, and art clubs (Çelik, 2001).

The establishment of People’s Houses and of the Village Institutes was both part of an ideological program and part of the effort to transform the public sphere and achieve the integration of individual leisure time to the state’s homogenous leisure time. In the context of the homogenization of leisure time, entertainment and work form central concepts and both the People’s Houses and the Village Institutes are part of the effort to teach these concepts to the people. (Karaömerlioğlu, 2001)

For the administrators of this period, and especially for Recep Peker, Hasan Ali Yucel and Mustafa Kemal, the rural is as important as (and in many respects more important than) the city (Çelik, 2001). In this context, the state makes an ideological intervention to organize entertainment and leisure time (Meriç, 2011). The political elites which founded the Republic were composed mainly of middle class bureaucrats, secular officers and doctors associated with the Union and Progress Party, the majority of whom were born in Rumelia and had been educated in Europe. Hence, the environment in which they came of age and developed their

worldviews, the ideals they carried shaped and were reflected in the Early Republican forms of entertainment. When we look at the memoirs of writers such as Yakup Kadri and Falih Rıfkı, who were amongst the leading figures of the Early Republican era, what was seen as entertainment during this period was primarily something secular as a reaction to Oriental, Islamic, and Ottoman culture. This leisure and entertainment project, which was diametrically opposed to the lodge culture, was derived, in a way, from the raki feasts of Mustafa Kemal and his friends and could be summarily outlined as follows: Drinking raki with simple nuts and mezes among men and in the background, Turkish classical music with Rumeli melodies playing from a phonograph. The larger meetings, in which women also participated, were simple imitations of European balls: the women would dance with men in a certain order, and wine and champagne were usually consumed (Atay, 2009). The founding cadres of the Early Republic tried to export these forms of entertainment to the province through institutions such as People's Houses and Village Institutes. However, despite all the efforts, the province developed an internal resistance towards them and did not accept the entertainment and leisure time precepts. Importantly, the populist politics of the multiparty period has been based on the cultural acts of the Early Republican period and the resistance to these acts (Karaömerlioğlu, 2001).

While the populist politics of the multiparty period emerged from the province and focused on it (Aydemir, 2000), boredom and non-entertainment were transferred to the province after the 1950s when the province became the place of boredom and the city the place of entertainment and pleasure.

The main reason behind this process in the 1950s was the commodification of entertainment during the multiparty period and the Demokrat Parti (DP) rule.

While during the late Ottoman and Early Republican period traditional cultural structures and traditional forms of entertainment had been integrated to the market, entertainment as a commodity had never before become part of free market and had never been under the control of the state and part of its ideology. Under DP rule cultural products had also been appropriated by the market in a manner that was compatible with the party ideology. Since DP rule was based on full integration with world capitalism and comprehensive commodification, cultural structures and entertainment products were transformed rapidly into commodities (Özpazarcık, 1998). Ahmet Oktay summarizes this integration process as follows:

After the 50s, consumption leaked into the young republic, hiding behind radio. AGA, RCA, and Philco status symbols were furnished with lights. Having a Frigidaire meant an incredible higher status. During the 60s, status symbols were various and they increased. Thunderbirds, Mustangs, Loafers, and the *wagon lit* from Ankara to İstanbul, the Hilton, the Büyük Efes, dinner at Abdullah Efendi, shopping at the American Market. (Oktay, 1993, p. 57) (See Appendix A, 6)

In other words, popularization was developed in a manner similar to the American market style and while entertainment was constituted as a vital component of city life and was commodified, the provincial land was registered as the land of conservatism and boredom, thanks mostly to the elitist cultural policies pursued in the Early Republican period.

In other words, the most important characteristic of modern entertainment is its exclusionary character that does not permit any alternative forms of entertainment (Modleski, 1998). This kind of commodification was realized in Turkey in the 1950s and 1960s with the development of the popular entertainment market through music, magazines and radio and later through television productions.

As we already analyzed above, within the framework of the historical transformations of the Turkish province, the Republic always regarded the province from an elitist angle and throughout the single party period, tried to promote the cultural transformation of the province. However, during the multiparty years, and as a result of the Republic's pro-American stance, all entertainment mediums and services were designed to reflect the imagined pleasures of city life. In my opinion, the major artistic characteristics of the 1960s and 1970s are the cinematographic characters of 'Kezban' and 'Adanali Tayfur' that were central in Turkish melodramas of that period. An important theme for the movies of the period.

Featured a modern and wealthy man of the city who has a love affair with a poor girl (Kezban) living in a village in the province. After going back to the city the man forgets the girl and her boring lifestyle. However, Kezban refuses this situation and she changes her lifestyle to adapt, which then becomes a source of embarrassment for urban life. She learns how to behave like a city woman, how to dress up, how to put on makeup, how to dance, and to travel to Europe. Acquiring a new identity, Kezban conquers not only the high society but also her lover (Aksoy, 1969 and 1971).

In the case of Adanali Tayfur, the provincial man tries to get rid of his father's restrictive lifestyle on the one hand and on the other he teaches the men of high society how to be masculine and womanizers (Seden, 1964).

These melodramas have a common theme at their center: the Kezbans and Adanali Tayfurs become part of the city life as long as they abandon their pastoral

but boring provincial life and conquer the habitus of city life⁹. These melodramas, which can be read as an inversion of Madame Bovary's tragic story on the one hand, leaving the province to the boring elders, while on the other they render city life and its entertainment as more provincial through brave young men and natural peasant girls.

All in all, boredom in Europe, which used to be seen as a part of religious contemplation that cultivated the piety of clergy, was transformed into a daily problem of modern men by the luminous cities and modern entertainment market. On the other hand, boredom and entertainment issues have had deeper socio-political meaning, like other nation building processes. Early Republic decided that Ottoman-Islamic cultural heritage must be dispelled through the process of westernization, which was the core of the newborn nation state. What is more, the major context of this aforementioned westernization process was the European style entertainment. European style vales and tangos constitute an indispensable part of the Early Republican balls. Though this European style entertainment was easily accepted among the new high societies of the republic, their rural family backgrounds made this style of entertainment peculiar to Turkey. Thus, entertainment in the Turkey's cities got semi-provincial character and could only be described as imitations of their Western counterparts. In what follows, I try to analyze the historical stages of different entertainment forms experienced in Turkey, and their historical adventure which has been ended in front of rural nightclubss.

⁹In an interview to a newspaper, Orhan Pamuk analyzes this issue as the 'provincialization' of culture and entertainment: "I remember my childhood during the 1950s and the early 1960s in Istanbul being marked by threats of military intervention and curfew that were viewed as the most important incidents. Within the framework of imitation of the symbols and ceremonies of the Western culture rather than the culture itself and the humiliation of traditional culture which was regarded as humble, provincialism was constituted with all its visibility" (Pamuk, 1997)

2.6.1 Modern entertainment in Turkey

As mentioned above, the modern world discredited the religious-mystic ontologies and replaced them with a work ethic highly tilted with Protestant overtones. In this way, people were obliged to choose between the duality of entertainment and boredom in their leisure time. If we consider what Kant and Godstein have argued, repetition, being the main source of boredom and the unqualified experience emerging out of repetition, paralyzed the entertainment market that was itself repetitive. Let us analyze now how this kind of paralysis, i.e. the unqualified experience emerging out of repetition, has been experienced in Turkey and more specifically in the Turkish province.

A process of routinization took place in Turkey, following the European-American entertainment world. Soon after the establishment of the entertainment market in Turkey, people started rapidly getting bored of the already existing entertainment forms and new entertainment modes became regularly trendy in metropolitan cities.

These trends were defined this time not by European capital cities but by the USA and Hollywood. After the 1950s, traditional forms of entertainment either became totally extinct or were transformed into new forms, as was the case with the storyteller's tradition being transformed to a talk show by Orhan Boran. Comics, Hollywood movies, magazines, entertainment venues, nightclubs, lyrics, and movies were all integrated to the entertainment market in their totality (Özpazarcıklı, 1998).

Nebi Ozdemir analyzes the entertainment industry and its rapid transformation as such:

The materials in the 1952 dated sixth issue of the *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi* [Journal of Popular Idioms in Turkey], which had the title *Folklore Idioms*, was obtained from editions from the years 1933-1935,

and most were about entertainment. This issue is almost like a Turkish popular entertainment dictionary. Today, some of these words are no longer used. As a result of the changes in life styles, phrases such as “aba atma, arap oyunu, aynu faynu, çelken, danışık yemeği, çıvga, golanka, kızzık, honça, kişi aş, sıra gezmek, oturak, tolaka oyunu, aşık oyunu, yüzükoyunu, sançmak, yom, sohbet yeme, sıra gemze, şirince” are replaced by terms like acqua park, fantasy land, türkü bar, saloon, game land, activity center, surfing in internet, chat, televole, Turkstar etc. (Özdemir, 2004, p. 153) (See Appendix A, 7)

To follow Goodstein’s description of boredom, however much fun the low quality experience based on repetition is, entertainment itself has become boring, lost its rhythm and turned into an unqualified experience¹⁰. After all, entertainment is also a repetition and in time becomes routinized and consumes itself.

2.6.2 Countryside Entertainment

To summarize, boredom as a modern phenomenon is part both of the provincial and the city life. For the purposes of this study, the central issue is that boredom is the basic emotion that is constitutive of the province. In other words, the image of the city in modern times has colonized entertainment and has left no room for entertainment in the provincial areas. Accordingly, as part of the role that modern cities have defined for the province, the province seeks to mimic the city and its entertainment practices. In this part, I focus on this process of mimicry and the ways in which city entertainment is reproduced in the province.

¹⁰ Simmel defines this circulation through which the changes of entertainment trends is accelerated and in which entertainment is sentenced to mediocrity: “There is perhaps no psychic phenomenon which has been so unconditionally reserved to the metropolis as has the blasé attitude. The blasé attitude results first from the rapidly changing and closely compressed contrasting stimulations of the nerves. From this, the enhancement of metropolitan intellectuality, also, seems originally to stem. Therefore, stupid people who are not intellectually alive in the first place usually are not exactly blasé. A life in boundless pursuit of pleasure makes one blasé because it agitates the nerves to their strongest reactivity for such a long time that they finally cease to react at all. In the same way, through the rapidity and contradictoriness of their changes, more harmless impressions force such violent responses, tearing the nerves so brutally hither and thither that their last reserves of strength are spent; and if one remains in the same milieu they have no time to gather new strength.” (Simmel, 1950:415)

The theoretical references made in earlier parts of this study indicated that the province is regarded as boredom (Gurbilek, 2010), as a tension between the center and the periphery (Laçiner, 2011), and as the banishment area of the Ottoman administrative reforms (A.T.Alkan, 2011). The central theme regarding the province in cinematographic productions is boredom (Ceylan, 2002; Demirkubuz, 1997, 2001, 2006; Kesal, 2013; Kaplanoğlu, 2007, 2008, 2010; Erdem, 2006), while in literature central themes are claustrophobic entrapment and closure (Tanpınar, 2001; Atılğan, 2007). Contemporary Turkish cinema has been interested in provincial entertainment although in a limited manner. Cinematographic productions such as *Vizontele Tuuba* (Erdoğan, 2003), *Dar Alanda Kısa Paslaşmalar* (Akar, 2000), *I love you* (Midyat, 2010), *Hükümet Kadın* (Midyat, 2013), and *Beynelmilel* (Önder, 2006) are all nostalgic movies that have common points like their focus on the childhood or the adolescence of the protagonist. According to Asuman Suner, the representation of the provincial entertainment in Turkish cinematographic productions is no more than uproar and the nostalgic and emotional recall of the loss of the childhood years (Suner, 2006)

Similar to how researchers of the province overlook the question of entertainment, researchers dealing with the notion of entertainment also tend to overlook provincial entertainment in their studies. Regardless of the historical period they focus on, a common characteristic of such studies is an exclusive focus on Istanbul. For example, Terzioğlu's (1995) article on a circumcision celebration focuses exclusively on Istanbul and the surrounding of the palace. The most important contemporary compilation on entertainment in Turkish recent history is entitled *Entertainment in Istanbul* (Aytar & Parmaksızoğlu, 2011) and, as the name signifies, the study focuses on the various aspects of entertainment in different

regions and segments in Istanbul from the Tanzimat era onwards. Similarly, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar (2013), a writer who has focused on entertainment traditions in Turkey, has limited himself to the entertainment perceptions of aristocrats from the Bosphorus surroundings during the constitutionalist period (Mesrutiyet). In a similar manner, the Bahcesehir University's research group on Turkey's initial entertainment trends has been focusing on entertainment trends in Istanbul (Aytar, 2010).

To sum up, the connection between the province and entertainment has been understudied and disregarded in previous research. The province is regarded either as a nostalgic uproar or as a kind of depressing entrapment. Moving beyond these two conceptions of entertainment in the province and considering entertainment as an issue that is central to the province, I will, in this section, focus on provincial entertainment. By highlighting the differences between the period before 1980s and the semi-modern characteristics of the Turkish society, and the period after 1980s of liberal transformation and industrialization, I will distinguish these two periods for the purposes of studying entertainment in the Turkish province. In my analysis, I will consider the pre-1980s period as characterized by ritualistic, carnivalesque, and solidarity-based qualities and the neoliberal era of post 1980s as characterized by the imitation of the city entertainment and the transfer of urban overproduction to the province.

2.6.3 Folcloric entertainment of the rural

Until the 1980s, the most important characteristics of provincial entertainment were its ritualistic and supplementary aspects and the fact that most entertaining occasions was performed following or preceding an ordeal or a rite. This is the most important factor differentiating provincial entertainment from city entertainment during this

period. People in the cities need no excuses for entertainment. They could entertain themselves at places such as Galata and Beyoglu whenever they wanted as long as they possess the necessary monetary means and enough free time. Provincial entertainment, on the contrary, was regarded as a complementary ritual for beginning or ending something.¹¹

Examples to occasions of ordeals or rites are weddings, men's conscription periods, child births and harvest time. To cite one specific occasion as an example, men in villages would come together and organize entertaining rituals after harvest time. These kinds of ritualistic entertainments which were held before or after a significant event are closely related to blessing archaic themes such as fertility, thanksgiving, presentation and solidarity. On the other hand, the characteristics of provincial entertainment are not clear-cut and for example, may become both ritualistic and solidarity-based at the same time.

One of the most important themes of European city (Bakhtin) and provincial (Levi-Strauss) entertainment, carnivalesque disguise, is usually not found in Turkish city entertainment. Disguise, however, is the most important theme of pre-modern provincial entertainment. Cross dressing of both men and women, or men and women disguising like bears, camels, Negroes/Arabs were basic entertainment tools at weddings and circumcision feasts.

After 1970s, an era which is considered as a transitional period for Turkey, theatre and cinema were added as to the provincial entertainment scene as new means of entertainment. Cinema can be considered as one of the first products of modern entertainment market to have reached the province.

¹¹We should put aside bandit entertainment. Bandits were entertaining themselves with women whenever they did not clash or they did not run away. Another point is that except weddings, entertainment refers to men's entertainment as it is unknown how women were entertaining themselves except long night chats.

Starting with the early 1980s, the province followed the rapid transformations that took place in the cities. While the proliferating industrial products were making life easier, they also dissolved societal solidarity and the ritualistic entertainment that was based on soil fertility that blessed social solidarity. Instead, the emergence of these new commodities triggered the establishment of new forms of entertainment. Like the society as a whole, entertainment also became more individualistic (Kozanoğlu, 1995). However, the transformation of provincial entertainment seems to be mostly related to the transference of the production surplus from the city to the province rather than the individualization of the society and the forms of entertainment.

2.6.4 The transfer of the surplus from the city to the province

The main reason behind the transformation of the province during 1980s is the transfer of surplus from the city to the province. In order to understand this situation we should first conceptualize what the surplus is and what it means that it is transferred.

As clarified earlier, provincial entertainment mainly refers to entertainment of men. The main themes of provincial entertainment are women, music, and alcohol. Until the 1980s, which were a period of serious transformation for Turkish society, all these elements –women, music, alcohol– were scarce in the province. As it can be discerned from Early Republican period literature, the organization of such musical entertainment in the province is a prerogative of governmental officers, warlords, and bandits. Until recently, alcoholic beverages would count as luxury consumption. The transfer of musical entertainment out of the palace happened after the Tanzimat period while its move out of Istanbul happened only very recently, in the 1960s with nationwide tours of several bands which also included provinces among their stops.

As late as in 1980s, the New Year's Day celebrations were limited to watching a belly dancer on television after midnight coupled with following the national lottery.

Following the impoverishment during 1980s, the number of women working in the entertainment sector as hostesses and dancers increased. The rise in imports became beneficial for the music industry and more people began performing music instruments. Accordingly, while the cities hosted the best musicians, business administrators, body-guards, beautiful women, and best dancers, those that were considered of secondary quality, that is not good enough for the burgeoning city entertainment standards, were transferred to the province. In this way more and more cabarets were established in the province mimicking the nightclubs where well known vocalists such Emel Sayın, Zeki Müren, Fikret Kızılok, and Ruhi Su performed live on stage (Beken, 2011).

Finally, the province acquired the amount of alcohol, night-clubs, musicians, belly dancers, singers and hostesses it needed in order to entertain itself like the cities. The only thing left was to mimic the people in the city and their way of entertainment.

2.7 Conclusion

Throughout history, the province has first and foremost been a geographical and administrative unit. The relationship between the center and the province has been established based on the notion of distance. During the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic the province has been marked at different times as a source for taxation, as an area of banishment, and as a neglected part of the nation. More recently, the province has been influenced by the neoliberal transformation and has moved beyond its definition based on distance acquiring a new meaning through

a new kind of emotionality that is does not necessarily refer to rural life and that also involves abandoned neighborhoods of the cities.

I argued in this chapter that this emotionality has been formed based on the notion of boredom. Boredom has not kept a stable meaning but instead taken different meanings during different, successive historical periods. While regarded as a privilege of the aristocrats and clerics during Middle Ages, modern philosophers like Heidegger, Kierkegaard, and Kant regarded it as a negative feeling. Other modern thinkers such as Nietzsche and Benjamin, however, have also attributed a positive quality to boredom and regarded the feeling as the driving force behind creativity. As a modern phenomenon, however, boredom is predominantly regarded as a negative feeling. According to Goodstein, the reason for this is because modern society is marked by unqualified experience based on repetition.

Being part of modern ontology, boredom is an inevitable phenomenon both for the city and for the province. However, the vivacious city life and luminous entertainment in the cities establishes an illusion and as a result, boredom is perceived differently in the cities compared to the province. Based on this illusion, the cities are identified with entertainment thanks to the vivacious character of city life, while the province is identified with boredom due to the stagnant provincial life.

To conclude, it is not possible to identify a spatial unit with boredom or entertainment. In the social world, there are various sources that may foster both boredom and entertainment. This is applicable to the province, too. The neoliberal transformation of Turkey in the 1980s led to a transformation in the entertainment practices in the province, which have hitherto been traditional, solidarity-based, ritualistic, and complimentary. In this period, excessive entertainment elements were transferred from the cities to the province. This also led to increasing efforts in the

province to mimic the entertainment model of the city, which then led to the disappearance of older forms of ritualistic entertainment and transformed provincial entertainment into a monolithic form.

In the next chapter, I consider in detail the kinds of relationships that were established as a result of this transformation in entertainment practices. In doing so, I will focus on the everyday lives of male and female actors of the provincial entertainment scene in Çavdır.

CHAPTER 3

MASCULINITY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the making of masculinity in Burdur. More specifically, this chapter focuses on how masculinity is constituted in Çavdır, a province of Burdur, and in Çavdır's nightlife. In this chapter, masculinity is addressed based on men's position in the nightlife of Çavdır, not on their particular social status, piety, class status, economic power, or family background.

The focus on nightlife as a social conjuncture that reproduces masculinity is important and meaningful in many ways. Most importantly, in nightlife, issues concerning men's family life, their social class, and their professional positions become almost invisible and men perform various forms of masculinity according to the relationships they establish exclusively in nightlife. In this study, these forms of masculinity will be analyzed under three categories: *paralı* (moneyed), *belalı* (bully), *yakışıklı* (handsome). Conceptually, these categories will be analyzed according to three different ways of relationality. The *paralı* will be analyzed through the expenditures he makes, and the *belalı* through his sufferings. The *yakışıklı*, on the other hand, will be analyzed vis-à-vis his constituent role in relation to the other types. The *paralı* type is ready for spending the whole of his wealth in order to perform his masculinity. The *belalı* type is ready to sacrifice his life and others' lives with the aim of performing his. The *yakışıklı* type, on the other hand, is not organically dependent on nightlife, even though he consumes the women both bodily and materially. This leads to animosity towards *yakışıklı* by the other two types, a situation which has significant implications for the formation and performance of other masculinity types.

3.2 A brief overview of masculinity and its conceptualization

Academic interest in masculinity dates back to the 1970s, when feminist writers started to problematize the construction of masculinity along with femininity (Irigaray 1974, Cixous 1976, Milet 1971). Nevertheless, it was in the 1990s that masculinity studies emerged as a broad field at the intersection of feminist studies, queer studies (Rosenfeld 2009, Anderson 2011), post-colonialism (Satanovsky 2007), peace studies (Ratele, 2012) and Marxism (Jordan 2002).

In a volume of *Social Science Encyclopedia* dedicated to masculinity, Kimmel defines masculinity in the following way: “Masculinity refers to the social roles, behaviors, and meanings prescribed for men in any given society at any one time. As such, it emphasizes gender, not biological sex, and the diversity of identities among different groups of men.” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 1)

In this definition, Kimmel underlines the fact that masculinity is not biologically given but is a cultural identity acquired through prescribed roles, behaviors, and meanings. Given that masculinity is primarily a cultural construct, it shows variety across time and space:

Men are not born —growing from infants through boyhood to manhood— to follow a predetermined biological imperative encoded in their physical organization. To be a man is to participate in social life as a man, as a gendered being. Men are not born; they are made. And men make themselves, actively constructing their masculinities within a social and historical context... The meanings of manhood vary from culture to culture and within any one culture over time. (Kimmel and Aronson, 2003, p. xxiii) While Kimmel emphasizes the fact that the definition of masculinity varies according to the culture within which it is constituted and acquired, R.W. Connel’s book *Masculinities* (Connel, 2005) points to the fact that there is also a variety of different constructions and experiences of masculinity in any given society at any point of time. Connel is specifically interested in the hierarchical ordering of these masculinities. Meanwhile, Anne Fausto Sterling is interested in the discourses through which masculinities are produced and consumed, and she states that “...we construct masculinities through social discourse, that array of happenings that covers everything from music videos, poetry, and rap lyrics to sports, beer commercials, and psychotherapy” (Sterling, 1995, p. 244).

Different writers have dealt with varying definitions of masculinity in different contexts and linked them to the project of the nation and the building of nationalisms. For example, in Japan, masculinity has been constructed as a part and parcel of the construction of national consciousness and the ideals of toughness that accompany the image of Samurai culture (Roberson and Suzuki, 2003). According to Tomsen and Donaldson, Australian masculinity is closely linked to the images of traditional aboriginal culture portrayed by the Australian nation building process (Tomsen and Donaldson, 2003). In a similar vein, the constitution of masculinity in South Africa has been argued to be conjectural, fashioned at historical crossroads between the pre- and post-Apartheid regimes (Morell, 2001). To sum up, a growing body of literature has taken the construction of masculinity under the formative influences of nationalist histories as its object, and emphasized that masculinity is understood as an effect of particular nationalisms.

Even though masculinity studies in Turkey are not as wide-scale as those of their Western and European counterparts, masculinity studies have taken interest among Turkish academicians, activists, scholars and researchers. Various studies (Altınay 2004, Selek 2011, Turan 2013) on the relationships between military service, the army and masculinity are said to be the pioneer cases of the issue in Turkey. Health, body and sexual performance are among other topics of masculinity research in Turkey in the case of Erol & Özbay (2012), the spatial reproduction of masculinity in the case of H.Z.Alkan (2011) and Baliç & Özbay (2004), relationships between class and masculinity in the case of Özbay (2013) and Sancar (2009), regional masculinities and sub-identities in the case of Bozok (2012) and Sünbuloğlu (2013).

While these studies have been very important in shaping my research in

Burdur, and specifically, in pointing to the links between power and masculinity and the relational construction of masculinity – as it has always given meaning and experience in relation to “others” – my research focuses on the different categories through which masculinities are constructed. In other words, rather than coming up with a singular definition of masculinity and the masculine world, I am interested in exploring how people differently situated in Çavdır’s nightlife actively engage in claiming masculinity through various tactics and strategies.

3.2.1 The making of manhood by expenditure

As mentioned above, men in nightlife are varied, and so are their ways of constructing manhood and the strategies they devise in the face of anomalies that pose challenges to the normative manhood they fictionally image.

For example, the type that I refer to as *paralı* performs masculinity mostly with money and the ability to spend it. This actually confirms a widely held view in the literature on masculinity: masculinity is first and foremost a hegemonic position. Although the first thing that comes to mind when hegemony is mentioned is the oppression of women by men, masculine hegemony does not exclude other forms of hegemonic relations, say, for example, of white men over black men, older brother over younger brother, the rich man over poor men, the manager over the worker, and in all these relationships, manhood is constructed in the process of securing domination of one over the other.

What the *paralı* does in nightlife is actually similar: he spends money, something that others do not have and hence secures dominance over managers, waiters and other customers, and he thereby hopes to influence women. However, things are not as smooth as they sound. Because the relations of expenditure at issue here are outside the rules of market exchange and conceived as a sort of gift

exchange, the winner in these relationships is either the women or the nightclub owner. This gift exchange process, which is usually initiated by the man in order to buy the woman, turns into an auction in which all men try to prove their manhood against other men. Therefore, the first thing I tried to understand about *paralı* was how this endeavor of him, through which he intends to secure his hegemony, turns into an auction that leads him to bankruptcy. In theorizing such masculinities I will elaborate upon the approaches of Bataille (1997) and Mauss (1967) on expenditure, gift giving, and sacrificing.

In relation to expenditure, the second useful mechanism for domination over the other is the act of womanizing. In this part, I will try to explain how womanizing is not actually a pursuit of bodily pleasure but rather a hunting party that relies on an infinite deferral of pleasure and prolonging excitement in and through the process of seducing.

3.2.2 The making of masculinity by suffering

There are many sources of masculinity. For many researchers, manhood is a sort of epic about heroism. In this heroisation process, what is important is the question of how to narrate the story of a man. If a man is to find a place first in the men's world and then in history, he has to find a way to articulate his life to the epics of past heroes, and have a narrative about him that can be narrated by others and thus create a myth about himself. In this way, especially in nightlife, he will win himself a name and then find himself a place there. Hence, an easier way to find a place in the men's world is through suffering.

In the process of acquiring a place in nightlife, the man enters not with his own name but with a nickname that echoes the suffering and the epic process that he has been through in his life. Therefore, the first thing to consider in the analysis of the

creation of the belalı type is the question of how the process of suffering has created a space for masculinity in the masculine world.

Specifically, I argue that masculine hegemony in Burdur is defined through becoming adventurous. However, being adventurous can only be validated through the physical suffering one endures. As such, being crushed is built into the very definition of being masculine and having power over women and other men.

Being crushed and adventurous are accompanied and articulated by masculinity performances. Hence, the second object of this study is to examine the strategies of existence of the belalı type, a way of existing through the consequences of one's actions, with a reputation that he earns by acting in accordance with the rules of manhood. Nightlife, which seems as if it would accommodate everybody, actually excludes those men who will not undertake any of these roles. When analyzing nightlife through these ideal-type roles, I will try to make use of Butler's theories of performativity (Butler, 2003). According to Austen (as cited in Felman, 2003), language is more than descriptive: it governs through causative verbs. That is to say, performance starts in language, and the performer actually follows the script that the language demands of him (Felman, 2003). For example, statements such as "it takes guts to hang around in nightlife"¹² denotes both fear and courage. Such idioms constitute a habitus for the actors of nightlife and set the standards of action for each type: excessive expenditure' for the paralı and existing by courage for the belalı.

The third issue that will be analyzed in this chapter is men's pragmatism. Turkish proverbs on masculinity such as "Masculinity is almost wholly about escape" or "Escape does no harm"¹³ reveal the distance between normative

¹² "Aleme takılmak göt ister".

¹³ "Erkekliğin onda dokuzu kaçmaktır" "Kaçanın anası ağlamaz"

masculinity and practical masculinity and the pragmatism that masculinity is based on. This kind of pragmatism will be referred to here as counterfeit *belalı* and it will be analyzed through fake performances, fake wounds, and fake homelands as they appear in nightlife.

3.2.3 The making of masculinity by female bodies

I will analyze the *yakışıklı* type within the framework of the woman's intervention to nightlife, and not within the framework of the relationships among men. The woman has to have a romantic relationship with a customer or with someone working in the nightclub in order to have an income. When this is the case, the woman acquires the nickname "sister-in-law", her income decreases and problems increase. Based on the woman's sexual self-isolation, I draw a distinction between the woman's erotic body versus her sexual body whereby the customers and the employees are attached to the erotic side while the *yakışıklı* is attached to the sexual side of the distinction.

Following this distinction, I will analyze the role played by the *yakışıklı*, who is able to achieve easily what other men try hard to obtain in nightlife. The first is a constitutive role because the *yakışıklı*'s privilege of getting into relationship with (or: have intercourse with) the woman motivates other men both materially and physically to pay more for her. The second is the disastrous role. The *yakışıklı*, after entering nightlife by means of the woman, destroys the love and the space of freedom defined by the woman as a result of the practices he learns from the woman and her nightlife circle.

To sum up, in this chapter, I will try to analyze the concept of masculinity, and the hegemonic struggle for which men establish their impossible power (and under which they are generally crushed) through three typologies of men: *paralı*, *belalı* and *yakışıklı*.

3.3 The *paralı* (The moneyed)

The *paralı* is, like the other two types, a result of competition and hegemony. This hegemony is based on the capacity to spend rather than on pure violence. The race for hegemony is sharpened by the fact that spending is indeed based on auction. But this race or auction aims at seducing the woman rather than simply attaining her body and approaching her sexually. This is why expenditure is based on gift exchange rather than on spending money.

The first thing that needs to be said here for the provincial nightclubs and for the *paralı* who spend their personal wealth at those clubs is that those men sometimes do not even find the opportunity to approach the women for whom they lay down their wealth. This constitutes one central problematic for the current study. While I expected that this was a kind of urban legend and therefore did not reflect the truth, the interviews I conducted revealed that this situation absolutely does exist. The interviewees say that this is a kind of stupidity or a bad habit that is transferred from the father to the son. Even, the dentist of the province commented on my study by saying that it is stupidity that I chose to study this situation and do fieldwork on it:

- I heard you're writing a thesis.
- Yes, brother...
- Is it true what I heard, that the subject of your thesis are the whores and pimps; I hear you're following the drunks of our Karakoy village, of Anbarck and Kayacık [poor districts of Çavdır] and trying to make them speak.
- Yes brother, it's true what you heard.
- Now, my dear Osman, your whole life is spent dealing with insignificant things; all of those people are idiots, what could they possibly tell you about nightlife. I never understand why educated leftists like you become like this. It's me you should ask about nightlife. You'll ask me, Brother Halil tell me and I will take you to Antalya, to Denizli, we'll go to decent environments, the bands will play, everyone in his own world, we'll eat and drink and then if we feel like it; leave those *kokona* [overdressed woman] that those idiots pay thousands of liras for but can't even kiss; we'll take one Ukrainian each for only 150-200 liras, you and me, clean and sweet. And then

we'll take a nice shower where we stay, and then you back to the restaurant and me back to the office. There's no need to be exposed to the locals, pay billions worth checks, get drunk as skunk and as if not enough, to get beaten. (Halil Bey, 2012) (See Appendix B,2)

What Mr. Halil defines as enjoyment based on classical market logic is the exchange of money and bodies. It is the capitalist spirit – the Protestant ethic; it is the expenditure that is not commodified, and it is what Weber (2005) and Benjamin Franklin have defined as wastefulness.

However, it is not possible to analyze and explain the expenditures made in nightlife based on classical market logic. From my observations of nightlife and my interviews with women, I realized that women enjoyed intimacy in their relationships with the men that spent their money on them. In the subsequent stages of my research I observed that the notion of intimacy is not a simple game of joy and pleasure but a common mechanism that enables the continuity of nightlife. Thanks to the game of intimacy, the woman becomes inaccessible and this situation leads to a continuous race of spending and consumption in the form of auction in the nightclub.

Therefore, it is not the stupidity of the men due to their ignorance of market rules that leads to expenditure in nightlife. Rather, expenditure is the result of the competition among men to expose their masculinity through hegemony races. In other words, expenditure for enjoyment in nightlife is not made for the sake of the desire for the female body but is the result of the desire for hegemonic competition among men. In the next part, I will analyze this hegemonic competition based on expenditure through Bataille's concepts of scarcity and expenditure rather than market economics.

3.3.1 Spending and hegemony

There are several differences between places of entertainment that use the female

body as a commodity and provincial nightclubs. The nightclubs establish a connection between spending and status in that it does not promote spending as an exchange for commodity (for example, renting woman's body for a period of time in houses of ill repute in exchange for money) but as a symbol of higher status. Therefore, it is not possible to explain the expenditure of personal wealth in nightclubs based on profit and loss accounts or spending money in exchange for a commodity. The most central defining feature of the nightclubs is their allowance for over-spending, where spending acquires the meaning of status rather than extravagant consumption. Therefore, in the nightclub wealth accumulation in the form of money = commodity loses its importance while spending and gift giving = status become central to the competition for hegemony among men.

What follows is an analysis of how the relationship among spending, gift giving, status, and hegemony constitute the paralı type in provincial nightclubs.

Bataille's *Accursed Share* (1989) has at its center the concepts of excess and expenditure that he derived and developed from Mauss's study of potlatch. Mauss initially developed these concepts based on his observations on the potlatch rituals of Polynesian natives, which take the form of races for expenditure and wastefulness, and based on the mutual exchange of gifts among and within tribes. Among Polynesians it is obligatory to buy and exchange gifts. The refusal to accept a gift is a serious cause for punishment and it can even be regarded as a cause for war. According to Mauss, there is a strong relationship between the socialization of hegemony and the spending of the social production surplus in rituals. This is because the only way to become a chief or to conquer the chief of another tribe during a potlatch ritual is to spend more than the other tribe by offering more gifts. (This rule of reciprocity is still valid in provincial nightclubs. For example, the non-

reciprocation of a small bottle of raki with a big one is regarded as rude).

Bataille gives a more universal meaning to Mauss's observation on the expenditure-hegemony relationship in the Polynesian tribes and places value on the excessive and the ritual expenditure of the excessive. In this respect, Bataille focuses on excess and expenditure rather than saving and scarcity (Bataille, 1997). Focusing on excess expenditure, Bataille asserts that construction of power, hegemony and status through ritual excess spending, but not saving, have been valid for all human history. In this respect, Halil Bey and other people who think spending money extravagantly is stupid have a classical economic mindset because, when they invest or spend money, they expect to get in return a concrete commodity or maximized pleasure (such as sexual intercourse). In other words, according to classical economics, spending that will turn neither into pleasure nor into a commodity is meaningless.

Nevertheless, nightclub relationships between men and women must not be understood in terms of the commodity-money-commodity circle but in terms of Bataille's general economy, which equates power and status by expenditure and the ritual loss of excess.

Bataille, in *The Accursed Share*, argues that every society accumulates much more energy than required and it should waste this energy without delay. If this extra energy is not wasted, it will turn into an accursed share which has the potential of overthrowing the society.

I will begin with a basic fact: the living organism, in a situation determined by the play of energy on the surface of the globe, ordinarily receives more energy than is necessary for maintaining life, and the excess energy (wealth) can be used for the growth of a system (e.g., an organism); if the system can no longer grow, or if the excess cannot be completely absorbed in its growth, it must necessarily be lost without profit; it must be spent, willingly or not, gloriously or catastrophically (Bataille, 1989: 21).

The same situation is viable for people who are called *paralı* in nightlife and for them too, after allocating the required amount of money for the his own survival and that of his family, the rest of the money is completely wasted. Bataille makes an important distinction between productive and unproductive. The necessary portion of energy for living things is defined as productive. Bataille, however, focuses on the unproductive portion, which he calls the excess. Status and hegemony are gained through the expenditure of this excess. But there is an important rule for spending this excess. According to Bataille, the excess allocated for ritual expenditure should be purified from *telos* (utilization). Hence, the purification of excess makes it sacrificial and unproductive (Bataille, 1997).

What is sacrificed creates an unproductive value, which for Bataille is status. In other words, when the excess is not saved but instead spent in a ritualistic way that has nothing to do with the productivity and profit-orientedness of money, destruction is transformed into status. Similarly, in my ethnographic setting, the *paralı* is against saving money. To put it in simpler terms, there might not be much of a technical difference between the Tlingit chief that Mauss (1967) describes and the *paralı* figure in Burdur nightlife. Both do a similar thing: after putting aside the value necessities for the reproduction of life, they destroy the rest in ritual. They do this to be a sovereign man.

As mentioned before, there are various definitions and types of manhood in nightlife. In order to possess and become any one of these types, the most important thing is to be able to put on an appearance that is cleansed from future and profit. Hence, the *paralı* has to be able to sacrifice money (like, as we will see later, the *belalı* type has to sacrifice his youth and if necessary, his freedom and life). Hence, the most important discourse that permeates nightlife is this call for sacrifice. What

justifies this call are the idioms about life's finitude and mortality and idioms that call for making mortality fun. Examples of these idioms are the following: "so raki drinkers die, but don't the water drinkers die, too?"¹⁴ "burn whatever you know and come join"¹⁵, "Uncle Ali, Uncle Ali / have eaten the whole field in a night/Have you not bought a red tractor / and then sold it for a single night."¹⁶ All these idioms call the nightlife actors and their money away from a telos in life and to the present; as such, the money spent in the present is sacralized. When talking about nightlife, actors use none of the usual verbs for spending money. That is to say, instead of saying *tüketmek* (to consume), *harcamak* (to spend) or *kullanmak* (to use), they use the verb *ezmek* (to crush). Money for nightlife veterans is literally seen as *el kiri* (dirt on the hands) and spending crushes it.

When money is used not for the production of surplus value but becomes a value in itself, it becomes a sacrifice. According to Bataille, this is the greatest source of status (expensive watches, monuments, jewelry, and shrines have no other logical meaning than the fact that they are demonstrations of wealth). In addition, for Mauss and Bataille the sacrifice of the excess is ritualistic. These rituals of spending the excess – what Mauss calls potlatches – are actually a gift auction (Mauss, 1967). The excess is laid out by the members of the tribe and the chiefs, and whoever gives the most gifts in the potlatch gains status and reputation. Those who possess the etiquette and know how to properly spend are said not to have status but they are called *adam gibi adam* (literally, "men like men", referring to a proper man). However, in order for value to be sacrificial, it has to first be in a commodity form and then turned into

¹⁴ "Rakı içenler öldü de su içenler ölmedi mi?"

¹⁵ "Yak gel bildiğin ne varsa, yak gel!"

¹⁶ "Ali dayı Ali dayı! tarlayı bir gece yemedin mi? Kırmızı traktör almadın mı?/Bir geceye satmadın mı?"

an unproductive condition. In the nightlife's culture of spending, there are two similar forms. First is that money is never talked about and it is converted into other values. Secondly, the things into which money is converted are expected to be perceived not as spending but as gifts presented to the woman. In fact, except the moment of closing the tab, it is considered improper to make money visible or to show money to the woman. Because the subjects of night life thought that "money is shown only to bitches or to sons of bitches"¹⁷, "money looks good on an asshole"¹⁸. However, spending on gifts both honors the woman and gives weight to manhood (meaning a man who knows the ways). Hence, the habits of spending raise the bar higher.

What differentiates this relationship, which is after all a transaction, from capitalist exchange? We face an instance of gift-ification here, which is the second important appearance of nightlife. The fact that the relationship is forged in this way, that is, as men buying the women drinks, and the fact that the whole system of nightlife proceeds through this mode of action, might be seen as a rational action on the part of nightlife actors, keeping under control the series of "treats" and thus getting their share out of the process. For example, the owner of the place gets a commission from the drinks offered to women and makes a profit. However, the owner can sustain his control over profit and commission in other ways. Conversion of the exchange system into drinks or other gifts is precisely encouraged by the nightlife itself. The rule is that if women in brothels are paid cash, in the nightclub women are given gifts. As Adil Abi puts it:

We are not pimps. We let people have fun. Both the men and women have a good time. Sometimes some men come and tell us they are ready to pay any amount for getting a woman. But I tell them this is a nightclub and if they

¹⁷ "Para ya orospuya ya da orospu çocuğuna gösterilir"

¹⁸ "Para puştta yakışır"

want to do it with money they should go to a brothel, I am not a pimp. If he insists, we remove the guy, beat him up. After all, we are also after our bread. (personal communication, June 2012 [3]) (See Appendix B, 3)

The system relies, before all else, on the removal from sight of the physical presence of money. Adil Abi describes the invisibility of money as a professional difference between nightclubs and brothels but in fact, it is the essence of all the illusions that nightlife includes. When money is hidden under the costume of gift giving, all the relationships in nightlife are transformed from a simple tradesman-client transaction into a sort of status competition in which all men and women in nightlife participate.

Therefore, in the provincial nightlife, the notion of manhood that is highly interrelated with money (as with the paralı) is the idea that he who converts the excess into gifts and spends reserves a place for himself among the nightlife types. He is a participant in the auction among men who thereby fabricate themselves a status and hegemony. This auction set up every night has no winners but the paralı is the one who loses the most money, obviously. For what we defined as crushing money is nothing but his own financial crushing.

3.3.2 The auction of manhood

In his book *Seduction*, Baudrillard argues that “ours is a culture of premature ejaculation.” (Baudrillard, 2001, p. 38). What Baudrillard means here is actually that the demolition of masculinity based on (premature) ejaculation is actually a culture of incurability and that one always tries to conceal demolition through various of mechanisms. According to Baudrillard, the mechanisms of seduction are components of this culture:

The law of seduction takes the form of an uninterrupted ritual exchange where seducer and seduced constantly raise the stakes in a game that never ends. And cannot end since the dividing line that defines the

victory of the one and the defeat of the other, is illegible. And because there is no limit to, the challenge to love more than one is loved, or to be always more seduced –if not death. Sex, on the other hand, has a quick, banal end: the orgasm, the immediate form of desire's realization (Baudrillard, 2001, p. 22).

Therefore, according to Baudrillard, the swap which comprises the main rules of seduction is full of commitments which will adorn the especially limitless struggle of men and the seduction mechanisms charged with good news of victory.

Consequently, for Baudrillard, eroticism is more important than pornography.

The obscenity itself burns and consumes its object. One sees from up close what one has never seen before; to one's good fortune, one has never seen one's genitals function from so close, nor for that matter, from so general a perspective. It is all too true, too near to be true. And it is this that is fascinating, this excess of reality, this hyper reality of things. The only fantasy in pornography, if there is one, is thus not a fantasy of sex, but of the real, and its absorption into something other than the real, the hyper real. Pornographic voyeurism is not a sexual voyeurism, but a voyeurism of representation and its perdition, a dizziness born of the loss of the scene and the irruption of the obscene. (Baudrillard, 2001, pp. 28-29)

If we are to compare the analyses of Baudrillard with the analyses of those who claim that nightlife entertainment must end with a sexual experience, any kind of brothel experience which may be called pornographic is not sufficiently satisfactory. It merely satisfies their sexual desire, whereas the impossible power of masculinity and the culture of premature ejaculation which contains this impossible power demand more. This is possible only when other men and other women are included in the game in the stage and therefore, men desire to tempt more women rather than a woman in a “cage” (it does not matter whether they are in a brothel or their own home).

In this respect, for the parallel the place called nightclub is a hunting field and it is a place where there are other male competitors and more than one woman taking part in the appraisal of the women whom they try to seduce. Like in every context where qualitatively different things are exchanged and equivalence is formed between them, here too, the role of money is mediated to another commodity form. (For example, the woman = desire of hunting, place = hunting space, male friends = competitors). Money is totally outside in the game between woman and man and it should be transformed into a gift form. "A gift is erotic. The pleasure of giving is a sexual pleasure. It is a power. Own it" (Schrift, 1997, p. 4).

Things, however, are not that simple. The point emphasized by philosophers and anthropologists writing on the concept of gifting is that the conventions for presenting and receiving the gift are a ways of reciprocating necessities and exchanging gifts with other gifts. This circulation of gifts is contingent upon obligatory conventions about reciprocating. Especially for Mauss, they are constitutive of religion, customs, societies and etiquette. Not accepting gifts means misbehavior, not reciprocating loss of status and defeat, and in potlatches, not giving gifts means being cursed (Mauss, 1967). These simple but functional gift rituals, which has played constitutive roles in societies from past to present, are applied in very similar ways in the nightlife. However, men are scared of the bill or the costs, they remain loyal to the principle of reciprocity and cannot step on the stage of the auction.

If hostesses are not invited to a table by some man, then, they themselves send a drink to a man; or, depending on the wealth of the man, they might send a fruit plate with candles on it or even a rolled cigarette sometimes. This show of generosity by the woman is a move akin to a chief's challenge to the other chief in a potlatch.

The woman's generosity has put the man's manhood at risk. At this point, the man must see and raise the woman's gift and invite her to his table and treat her with a much more expensive drink so that he does not only look like a man but is a genuine man.

As Serpil Sancar says, however, manhood is an impossible form of power (Sancar, 2011). That is to say, the man, by reciprocating the woman's gift has only gained an infinite verification but this is merely a message that says *I'm in the game*. The man is now on stage and there are other men on that stage, too.

In stepping up to the stage, he is faced with a new situation and shares Sisyphus's labor. The man now must own and look after the woman sitting beside him so that he is not crushed by other men. This craziness by men to prove themselves to other men turns women into a spending competition, wilder than that of the tribal chiefs during potlatch.

3.3.3 The hunter and impossible hunt

Nietzsche is known to have advised that "great indebtedness does not make men grateful, but vengeful; and if a little charity is not forgotten, it turns into a gnawing worm." (Schrift 1997; 4). He is aware of the perils of reciprocity. Mauss does no more than to describe these necessities in length, but it is Derrida who extends this thought to its logical conclusions. For Derrida, gifting is impossible precisely because of the necessity of reciprocating.

Once again, let us set out in fact from what is the simplest level and let us still entrust ourselves to this semantic pre-comprehension of the word "gift" in our language or in a few familiar languages. For there to be a gift, there must be no reciprocity, no return exchange, counter-gift, or debt. If the other gives me back or owes me or has to give me back what I give him or her, there will not have been a gift, whether this restitution is immediate or whether it is programmed by a complex calculation of a long-term deferral or difference. This is all too obvious if the other, the donee, gives me back immediately the same thing (Derrida, 1992, p. 12).

This impossibility presents a dangerous situation. In order to point out the dangers involved in the necessity of reciprocity and the related status games, Mauss underscores the ambivalent meaning of the etymology of “gift” in ancient languages:

The two meanings of “present” and “poison,” into which this single word has diverged in the different Germanic languages, seem so far removed from each other that etymologists find it difficult to explain the passage from one to the other and their common origin. The very destiny of the word differs according to the languages, the meaning of “poison” being almost the only one to be kept in modern German, the sense of “present” and “endowment” being the only ones maintained in English. Dutch has two words, one being neuter, the other feminine, for indicating “poison” and “present” or “dowry”, respectively. Here, one sense has eroded, there another, and nowhere is the semantic derivation clear. As far as I see it in the great etymological dictionaries of German and English, the Murray and the Kluge, no satisfactory explanation has been provided for it. The important remarks made by Hirt concerning the German “gift”, however, have to be taken into account. It is indeed clear that gift as “poison” is a euphemism resulting from a taboo concerning a word one was reluctant to use: just like in Latin, where *venenum* corresponds to *venesnom* (in German, Liebestrank). But why is it precisely the word gift and the idea of bestowal it evokes that have been chosen as symbols of poison? That is what still remains to be explained (Schrift, 1997, p. 20).

What makes the gift impossible, according to Derrida, and deadly, according to Mauss, is the very fact of its reciprocity and the related status giving power. If gift and manhood are both impossible, what does the man want from nightlife and the women in nightlife? The man sees a possibility in these two impossibilities. This possibility is the essence behind the appearance of womanizing: it is the possibility of hunting.

To return to the case of Halil Bey, the relationship he imagines is a relationship of a brothel. The moment of ejaculation and sexual pleasure is a more or less routine experience for the man that he can experience with his wife or with a woman in a brothel. However, the answers I got from nightlife frequenters to questions about crushing money usually associate nightlife with a hunting session.

For example, Genç Osman says:

A woman should be like a partridge. She will perch on that rock and then to the other, you will chase it. Anyone can enter the brothel. If you have money, no problem. But here, money has limited power. You must show skills, lie in ambush, will know how to say dear, sweetheart, you will cajole and you will hunt. (personal communication, June 2012 [1]) (See Appendix B, 4)

Similarly, Kör Ayhan says:

The pleasure of chasing women in this nightlife is like collective wild mushrooms from streams. Debauchery in brothels is not real debauchery. Excuse my language, but the woman lifts her legs and it feels like fucking a donkey. (Kör Ayhan, June 2012 [2]) (See Appendix B, 5)

The impossible gift of impossible manhood carries along an additional impossibility: impossible satisfaction. This is a hunt of impossibility in which the pleasure to chase endlessly is preferred over the satiation of catching.

These games of chasing and seduction are in fact made possible by women who know how to play the “show but don’t give” strategy, which is itself a part of the moral structure constructed by men. Among the women interviewed, Zalina and Gonul Hanim tell me that they did not listen to the word of their mother in the past but after finding themselves in nightlife, they have understood the significance of the “*show but don’t give*” advice given to them by their mothers. (personal communications, May 2011 [5], May 2011[3])

Although this hunting party costs a lot to the men trying, it also helps them to compete with other men in the hunting field. It keeps men from coming face to face with the culture of premature ejaculation described by Baudrillard and therefore is always attractive to men.

The goal here is both rest and mastery, according to a sort of stoic or skeptic ideal; it is apathy or the complete absence of desire that allows the man to reconstitute himself as a free subject and master. Libertinism is thus in no way a quest for fulfillment... it is not defined as a quest for fusion with the other, but rather as a search for the division between self and others, as well as within oneself...

Libertinism is thus not a quest for pleasure, but, paradoxically, an asceticism that attempts to deflect the dangers of fulfillment – excess of sensation, disappearance into the other, lack of distinction (Deneys, 1991, p. 50). In conclusion, the masculinity of the *paralı*, who is one of the most distinct types in nightlife, is based on a hegemonic system achieved through expenditure. However, during the process of expenditure, the value of exchange is not based on money but rather, on gift giving. This is because the *paralı* does not seek to achieve simply sexual intercourse in exchange for money. Rather, he seeks to spend money as much as he can in order to seduce women as much as he can and in this way, he aims to prove that he is superior to other men. As can be expected, this process is a kind of auction with a sad ending, as it leads to the *paralı*'s bankruptcy.

3.4 The *belalı* (The bully)

The second type of nightlife men is the one called the *belalı*. Men that belong to this type are always close to threat and trouble and in general terms they perform masculinity through the notion of suffering. This category is composed of roofless nomads, unpropertied men with no relatives, that travel from region to region after a woman and may become a bodyguard, a dishwasher, a driver, a waiter, or delivery boy, depending on the circumstances.

I will first analyze the *belalı* type according to their various nicknames because the nicknames can be regarded as a summary of the suffering and adventurous maturation process of these men. Then I will focus on how the *belalı* type combines its narrative with its performance. Lastly, I will analyze the pragmatist dimension of masculinity by focusing on how other men imitate the narrative of the *belalı* type.

As stated earlier, masculinity is not a monolithic concept and has many different shapes. Competitiveness (Atay, 2004, p. 11), greediness, desire for physical

power combined with sexuality, cursing against femininity and homosexuality (Butler 2003; Türker 2004) are several examples that can be regarded as forms of competition for hegemony that come about based on different levels of intensity and through different means. However, this kind of competition for hegemony which is based on acts of violence and suffering is harmful for the men themselves. Previous studies on militarism and soldiership reveal the suffering that marks the process of becoming masculine for men (Cohn 1993, Mater 1999, Selek, 2011).

Similar to the other masculinity types that try to establish masculinity based on pure violence, the belalı type is part of a suffering and troublesome process. He is obliged to undertake the precepts that the patriarchal world has prescribed to him and therefore he has to behave in a designated manner. Considering Atay's analysis, the belalı type's masculinity is harmful first and foremost to himself.

The belalı type has no family other than the woman that he is obsessed with and he has left his home and homeland. Even if, once upon a time, he had a rich family and a good income, he has lost all of them. His family has generally rejected him; after he has been fired or gone bankrupt, he begins to wander through the lands of Anatolia in the pursuit of a bedfellow. He is the guy whose family does not want to talk about him and whose fellow countrymen do not want to remember him. Except for societal life, he prefers to be one of the lords of the dark world. He is damned. Therefore, the man we called the belalı plays and arranges the cards to sustain himself forever over there; he has no cure except for being sharp, decisive and brave. He had had a great life experience for a short while and it turned into serious self-confidence.

The belalı, therefore, is a man who makes up himself with his suffering adventures. The suffering he faces in life and in prison makes him a mature man and

this suffering forms the background for his narrative, upon which he builds his masculinity.

3.4.1 Acquiring a name

Such a ripening process, as stressed by all of the writers who discuss ripening, is a suffering way with religious patterns (Bettelheim, 1968; Eliade, 1999). However, unlike religious ripening, as ripening of men is a suffering way, the main pattern is to heroize the men and to beautify them. For instance, Michael Clarke refers to Homer's well-known Iliad epic as an epic of bravery and the journey of a man to ripen (Clarke, 2004). Similarly, Jeremy Hawthorn handles the novels of Hemingway, Conrad and Lawrence, which have biographic features, as a ripening process of men in a way full of bravery and suffering. (Hawthorn, 2008)

To be a proper man is one of the crucial aspects of maintaining the masculinity regime of Turkey. This process begins with the circumcision (Selek 2011) and is strengthened during military service (Selek 2011, Mater 1999).

The process of being a man by ripening might be the boldest contour of the traditional and contemporary Turkish masculinity regime. According to Esra Akbalık, who writes on the issue, having a boy or born to be a man have long been the matter of honour in the Turkish tradition. Nevertheless, this honour does not give permission to be counted as a proper man that is to be achieved. This is a long and suffering process. The Tirse Oğlu Boğaç Han story represents this process. According to the story, even though he reaches puberty, the boy is not named. Whenever he shows his strength by overcoming a bull with his punch is he called Boğaç Han (Akbalık, 2014)

The masculinization process of the belalı is complemented by a nickname. This nickname is derived from his life story and the adventures he had during his life and

gives meaning to his narrative. Unlike his given name, the nickname of the belalı is a name that he deserves and has acquired as a result of his suffering, so it is crucial to his place in the masculine world. Therefore, the process of such naming or giving an epithet refers to what Seidler says about masculinity's empty space that waits to be filled up with strong matters (Seidler, 1994).

As a result, the masculinity of man primarily begins with the acquiring of his name. Initially, a name is given to that empty space and this name is taken from a fight or from a characteristic which impresses the place. Here is the story of Sezon (in Turkish, season):

Me: Why are you called as Sezon?

Sezon: You know, our job is full of troubles. However, I had a misfortune at the beginning. We have done a quick beginning, we are a bit amateurish and a little enthusiastic with the aim of keeping up with our appellation. Naturally, enthusiasm got us into jail several times. I am periodically a prisoner, and then I am released. After that guardians told me "you are at the prison for one season, and in another season you are out of the jail." Afterwards, because I frequently went to jail, they called me "Sezon", and it is kept on. (personal communication, May 2013 [2])

Me: Sir, why are you called Magirus?

Magirus: In truth, the current Mayor Mustafa Uysal named me that. You know, in Antalya there were Magirus minibuses in Doğu Garajı. Hooded-doored, it goes and comes slowly; also, however many passengers you take, he does not say "I won't take you." It does not go fast, but it carries a burden. Moreover, we carried too many of the loads of nightlife. And besides, no matter however many Magirus-like persons come; I fight with all of them, one, three, five, ten... It does not matter that I beat or if I am beaten; I get into a fight with all of them. Everyone already knows me here, the ones I fight are usually are foreigners. (personal communication, October 2013)

Me: Dear Molla, why are you named Molla?

Molla: Before I start to fight, I cursed without hesitating on a man's ancestry, his babies, his procreator, his concubines, his patients, his corpses. That is why...(personal communication, May 2013 [1])

Me: Why Deli Çoban?

Deli Çoban: I was a shepherd when I was young. As a matter of fact, I was a shepherd until just recently. I have come her with my sweat equity, but I haven't forgotten my past. (Deli Çoban 2013) (See Appendix B, 6)

To sum up, masculinity begins with the occupation of something, as it can be

understood from the statements above. One of the most important lines of masculinity is to perform some necessary norms and therefore, to write his name somewhere of the heroes' world, which is an indispensable notion of masculinity (Kimmel, 2000). However, the way of masculinity formed is through suffering. Immediately after infancy, starting with circumcision (Peltzer & Kanta 2009), going to the cemetery at night during secondary education, joining gangs, smoking and drinking, fighting for a sweetheart, fearing guns and knives, and narrating and listening to horror stories during nightlife of student dorms... all of them are the way of man to masculinize and ripen himself by hardening, being decisive and being encouraged.

3.4.2 Masculine performativity

Masculinity does not only refer to pure violence and a ripening process but at the same time it is a performance (Butler, 2003). For Butler, the gender performance is bodily and nonverbal. There is no such a stable and coherent place for gender identity. Hence gender is

a stylized repetition of acts . . . which are internally discontinuous . . . the appearance of substance is precisely that, a constructed identity, a performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the mode of belief (Butler, 2003, p. 61).

The belah type has to perform masculinity in a way that is in accordance with his adventures and narrative. According to Butler, this performance is a kind of impersonation:

“if gender is constructed, it is not necessarily constructed by an “I” or a “we” who stands before that construction in any spatial or temporal sense of “before.” Indeed, it is unclear that there can be an “I” or a “we” who had not been submitted, subjected to gender, where gendering is, among other things, the differentiating relationships by which speaking subjects come into being”(Butler, 1993, p. 7).

The belalı's performance in nightlife is preset no matter the fact that is its difficulty. This is because the belalı cannot establish his own subjectivity, as he is the subject of a narrative on the "correct way of doing things" and by becoming part of this narrative, he abandons his own subjectivity. "The act that one does, the act that one performs is, in a sense, an act that's been going on before one arrived on the scene" (Butler, 2003, p. 66). In this process of impersonation, the belalı's subjectivity becomes performative, as he acts as if he is on the stage and in front of an audience. Each of his actions is theatrical: sitting with women, sitting with men, sitting opposite his enemies, sitting next to his friends, drinking, choosing what to drink, dancing or not dancing, counting his beads, smoking or taking cigarettes, the style of talking to men-women-friends-enemies all are the roles which were memorized or stolen stereotype roles. His life is his scene, and his masculinity is the role of his life. His clothes are costumes; he does not put on what he does not like. His shaving is like a scene make-up, "he does not have a haircut like gays, and he does not fasten a buckle like faggots."¹⁹ (Molla, 2013). If he has to put on jewelry, he wears a ring with a stone or a knight necklace.

To sum up so far, the belalı is a person who has an adventurous life. In terms of this life, he matures. Through this ripening process, the belalı acquires a nickname which summarizes his way of life. Moreover, his adventurous life and cool nickname should be supported by a performative set-up which is repetitive and temporal. Yet his narrative and performance are likely to be stolen by a counterfeit belalı.

3.4.3 A counterfeit belalı:

It is not possible for every man to sustain the masculinity performance in which the

¹⁹ "O ibneler gibi saçını kesemez, ve yavşak göt oğlanları gibi perçem bırakamaz"

the masculinity world raises and hardens as such or to render masculinity as a cause. However, while thinking of the places in which the privileges of the masculine world is eligible for the ones who walk in such a suffering way and especially if there are lots of women in such nightlife, what should the other ones this beautiful world do? Of course, they should lie, and they should deceive themselves to those lies.

In *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, Sabahattin Ali narrates the story of a man who has to accidentally become a hero (Ali, 2001). In that work, even though the protagonist is actually a prosaic person, he is forced to be rowdy and act like that. In this novel, Sabahattin Ali takes the notions of what a man has to perform, which are sharpness, cruelty, manliness cruelty etc. and narrates them with black humor. This affair of the counterfeit belalı in nightlife is not a kind of accidental humor or being forced to act rowdy just like in Sabahattin Ali's story, but it is an affair which is constantly misused by the men who want to benefit from the reputation of the *bully*. What Genç Osman says is not exceptional, but it may be representative:

Now, I have entered into the place, and I have to charm a chick, but how? Everyone follows her. Then, I glance at the surroundings, what are the chicks in the place searching for? Do they chase money? Do they chase hashish? Or are they anxious? I play a role according to the conditions. As you see, I ramble in a style of being unkempt; hair and beard jumble into each other. I don't care how I dress. The one who does not know me outside may not imagine that I am a father. A contribution to the place? I don't suddenly call a woman, I sit at first, I don't talk to anybody, I look at a point. Psychopath account. Then I light a cigarette. But I don't light a cigarette like a cigar, but as if it were full of hashish by taking it interdigitally; I smoke it wholeheartedly. Then a chick suddenly jumps in at the deep end by asking whether it is hashish or not. The rest is already easy. The inside does not contains hashish, but we go to find some together; and then we find it and hang out²⁰ (personal communication, June 2012 [1]) (See Appendix B, 7)

This belalı performance is not exceptional. Another example:

20 «»

I liked a woman. I wanted raki. Big wheels drink raki, and roasted chickpeas with it. Then I invited the woman. We were drinking and so forth. Then I called the waiter and I said, “when the aynasizlars come, inform me. Let me hop off” by saying it to the ears of the waiter, but in the manner of woman to hear. Then, of course the woman began to ask suddenly “What is wrong? Is there something bad?” Then I responded, “no, it’s alright; but, in the last few days we shot up a place, and I am wanted.” However, there is no one who looks for me or anyone else. Then, of course the woman started to get closer to me, saying that “If this guy is so altruistic that he can shoot a place, he may protect me too.” Then, of course we hung out for a time. I realized that the woman was trying to push forward the relationship, she called up me every day. Then my wife began to fuss. Then I had never gone to the place until she went (personal communication, June 2012 [4]) (See Appendix B, 8)

What these narrations show is that masculinity, either real or counterfeit, is very performative and these performances have close relationships with the pragmatic mind of manhood.

Moreover, there is a proximate relationship between wounds and masculinity (Gabriel, 2012). Witnessing his bravery and courage, wounds supply fame to masculinity as to be honor medals of the body, and the rewards of rank. Hence, not only faces the belalı poses are stolen by counterfeit belalı but their wounds are also stolen:

Br’er, these women are mad about wounded men. If you have a wounded organ, she becomes more affectionate and says “there may be something wrong with that.” Nightlife likes such happenings. You know, we talked about it previously. When I am squeezed, I say “today is my birthday; tomorrow I will go in to the jail. Let’s sleep together tonight”; or sometimes I get tincture of iodine from the pharmacy, and I pour it to my hand. After doing that I bandage it as if something had really happened. After we take the pose of having raki and cigars sorrowfully in the place, women become madly fond of me. It is certainly possible to bring a woman into bed during such nights. For that matter, once women got into a fight over me (personal communication, June 2012) (See Appendix B, 9).

Again, one of the well-known characters of the places Alihsan states that:

...with the aim of impressing the woman I like, I went to toilet and scratched my arm, and then I came there again posing as if I cut my arm. I have continued to state that the night had a happy end. But after

this happening, my arm was hurting so much, and because it was difficult to explain it to my wife I never did such an action anymore.” (Erbay, 2012) (See Appendix B, 10)

Sometimes, the counterfeit belalı may play other roles: “*If a chick enters into the place, I certainly introduce myself as if I were from Diyarbakır*”²¹ (personal communication, June 2012 [2])

Once, my friends tried to do an ID control over the area where we were posing as undercover cops; I stood up and boxed their ears by saying “how can you ask ID cards from the women next to me?” Then our cops said “I beg your pardon, we didn’t recognize you” and left (personal communication, May 2012 [1]) (See Appendix B, 11).

As a result, the guy we called belalı is “a man who wastes the fake life for the sake of a cause.”²² (personal communication, March 2012). He does not pursue hunting women like the paralı. What matters is “to become famous in this mortal life”²³ (personal communication, March 2012). In other words, the most important thing for a belalı is his own masculine fame. He does not seek pleasure or money. He is only motivated by his aim to articulate his own masculinity in nightlife. For this purpose, he lives in a world of suffering and danger, and he deserves his nickname. But it is not enough for him to have a nickname. This man, who has suffered a lot and gained a nickname, has to perform his masculinity in order to protect his name in nightlife. His performance must be good enough to distinguish him from other men. The belalı’s behavior, the way he holds his drink and cigarette, the way he holds his beads, the way he fights, and even the way he dances, all have to be totally different from the way other men behave. His disposition as fearless to fight, his toughness and his suffering in life are not preferred by most of the men in nightlife. At the same time, many of the men in nightlife are aware of how hostesses sympathize with the

²¹ “Yavru içeriye girdiği zaman, kendimi Diyarbakırlıymışım gibi tanıtırım”

²² “Yalan dünyayı bir dava uğruna harcayan erkektir ”

²³ “Bu fani dünyaya nam salmak.”

belalı and, they try to imitate this tough-guy performance and exploit it for their own sake. In sum, the belalı puts forward a performance of suffering and is being imitated most by other men in nightlife.

3.5 The yakışıklı (The handsome one)

In previous sections I analyzed boredom in the province and focused on men that seek to overcome this boredom, the managers that provide the space for the situation of boredom, the belalı type who protects the nightlife, and the paralı who sponsors it.

These subjects of the nightlife form rituals, stereotypes, and behavioral patterns are shaped based on the relationships that they establish with women and other men in the nightlife. I will now try to analyze the relationships that constitute the nightlife and the peculiar subjectivity that lies behind these relations. The yakışıklı type is the third masculine type that is definitive for the constitution of the provincial nightlife and especially of the masculine relationships in provincial nightlife.

The good looks of the yakışıklı type are not related to his handsome appearance or his charisma. This type is regarded as yakışıklı for not conforming to the parameters of the handsome men that are defined by the field of fashion, art, cinema, or sports. The reason this type is regarded as yakışıklı is related to the excess he acquires thanks to his characteristic state of exception owed to the fact that he has access to women's bodies.

In this section I will analyze the yakışıklı type based on the impact of his privileged position on relationships in nightlife. The yakışıklı's position and his agency will be taken hand through narrations of hostesses and others who are yakışıklı. The position of the yakışıklı in nightlife has two effects on relationships. The first one is the constructive effect. In the analysis of the constructive effect, I divide the body of the hostess into two analytical categories: erotic and sexual. The

erotic body is open to public access and it is a fetish object existing in the minds of men. The sexual body is of exceptional access and the man who has access to it acquires the status of *yakışıklı*. Based on this, this section analyzes the kind of relationships the founder role of the *yakışıklı* type has, which is itself created by the woman's body, established in nightlife and how it is itself constituted by nightlife relationships.

The second effect is the destructive effect. The fact that the nightlife is in existence does not mean that men are sovereign in nightlife. Despite being the founder subject of nightlife, the *yakışıklı* is not the primary component of it. The fact that the *yakışıklı* type is an outsider, or is a character recruited by the woman from outside the nightclub means that the hostess resignates the masculine relationships in nightlife. On the other hand, the woman does not incorporate the *yakışıklı* into nightlife just to negate the masculine relationships in nightlife. Rather, the woman envisions her relationship with the *yakışıklı* as a space of love and freedom. However, this type, which is the product of the woman herself, destroys the relationships that are part of the space of freedom that she has created for herself. Therefore, the second issue that is the focus for this section is the subjectivity that the woman has created in order to solve the masculine relationships which, while on the one hand destroys the relationships imposed by the *paralı* and the *belalı*, and on the other hand, it establishes a space of pleasure for itself. This subject, i.e. the *yakışıklı*, while resignating the masculine hegemony, produces a space of exploitation of the hostess herself.

3.5.1 The bodies of hostesses

Hunt (2003), in one of her studies on the French Revolution, talks about the bodies of Marie Antoinette. According to Hunt, Marie Antoinette had different bodies that

resemble political, pornographic, and mythological animals. These bodies were configured by different subjects with different aims and were generally part and subject of a political struggle. In a similar vein, we may talk about the different bodies of the hostess. Here I distinguish between the erotic and the sexual body of the hostess.

For the construction of nightlife, these two bodies have to first be separated and then re-associated with each other through a subject that is not closely related to nightlife (the most crucial characteristic of a hostess and what distinguishes a hostess from a prostitute, is that her body is not configured in sexual terms only but also in erotic terms and that she limits sexuality to an option). However, these two bodies cannot be in existence as two inherently separate worlds. While the woman herself establishes the erotic body, she needs another subject in order to establish the sexual body which she needs for the articulation of the erotic body. This subject is the *yakışıklı*. The next section focuses first on the erotic body and then on the sexual body and their constitution.

3.5.2 The erotic body and the construction of nightlife

The construction of the bodies is defined by the way they are used. While the erotic body has public access, the sexual body is accessible only exceptionally.

The construction of the erotic body begins with the woman's sexual closure of her body to her clients and the hiding of her body in a transparent truth. This transparent truth is the erotic performance of the "show" aspect of the basic principle of nightlife: "show but do not give".

This performance is accompanied by *décolleté* and transparent dresses and exaggerated make-up. The erotic body is articulated on all occasions through an erotic way of sitting that makes visible her erotic underwear, a body language that

activates fantasies, an inviting glance, dressing, and make-up. Like dresses, make-up, and poses, genre is also a crucial factor for activating fantasies. The slang expressions and the language used are full of expressions that have erotic connotations.

What makes all these erotic is the inaccessible body of the woman that is hidden behind the transparent truth. In other words, it is not what the woman shows, but what she veils that makes her body erotic. Fantasy is interested in what is hidden and not what is visible and this is the place where there is a race among men. It is for these inaccessible bodies that wealth is fired and bullies lose their lives.

However, the erotic body cannot exist only through one-way hiding. As in the lottery metaphor, who would play a lottery if there was no prize?

At this point, the sexual body of the hostess, which gives life to the erotic body, enters the game. The hostess, first of all, finds a lover within the space of her everyday life. While this may not always be the case, the hostess's lover is not one of the employees in the nightclub or one of her customers. This is because in the first case, i.e. if her lover is one of the employees, her body may turn into a slave body, and in the second case, i.e. if her lover is one of her customers, she may enter into kinship relationships with her other customers. Both occasions will mean failure for her. Accordingly, the person that constitutes her sexual body and that gives meaning to her erotic body should not be an actor from the nightlife.

The yakışıklı gains importance at this very point, the space where the erotic body of the woman meets her sexual body. This type is generally chosen from subjects that "touch" nightlife but that do not have organic links with it, such as the manager of a cafe that the woman frequents, the waiter of a restaurant, the ticket

seller where the woman buys bus tickets, the receptionist in the hotel and men like those.

This process resembles the situation of money in Marx's commodity exchange analysis. While all commodities are related to each other, what makes them equal to each other should be something independent from them. This is the banknote that it does not have a value by itself but it represents all the values (Marx, 1973). This is also the case with the yakışıklı. He does not have money like the paralı, nor does he have the power for solving problems, as it is the case with the belalı. His nothingness and his position of being outside the nightclub increase his fortune and give him the opportunity to establish relationships in nightlife.

3.5.3 The sexual body and the fabrication of excess

To summarize what has been discussed above, the woman saves her body from becoming a pornographic commodity by hiding it behind a transparent truth and playing the game of "show but do not give" while fabricating her body as an erotic-fetish object. It is the ability and skill of the woman in this process that leads to harsh competition among men. However, the erotic body cannot work by itself and it can only be strengthened and consolidated through the woman's sexual experiences. At this point the yakışıklı, who does not have organic relationships with nightlife but who is in contact with it, enters the game.

This subject is chosen by the woman who gives access to her sexual body. This access gives the yakışıklı a position and state of exception that affects all the relationships in nightlife.

From what is discussed above, we may argue that the yakışıklı is created by the sexual body of the woman. This situation gives him more strength than the men who seek to gain a place in nightlife through their physical force or through their money.

Let us now discuss what the sexual body means and then what makes it possible for the yakışıklı to exist.

The sexual body of the woman is first and foremost related to her sexual experiences, but it is something more than that. The issue is not confined to sexuality, as we know most of those men in nightlife are married or they frequent to whorehouses. Accordingly, while the sexual body includes sexual experience, it is beyond that. In other words, the sexual body refers to a position attached to sexual experience but is not defined by it.

Studies on masculinity emphasize the relationship between masculinity and privilege. According to many researchers, being born as a man constitutes in itself a privilege and men acquire other privileges within the social structure in which they live (Kimmel, 2000; Kimmel, 2008). In this case, men in nightlife mostly struggle for the privilege of having access to the sexual body of women. What is meant by the sexual body is both to own the woman's body and the privilege of owning that body. Therefore, what men in nightlife seek to own is the privilege of having access to the woman's body rather than possessing the woman's body itself. This privileged position is held by the yakışıklı who, while he is not part of nightlife, thanks to this position, he becomes the trigger for some relations.

How does this trigger come about? First of all, he has acquired the access to what every man seeks to acquire. This access is the exception in nightlife and, at the same time, this access is foundational for nightlife.

According to Carl Schmitt, who has thought a lot about the concept of exception, the law is constituted through exception (Schmitt, 2005). He who decides what an exception is and when it takes place is called the sovereign. Consequently, despite the efforts of the paralı and the belalı, it is the hostesses that define nightlife

by establishing the *yakışıklı* through granting access to her sexual body and, accordingly, defining the exception. The *yakışıklı* acquires a surplus through the position that is given to him by the hostess.

Thanks to this surplus and his exceptional access, the *yakışıklı* acquires a constructive role. However, this is not a voluntary role and in most cases, the *yakışıklı* is not aware of his position. All the rituals and performances that other actors in nightlife perform are nothing more than an effort to obtain the privileges of the *yakışıklı*. The *paralı* spends more money and the *belalı* lets himself bleed more with the sole aim of acquiring exception and privilege. However, all these actions become fruitless because neither the *paralı* nor the *belalı* can acquire the woman's soul and body.

3.5.4 The *yakışıklı*: From construction to destruction

Summarizing what I have discussed thus far regarding the subjectivity of the *yakışıklı*, owning the privilege of access to the sexual body of the hostess, the *yakışıklı* owns a privilege that other actors in nightlife also seek to obtain. All the rituals taking place in nightlife aim at this privilege and the subjectivities seek to acquire this privilege. However, the relationships of nightlife which are men's seduction endeavors and women's show-but-do-not-give attitudes, do not permit its subjects to have such a privilege and consequently, a subject from outside the nightlife acquires the privilege. The woman's choice not only leads to increased competition as a result of anger and jealousy among men but, more importantly, destroys the world of the men who seek to become sovereign in nightlife. The destruction is not limited to the men's world. The relationality that the woman seeks to establish with the *yakışıklı* as a space of pure love and liberty leads to her

destruction in material and psychological terms. I am now going to focus on the yakışıklı's destructive impact.

As discussed earlier, material concerns form the basis of the hostesses' disempowerment of men. In order for the hostess to earn money, she seeks to establish a relationship with someone outside of her customer circle and of the employees of the nightclub so that, at least symbolically, there is not formed any "sister-in-law" (yenge) relationship. One of the most crucial rules of masculinity that men seem to care about but in reality they enjoy being out of the rule is not to have intimate relationships with a friend's girlfriend ("sister-in-law"). This rule seems to be valid in rural nightlife and among their men. If a woman is a lover of someone, the other men who are closer friends of the man might not invite the woman, hence, the woman might gain lesser daily wage. Yet, beyond this wage stuff, it seems there is deeper matter in the presenting of yakışıklı. It seems that the hostess's relationship with the yakışıklı is related also to the notion of revenge. For hostesses, having a relationship with the yakışıklı is a way of beating the masculine rules that humiliate them and seems like a good way of taking revenge on them. Let us now analyze this issue in more detail.

A common theme the hostesses talked about is "being no one's commodity" (personal communications, July 2011, May 2011[3] and May 2011 [5]). It is not only financial considerations that motivate these women to enter into a relationship with someone outside the nightlife. The women, even if they are not able to declare it openly, are aware of the fact that the paralı or the belalı types enter into a relationship of exchange with them through money or physical force. For example, one of the women we talked to, Japon, answers the question of why she does not hang out with her wealthy customers by saying,

Only because they order five drinks they think that I am their slave. Why should I hang out with them? They pay a lot of money - it would better if they didn't - but I put up with their big bellies and their bad breath. They touch my body and they say inappropriate things to me. Also, I do not tell anyone that I am going to have sex (personal communication, July 2011) (See Appendix B, 12)

According to Japan and other women, they settle accounts with their customers as a result of an exchange taking place (i.e. in exchange for the customer's money, the woman's tolerating his badly-shaped body and his distorted fantasies). However, again, according to them there is no reason for continuing this relationship outside the nightclub. This is because the man sees the hostess as a commodity and accordingly establishes a relationship based on this. The hostesses are aware of this situation and, by labelling the time they spend with the customers as "tolerating", they give value to it and in this way they think that have settled their accounts with them.

What the woman supplies and what the man seeks in exchange are highly complex expectations open to negotiation. The man invests money or gets into trouble in order to acquire the privilege of getting access to the woman's sexual body. The woman thinks that she has settled her account with the customer by tolerating a rude man's fantasies and distorted thinking and spending time with him by sitting at the same table. The man, on the other hand, thinks that he should get more in exchange to the money he pays. However, the rules of the nightlife and the 'show but do not give' game that is the only way the woman can earn money, do not let him for more.

The turning of this process in favor of the woman renders the man, at least rhetorically, even more ugly. The men, feeling self-confident for having paid money, seek to do whatever they like to the woman. Being unable to do what they want, they strike out, insult and humiliate the woman. One of the central complaints of the

women is that they are subject to humiliation and abuses by the customers sitting at the table. On this issue, Gonul Hanim says,

I decide who will touch my body... Rude men, they are not aware of the female spirit, they expect that I will become his possession just because he ordered a drink, and when they do not get what they expect they start humiliating me by saying that I am a prostitute, liar, bitch and whatever... In fact, I can have him beaten but since we are trades people, it is not a good thing to do...(personal communication, May 2011 [3]) (See Appendix B, 13)

Therefore, it is the greatest insult to the *paralı* and the *belalı* that the woman gets into a relationship with an ordinary, insignificant, poor young man. It is the best option for the woman who tries to get out of relationships that are imposed upon them by destroying them.

For example, at the time of our discussion, Japon was hanging out with a poor, calm, young taxi driver. When I asked her why she chose him she said, “He is a *yakışıklı* and decent guy, when I would get into his taxi he treated me nicely, he was shy, and I thought he was a wretch so I wanted to do him a favor...”²⁴(personal communication, July 2011)

In sum, even if women adopt the nightlife slang genre while they are in a masculine environment and even if it looks like they have internalized nightlife, in their minds they dream for a delicate love-affection space and they attach sexuality to this space of delicacy. They offer their sexual world, which seems as if it is open to everyone but in fact it is not, to the one that they think that deserves it most. While this offer is designed as a gift for the one that deserves it, it also symbolizes a kind of revenge on those that try to obtain it through simple means. If we consider that men

²⁴ “Efendi *yakışıklı* bir çocuk, arabasına bindiğim zamanlarda bana insan gibi davranıyordu, benimle konuşurken yüzü kızarıyordu, bir de düşündüm gariban çocuk, hayrım olsun dedim (gülerek) verdim gitti...”

tend to talk about hostesses by labeling them as ingrates, liars, or prostitutes, it seems that the revenge has been successful.

3.5.5 The destruction of the sovereignty of the woman

The hostesses, primarily due to material reasons, but also because the actors in nightlife regard them as unworthy commodities, seek to enter into relationships outside the nightclub with people that they find to be more naive. The *yakışıklı*, who resets the nightlife and the power of the men in the nightlife from the very point that they try to establish their power, also destroys the sovereignty of the woman. Let me now analyze how this destruction takes place.

One of the reasons hostesses enter into a relationship with persons who lack a distinctive character and who are unqualified is that they regard them as a *tabula rasa*, and that they can give shape to them as they wish. In other words, they seek to create their long-dreamed lovers as they imagined them in their dreams. However, this lover-creation project leads to a double subordination. As the woman commodifies the man in bodily terms, the man begins to abuse the woman financially. I will now analyze the hostess's love that leads to such a process.

The woman generally chooses as a lover a young man outside the nightclub who is *yakışıklı* and generally penniless. She tries to raise this young man and create her dream lover out of him. Therefore, the *yakışıklı* is first and foremost a project for the hostess. For this, the hostess gives money to the *yakışıklı*, buys him gifts, becomes his guarantor when needed, and she might even buy him a motorcycle, a car, or a house if it is needed so that he improves himself. In this case, the love of the hostess is intended to indulge in the *yakışıklı*.

The most important reason for this is that, due to the impoverished background of the hostesses, there is an incomplete love story in their past. By pampering the

yakışıklı, the hostess takes revenge not only on the men in nightlife but also on their impoverished adolescence. Through the project-lover, they try to complement the incomplete love story of their past. In order to do this, they try to liken the yakışıklı to their past lover, and even sometimes they name the yakışıklı after their past lover, they furnish a house as a substitute for the unfulfilled dream of the house that they would have lived had they been married ... Therefore, giving everything to their love is not only an ongoing project for them but also has the function of fulfilling incomplete projects of their past.

On the other hand, even if the hostess does not seek to clear an account of her past, she seeks to be the dominant party in her relationship with the yakışıklı. She wants the yakışıklı to dress in the way she wants, use the perfume she wants, shave the way she wants and go only to the places she allows him to go. While the hostess's love for the yakışıklı creates a space of freedom for her, at the same time this establishes a power relationship and a space of repression towards her lover.

The hostess's love towards the yakışıklı is seemingly a cordial love. However, what the hostess regards as love towards her lover is a space of a power relationship. The hostess's behavioral pattern results from the gift-giving ethic that the hostess has learned from the paralı.

3.5.6 From project-lover to macho man

It does not take long for the yakışıklı to realize the situation he finds himself in and he changes to a standard man. First of all, this quiet man becomes conscious of his masculinity thanks to the woman and her social environment. He quickly digests gender rules and realizes that it is compulsory for him to exploit the woman.

The young man first gets used to luxury and then womanizing. He quits his previous life and begins a lumpen life. More importantly, he finds a younger and

more beautiful lover and he spends the remaining money of what the hostess gives to him on his new lover (after spending the main portion of it on gambling and luxury).

The yakışıklı challenges the hostess at the very point where he finds a new lover and applies the subordination rules he learnt from her to his new lover. As such, he transforms himself to a macho man, as is the case with the other actors of nightlife. In this way, the hostess's project-lover that she designed as a space of freedom and power for herself, crashes, along with her financial situation.

3.6 Conclusion

In this study masculinity is analyzed as a series of relationalities that men in nightlife establish among themselves or with hostesses with the aim of responding to the expectation of overcoming the closure in provincial nightlife.

As I explained in the introduction chapter, the province was depicted as a space of boredom and was sidelined as a space outside of the world of the modern cities and the entertainment industry. Nightclubs, as entertainment places in the provinces, provide the men a space for escaping from this boring world by offering modern entertainment and women who have the outward appearance of an urbanite. Beyond escaping provincial boredom, provincial nightlife provides men a space for hegemony and status.

While this study benefits from academic studies on masculinity and the relationalities in which men engage with other men in search of hegemony and status, it diverges significantly from these studies. In the everyday life of men, the search for hegemony and status is analyzed within the framework of a man's profession, income and, related to these, his social status, family background, religious-national-sectarian background and skin color. However, the social hierarchy that forms the basis for everyday social status and hegemony is not

sufficient for becoming an actor in nightlife.

Nightlife has its own discourse and methods and is based on its own economic system, it has its own strict employee/manager/customer/frequent profile. This profile is defined by the relationalities that men and women in nightlife have established among these relations. It seems impossible for men to find a place in nightlife if they remain outside those defined relationalities.

The typologies that I put forward in this study — *paralı*, *belalı*, *yakışıklı* — are the products of the struggle for hegemony and status that form the basis for the relationalities mentioned above.

The *paralı* type finds a place in nightlife through spending. However, he may contribute to nightlife intimacy to the extent that he spends in the form of gift-giving rather than spending money. In this way, he achieves a higher status compared to other men and he avoids being regarded as mannerless. The *paralı* does not seek regular sexual intercourse with women. Rather, he aims at what I have termed in this study an impossible hunt, which is a more erotic and devil-may-care experience. This experience is a kind of masculinity auction that aims at articulating one's fame and beating the other in the race of spending with other men. This process generally ends in the bankruptcy of *paralı*.

The *belalı*, on the other hand, is generally not a customer but the 'friend' of a hostess or her bodyguard. This type tries to achieve hegemonic status through adventurousness and through the notion of suffering. The *belalı* tries to strengthen his name, which he achieved as a result of trouble-making and adventure, rather than to reach the woman and enter into sexual intercourse. He achieves this articulation through his performance as a badass. This performance is highly admired in nightlife. Other customers, who are aware of women's admiration towards this type,

exhibit the performance and discourse of belalı in order to seduce them.

The third type, the yakışıklı, is not an organic part of nightlife. He may be the owner or employee of one of the businesses at the periphery of nightlife or he may be a taxi driver, a bus driver, or a hotel employee. This situation of being an outsider is firmed up by another characteristic: a yakışıklı is at the same time an insignificant person. The fact that this type is chosen from among insignificant outsiders is related to the prerequisites of nightlife. First of all, the woman has to have a lover from among the actors within the nightlife and then, she chooses an insignificant person whom she may shape as she wishes. This person, who is included in the game by the woman, transforms the woman to a true sex object in the eyes of nightlife frequenters, which makes her seem more erotic. At the same time, thanks to this insignificant person, the woman dismisses the rules of the hegemonic masculine world and takes revenge on them. She transforms into a space of pleasure not only her sexual experience with the yakışıklı, but the whole process of dismissal of hegemonic masculinity rules. However, the woman manages her relationship with yakışıklı in the ways she learnt from men, and she indulges him by giving him money and too much love. In this process, while the insignificant boy transforms himself into a macho man, the woman goes bankrupt at the end of the relationship.

This is the general framework of the masculinity typologies that are established as a response to the promise of provincial nightlife for a modern entertainment and that form these kinds of relationalities within this nightlife. However, nightlife in the province is not limited to performance for status and hegemony by bored provincial men who are in search of a modern and entertaining world. What constitutes the imagination for escaping from provincial boredom and an experience of modern entertainment are the women in nightlife: the hostesses. Let me now focus on how

the hostess has emerged as a subjectivity and a profession and the tactics that she uses in order to survive within the dangerous nightlife.

CHAPTER 4

THE HOSTESSES

4.1 Introduction

The hostesses are women who are "hired" by the managers to "chat" with customers. They sit at a table allotted to them, wearing make-up and décolleté dresses. They "welcome" customers and with a warm "handshake", and after this short introduction and greeting, they return to their tables. The customers then tell to the waiter which hostess they like and call her to sit with him. Then a conversation begins between the hostess and the customer, the content of which has been discussed in the masculinity chapter earlier. It should be pointed out that, while for men the chat is regarded as part of the effort to womanize, for the hostess it means quantifying time in exchange for money, leading to the commodification of her time. A glass of alcohol is exchanged for 10 to 15 minutes of chatting, while a bottle is worth for 20 minutes of sitting at the table and chatting with the customer. However, even if women and men drink the same amount of alcohol, the price paid is different. For example, if a man consumes a glass of beer it will cost him 10TL, while in case he orders the same beer for a woman, it costs him 50 to 70TL. This is because what the woman drinks contains her day's wage and also the income of the nightclub. While the woman's daily wage is defined by the drink the customer orders for her, the amount of money she gets in the end depends on her juvenility, beauty, her vivaciousness and attractiveness. Some of the hostesses are paid only for the drinks they get after the first five, others get a standard daily payment and do not count the drinks, and those who are more beautiful and popular are paid for each drink and they also get a separate daily payment.

The income of the women is not only dependent on their personal talents. Provincial nightclubs are generally situated in rural areas where agricultural is dominant. Considering this situation, and with the aim of raising their income, these women work based on a rotating system that follows harvest periods. They prefer being in the Black Sea region during winter when it is fishing season, in Anamur when it is banana harvest season, in Antalya's Kumluca and Kınık counties during tomato harvest season, in Burdur and Denizli during beet and aniseed season, and in various places in the Aegean Region at times of the olive, fig, and tobacco season.

There are several reasons that make these women the main subjects of provincial nightlife, including the fact that these women are able to turn the time into a commodity; that they give the opportunity to provincial men to escape from provincial boredom; they look modern and present themselves as 'city women'; and that they, knowing where and when they are able to earn more money and so follow the harvest periods. All these factors contribute to their importance in nightlife.

In the interviews I conducted, what men generally say about women in nightlife is that they are nefarious, immoral, and unreliable. There are even those who create a link between prostitution and primordial blood bonds and genes, by arguing for the '*inevitability of prostitution*'. People living in Çavdır, especially the family members of the frequent visitors of nightlife, regard hostesses as extremely bad people. The hostesses are aware of the feelings the community and the customers rally against them. Maybe this is why in the interviews the first thing that they say is the 'We are not bad people but that we are ordinary' (personal communications, July 2011, May 2011[3], May 2011 [1] and June 2011 [1]). However, it is clear that these ordinary women live extraordinary lives.

Let me now focus on the other subjects of provincial nightlife — the women — and their life stories and the tactics that they use in order to get by both in nightlife and in their everyday lives.

4.2 Arguments

The lives of these women are considerably difficult, risky, and burdensome. They constantly have to deal with the fantasies of drunken men and their patriarchal moral judgments. The findings of my ethnographic research and interviews reveal that at the heart of the life stories of these women lies in poverty stories. The poverty in question here is radically different from the poverty of the Early Republican period or from that of the shanty houses in the 1970s. Both in Turkey and elsewhere in the world in general, the neoliberal transformation is closely related to the deepening of the position of the financial capital and of the indebtedness of families. Accordingly, in the analysis of the women, I will first elaborate on the new structure of poverty in neoliberal Turkey (Keyder 1993, Öniş & Ercan 2001), the over-use of credit cards and personal loans (Lazzarato, 2012), and lastly, how poverty based on indebtedness has impacted the lives of the women living in the suburbs and has led to a new kind of subjectivity between grievance and subjectness.

The second problematic issue of this chapter is the question of how these women try to survive in capitalist indebtedness and patriarchal morality. I will try to analyze the formation of subjectivity through the artful tactics that they use in order to survive (such as telling stories, being crafty, taking precautions so that they do not get drunk, etc.). Elaborating on these survival tactics and formation of hostess subjectivity, De Certeau's (1984) analyzes which everyday practices of commoners to dismiss master strategic plan of capitalist circle and subaltern school's *quiet resistance* approach will be used as the main theoretical frame of this chapter.

The hostesses come from a poor background and therefore they are ready to use any tactic in order to survive among men and even in order to oppress them. They live difficult and extraordinary lives in the province. At the same time, they try to sustain their ordinary everyday lives. Their subjectivities are shaped and change under these conditions. However, I will argue that the survival tactics and sustainability of the hostess's profession are not unlimited. Their destitute background and their risky everyday lives impinge the bodies of these women and determine the limits of their subjectivities. These frontiers are established partly due to the smell of their bodies and partly the marks left on their bodies as a result of previous fights, childbirth and the period of confinement after childbirth, and as a result of accidents. On the other hand, these frontiers are not defined in geographical terms, as was the case with the pre-modern times. Women are no longer evil spirits that live in deserted places in quarantine. In this section, the frontiers that are formed based on their smell and the marks on their bodies that restrict them in time and space will be analyzed within the framework of Marry Douglas's (1988) concept of purity. The concept of purity is seen important in terms of the establishment of the society and the sensitization of its limits.

4.3 Poverty: Beyond goodness and malignity

The period before the 28 February 1997 crisis, between 1990 and 2000, in each of the districts of Gölhisar, Çavdır, Dirmil, Acıpayam (the maximum distance between them is 15-20 km) there was one nightclub, four in total. In that period, women were allowed to work in these nightclubs as singers or belly dancers and were strictly forbidden from sitting at the same table with customers. Accordingly, in each of the nightclubs there were 3-4 job positions for women (belly dancers and singers) and around 10 for men (bodyguards, waiters, dishwashers, waiting man, and the

manager). After the crisis in the early 2000s, this situation changed radically. Now the number of nightclubs in each district is 10 in Golhisar, 3 in Çavdır, 4 in Acipayam and also 3 more cafe-bars in other districts (Karamanli and Tefenni) where hostesses work. Considering that in each of these nightclubs and cafe-bars 10 women and men work, we may say that at least 500 men and women work in this sector in the Golhisar-Çavdır area where this study focuses.

With the exception of one, all the women I talked to were born in a village or a small town. All of them, either while they were living with their parents or after they got married, moved to a big city and lived in shanty houses or in poor neighborhoods. While they struggled with poverty as workers in informal sectors or as housewives, they met with women or men that invited them to nightlife. While the Georgian and Dagestani hostesses that I talked to experienced poverty as a result of the economic chaos after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, their demographic background and narrative was the same. These hostesses were born in rural areas too, were also trapped in debt, and as a result came to Turkey to earn some money. Those who managed to learn Turkish have preferred working as hostesses rather than prostitutes (which is more risky). Among the women that I talked to, only one, A. Hanim, who was born in Hamburg, does not fit the overall profile. She was married and came to Turkey, then got divorced, and after that, because she could not move back to Germany and did not have a profession, she started working as a hostess (personal communication, May 2011 [1]).

All the women that I interviewed talked about the hardships of nightlife and the most common statement during the interviews was the “bad breath of the men and the boss” (personal communications, July 2011, May 2011[3], May 2011, June 2011 [2] and June 2011 [1]). They tend to summarize the difficulties, risks, dangers, and

patriarchy of nightlife by this phrase. So, why do women tolerate the bad breath of those people? My research reveals that those women's entrance to and staying in nightlife largely stem from the recent forms of poverty in Turkey.

In this part I will first focus briefly on the recent poverty context in Turkey. Later, I will focus on the narrowing of the formal sector and the socialization of indebtedness and the subsequent expansion of the informal sector. By doing this, I will try to provide the general framework of the socio-economic background that is responsible for the expansion of the hostess 'profession'.

There are two main tendencies of poverty that trigger the expansion of the work of hostesses: indebtedness and the declining rural household incomes. I will analyze the impact of the shrinking of the real sector in the area of agriculture through the demographic background of the women, and the impact of indebtedness on the expansion of the work of hostesses through the narratives of these women.

4.3.1 Neoliberal poverty, informal economy and indebtedness

The poverty of Turkey has a long history, changing its reason from one conjuncture to another. However, the poverty we face today has its roots in the 'decisions of January 24th' that led to the 1980 coup and the Ozal period that signified the politicization of these decisions (Keyder, 1993).

In this period, the public sector and the social state (to the degree they existed) shrank (Toksöz, 2007), the market and consumption were praised, currency liberalization took place, and the regulations needed for import trade were realized (Keyder, 1993; Öniş & Ercan, 2001).

The governments of the 1990s adopted the policies of the 12 September regime and of Ozal (who foresaw the shrinking of the public sector and of the social state) and during the late 1990s and early 2000s, they adopted further policies of

privatization, subcontracting, and the establishment of free zones that rendered Turkey's formal sector vulnerable (Kaplan 2002, Öniş & Alper 2003). The most disastrous effects were seen in the agriculture sector.

...roughly from the 1950s to the 1980s, farmers enjoyed considerable security and managed to remain relatively immune to fluctuations in the market. However, the last three decades have been characterized by a secular trend towards deregulation in the agri-food sector. There have been reversals in policy and brief periods of expansion in agricultural supports (such as in 1991–3 and 1997–8), mostly due to frequent elections in the 1990s (Oyan 2002, 60–1), but the period since the 1980s has been characterized by the gradual dismantling of the earlier regulatory regime. The processes that contributed most significantly to this outcome were agreements signed with the IMF and the World Bank for debt rescheduling, which carried the conditionality for overall liberalization of the economy and commitments to the requirements of World Trade Organization membership and the TRIPs treaty (Tahsin 2001; Ari 2006). The latest stage of the deregulation process in the agri-food sector came with the Agricultural Reform Implementation Project (ARIP) as part of the World Bank's agricultural reform program in 2001 (Çakmak 2004, 12). The main objectives of the ARIP agreement were the withdrawal of price and input subsidies and in their stead the introduction of direct income supports, the elimination of subsidized agricultural credit,⁶ privatization of state economic enterprises in agricultural industry and the restructuring of sales co-operatives. The implementation of this project (albeit with a few setbacks in the 2000s) had the impact of shifting power and responsibility in marketing and quality management of agricultural products from public bodies to private institutions (Keyder & Yenal 2011, p.64).

The shrinking of the agricultural sector during the 1990s reached its peak level after the crisis of 28 February 2001 and this situation affected mostly women from agricultural families whose main income was based on agricultural production. In this period, the agriculture sector, which constituted the main sector where women had formal employment, reached the bottom (Toksöz 2007, Kadın Emeği Platformu 2006, Çağlayan 1994).

Accordingly, the expansion of nightlife (which is part of the informal sector), and the shrinking of the formal sector in rural areas, went hand in hand. A significant number of families that were dependent on agricultural production resettled to city suburbs and started working at low status jobs, generally at the service sector. This

deep transformation in the social structure diminished women's labor in rural areas. However, a parallel increase in female labor in cities did not take place despite the high level of immigration to the cities (Toksöz, 2007; Kadın Emeği Platformu, 2006).

As TUIK data reveals and activists and academicians doing fieldwork generally accept, women's formal employment in cities has not become widespread (Toksöz, 2007; Kadın Emeği Platformu, 2006; Çağlayan, 1994). On the other hand, while it is generally accepted that Turkey's informal sector (babysitting, elder care, house cleaning work, piecework) has expanded, especially among women living in cities, the exact number of women working in informal sector is unknown (Özyeğin, 2001; Bora, 2012; Dinler, 2014; Toksöz, 2007; Kadın Emeği Platformu, 2006).

According to ethnographic data I collected for the current study, some of the members of rural families that went bankrupt seem to have entered nightlife, where gaining easy money seems to be the case. Now, let me first have a look at the expansion of nightlife in the area where my field research took place and then at the demographic background of the women that contributed to this expansion.

However, it is not only the decay of the real sector and Turkey's agriculture that has led these women to the informal sector in nightlife. More important factors that have led these women to nightlife are economic crises that resulted in bankruptcy of families and their unbalanced borrowing.

According to Lazzarato, who has done extensive research on borrowing and debt, the current situation of neoliberal capitalism is debt (Lazzarato, 2012, p. 7). The reason debt is so central to neoliberal capitalism is that it encourages consumption in favor of markets and the expansion of the use of credit cards (Lazzarato, 2012, p. 7). According to Lazzarato, credit cards have rendered debt limitless. Due to credit

cards, households enter into a vicious cycle where their income is always less than their debt (Lazzarato, 2012, p. 18-19).

According to Lazzarato, this kind of debt is so high that not only laborers, white-collar employees, tradesmen, the unemployed, and the poor but even unborn children are in a debt situation (Lazzarato, 2012, p. 32).

Lazzarato's study is not about Turkey but a similar situation is true for Turkey, too. The shrinking of the real sector, high levels of consumption, and hyper-usage of credit cards before and during the 28 February period was followed by a period of great impoverishment and societal indebtedness. According to data from the Risk Center of the Banks Association of Turkey, (2014) "the number of the persons who have not paid their personal loans and credit card debt are: 617.159 in 2009, 350.230 in 2010, 313.861 in 2011, 540.745 in 2012, 677.839 in 2013, 886.989 in 2014" (Krediler ve tasfiye olunan alacaklar, 2014).

According to Lazzarato, society's getting into such a debt trap has redefined not only indebtedness, but also the main societal structures, including power relationships and ethics, in relation to the notion of debt (Lazzarato, 2012, p. 32).

As a result of the shrinking of the real sector, the bankruptcy of societal segments resting on agriculture, and the deepening of indebtedness and poverty, especially the movement of women towards the informal sector can be accepted as a summary of the newly-developing power relationships and ethics in Turkey: while on the one hand, capitalist neoliberal policies led to increasing debt and a shrinking of the formal sector, at the same time it broke down the rural patriarchal structure that rested on household income and on the decisions taken by the elder of the house. This has led to the dissolution of the household structure and the incomes culture

attached to it, leading to the individualization of debt through credit cards, defining each individual as a separate addressee for the market.

In the context of my research, this process of individualization and coming to terms with one's own problems comes up in the narrative of the women regarding how they got into nightlife. Unlike the narrative of men who regard women in nightlife as immoral, women have entered nightlife as a result of a debt trap. Japon's narrative is illustrative in this regard:

I was working at an office in Fethiye. I was issuing tickets and serving tea to the boss. My salary was below the minimum wage and my insurance was barely covered. The money I earned only with difficulty covered my expenses for food and transportation. You know, I was young and we sometimes went out with my friends, to the cinema or to eat something. I used to pay with my credit card whenever I needed to. At the beginning all was fine. But later on I could not manage my expenses. I asked for money from my father in order to clear my credit card debt. And he said me 'screw you! Pay your debt on your own'. I had to pay the money because otherwise a legal proceeding would take place to seize my assets. There was a hostess whose child I used to take care of. She used to tell me 'you are young and beautiful, if you get this job you will rake in money'. Of course I used to refuse, but then I had to do it. My aim was to earn the money I needed in a few months and then get out of here. But as you see, it has been seven years and I am still here (personal communication, July 2011) (See Appendix B, 14).

Japon's narrative not only reveals how indebtedness led a woman to nightlife. It also reveals how neoliberal capitalism impacts not the society as a whole, but individuals one by one, leading them to bankruptcy while at the same time ruining the sacred kinship and ethical relationship between a father and his daughter.

4.4 The formation of subjectivity

The main components of neoliberal poverty, indebtedness and informal economy, seem to have rendered the work of a hostess, which was cursed in the past, more acceptable and widespread. The rise of poverty, the weakening of family relationships, and the incremental desolation of women and their search for solutions to their problems by themselves, can be regarded as the basic reasons for becoming a

hostess. There is only one rule for becoming a hostess: to be a woman (if possible, beautiful and attractive). However, it is not easy to survive in nightlife as a hostess. The hostesses use highly complex tactics to overcome all these difficulties and survive. In what follows, I will analyze those tactics.

While women generally see this profession as short-term and they get into it in order to clear their debt and then exit, employment in this sector is increasing. It seems that one of the determinants for the widening of this sector is that women change their minds regarding the profession (or they overcome their prejudices) and internalize their profession and get used to the paralı and luminous nightlife (while they still dream of leaving this job in the future and becoming a nightclub owner or a hairdresser).

Even if they get used to nightlife, there is always a period when each of these women tried to ‘get rid of this life’. All of the women that I interviewed have tried to get out of nightlife at least once, either by starting their own business, or by getting married, or both. However, they ended up returning to it. For example, Zalina told me, “While I was working as a hostess, a man made me his housewife, but I got bored with comfort and ease. I missed this luminous life so much that I returned to it.” (personal communication, May 2011 [5]).²⁵ The narratives reveal that, despite the dangers of nightlife, women feel valuable in nightlife. Earning money strengthens their self-confidence and in this way, they connect themselves to the financial independence narrative of modernity that they could not achieve before. As is the case with men, women also manage to change bad experiences in their advantage. Accordingly, for women who are victims of indebtedness and poverty,

²⁵Konsomatrislik yaparken, bir adam beni evimin kadını yapmasına rağmen, evde huzur battı. Bu gürültüyü bu loş ışıkları bu dünyayı deli gibi özledim ve geri döndüm

nightlife is something beyond a job; it provides them the possibility for becoming a subject.

I will try to analyze this possibility of becoming a subject through the hostesses' tactics for surviving and becoming part of nightlife plots, and how they mobilize their financial capabilities in the patronage system they try to establish.

4.4.1 Stories of resistance

What convinces the women to continue their work in nightlife is the fact that nightlife gives them the possibility of formation of their subjectivity. Let me make a clarification here. What is meant by their construction of their subjectivity is that they move beyond the limits of a boring house life, they become active members of a social life and they acquire financial independence. This socialization is composed of two aspects: first, playing games with men and women in the nightlife sector and devising plots in order to survive and to hold on in nightlife (social subject); and second, becoming recognized by their family and by market relationships (consuming subject).

The resistance of the poor, who, while seeming to have accepted the system, they secretly go counter to it, a phenomenon which has been referred to by Asef Bayat as “*quiet encroachment*” (Bayat, 1997), by Kurt Schock as “unarmed insurrection” (Schock, 2005), and by James Scott as “arts of resistance” (Scott, 1990). According to the sub-altern school, ordinary poor people find ways to benefit from the products of capitalist production and modernity without paying money, by finding holes in the system and making use of them (Bayat, 1997).

According to De Certeau, who has written extensively on the ways ordinary poor people try to hold on to life, ordinary poor people consume what the system produces and offers to them in their own way and transform its meaning by

benefiting from the chasms and gaps of the system without getting involved in its structure (De Certeau, 1984, p. 32). De Certeau envisages the relationship between an ordinary and a competent person as a kind of war and he gives special significance to strategy and tactics. However, this does not require harmony/compatibility as it is in military and political terms, but on the contrary (De Certeau, 1984, p. 35). According to de Certeau, strategy is a plan that competent people use for administering. Tactic, on the other hand, is the discovery of new methods by the ordinary individual in order to tip the scales in his/her favor (De Certeau, 1984, p. 93). While the system establishes the space and seeks to dominate the ordinary individual; ordinary people use their own creativity in order to take the opportunity and rule time and defeat the owner of the space. De Certeau uses the metaphors of war and unauthorized hunt (De Certeau, 1984, p. 38). The sovereign's battlefield is transformed into an unauthorized hunt space for the ordinary person.

J. Scott narrates the resistance of the ordinary person, especially the resistance of the colonized against the sovereign, through the notion of flexibility that De Certeau attaches to the ordinary person. According to Scott, the main reason behind this kind of flexibility is the skill of the ordinary person of behaving as if she/he has accepted the role that the sovereign has imposed upon her/him:

"As one of the key survival skills of subordinate groups has been impression management in power-laden situations" (Scott, 1990, p. 3). "In the short run, it is in the interest of the subordinate to produce a more or less credible performance, speaking the lines and making the gestures he knows are expected of him" (Scott, 1990, p. 4).

Based on the categorization of De Certeau, the hostesses are the ordinary people, the owner of the nightclub and the customers are the sovereigns/masters, and the nightclubs are the battlefields where rules are defined freely. The women in nightlife are poachers that seek to make impossible the 'hunt' by men in nightlife.

Hostesses use several tactics in order to transform the hunt field into a poaching field for themselves. The first of these tactics is what Scott calls “public and hidden transcripts” (Scott, 1990, p. 18). In the first scenario, a public transcript, the woman works according to the rules defined by the sovereign and serves him, while the second scenario, the hidden transcripts, involves a disguised agenda and the strategies of the ordinary person for survival.

The public transcript belongs to the man and its main strategy is to pick up the woman. The hidden transcript, on the other hand, belongs to the woman and involves strategies such as taking the man’s money without sleeping with him and by tricking him. In this process, the first battle is fought through narratives. First, there starts a conversation between the woman and the man which is seemingly ordinary but which actually has erotic underpinnings. This conversation is generally managed by the man. In case the man is a farmer, he talks about crops, harvest, dry and wet seasons; in case he is a civil servant, he talks about his office, the problems he faces in his relationships with his superiors; in case he is a trader, he talks about the market and about foreign currencies. As the conversation proceeds, erotic aspects become more and more profound. For example, farmers talk about sticks and the women talk about how nice it is to work on fodder. Accordingly, the dialogue moves from an ordinary chat to a fantasy level where the parties invite each other to sexual intercourse. This area of fantasies that is seemingly managed by men, turns into a battlefield after the woman accepts the call and becomes part of it, and the two parties begin to negotiate. The woman tries to transform the manhunt into poaching. In order for the woman to become victorious in this equilibrium discourse, she has to keep the conversation in the area of fantasies. In case the man proceeds to reveal his intentions, the woman activates her most powerful strategy: her tragic narrative.

The point where the man reveals his intentions is when he starts talking about his family or his relationship with his beloved. He complains about his wife's ugliness and about how she is incapacitated. While on the one hand he vilifies his wife's or beloved's incapacity with regards to her femininity, he compliments the hostess's femaleness and sexiness on the other. For example, he tells such things as "My wife is like an onion, you need long time to reach the centre and then it is too late. You fall asleep while trying to strip off her underwear, her socks."²⁶

The main point in these narratives is men saying that their wives are useless. This narrative not only flatters the hostess's pride but also gives prominence to her femininity and sexiness. Through this conversation, the man reveals that he is interested more in these aspects of the hostess rather than in the conversation itself.

The hostess is ready for all these. As a response, she narrates tragic stories that will appeal to his humaneness rather than his masculinity. Narratives such as how she was oppressed by her husband, sold by her older brothers, raped by her father... In this way, she tries to influence the man not through her sexuality but through a mental state in need for help and concern. She calls not for the man's body but for his soul and remorse. She hints that she is in need for love rather than sexuality and while discursively she refers to sexual fantasies (to render her business sustainable), she tries to keep her body close to sexuality by keeping her narrative at the level of a melodrama.

4.4.2 To remember and resist getting drunk

The victimhood narratives is used so often in nightlife that they have lost their persuasiveness, even if they are true. In cases that I witnessed, the men, after

²⁶ Benim karım soğan gibidir, cücüğüne erişinceye kadar sabah olur. Zaten donlarını, çoraplarını soymaya çalışırken iştahın gider, yorulu ruykuya dalarsın.

listening to such narratives, generally either sent the woman away, saying that they have heard a lot of such stories, or they choose an alternative strategy to get her into bed.

After this point, in case the man does not make this a matter of conscience (and generally this is the case, and they further tend to see the woman as a liar and prostitute), he becomes more furious and tries to make the woman drunk. They afford to order a closed bottle rather than just a single drink in order to achieve their end. Actually, this becomes damaging for the woman, because most of the women that I interviewed said that they tend to get drunk after drinking a couple of beers. Accordingly, the woman seeks two strategies in order to save herself from this situation: she either drop a pill into the man's drink or she throws up the alcohol immediately after drinking it.

In order to explain how important this situation is for them, G. Hanim said a catch phrase from the Turkish film *Nefes* (Semerci, 2009) that explained that soldiers at a borders post always had to be alert "You know, as in the film they said 'If you sleep, you die', it is the same for us, too. If we get drunk, we die"²⁷ (personal communication, May 2011 [3]).

The hardest thing for the women is not the war against alcohol or the conversation they engage in with men, but the danger of having feelings for the man with whom they sit at the table. In order to avoid such a situation, the women try to establish a mechanism that will keep them alert. There are various objects or signs that activate such warning mechanisms.

For example, Gonul Hanim shows her ring: "When I start having feelings for somebody I look at this ring. Then I remember how the bastard that gave it to me

²⁷ Biliyorsun o filmde "uyursan ölürsün" diyorlardı. Bizim için de durum aynı eğer sarhoş olursan öldün demektir.

tricked me and then remind myself that all men are the son of bitches” (personal communication, May 2011[3])²⁸. Similarly, Japon, when she first got into nightlife, she fell in love with somebody and she tattooed the initial letters of his name (S.Ç) on her ring finger:

“When I feel that I am charmed by someone, I play with my ring and I remember the man who ruined me. Then I jockey him out of all his money and never feel sorry about it. He had better stay at his home with his wife” (personal communication, July 2011)²⁹.

Similarly, Simge Hanim says that “I look at the pussies at my arms and I try to get out of that mood.” (Simge, 2011).³⁰

4.4.3 Patronage and generosity

As I have discussed earlier, the main strategies women adopt in order to survive is the competition among men, the art of telling stories, their struggle for not getting drunk, and their narrative on their past suffering.

The question of up to what point women are able to become subjects through these maneuvers is open to discussion. What makes them feel subjects is mainly their power of earning and spending money. The base of their self-confidence is earning and consuming.

Generally, hostesses do not earn enough money to afford a comfortable life after leaving their job and they do not manage to save money. Even if they tend to attribute this situation to ‘*bizim kazancımızın bereketi yok*’ (unfruitfulness) due to religious/spiritual considerations, this is mainly related to the fact that survival in

²⁸ Birisine karşı bir şeyler hissetmeye başladım mı bu yüzüğe bakarım. Bu yüzüğü bana alan orospu çocuğunun beni ne kadar kandırdığını hatırlar ve bütün erkeklerin öyle orospu çocukları olduğunu kendime hatırlatırım

²⁹ Kendimi kaptırmaya başladım mı, parmağımdaki yüzükle oynarım ve beni perişan eden adamı hatırlarım. Sonra karşımdaki adamı donuna kadar soyarım, hiç acımam. Gitsin evinde karısıyla otursun.

³⁰ Kolumdaki façalara bakarım, o modan çıkmaya çalışırım

nightlife is closely related to consumption. This kind of consumption is not ordinary but it is very carefully designed. It is based on the patronage system that women in nightlife have established and the main addressees of this system are their families, their fellow workers, and the well-heeled persons and bureaucrats of the local area.

Despite their job these women are a source of pride for their families (personal communications, July 2011, May 2011 [3] and June 2011 [1]. Thanks to this system their families seemingly believe in their lies, they embrace their illegitimate children, and they are happy because their daughters earn money thanks to their bosses whom they consider as good and ethical persons. Hostesses acquire this position in the eyes of their families by fulfilling their dreams e.g. “buying a race motorcycle or a car for the brother” (personal communication, May 2011[5]), “artificial teeth for the mother and father” (personal communication, April 2011), “a house with central heating” (personal communication, July 2011), “summer holidays for the sister” (personal communication, May 2011 [3]), “umrah trip for the elderly of the family, Islamic memorial ceremony to the neighbors” (personal communication, July 2011) and as long as they get money, they do not question what kind of job their daughters do.

The second part of the patronage system is often composed of the people closest to them outside the family circle, i.e. the waiters and other employees. The waiters protect the women in case they find themselves in a difficult situation (e.g. the customer may force them to drink or may wait to pick them up). There is a cost for having the pill dropped into the man’s drink or for receiving protection when needed. This requires establishing good relations with the waiter by buying him cigarettes, prepaid minutes, and clothes.

Hostesses also have to have good relations with the moneyed middle-aged men of the district. They have to have good relations with people that will help them

when they find themselves at a police station, when they seek an illegal abortion, when they get caught while driving drunk, when they have to use the hospital illegally in case of injury. As expected, it is hard to have good relations with such people by buying them cigarettes or clothes. Rather, they seek to buy them expensive gifts, go out with them, and sometimes mend the fences with another hostess. One major theme that repeatedly emerged in the interviews is that the hostesses used to talk about how much money they earn and to compare their earnings with that of a deputy, district governor, and doctor. Accordingly, the women do not approach money from the viewpoint of earning more. The hostesses, through establishing strong patronage relationships based on money, seem to seek to form subjectivities that they regard to be as strong as the professions to which they compare themselves. This is why they continue to bear the bad breath of those in nightlife.

4.4.4 Imitation bodies and the limits of the subjectivities of the hostesses

Nightlife is not only a source for earning money for women. It is also a source for building their subjectivity through conspiracy and struggle. This subjectivity is not limitless; rather, it is subjected to the limits of time and space. The hostess may stay in nightlife as long as she is young, beautiful, and her body remains a subject of desire and fantasies. Accordingly, her subjectivity is limited by time in terms of her beauty related to her youth, and by space in terms of the peripheral businesses that resist the bad smell and contamination by nightlife.

Yatik Emine (Karay, 2010) narrates the story of a prostitute that was exiled to the countryside. As a prostitute, she is stigmatized and it is impossible for her to have an ordinary social life in the area where she goes into exile. She is unable to get a job or find food and she is obliged to live at a derelict building outside of the province. This social exclusion finally leads to her death due to hunger and cold (Karay, 2010).

Fortunately, the situation nowadays is not that bad for the hostesses in the province. While today it is not the case that a hostess may be marginalized as it was the case with the story of Yatik Emine, hostesses are still kept in ‘quarantine’ isolation in the province. In this way, the hostess’s subjectivity is first and foremost limited in terms of space by the nightlife and its periphery.

In *Purity and Danger* (Douglas, 1988), Mary Douglas talks about social opinion and the limits that protect it. According to Douglas, ritual pollution and ritual pureness play a key role in rendering the societal limits active and sensitive (Douglas, 1988). Especially in heavenly religions, ritual cleanliness means being close to God. After the re-planning of health as a space of biopolitical governmentality, a new political dimension has been added to the religious-cultural space of purity through modernity (Foucault, 2000). Accordingly, the notion of health moved beyond being a bodily and societal issue to being a space where societal limits and classes are formed. In this manner, purity is an ethical value that defines and keeps alive societal values. Especially in Protestants, Puritans, Quakers, and nearly all factions of Islam, ethical cleanliness and a hygienic body is regarded the basis both for being a good citizen and a good believer (Macphee, 1992).

In the area of my anthropological study, local families render themselves immune to the hostesses by arguing about ethical cleanliness and hygienic sanitation and in this way they establish a barrier between the space of the hostesses and their own spaces. Accordingly, the nightlife as a space and the hostesses as its subjectivities are constantly isolated as they are regarded not only as the centre of societal contamination and ethical bankruptcy, but also as an unhealthy space of venereal disease and sexual intercourse.

This unhealthy and unethical space is reproduced through the notion of *koku* (stink). Civil servants/officers do not want to eat at the same restaurants as the hostesses, women do not want to go to the same hairdressers and cannot stand touching items that hostesses have touched, marketing men and local administrators do not want to stay in hotels where hostesses go.

In the hostesses' mobile life, where they do not possess a home where they may take care of their clothes and clean them, and their being forced to live in secluded and damp places support the argument about the stink; what is mainly constituted by the bad smell-bad ethics link is a provincial discourse that seeks to keep the borders between the province and nightlife.

To sum up, while the hostesses compare themselves with local power holders such as doctors, judges, and deputies, their subjectivity is limited to nightlife and the peripheral workplaces of it (such as gambling houses, secluded cafeterias, and hairdressers that serve only nightlife such as hotels and liquor stores) and they do not have access to the rest of the society. There are strong borders between the hostesses and the rest of the society and these borders are made more sensitive through venereal-medical-ethical and bodily fears. Accordingly, the hostess's subjectivity in terms of space is limited to the nightlife that reproduces her ethics, body, and her bad smell.

4.4.5 The expiry date of subjectivity

According to De Certeau, "there is no law that is not inscribed on a body. Every law has a hold on the body" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 140). This is especially the case for women who come from poverty and who seek to overcome their poverty by transforming their body into a desire machine.

Women can get a job in nightlife as long as they are young and beautiful. After that they either find jobs as dishwashers or they continue working as aged prostitutes. Accordingly, the time that they may work as hostesses is limited and we may argue that this time span is the expiry date of their bodies. This time span is not long and it is limited to 10-12 years due to the corrosive aspects of nightlife.

What constitutes women as subjects and that sets men against each other is their desirability. This state of desirability is closely linked to juvenility/youthfulness, beauty and appearance. However, what is mainly desired about the woman is her appearance as a modern urbanite and the fact that her beauty is regarded as an 'urbanite beauty'.

While the hostess's shift starts at eight o'clock, the preparation for her shift starts at around two o'clock. She gets out of the hotel, goes to a cafe to eat something, and then spends almost four hours at the hairdresser. She tends to spend a significant part of her earnings on this stage of preparation.

She has her hair dyed in platinum or red hair color, has a manicure and pedicure, has her nails painted and puts on heavy makeup. This is the everyday routine of the hostess for the whole year. The heavy makeup and having her hair dyed lead to corrosion both of her skin and her hair.

Due to her job the woman is in a constant circle of bad nutrition, throwing up, sleeping late, waking up late, consuming fast food, drinking strong coffee, smoking, and using drugs and marihuana in order to get high.

Wounding, self-injuring, repetitive abortion, and disequilibrium after childbirth all lead to the defamation of the woman's body. Scars that used to be regarded as sexy lose their appeal and are turned into signs that are better disguised; tattoos that were seen as attractive tend to lose their shape due to increasing weight. All these

lower the shine and luminosity, and these women, who were once seen as precious gifts sent from the cities to the province, are now moving into being a scab over a wound. Along with their beauty and attractiveness, their subjectivity also wears away. They are transformed into excesses in nightlife.

After the withering away of her beauty and attractiveness that formed the source for her status and earnings, the subjectivity of the hostess, which was based on her status (that she acquired thanks to her beauty and money) also withers away. Very rarely, those that manage to save some money and are lucky, engage in business in the periphery of nightlife – as a hairdresser or nightclub boss, for example, and some of them continue their lives thanks to their loyal hostess friends and some of them end up being dishwashers in nightclubs. Those who are not lucky continue their lives as aged prostitutes seeking to earn money just to survive.

4.5 Conclusion

Women that work as hostesses in the province generally come from poor rural families. The shrinking of the agricultural sector due to neoliberal transformation, first led these women to poverty derived from indebtedness, and then to their integration in the informal sector and the shanty areas of the cities. Part of the women working in informal sectors got into the nightlife in order to get rid of both their miserable lives and in order to pay off their debt and while planning to get out of nightlife after a short period, they have ended up remaining in nightlife for a long time. The reason these women stay in nightlife is not related to their being forced to work or because they earn a lot of money. These women construct their subjectivities in nightlife by earning money, by establishing a patronage system based on money, and by engaging in nightlife intrigues. The limits of their subjectivity are determined by time and space. Their subjectivity is limited by space in that they are doomed to

nightlife and to its periphery, as local women stigmatize them and isolate them from the rest of the local community. Their subjectivity is limited by time in that it is determined by their juvenility, beauty, and attractiveness.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

It is a difficult task to construct a thesis, to do the related fieldwork, to analyze the data obtained from the fieldwork, and to connect the data to the theoretical framework of the study. As all researchers, I faced these difficulties too but they were ultimately transformative for me.

Since this is not a quantitative study, there are no quantified results that I can present in this concluding section. Therefore, in this part I will present the results and peculiarities of the study together with the areas that I left outside of the research framework of this study and with other results that could not be obtained during research. The primary issues that I will discuss in this part are the following: different experiences of modernity and its embodiments on the peculiar appearances of provincial nightlife, the initial theoretical framework that I established for the study and the tension between this framework and the data that I obtained from the fieldwork, blind spots that are in need of study, issues that I could analyze only partially and some issues that I had to leave outside the analysis. In the final part, I will provide an overall evaluation, considering also the issues that I addressed only partially and those that I have excluded from the analysis thus far.

While writing this thesis, I once more realized that Turkish modernization is highly *sui generis* and that it has several facets. The most genuine aspect of this study is that it provides a different view of Turkish modernization by analyzing the link between Turkish modernization and the province within the framework of provincial nightlife. When we look at the modernization experience in the province within the framework of entertainment and nightlife, we witness how the province is something beyond an administrative unit or a geographical land and how, through the

commodification of entertainment, it is constituted as being the contrast of the city. By being contrasted to the city, the province is reproduced in a totally new way through the notion of boredom, leading to new relationalities inherent in provincial nightlife. What we see here is not only the duality of boredom and entertainment, but that the Republic, while constituting itself as a modern institution, has discharged suffistic institutions such as seclusion and traditional provincial entertainment forms, leading to the deepening of provincial boredom. This has rendered provincial existence as more melancholic/depressed and has opened the room for boredom as the chronic illness of the modern man.

As another narrative of modernity, Turkey's masculinity forms and gender regime has assumed a singular model. However, at least in provincial areas that my study is based on, Turkey's masculinity forms are in reality far from homogenous and seem to be composed of relationalities that are defined by confrontations and performances. The main defining aspects of these relationalities are role models and behavioural patterns attached to them that help connect men to masculine narratives. From this viewpoint, provincial masculinity proceeds based on forced and pragmatic scenarios and lies. Nightlife womanizers are transformed into conservative family men, public servants, and tradesmen in the daytime, pursuing a life based on lies both in day life and in nightlife.

In this study, I analyzed men in provincial nightlife through their narratives, the way they spend money, and their performances under three headings. On the other hand, I analyzed women under only one heading, as hostesses. This is because within the nightlife narratives, these women are the ones who have real stories. While men seek to reproduce themselves through different identities and performances, women,

as destitute persons in life, exist in nightlife through their real stories, real bodies, and real professions.

Considering all these together, another finding of this study is that we come along with various types of relationalities in the margins of the homogenous spaces of the layers of Province, City, Modernity, Entertainment, Boredom, Man, Woman. In areas where the market and gender regime is more homogenous, conservatism, manhood, and wealth become central instruments for status and hierarchy. However, this is not the case with provincial nightlife. In nightlife, there is a different code of ethics of spending money, a different performance of consuming bodies, and different contexts of being recognized man or woman.

These are what this study has revealed to me. I will now discuss the limitations of the study, beginning with the tension between the theoretical framework and the data.

5.1 Theoretical expectations vs. field data

One of my biggest erroneous theoretical presuppositions at the beginning of this study was, as a former student of history, my perception of the province as a geographical and administrative unit. Based on this misperception, I initially established the position of the province vis-a-vis the city as being independent from each other. However, when I established the relationship between the city and the province on the basis of dependence and exclusion, the relationalities within the provincial nightlife became more clear and understandable. When I started analyzing the province in terms of exclusion and as a place where entertainment is absent, I realized that entertainment in the province was indeed based on a series of relationalities that are established as a result of the effort to be entertained as in the cities and in a modern manner. Accordingly, one aspect of the provincial

entertainment is based on the efforts of vigilant businessmen in provincial nightlife who seek to turn into cash the expectations of provincial men.

5.2 Selective Neglects

I tried to analyze the exchange relationships that are formed as a result of these expectations, based on the notion of gift-giving potlatch and the process of establishing status among men as a kind of struggle and auction. Another aspect of this process that I did not make part of my analysis is the commodification of time in provincial nightlife. As opposed to pre-modern entertainment that is open-ended and connotes eternity (e.g. a wedding of forty days and forty nights, the one thousand and one nights tale), modern entertainment is commodified according to temporal standards and is expected to be consumed in exchange for money. In nightlife, it is not important how much the man drinks but rather, what the woman drinks within what period of time that is crucial and is defined temporally. If the man wants to spend more time with the woman, he has to keep ordering drinks for her, and thus, buy her time.

The commodification of the woman's time leads to a kind of auction among men who compete to chat with the woman in exchange for a drink. This process leads to the bankruptcy of almost all of the men in nightlife. I tried to limit this process within the story of the paralı and his going bankrupt. There is another area that is in need of further research here: paralı men are not always undutiful men who spend the money of their families. There are those men who embezzle money from institutions where they work and who lead themselves, together with the institutions where they work, into bankruptcy.

The abuse-labile structure of agricultural cooperatives, e.g. milk collection cooperatives and dam and irrigation water cooperatives, has led to the transfer of

money from these institutions to provincial nightlife in a corrupt manner. For example, the water irrigation cooperative in Çavdır where I did my fieldwork is on the verge of bankruptcy as a result of the corrupt practices of its managers in Kayacık, Dengere, Kızıllar, and Bayır villages.

Here I am not trying to draw attention to the corrupt practices of provincial managers. The most crucial issue is that indebtedness in nightlife, which is becoming a reality as a result of the desire economy in nightlife, leads to bankruptcy of individuals and institutions and, through bank borrowing and offices of execution, ends up with the transfer of the already-limited provincial capital to the cities.

At the beginning of the study, I was thinking that the competition among men in nightlife was based on the differences of political dispositions. In other words, I was thinking that the competition among men was based on leftist versus rightist inclination and different political party preferences. Events such as fights resulting from politically loaded songs (for example, “Başbuğlar Ölmez” or “Karlı Kayın Ormanı”, or former center-rightists who are now AKP members drinking non-alcoholic drinks at nightclubs, have led me to such thoughts.

While these issues may also form the basis for further research, as a result of theoretical readings for this study, I realized that competition for hegemonic masculinity is a political context that cuts off political inclinations and I based my analysis on the forms of the reproduction of masculinity rather than on political concerns. The way paralı men behave in the process of hegemonic competition with other men is defined not in terms of their political inclinations but in terms of masculine politics of the nightlife.

Another category that I left outside of the analysis is that of the wives and mothers of the regular visitors of provincial nightclubs. The masculinity of provincial

men and the distorted moral/ethic structure that hostesses are exposed to would be better understood if I had included the interviews with local women. However, this was not possible because women in Cavdir refused to meet with me by alleging various excuses. On the other hand, those women that I managed to talk to were under great pressure and abstained from telling me anything that I could use as interview data.

During my research, another issue that I realized I had misperceived is related to the relationships of hostesses within their families. At the beginning of my study, I was thinking that these women worked secretly and that if their profession was revealed there would be honor killings, so I took some ethical measures of my own. However, during my fieldwork I realized that the families of all the hostesses were actually aware of their profession. Their families either provide logistic service to them (by taking care of their children) or they pretend to be unaware of the reality and they try to get money out of them.

When I considered it more deeply at the end of my research, I realized that the reason I thought the hostesses would do their jobs secretly was that I had a preconceived opinion of the family concept that implies a 'clean' place. This is one of the areas that is in need of further research and that was left out of this study: the family in general, and the families of the hostesses in particular. The family is, like the bureaucracy, one of the areas that was left outside the scope of this study. Indeed, family and bureaucracy should have been analyzed in this study under the heading of conservatism.

Indeed, all these masculine relations, the distinction between day life and nightlife in the province, the families that pretend to be unaware of the profession of their hostess daughters and their squeezing money out of them, the silence of the

wives and mothers of men in nightlife, the corruption of cooperatives by their managers and their spending of institutional money on nightlife and gambling, are all part of the conservative consent system in provincial society.

I maintain that research done within the framework of masculinity and bureaucracy will be helpful in understanding and analyzing conservatism in the province. Conservatism in this study would have been analyzed in terms of the cooperation among men against their families and principles of law, the silence of families in order to prevent disgrace, the purposeful ignorance of corruption on the part of the state in order to maintain the continuity of state institutions and of the society, the silence of women that have no other choice than to wait for their husbands or sons at home so as to prevent neighborhood gossip. However, the limits of this MA thesis did not allow for including these.

To sum up, the analysis conducted so far on provincial nightlife, considering also the issues that I did not include in the analysis, along with those that I explicitly included are the following:

The entertainment industry located in the cities, by marking the province as an area of boredom, has led the province to consider entertainment on the basis of emulation of city-entertainment. Some entrepreneurs have benefitted from this situation. However, at the same time, another issue rendering the province as an area of boredom is family ethics/ morality in Çavdır where women are doomed to silence and repression. This kind of conservatism, which is based on silence rather than piety/religion, has rendered the province even more boring, especially for women.

Accordingly, while women are concealing themselves behind closed doors, provincial nightlife becomes for men the area where they express and race their masculinity. In nightlife, masculinity is founded on spending, on consuming the

masculine body, and on consuming the woman's body. However, there is also another institution in help of men: the local political actors and bureaucrats. Even if nightlife businesses are fined due to bureaucratic imperfections, these fines are not put into the process by local political actors; the businesses get unlawful licences; and local bureaucrats who spend money from cooperatives in nightlife are protected by local political actors who facilitate dismissal of charges against them.

Therefore, for the conservation of family and the sustainability of the state, men are left on their own and enter into a race for status and hegemony by spending money.

The most central subjects of this story, the hostesses, as long as they remain juvenile, beautiful, and have personal talents, are able to hunt the men, otherwise they are themselves hunted. They have their own stories of poverty that have led them to get into the nightlife and struggle to survive among men. These women, who have gone through the mill, once they get into the nightlife, they use their femininity in order to survive and to be part of the intrigues. To the extent that they make use of their femininity, they become a subject in nightlife and get in control of men. However, once they lose their juvenility and beauty, they get back to poverty.

Hence, while there are several studies on masculinity and entertainment, we are still at the beginning and there is need for further research. There is need for academic research on the historical context of the province that has confined it within the limits of the modern world and on contemporary conservatism that has been left behind closed doors.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL TURKISH TEXTS OF CITED MATERIAL.

1. Taşra bir tanzimat icadıdır; batılı tarzda tasavvur edilen vatan kavramının ücra köşelerini, en azından Üsküdar'ın fukara semtlerinden biri gibi görmeyi tahayyül ederken bambaşka bir aleme düşen bürokrat takımının hayal kırıklığı ile tasvir ettiği bir türlü içine sindiremediği bir modern vakıadır. (A.T.Alkan, 2011, p. 20)
2. Anadolu'nun ortası, asıl anavatanın göbeği tuzlu göllerden, kireçli topraklardan ibaret bir çorak ülkedir. Burada, Türk milleti, çölde Beni İsrail'i andırır. Şimdi ise bir cehennem çemberi onu, her tarafından kuşatmıştır. Bütün bereketli ve zengin toprakları çepeçevre elinden alınmıştır. (Karaosmanoğlu, 2004, p. 21)
3. Metropol/Merkezin idari veya siyasi etkinlikleri, nüfus yoğunluğu ya da ekonomik-ticari kültürel ağırlığı ile belirleyici konumu, olağan bir merkez-periferi ilişkisinde normal bir durum olarak algılanabilirken, bunun Türkiye taşrasında neredeyse zorla kabul ettirilmiş bir hiyerarşi gibi algılanabilmesi dikkat çekicidir. Yine olağan merkez/periferi ilişkisinde, metropoldeki hayat tarzını kendininikinin uzanımında, onun farklı, karmaşık ve olsa olsa rafine biçimi olarak görülebilmesine karşılık Türkiye taşrasının merkez-metropellerini kendine uzak, yabancı ve asıl önemlisi mütehakkim bir hayat tarzı ile onu ezen ve aşağılayan bir güç olarak niteleyebilmesi; şüphesiz modern Türkiye'nin oluşum özelliklerinin bir sonucudur. (Laçiner, 2011, p. 22)
4. Atılğan'ın dilinin, öznelliği ancak bir daralma pahasına, darlığın içinden çalışarak koruyabildiğinden söz etmiştik. Dilde benzeri yaratılan yaşantıda budur zaten: Dar hayat. Bodur Minarenden Öte'deki öykülere bakalım: Hemen hepsi kesin sınırlarla kuşatılmışlar dünyaların, bu dünyalar içinde daralan insanların öyküleridir. Öykü kahramanları hep darlığın ötesindeki dünyanın hayalini kurar. "Evdeki"nde genç kız oturduğu daracık kasabanın dışını, kitaplarda okuduğu dünyayı görmek ister. "Dedikodu"da küçük gelin köyden ayrılıp şehre gitmek ister. "Kümesin Ötesi"nde tavuk, daracık kümesin dışının, yüksek duvarların ötesindeki kocaman avluların özlemine duyar. "Tutku"da Boncuk Osman mor çiçekli perdenin arkasındaki kızın hayaliyle yaşar. "Saatlerin Tıkırtısı"nda saatçiye atfedilen ise öyküyü anlatan yazarın kendi sıkıntısıdır; anlatıcı, daracık dükkanında her sabah saatleri kuran saatçinin bir gün saatlerin yapıldığı, dağları karlarla kaplı ülkeyi merak edeceğini düşünür. (Gürbilek, 2010, p.54)
5. Taşra sıkıntısı adını verelim buna; taşra sözcüğüne yalnızca mekâna ilişkin bir anlam yüklemeyen, yalnızca köyü ya da kasabayı kastetmeden; onları da, ama onların ötesinde, şehirde de yaşanabilecek bir deneyimi; bir dışta kalma, bir daralma, bir evde kalma deneyimini, böyle yaşanmış hayatları ifade etmek için. Evde kalmanın, yaşlı bir anneyle paylaşılacak zorunda olunan bir hayatın, hep aynı yatakta istenmeyen bir kocayla birlikte yatmanın, yük olduğunu bile bile bir

ağabeyin evinde yenen yemeklerin, akşamdan akşama görülen sert bir babanın huzurunda, uzayıp giden çatal bıçak sesleri eşliğinde, hiç konuşmadan yenen akşam yemeklerinin sıkıntısı... Ancak taşrada bulunmuşların, hayatlarının şu ya da bu aşamasında taşranın darlığını hissetmişlerin, hayatı bir taşra olarak yaşamışların, kendi içlerinde bir şeyin daraldığını, benliklerinin bir parçasının sapa ve güdük kaldığını, giderek bir taşradan ibaret kaldığını hissedenlerin anlayabileceği bir sıkıntı... Taşrada her gün yaşanan, şehirlilerinse en çok pazar öğleden sonralarından tanıyacağı bir sıkıntı: Başkalık vaat eden hafta sonunun bittiği, bütün gün evde olan sinirli bir babanın gözüne batmadan katlanılmak zorunda olunan, radyoda maç nakleden spikerin sesinde uzayıp giden pazar öğleden sonraları. (Gürbilek, 2010, p. 55-56)

6. 50'lerle birlikte tüketim genç cumhuriyetin sınırlarından içeri sızdı. Radyo kılığında. Aga, RCA, Philca, statü sembolleri lambalı idi artık. Bir frigdaire sahibi olmak ise neredeyse düşünilemeyecek kadar yukarılarda bir statü idi. 60'larda ise statü sembolleri çeşitlendi çoğaldı. Thunderbird'ler, mustang'ler, loafer'lar, Ankara İstanbul arası trende yataklı vagon, Hilton, Büyük Efes, Abdullah Efendi'di de yemek, Amerikan Pazarlarından alışveriş etmek. (Oktay, 1993, p. 42)
7. 1933-35 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilen derlemelerden elde edilen ve 1952 yılında Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi'nin Folklor Sözleri adıyla Yayımlanan 6. cildindeki malzemelerin büyük bir bölümü eğlence ile ilgilidir (TDK1952). Bu sayı adeta, Türk halk eğlenceleri sözlüğü gibidir. Günümüzde bu kelimelerden bazıları, artık kullanılmamaktadır. Yaşam biçimlerinde değişmeler sonucu "aba atma, arap oyunu, aynu faynu, çelken, danışık yemeği, çıvga, golanka, kızzık, honça, kişi aş, sıra gezmek, oturak, tolaka oyunu, aşık oyunu, yüzükoyunu, sançmak, yom, sohbet yeme, sıra gezme, şirince"nin yerini "aqua park, fantasyland, türkubar, saloon, gameland, aktive center. internette sörf, chat, televole, Türkstar vb." almıştır. (Özdemir, 2004, p. 45)

APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM TRANSCRIPTS

1. Konsomatrisin hayatında üç adam vardır. Birisi sikilir, diğeri siker, üçüncüsü de onu korur. Birincisi zengin adamdır, kadın bunun parasını yer ve ona asla vermez. İkincisi yakışıklıdır, kadını götürür, kadının parasını kumarda kaybeder ve başka kadınlarla yer. Üçüncüsü belalıdır. Kadının meselelerini çözer. Yerine göre onun için dövüşür, hapse girer, adam öldürür hatta ölür. (A.Nurlu, 2012, on page 7 in the text)
2. -Duyduğuma göre bir tez yazıyormuşsun.
-Evet abi...
-Peki tezinin konusu duyduğum gibi mi, yani gece hayatındaki orospular, pezevenkler, bizim Karaköyet yeme, sıra gezme, şirince'nin yerini "aqua park, fantasyland, türküair parçasının sapa ve güdük ka
-Evet abi doğrudur.
-Şimdi Osmanım, senin ömrün boş işlerle uğraşmakla geçti, bunların hepsi dangalak, bunlar sana ne anlatabilirler ki gece hayatı hakkında... Sizin gibi okumuş solcular neden böyle oluyor anlamadım. Gece hayatını bana soracaksın. Diyeceksin Halil abi anlat, ben de seni götüreceğim Antalya'ya, Denizli'ye, nezih bir ortama gireceğiz, fasıl çalacak, etrafımızda nezih insanlar, yiyip içeceğiz, sonra gideceğiz eğer canımız isterse bizim bu dangalakların milyarlar ödeyip de öpemedikleri kokanaları bir kenara bırak, 150-200 liraya taş gibi birer Ukraynalı alacağız, tertemiz, mis gibi. Sonra kaldığımız yerde duşumuzu alıp geleceğiz, sen lokantaya ben muayenehaneye. Ne gerek var aleme reklam olup, milyar hesap ödeyip, sonra salya sümük sarhoş olup bir de üstüne dayak yemeye. '(Halil Bey, 2012, on page 61 in the text)
3. Biz pezevenk miyiz, biz insanları eğlendiririz, hem kadın hem erkek birbirleriyle hoşça vakit geçirir burada. Kimi zaman bazı adamlar geliyor, abi kaç paraysa verelim şu kadını benimle çıkart diyor, ben de diyorum aslanım burası gazino paranla yapacaksan kerhaneye gideceksin, ben pezevenk değilim. Israr ederse tabi adamı kaldırıyoruz, dövüyoruz, neticede biz de ekmeğimizin peşindeyiz . (Adil Abi, 2012, on page 67 in the text)

4. Kadın dediğin keklik gibi olacak, bir şu kayaya konacak, bir bu kayaya, sen arkasından koşacaksın, kerhaneye herkesi alıyorlar. Paran varsa sorun yok, ama burada para bir yere kadar, marifet göstereceksin, pusuya yatacağsın, aşkım cicim diyeceksin, tavlayacaksın, avlayacaksın. (Genç Osman, 2012, on page 72 in the text)
5. Bu alemde kadınların peşinde koşmanın tadı, derelerden çıntar [yaban mantarı] toplamak gibi kerane hovardalığı, zaten hovardalık değil, afedersin kadın bacağını kaldırıyor, eşek siker gibi. (Kör Ayhan, 2012, on page 73 in the text)
6. Ben: Sana neden Sezon diyorlar?

Sezon: Biliyorsun, bizim işin belası boldur. Lakin benim ilk zamanlarda bir talihsizliğim oldu. Bu aleme hızlı bir giriş yaptık, biraz acemiyiz, biraz da namımız yürüsün diye hevesliyiz. Haliyle heveskarlık bizi art arda içeri düşürdü. Hep birkaç ay tutuklu kalıp bırakılıyor. Sonra gardiyanlar bana dediler ki bir sezon içerdesin bir sezon dışarıda, sonra Öyle benim sık sık içeri girmelerimden bana Sezon dediler Öyle devam ediyoruz işte. (Sezon, 2013, on page 87 in the text)

Ben: Amca sana neden Magirus diyorlar?

Magirus: Valla bu ismi bana, şimdiki Başkan Mustafa Uysal taktı. Biliyorsun Antalya'da Doğu Garajı'nda Magirus dolmuşlar vardı, körüklü kapılı, tısl tısl gelir gider bir de kaç kişi atarsan at, götürmem demez, hızlı gitmez ama yük çeker. Biz de gece hayatının yükünü çok çektik, bir de bana Magiruslar gibi kaç kişi olsa fark etmez, hepsiyle döğüşürüm, bir, üç, beş, on.. Dövmüşüm dövülmüşüm fark etmez, allahına girerim. Zaten beni buralarda herkes bilir, benim kavgı ettiklerim genelde yabancılardır. (Magirus, 2013, on page 87 in the text)

Ben: Molla abi sana niye Molla diyorlar?

Molla: Ben kavgaya başlamadan önce, adamın sülalesini, eşikteğini, beşiktekini, doğuranını, yüğürenini, hastanedekini, kabirdekini, hiç kimsenin hatırını bırakmadan dikine dikine okurum. O yüzden. (Molla, 2013, on page 87 in the text)

Ben: Abi niye Deli Çoban?

Deli Çoban: Ben gençken çobandım. Hatta yakın zamana kadar çobandım. Dişimle tırnağımla geldim buraya, ama

geçmişimi unutmadım. (Deli Çoban, 2013, on page 87 in the text)

7. Şimdi abi misal ben ortama girdim, bir kadın düşürmem lazım ama nasıl? Herkes bunun peşinde. Şimdi şöyle bir keserim ortalığı, ortamdaki kadınlar neyin peşinde; parayı mı kovalıyorlar, esrar mı arıyorlar, tedirginler mi? Ona göre bir poz takınırım. Gördüğün gibi zaten genelde traşsız gezerim, böyle saç sakal bıyık birbirine karışmış, üsüme başıma da pek önem vermem. Dışarıdan beni tanımayan birisi benim aile babası olduğumu pek tahmin edemez. Mekana vardım mı, yanıma kadın çağırmam hemen, otururum, kimseyle konuşmam, bir noktaya bakarım. Psikopat hesabı. Sonra bir sigara yakarım. Ama sigarayı da sigara gibi değil de sanki içi dolu cigaralıkmiş gibi, iki parmağımın arasından avucuma gelecek şekilde esrar içermiş gibi içime çeke çeke içerim. Zaten birisi hemen atlar kadınlardan. Bunun içi dolu mu boş mu diye. Sonrası kolay zaten. Onun içi dolu olmaz ama dolusunu bulmaya beraber gideriz, buluruz takılırız. (Genç Osman, 2012, on Page 80 in the text)
8. Bir kadından hoşlandım. Bir rakı söyledim. Ağır abiler rakı içer, rakının yanında da leblebi. Sonra kadını davet ettim. İçiyoruz filan. Sonra garsonu çağırdım, güya garsonun kulağına konuşarak, ama kadının duyacağı şekilde, “aynasızlar gelirse haber ver, ben arka kapıdan voltamı alayım,” dedim. Kadın, tabii hemen başladı sormaya, hayırdır bir şey mi var filan. Sonra ben dedim ki, “yok önemli bir şey değil, fakat geçenlerde bir mekanı taradık, arıyorum”. Halbuki arayan soran yok. Sonra kadın tabi daha yanaştı, bu mekan tarayacak kadar fedakarsa beni de kollar hesabı. Sonra tabii bir süre takıldık, baktım bu işi ilerletmek istiyor. Gece gündüz demiyor arıyor, hanım huysuzlanmaya başladı. Sonra o gidene kadar mekandan ayağımı kestim. (Mehmet Çelik, 2012, on page 81 in the text)
9. Abi bu kadınlar yaralı erkek hastasıdır. Bir yerin yaralıysa, hem şefkati kabarır, hem de işte bunda bir iş var derler. Gece hayatı sever böyle şeyleri. Biliyorsun, daha önce de konuştuk, ben sıkıştım mı bugün doğum günüm derim, yarın hapse gidecem geceyi beraber geçirek ya derim; bazen de eczaneden bir tendürdiyot alırım, elime güzelce boca eder üzerini de yalandan sararım. Sonra mekanda dertli dertli, rakı sigara pozu kesmeye başlayınca, kadınlar benim için deli divane olurlar... Böyle poz kestiğim gecelerde kesin bir kadın götürmüşümdür, hatta bir kere kadınlar benim için kavga bile ettiler. (Genç Osman, 2012, on page 81 in the text)
10. Çok beğendiğim bir kadını etkilemek için, tuvalete gidip, kolumu çizdim, sonra gelip kesmiş gibi poz yaptım ve gecenin sonunun mutlu bitmesini sağladım. Ama günlerce kolum çok acıdı üstelik de bu durumu karıma açıklamakta güçlük çektim ve bundan dolayı bir daha böyle bir şey yapmadım” (Erbay Abi, 2012, on page 81 in the text)

11. Bir keresinde arkadaşlar yalandan sivil polis ayağıyla gezmeye gittiğimiz yerde kimlik kontrolü yapmak istediler, kalktım ayağa bastım bunlara şamarı siz benim yanımdaki kadınlara nasıl kimlik sorarsınız diye. Sonra bizim polisler ‘abi özür dileriz seni bir an tanıyamadık’ deyip gittiler. (Aslan, 2012, on page 82 in the text)
12. Bana beş vol ısmarladı diye, beni köle etmeye çalışıyorlar. Neden onlarla takılayım, çok para ödüyormuş, ödemesin, ben de onların koca göbeklerini pis ağız kokularını çekiyorum. Sağımı solumu elleyip, sapık sapık konuşuyorlar. Ayrıca ben kimseye seninle yatacağım demiyorum. (Japon, 2011, on page 90 in the text)
13. Bağ benim belletirim, ... benim elletirim... Adam ayı gibi kadın ruhundan anlamaz, bir vol ısmarladım diye kapatması olmamı bekliyor, bekledikleri olmayınca da başlıyor orospu, yalancı, kahpe bilmem ne demeye. Aslında adamın ağzını burnunu kırdırırım ama, sonuçta esnafız yakışık almaz... (G.Hanım, 2011, on page 92 in the text)
14. Fethiye’de Metro yazıhanesinde çalışıyorum. Bilet kesiyorum, patrona çay dağıtıyorum filan. Maaşım, asgari ücretten az, sigorta yatıyor yatmıyor. Sanırım 500 tl civarında bir para alıyorum, yıl 2004. Bu para, yeme içme ve yol parasına tam geliyor. Tabii gençlik var, bazen arkadaşlarla dışarıya çıkıyoruz, sinemaya gidiyoruz, bir yerlere yemeğe gidiyoruz. Yetmeyen yerini kredi kartımdan geçiyorum. Başlarda iyiydi, idare ediyordum. Sonra döndürememeye başladım. Babamdan para istedim, kredi kartımı yatıracağım dedim. O da ‘siktir git, nasıl yediysen öyle yatır,’ dedi. Parayı yatırmamam, eve haciz gelecek, para verecek kimse yok. Bazen kızına baktığım, bi kons kadın vardı, o hep derdi gençliğin güzelliğin var, gel sen bu işe gir, parayı kırarsın diye. Tabii ki reddediyordum, fakat çok sıkışınca çaresiz kaldım ve girdim. O zaman niyetim, birkaç ay kalıp borçlarımı ödeyip alemi terk etmekte ama, gördüğün gibi aradan yedi yıl geçmiş hala buradayım. (Japon, 2011, on page 108 in the text)

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(G.Hanım, personal communication, June 2011 [3])
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