GENDERED EXPERIENCES OF MODERN CITIES IN THE NOVELS OF TURKISH AND MEXICAN WOMEN WRITERS

SENA HATİCE AKALIN ARSLANALP

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY 2019

GENDERED EXPERIENCES OF MODERN CITIES IN THE NOVELS OF TURKISH AND MEXICAN WOMEN WRITERS

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Critical and Cultural Studies

by

Sena Hatice Akalın Arslanalp

Boğaziçi University

2019

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Sena Hatice Akalın Arslanalp certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature....

Date. 08, 07, 2015

ABSTRACT

Gendered Experiences of Modern Cities

in the Novels of Turkish and Mexican Women Writers

This thesis examines Adalet Ağaoğlu's *Lying Down to Die* (1973) and María Luisa Puga's Panic or Danger (*Pánico o Peligro*) (1983) to study how women writers in non-western geographies reflect upon the relationship between women and modern cities. Drawing on feminist scholarship on the gendered experiences of modernity and urban space, this thesis shows how Puga and Ağaoğlu illustrate the significant role that the daily experience of modern cities plays in the self-discovery and self-realization of women characters in the modernizing cities of Ankara and Mexico City. This process takes place via their encounters with patriarchal relations, class inequalities, and dominant political discourses that are embedded in the spaces of these two national capitals. The thesis also argues that Puga and Ağaoğlu's literary reproduction of the cityscapes from the perspective of women protagonists is simultaneously a critique of and a contribution to the gendered cultural memories of the cities.

ÖZET

Türkiyeli ve Meksikalı Kadın Yazarların Romanlarında Modern Kentin Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Deneyimi

Bu tez, Adalet Ağaoğlu'nun Ölmeye Yatmak (1973) ve María Luisa Puga'nın Panik veya Tehlike (Pànico o Peligro) (1983) romanlarına odaklanarak batı-dışı coğrafyalardaki kadın yazarların, kadın ve modern kent ilişkisine olan yaklaşımlarını inceler. Tez, modernite ve kent mekanının toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında tecrübe edilişini ele alan feminist literatürden faydalanır ve Puga ve Ağaoğlu'nun romanlarında modern kentteki günlük deneyimlerin, kadın karakterlerin kendilerini bulma ve öz-gerçekleştirme süreçlerinde ne kadar önemli bir rol oynadığını gösterir. Söz konusu bu süreçler, kadın karakterlerin Ankara ve Mexico City'nin kentsel mekanlarına hakim olan ataerkil düzenle, sınıfsal eşitsizliklerle ve baskın siyasi söylemlerle olan karşılaşmaları ve deneyimleri üzerinden gerçekleşir. Bu tez ayrıca, Puga ve Ağaoğlu'nun kadın ana karakterlerin gözünden kenti yazınsal anlamda yeniden ürettikleri Panik veya Tehlike ve Ölmeye Yatmak romanlarını, Mexico City ve Ankara'nın cinsiyetçi kültürel belleğine yapılmış feminist bir müdahale olduğunu savunur.

To my mother and Mert for their endless love, support, and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The experience of modernity from male perspective	6
1.3 Gender and modernity	10
1.4 The relationship between women and the city	14
1.5 Imagining the woman as a <i>flâneur</i>	18
1.6 City, cultural memory and women's experiences	22
CHAPTER 2: GENDERED EXPERIENCES OF THE CITY: TRACING T	THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIES AND WOMEN IN ADALET AĞA	OĞLU'S
NOVEL LYING DOWN TO DIE	27
2.1 The making of a modern capital and "the new woman"	29
2.2 Masculinity and class in the city	58
2.3 Aysel as a <i>flâneuse</i>	76
CHAPTER 3: A WOMAN'S SELF EXPLORATION PROCESS IN MARÍ	A LUISA
PUGA'S NOVEL: PANIC OR DANGER.	85
3.1 Creating a personal map of the city	93
3.2 Growing up in Mexico City	101
3.3 A room of her own	121
3.4 Susana's awakening.	129
CHAPTER 4 : CONCLUSION	137
APPENDIX A: LYING DOWN TO DIE QUOTES IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE (TURKISH)	143

APPENDIX B: PANIC Of	R DANGER QUOTES	IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE	Е
(SPANISH)			47
REFERENCES:		1	62

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I examine how women writers reflect upon the relationship that women build with modernizing cities by analyzing two novels from two non-western countries. The first of these novels is *Lying Down to Die* (1973) written by Adalet Ağaoğlu, who is one of the most prominent Turkish writers in 20th century Turkish literature. The second one is *Panic or Danger* (Pànico o Peligro) (1983) written by one of the most influential writers of Mexico, María Luisa Puga who passed away in 2004.

Through an analysis of these novels, this thesis seeks to address whether it is possible to talk about a female *flâneur* figure and what kind of complications such an engagement raises. In pursuing answers to these questions, the thesis specifically looks at the role of urban experience in the subjectivity formation of women, the relationship between *flânerie* and memory in the experience of urban modernity, and the contributions of the literary accounts of women's urban experience to the gendered cultural memories of cities. The thesis claims that the activity of flânerie indeed takes place at two levels: first, at the level of the women protagonist of the novels who are transformed through their experience of the modern city; and secondly at the level of the women writers of these novels, who subvert the gendered cultural memory of their cities by reflecting and writing about the cities they inhabit. As such, the thesis sees the activity of flânerie not simply as an activity of reflecting on the city while walking within it but also as an activity of producing texts that contain these reflections as David Frisby argues (Frisby, 2001, p. 29).

In both novels, the reader walks in the footsteps of the women protagonists, Aysel in Ankara, and Susana in Mexico City as Ağaoğlu and Puga narrate their coming-of-age stories. In *Lying Down to Die*, we accompany Aysel from her childhood until she is a grown-up woman in Ankara. In Puga's novel *Panic or Danger*, we witness how Mexico City is an essential part of the self- discovery process of the protagonist Susana. She slowly finds her voice and constructs her selfhood through observing and experiencing the daily life of Mexico City. Moreover, both of these novels illustrate to a great extent how in non-western countries women live and experience the urban life. My analysis of both novels shows how the modern city plays a crucial role in the self-discovery processes of women characters.

Despite their obvious historical and cultural differences, the reader can see many similarities between the capital cities where the stories unfold. Both Mexico City and Ankara share certain similar features due to being the metropolises of late developing countries. During the first half of 20th century, they were considered to be part of the global periphery. Since both of these capital cities are situated very proximate to the centers of powers, Europe in the case of Turkey and US in the case of Mexico, they were very much influenced by the Western urban models throughout their history. For Mexico City, this was a continuous process from its colonization in 16th century onwards, while in Ankara it was in fact the new modernizing regime that actively emulated the Western attempt. Nonetheless both Mexico and Turkey have unique historical and cultural backgrounds; therefore, their modernization processes had many peculiarities and differences than the ones that took place in European countries and United States. For both countries, the modernization in the 20th century was conceived by their proponents as a radical rupture from their country's pasts.

The Mexican revolution which ended the 35 years long dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and the post-revolutionary regime of PRI explicitly adopted pre-colonial indigenous symbolism to emphasize its break with colonial history and the construction of a modern and sovereign Mexican society. In the case of Turkey, it was again very unusual for a non-western Muslim country to go through a radical transformation to achieve a more secular and modern society. Although some initial modernization steps had been taken during the late period of Ottoman Empire, the country began to experience a mass scale of modernization only after the Turkish Independence War when the new Republican regime implemented series of political, economic, legal, social, and cultural reforms between 1920s and 30s.

These similarities reveal themselves when the women protagonists of both novels reflect upon the urban life that surrounds them. For instance, it is interesting to see how both protagonists' mothers move to urban centers from little towns between 1930s and 1940s. As both Turkey and Mexico considered "late developers", coming across to this detail in both novels is in fact not a coincidence. In comparison to Western countries, the mass scale rural-urban migration in both Mexico and Turkey took place much later. Moreover, both Puga and Ağaoğlu illustrate how belated modernization shaped the lives of the inhabitants of Ankara and Mexico City. In both novels, while strolling through the city, protagonists continuously notice the dramatic class differences revealed by many details of urban life which can also be considered as another important indicator of the late modernization of both capitals.

I think both of these novels can be seen to a certain extent as Puga's and Ağaoğlu's attempt to reflect upon the lives of women experiencing modernity in the urban space. They also immensely contribute to the cultural memories of Ankara and

Mexico City by registering the details of daily life from the perspective of a female gaze. For this reason, one of the arguments of this thesis that Puga and Ağaoğlu's literary reproduction of the cityscapes show us the multitude forms in which women writers participate in the process of introducing their own personal maps of the cities to the literary cartography. They do this, by living and experiencing the modern city life and later reflecting upon those experiences in their textual work. Since this field is heavily shaped by the literary maps embodying the perceptions and impressions of male subjectivity, I argue that Puga's and Ağaoğlu's novels should be read and considered as a feminist critique of as much as a contribution to the body of modern literature on cities. By representing the modern cityscape from the point of view of women characters, these writers question and unsettle the long tradition of reading and writing the modern city through the male gaze. Moreover, their creation of urban women characters like Susana and Aysel shed light on the daily experiences of millions of ordinary women living in urban areas. Both of these novels also remind us once again how women's experiences of urban space, especially the ones living in non- western geographies, are being continuously neglected when in the vast body of literary writings that reflect upon the modern urban life.

In both *Panic and Danger* and *Lying Down to Die*, along with the women protagonists, the modern national capitals where the stories unfold occupy a significant space in the narrative scheme. While both Susana and Aysel are growing up, Mexico City and Ankara are not merely background settings: these two cities transform and shape their characters.

By writing *Lying Down to Die* and *Panic or Danger* both Adalet Ağaoğlu and María Luisa Puga undertake the activity of *flânerie*. Because both of these women writers not only observe the daily life of the cities that they inhabit but by

reflecting upon their own observations and experiences in the city they contribute to the reproduction of the cityscape through a female gaze. Furthermore, I also argue that since literary texts are important mediums of cultural memory (Erll, 2011, p. 145) I believe both Ağaoğlu and Puga illustrate us how women's voices, memories, feelings, desires, and experiences are integral and also essential in the formation of that memory. By being inspired by their own experiences and many other women's in the urban space, these women writers in a way assume the role of mediators and represent their readers how at a certain period of time (the time period changes throughout both of these novels) Ankara and Mexico City were experienced by their women inhabitants. Therefore, I think both Puga's and Ağaoğlu's novels should also be considered as an attempt to intervene to the gendered cultural memory and give voice to the everyday life experiences and the memories of ordinary women.

In order to elaborate and develop the above-mentioned arguments, rest of this chapter will engage with various scholarships which are in fact all connected to one major theme: the experience of modernity in the urban space. Therefore, I will first start with looking at some classical texts that have been written on the experience of modernity in cities. In both of the novels, the reader can easily notice that the modern life not only constantly changes and constructs the space but it also influences and shapes the way people experience and live in that space as well. Subjectivity formations of both Aysel and Susana go hand in hand with the way they experience and engage with the modern urban life. However, as I will touch upon in the following paragraphs, within the vast body of literature on modernity, women's experiences of modernity in cities is a subject which has been largely neglected. In order to understand the relationship between modern life and the self-discovery processes of the both women protagonists, I will discuss the arguments of feminist

scholars who reread the writings on modernity from the perspective of feminist theory. Following the critique of the gendered representation of modernity, I will take a look at the relationship between women and the urban space and show how different feminist scholars approach this issue. Following this section, I will concentrate on how feminist scholars reread one of the most important figures of modernity, the flâneur from a feminist perspective and secondly how they discussed whether it is possible to talk about a female flâneur figure in modern cities. Finally, in the last part of this chapter, I will first examine the relationship between flânerie and cultural memory and later discuss how gender plays a crucial role in shaping cultural memory. Furthermore, in line with the theme of this section, I will demonstrate how Ağaoğlu and Puga through their literary works attempt to challenge gendered collective memory of both Ankara and Mexico City.

1.2 The experience of modernity from male perspective

Without a doubt, Baudelaire's *Paris Spleen* (1869) is one of the most fundamental texts written on the urban experience of modernity. According to Marshall Berman (1983) *Paris Spleen* succeeds to give his readers a sense and an idea on what it means to live in a city where modern life materializes on a daily basis (p. 146). However, even before writing the *Paris Spleen*, Baudelaire as an art critic published a review booklet about the artworks that he saw on the annual exhibition of the Salon at the Musée Royal (Louvre). In his review of the 1846 exhibition which he titled as *The Heroism of Modern Life*, he had already shown his inclination towards depicting the qualities and characteristics of modern life in Paris. This review urges artists to reflect upon the "epic qualities of modern life" (Baudelaire, 1995, p. 37). He argues that the modern life of the city was "rich in poetic and wonderful subjects" and

"scenes of high life and thousands of uprooted lives that haunt the underworld of a great city, criminals and prostitutes" (Baudelaire, 1964, p. 107). By the time he began writing *Paris Spleen*, the medieval Paris, which once constituted of many villages like small clusters almost independent from one another, was already destroyed by the ambitious urban modernization plans implemented by Hausmann under the rule of Napoleon III (Berman, 1983, p. 147).

To explain the dramatic change that took place in Paris which later had a huge influence throughout in Europe, David Harvey (2004) states that Hausmann "bludgeoned the city into modernity" (p. 3). This is in fact precisely what happened in Paris; the mass scale modernization plan of Hausmann destroyed the entire old neighborhoods to transform the city and construct big boulevards and modern buildings. With the construction of these new places, the daily life practices of the Parisians changed dramatically. Berman (1983), claims that with all these qualities, Paris became "a uniquely enticing spectacle, a visual and sensual feast" (p. 151). In medieval Paris, the huge economic differences couldn't be noticed on a daily basis because the city was constituted of "inner-city neighborhoods" "slums" where majority of the Parisian lower classes were living. The construction of big urban public spaces and boulevards required the destruction of these neighborhoods. Thus, Berman (1983) argues that all of a sudden, all those poor people whom the rich people did not want to encounter poured into the city center because they simply had no place else to go (p. 151).

In line with Paris becoming a modern city, the mindset of its inhabitants also began to adapt to the modernization process. Berman (1983) argues that in the prose poem "The Eyes of Poor" published in *Paris Spleen*, Baudelaire demonstrates how modernity creates individuals who are engaged with constant self-interrogation.

Since the newly built boulevards and large public spaces enabled everyone to observe each other, all of a sudden, the city began to function as a mirror for its inhabitants. From that moment onwards, people from all classes had a chance to observe one another as they circulate in urban space. Rich people sitting in the new cafés situated in the large boulevards of Paris began to see the misery of poor people and poor people at the same time saw the lavish life style of rich people. According to Berman (1983), the visibility of the class divisions in the modern city "opens up new divisions within the modern self" (p. 159). It is important to mention here that modernization of Paris through the construction of large boulevards and public spaces while opening up the city and breaking down the social differences also made visible to everyone the daily practices of different segments of the society and how they use the urban space. Although I will elaborate in detail in the following chapters, it is important to point out now that in both novels that I analyze characters reflect upon the details of daily life of the cities while walking around them. Just like Baudelaire's Paris, the cities they inhabit constantly reveal to them how people from different socioeconomic backgrounds use the urban space.

Similar to Baudelaire, Georg Simmel in his cultural critique of modernity points out the differences and deep contrasts that the modern life of the metropolis makes visible in the eyes of its inhabitants. According to Simmel (1950), the existence of every human being is very much dependent on the encounters with the differences (p. 412).

Simmel argues that unlike people living in the rural areas, the inhabitants of modern cities due to being constantly stimulated by the immense flow of "external stimuli" induced by encountering differences, unknowingly develop a shield which he refers as "blasé" outlook. Simmel (1950), describes this shield as a "protective

organ", which functions by adopting a rational attitude rather than an emotional one (p. 413). According to Simmel (1950) this indifferent attitude enables city residents to protect their inner lives from the constant chaos of the modern life. However, he also draws our attention to the negative aspects of the blasé attitude. He claims that this type of protective behavior ultimately creates over rationalized, insensitive individuals.

Simmel's arguments are visible in *Lying Down to Die* and *Panic or Danger*. In both novels, women protagonists experience the feeling of alienation and frustration triggered by the blasé attitude of the crowds of the modern city. Both Puga and Ağaoğlu in a way give their readers clear indications of how women resist more with developing a blasé attitude which Simmel seems to take granted for everyone. Their women protagonists constantly question the injustices, violence, and inequalities that they stumble upon in the city on a daily rather than protecting themselves with a blasé attitude. Consequently, I also would like to point out that the personalities of these women take shape through their experiences of the differences that they encounter in the modern urban space. Simmel in his essay on "Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903) dwells upon the impacts of living in the modern metropolises on the inner lives of individuals. He focuses on the question of how the individuals respond to the daily life experiences in the modern urban space. He sees the human personality as an open-ended entity. Thus, Simmel's argument on how the individuals nourish their personalities through their encounters in the public sphere and their experience of urban daily life echoes with my analysis of how the characters in both novels gradually construct their selfhood by encountering social differences in modern urban space.

1.3 Gender and modernity

While the majority of the classic texts predominantly choose men as their primary subjects and focus on their experiences as if women's experience of modernity in the cities has nothing significant to offer, feminist scholars such as Janet Wolff (1985) Deborah Parsons (2000) and Rita Felski (1995) in their work not only criticize this male dominant perspective but also draw attention to the writings by women that explore the experiences of women in the modern city.

Rita Felski (1995) in her study on gender of modernity draws attention to one of the most classic books written on the experience of modernity, "All That Is Solid Melts into Air" by Marshal Berman. She argues that all the exemplary heroes of modernity such as Baudelaire, Marx, and Faust that Berman present in his work are not only symbols of modernity but also of masculinity (Felski, 1995, p. 2). Felski claims that Berman is not the only scholar who identifies femininity with tradition and masculinity with modernity. Early romanticists saw femininity as a way of escaping the malicious impacts of progress that the modernity entailed. Later on, some feminist scholars also embraced their nostalgic representations of femininity as well (Felski, 1995:2). According to Felski (1995), there was a general belief among some feminist scholars that all the phenomena such as "industry, consumerism, the modern city, the mass media and technology" were in a certain way symbolized masculinity and all those values related with "intimacy and authenticity", things that stood far away from the "dehumanizing and alienating logic of modernity", represented femininity (p. 17). However, Felski (1995) refuses to repeat these dualistic formulations that in a way disregard and omit women's experience of modernity. She argues that all these claims stem from generalities that single out the possibility of seeing the experience of modernity through the eyes of women. She

notes that "the essentially masculine nature of modernity effectively writes women out of history by ignoring their active and varied negotiations with different aspects of their environment" (Felski, 1995, p. 17-18). Thus, Felski (1995) argues that while the contemporary theories of modernism due to being "male-centered" continuously ignore the experiences of women, this should not prevent feminist scholars from examining how women's lives were influenced by the experience of modernity. She asks:

How would our understanding of modernity change if instead of taking male experience as paradigmatic, we were to look instead at texts written primarily by or about women? And what if feminine phenomena, often seen as having a secondary or marginal status were given a central importance in the analysis of the culture of modernity? (Felski, 1995, p. 10)

Janet Wolff is another feminist scholar that rereads the classic texts written on the experience of modernity from a feminist perspective. She draws our attention to the symbols of modernity which are reserved only for male subjectivities. She argues that scholars who analyze classical texts of modernity such as Marshal Berman and Richard Sennett are in fact not to blame (Wolff, 1985, p. 8). According to Wollf (1985) both Berman and Sennett are fully aware of the fact that women experiences of modern life in cities differ and should be taken into consideration as well. In the case of Berman for instance, Wolff (1985) mentions how he suggests Jane Jacob's famous book *The Death and Life of the Great Cities* (1961) as an exemplary study for his readers and states that with this book Jacobs "fully articulated woman's view of the city".

In the case of Richard Sennett, Wolf (1985) also argues that in his famous book on modernity: "The Fall of Public Man" Sennett actually is not careless by choosing the title of his book as "Public Man" because looking at the vast body of

literature on modernity it is indeed true that the public person whose demise Sennett tries to explore was actually man, not woman (p. 37).

To conclude her point, Wolff (1985), argues that it is problematic that male scholars tend to focus solely on male heroes of the modernity; however, the real problem resides on the fact that the literature of modernity "has been impoverished by ignoring the lives of women" because for a long time, scholars of modernity preferred to focus solely on the experience of public space (p. 41). The private spaces which were considered as "women's domain" in the large part of history were excluded from the literature of modernity. Therefore, Wolff (1985) argues that when we come across any classical text written on the experience of modernity, it usually focuses on the experience of men in the public space rather than women's experience of private spaces. Wolff (1985) also suggests that in order to find out more about how women experienced modernity, we should focus on women's experiences of modernity within the private spaces. Furthermore, she claims that all those subjects that Berman and Sennett focus are male because all the figures that symbolize the modern life within the literature of modernity such as "the dandy", "the flâneur", "the hero", "the stranger" were created only for male subjectivities, not for women.

In order to elaborate her arguments, Wolff (1985) analyzes Baudelaire's essays and poems. In her analysis, she points out that Baudelaire quite often uses female city dwellers such as the "widow", "lesbian", "old woman" or "prostitute".

However, he always treats these women dwellers as side character whom his male flâneur figure finds interesting to look at and reflect upon. In fact, they are only the subjects of "his gaze". Moreover, Wollf (1985) argues that there is not one single woman figure in Baudelaire's writings, who does not fit into the category of marginal and he always portrays them with masculine manners (p. 41).

Similar to Wolff, Deborah Parsons makes a revisionist reading of classical texts on modernity as well. She focuses on Baudelaire poems in *Paris Spleen* (1869). In contrast to Wolff, however, Parsons (2000) argues that the women city dwellers that we frequently come across in Baudelaire's poems, although continuously being objectified as in the case of "prostitutes" and degraded, in fact take an active part in the street life and they are actually observers of urban life from the beginning (p. 39-40). She finds Wolff's approach problematic in terms of not giving any agency to these women. The analysis of each women figure that is part of Baudelaire's texts leads Parsons to question the common assumption that feminist scholars such as Griselda Pollack and Janet Wolff make regarding the "masculinity of the public space" in the 19th century (Parsons, 2000, p. 39-40). Parsons (2000) claims that although we are seeing women city dwellers through Baudelaire's objectifying gaze, one can again easily notice that these women such as "the old lady" "the widow" "the prostitute" were already active participants of 19th century city life of Paris. In one occasion, Parsons demonstrates that even Baudelaire who almost never assumes that these women themselves can be careful observants of the city life, describes a bunch of courtesans these words: "They come and go, pass and repass, their eyes wide and astonished like the eyes of animals; they have an air of seeing nothing, but they scrutinize everything" (Baudelaire, 2010, p. 53). Therefore, Parsons (2000) argues the women city dwellers whom Baudelaire do not give any agency, by just being part of the streets and acutely observing what is happening on the streets actually subvert the gendered definition of the experience of modernity in the urban space (p. 27). Consequently, her rereading of Baudelaire's texts also enables us to notice something else, these women were actually not passive and as de Certeau would claim they were in fact actively practicing the space by using the streets.

Furthermore, both Janet Wolff (1985) and Griselda Pollock (1988) in their work also focus on one of the most emblematic figures of modernity: the figure of flâneur. They both argue that flâneur is a masculine figure and there can never be a female equivalent for this figure because throughout the 19th century women simply did not have the luxury to stroll along streets as freely as men and observe the crowds. According to these scholars while men could enjoy experiencing and observing the public sphere, women in general were still confined to the private sphere throughout 19th century. Thus, it is useless to try to come up with a female version of flâneur. Both of these scholars claim that in order to undertake the activity of flânerie in 19th century one had to be truly independent. And this independence was solely reserved to white bourgeois men (Wolff, 1985, p. 42). However, Deborah Parsons contests Wolff's arguments. Parsons criticizes Wolff for looking at this emblematic figure from a very narrow perspective. According to Parsons (2000) Wolff defines *flâneur* as a "socio- historical" figure. Thus, this leads her to come to a conclusion that the figure of flâneur was solely reserved for men coming from a wealthy background (p.40).

1.4 The relationship between women and the city

Yet the city, a place of growing threat and paranoia to men, might be a place of liberation for women. The city offers women freedom... Perhaps the 'disorder' of the urban life does not so much disturb women. If this is so, it may be because they have not internalized as rigidly as men a need for over-rationalistic control and authoritarian order. The socialization of women renders them less dependent on duality and opposition; instead of setting nature against the city, they find nature in the city. (Wilson, 1992, p. 8)

Until the last few decades, the field of urban history in general focused on male experiences, participation, and representation of cities. (Maksudyan, 2014, p. 1). Only in the recent decades, with the increase of studies on the history of women,

women's presence and engagement in urban space started to be reconsidered. (Maksudyan 2014:2). A central question guiding these studies is in what ways women's experience of the city life, how they inhabit and associate with it, differs from men. This question has been taken into account by scholars who focus on the intersection of gender and space in urban studies. (see McDowell,1999, Massey, 1994, Day,2011). In the last decades both scholars of gender studies and urban studies started to bring two topics together: the city and the women's experiences of the city.

Linda McDowell (1999) questions the link between gender and geography, specifically how men and women experience spaces and places differently (p.11). McDowell (1999) argues that modern cities designed by men distinguished and drew boundaries between places for male use and female use. She states "certain buildings - monasteries and convents are the most obvious example, but also some schools and clubs - are strictly for one sex only, other buildings, because of their grandeur and their long association with masculine forms of power, may be intimidating to enter, not only for many women but also for men in less powerful class positions" (McDowell, 1999, p. 96). As McDowell suggests women's relationship with the modern city is codified by the norms and the rules determined by men and as an outcome women's daily experience of urban life shows radical differences from men's urban experience. Similar to McDowell, Elizabeth Wilson (1992) focuses on these radical differences and argues that the middle-class white men practically own the streets of the city and "women must always make a conscious claim, must each time assert anew their right to be 'streetwalker'" (p. 139). Wilson's argument suggests that there is an inequality in terms of inclusion in the city and women's

experience of the streets is a great example of how women are still not granted full and free access to city life as men.

Looking at the history of the modern cities is crucial in order to understand how throughout time women's experiences of urban life differed from men. Starting from the industrial revolution with the emergence of the modern cities, the social construction of gender divisions between men and women continued to be practiced through spatial divisions between public and private spheres (McDowell,1999, p. 11). The classic binary divisions of the Western thought such as body and mind, emotions, and rationality, feminine and masculine as expanded to space as private and public sphere. The spatial divisions between public and private spheres determined and confined the places where women should remain. For example, during the 19th century in the Western traditional bourgeois societies, "home" was coded as the women's place while the streets, squares, bars, and cafés were considered as dangerous spaces exclusively for men until the mid-20th century.

She states: "The dawn of modernism was a city for men. The boulevards and cafes, and still more the bars and brothels, were for men - the women who did go there were for male consumption" (Massey, 1994, p. 234).

Scholars who focused on the history of middle eastern and other non-western women's experience of modernity also problematize the binary division of public and private spheres to understand how women especially in Middle East with the process of modernization associated themselves with the city and gradually gained agency. (see: Maksudyan 2014, Köksal & Falierou 2013, Thompson 2013, Fleischmann 1999). Elizabeth Thompson (2013) examines the work of Middle Eastern feminist scholars who questions the Western dualistic gender boundaries

applied as spatial divisions within the city. According to Thompson in non-western societies, there is not a big gap between private and public spheres. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (2013) in line with the arguments of Thompson focus on the participation of late Ottoman and early Republican Turkish women in public sphere and state that: "The 'publicness' of the public sphere is being re-negotiated, now that it has become apparent that women in late Ottoman society could be publicly involved, for example, in writing-literature, journal articles, letters- even from the confinement of their homes; by attending public conferences for women, schools, public baths, and shopping places; or by engaging in charitable, philanthropic or patriotic activities and associations" (p. 12). The way Ottoman women and later Turkish women parallel to modernization process engaged with the urban life is very crucial for me to understand how Adalet Ağaoğlu, as part of the 50s generation Turkish women writers, engaged with Ankara's urban life and used her observations and experiences in her writings. Elizabeth Wilson (1992) argues that feminist writings for decades perceived city as a place dangerous for women.

She proposes that we should break free from the idea that city is predominantly hostile towards women or city culture only reflects men's world. She argues that although women suffered and continue to suffer from the issues of safety, welfare, and protection in the city, they use urban space to gain more agency (Wilson, 1992, p. 10). I think Wilson's argument regarding how we should reconsider the relationship between women and the city is essential in terms of understanding how non-Western women came up with solutions and strategies to be part of the urban life.

1.4 Imagining the *flâneur* as a woman

In this thesis, I argue that both Puga and Ağaoğlu as women writers undertake the activity of flâneire and assume the role of flâneuse in two ways. First, their reflections on the urban life of the cities they inhabit later become part of their literary reproduction of the cityscapes. Secondly, in their literary works they tell us the stories of women characters who experience and observe the city life. These women protagonists just like Puga and Ağaoğlu appear in the stories as flâneurs as well. From a very early age they stroll through the cities they inhabit and their interactions with the urban life gradually influence their subjectivity formations as well. Deborah Parsons (2000) states that: "The flâneur parallels with the idea of search and in the abstract wandering in the city and this search would seem to be not for place but for self and identity" (p. 41). Both Aysel and Susana's journey of selfdiscovery on the streets of Ankara and Mexico City fits perfectly into Parsons' revised definition of flâneur. But before presenting in more in detail how Parsons came up with a more encompassing definition for this figure, I will first look at the history of flâneur figure and later present the debate among feminist scholars on whether it is possible for women in our century to assume the role of flâneur.

The figure of the flâneur originated in Paris during the 19th century and since then it became one of the most emblematic figures of modernity. Many scholars in their writings on the experience of modernity analyzed this figure of flâneur exhaustively. Both Elizabeth Willson (1992) and Deborah Parsons (2000) in their writings which aim to discover a female version of this figure trace the origins of flâneur. According to Willson (1992) flâneur was recognized for the first time as a figure by an anonymous pamphlet published in 1806 (p. 75). The term was used to describe an "urban individual" called Monsieur Bonhomme. In this pamphlet

Monsieur Bonhomme was described as a loiterer and all his characteristics coincides with the flâneur figure that both Baudelaire and Benjamin later would use (p.75). Both Wilson (1993) and Parsons (2000) point out that the Nineteenth-Century Encyclopedia Larousse defines flâneur as a person "who loiters in the city, shopping and watching" "predominantly an idler" but he can also be "an artist" (p. 17).

According to Keith Tester (2006), another scholar who wrote extensively on the figure of *flâneur*, Baudelaire is the first poet who made flâneur well known to general public (p.1). Baudelaire was already influenced by this figure before writing *Paris Spleen*. In his famous essay "The Painter of the Modern Life" on the paintings of Constantin Guy, Baudelaire portrays Guy as a perfect example of flâneur because he not only walks the streets of Paris and avidly observes the crowds; he also succeeds to transmit his reflections upon the daily life of the city on to his canvases. Therefore, even in mid-19th century the flâneur figure was not only an idler and a leisurely stroller, but also a reproducer of the cityscape in his work.

Following the portrayal of Constantin Guy, Baudelaire begins to write feuillettons (Berman resembles feuillettons to the Op-Ed articles published in newspapers) in a newspaper. The collection of these feuillettons later would be published under the name of *Paris Spleen*. In these writings, this time Baudelaire himself undertakes the activity of flâneire. Through his daily strolls in modernizing Paris, he reflects upon the changes that are taking place in the streets and observes the daily life practices of Parisians who are trying to adopt themselves to the new rhythm of the modern urban life.

David Frisby (2001) analyzing Benjamin's works such as *Paris, the Capital* of the Nineteenth Century and his Arcades Project argues that Walter Benjamin is one of the most important writers who contributed to the reconfiguration of the

flâneur figure. According to Frisby (2001) in order to analyze flânerie as an activity one must first understand that it has various dimensions. Flânerie is not only about walking and observing, but also about "reading of metropolitan life and of texts" and "producing texts" (Frisby, 2001, p. 29). Frisby (2001) states that "The flâneur may therefore not merely be an observer or even a decipherer; the flâneur can also be a producer, a producer of literary texts (including lyrical and prose poetry as in the case of Baudelaire) a producer of illustrative texts (including drawings and painting), a producer of narratives and reports, a producer of journalistic texts, a producer of sociological texts" (p. 29). He then draws our attention to Benjamin's books such as "One Way Street" or "Berlin Childhood" and argues that these books perfectly illustrate us the close connection between the activity of flânerie with the production of literary texts (Frisby, 2001, p. 45).

Frisby actually does not change or revise the definition of flâneur. One of the dimensions of flâneur as a producer of the cityscape through different aesthetic productions started with Baudelaire and in a way continued long after him. However, among the textual works related to city life, textual productions of women flanêuse especially from non-western geographies are unfortunately underestimated. This is one of the reasons why I chose to focus on *Lying Down to Die* and *Panic or Danger*. In both of these novels, Ağaoğlu and Puga as women writers follow the footsteps of Baudelaire and Benjamin and many other writers who came after them and explore the modern life in their cities in textual form. However, we should not overlook the long tradition of conceptualizing the figure of flâneur as a white male coming from a wealthy background and ask whether it is possible for women such as Ağaoğlu and Puga and their women protagonists Susana and Aysel to undertake the activity of flânerie. Can we talk about a female flâneur figure?

Parsons (2000) in her analysis of the flâneur demonstrates that she approaches this figure as a "metaphor for a style of observation adapted to the modern city", thus this perspective gives her a chance to look at this figure from a broader angle (p. 40). She argues that both Pollack and Wollf by stating that women were in a great extent confined to private spaces throughout 19th century actually accept the dichotomy of public and private spheres. According to Parsons (2000) accepting that women simply did not experience the public space throughout the 19th century actually means that both of these scholars ignore the existence of women who around that time actually took an active role in the public sphere such as prostitutes, cross-dressing artists, such as Rosa Bonheur and George Sand, and other women city dwellers, such as the ones we come across in Baudelaire's texts. Parsons (2000) also criticizes Wolf and Pollock for overlooking the "transmutations that flâneur went through from nineteenth to twentieth century" (p. 41). According to her, after Benjamin the figure of flâneur was approached by scholars, such as de Certeau more as a metaphor for the activity of urban observation and strolling rather than a figure with a fixed masculine identity (Parsons, 2000, p. 41). Consequently, Parsons proposes an alternative to the figure of flâneur: the *flâneuse*. She argues that cities are still dangerous for women but through time without a doubt they became more accessible and in parallel to that women became more adventurous (Parsons, 2000, p. 41-42). In her study of flâneuse, she looks at the way women undertake the activity of flânerie and analyzes the work of many women writers such as Amy Levy, Dorothy Richardson, Djuna Barnes, Elizabeth Bowen and Doris Lessing. Parsons (2000) shows her readers that these women writers wrote extensively on the perception of urban women as well as the varied experiences of women of the modern cities. Consequently, although I will elaborate it in the following chapters, I

would like to point out that Parsons's book "Streetwalking in the Metropolis-Women, the City and Modernity" has been a very valuable source for me. In my study of Puga's and Ağaoğlu's novels I examined the experiences of women protagonists of the urban space by drawing upon her arguments on the activity of flânerie and how women can also assume the role of flâneuse.

1.5 City, cultural memory, and women's experiences

The activity of flânerie is closely associated with memory. Walter Benjamin himself in his memoirs on Berlin, *The Berlin Chronicle* and *A Berlin Childhood around* 1900, demonstrates the palimpsestic aspect of the city and how through *flânerie* one can excavate the city's different layers and at the same time retrieve his or her individual past. In these books the city speaks to Benjamin and enables him to discover the depths of his personality by revealing him his memories. Also, in his unfinished project, *The Arcades Project*, he mentions how flânerie is closely related with the act of remembering. He argues that one of the "basic experiences" of flânerie is "colportage phenomenon of space" According to Benjamin (1999) when this phenomenon takes place "the space winks at the flâneur." To elaborate on this phenomenon in the following page he writes that: "during the course of flânerie, faroff times and places interpenetrate the landscapes and the present moment" (p. 419).

Moreover, in his review of Franz Hessel's book *Strolling Berlin* (1929)

Benjamin (1999) also mentions that the city functions as a "mnemonic aid" for the "lonely walker" (p.194). Furthermore, he defines Hessel's activity of flanerie on the streets of Berlin as a "process of memorizing while strolling" (p. 194). According to Benjamin (1999) "memory is not a source but is a muse" for the flâneur (p. 194). This is also the case in the novels analyzed in this thesis where the city functions as a

mirror for women protagonists that triggers them to look upon their past. It reveals them many details about their childhood and youth and by following these details they conjure up their own personalized city maps.

In *Lying Down to Die* the reader can come across many details about the way young urban women used to live in the newly built capital city of Turkey between 1930s until early 1970s. Ağaoğlu's novel also allows us to reflect upon how historical processes such as construction of the newly established Turkish republic's modern capital city and the implementation of social and political reforms transformed the lives of women radically. By creating a character who grows up in a middle-class neighborhood in Mexico City, Puga in *Panic or Danger*, in fact represents the life of many middle class Mexican women living in Mexico City from 1960s to late 1970s.

Feminist scholars Mariana Hirsch and Valerie Smith (2002) argue in their study of gender and cultural memory that feminist scholarship which features the stories, artifacts, and many other cultural productions of women in many languages in a way radically changed and shaped the cultural memory of the late 20th century (p. 3). In order to define cultural memory, Hirsch, and Smith (2002) refer to Paul Connerton's notion of "act of transfer". They argue that through this act, people, and groups by recalling "a shared past" construct their identities. Hirsch and Smith (2002) note that cultural memory "is the product of fragmentary personal and collective experiences articulated through technologies and media that shape even as they transmit memory. Act of memory are thus acts of performance, representation, and interpretation. They require agents and specific contexts" (p. 5). What they refer as technologies are in fact mediums that transmit the cultural memory. Astrid Erll is another scholar who wrote extensively on cultural memory argues that these

technologies that transmit and represent cultural memory always work through narrative processes. Because as Paul Connerton (1989) states "to remember... is precisely not to recall events as isolated it is to become capable of forming meaningful narrative sequences" (p. 26). Thus, Erll (2011) refers to literature as one of the most important mediums of cultural memory (p. 144).

Furthermore, Hirsch and Smith (2002) also draw our attention to the relationship between gender and the construction of cultural memory. They argue that the things that are chosen to be remembered or to be forgotten are not random. Gender, class, and race dynamics in a society very much shape and transform our cultural memory. They state that "Gender is an inescapable dimension and differential power relations and cultural memory is always about the distribution of and conversed claims to power" (Hirsch & Smith, 2002, p. 6).

Taking into account their argument about the dynamics of the construction of cultural memory and the role gender plays in this process I believe Ağaoğlu's and Puga's novels as literary mediums of cultural memory, should be read as an attempt to challenge gendered collective memory of both Ankara and Mexico City. By inserting the experiences of women, they in a way constitute a literary countermemory of the urban spaces that have been heavily shaped and represented by the memories of men.

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to briefly touch upon how both novels engage with the theories that I have discussed so far. In the first section of this chapter, I discussed Baudelaire's *Paris Spleen*, one of the most classical texts written on the experience of modernity and I also briefly reflected upon the arguments of Simmel regarding the responses of individuals to the modern urban settings and moreover how they construct their personalities through their experience of modern

life. Since the lives and the personalities of the characters are directly shaped by their experiences of modern urban space, the arguments, and theories that I have mentioned in this section will be addressed frequently throughout my thesis. However, since these theories on the experience prioritize male experience, they fall short in terms of explaining how the women protagonists of both *PoP* and *Lying* Down to Die experience modernity in the urban space. In order understand how Susana and Aysel experience the modern urban space, I looked at how throughout the history women and especially non-western woman experience the urban space different than men. For instance, in this part I found Janet Wolff's argument rather problematic because she strengthens the public and private sphere dichotomy. Moreover, the discussions of different feminist scholars on whether it is possible to talk about a woman *flâneur* figure were very important for me because in the following chapters I argue that both women protagonists undertake the role of flânuese in order to discover their personalities. Therefore, drawing on Deborah Parsons's arguments on *flâneuse* and her redefinition of the flânerie as an activity for searching one's self-identity allow me to grasp how Aysel and Susana discover their identities through their experiences and observation of modern urban space. Furthermore, I discussed the relationship between memory and flânerie in the last section because I argue in what follows how Puga and Ağaoğlu in a way insert the experiences and testimonies of women into the gendered cultural memory of their cities by depicting the urban memories of two-woman characters.

The rest of this thesis is organized as follows: In the next chapter, I focus on Adalet Ağaoğlu's *Lying Down to Die*. In this chapter, I will look at the relationship between the city and women, how urban space shape and transform the life of the woman protagonist Aysel. And also, the various ways of experiencing modernizing

Ankara due to gender and class differences. In the third chapter, I will concentrate on Puga's novel *Panic or Danger*. In this chapter similar to the previous one I will examine the self-discovery journey of Susana in modernizing Mexico City and its effects on her identity formation. In the conclusion, I will make a summary of my arguments in this thesis and also examine some of the most important findings of my analysis of both novels.

CHAPTER 2

TRACING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIES AND WOMEN IN ADALET AĞAOĞLU'S NOVEL LYING DOWN TO DIE

Turkish novelist Adalet Ağaoğlu wrote the novel Ölmeye Yatmak- Lying Down to Die (the first novel of the trilogy which she named later as Dar Zamanlar (Hard Times) between 1968 and 1971. In Lying Down to Die, Ankara, the capital of Turkey is not only situated as a background but almost like a primary character in the story. In Turkish literature there are many novels that treat Ankara in a similar way such as Ankara (1934) by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Ayaşlı and His Tenants (1934) by Memduh Şevket Esendal, Noontime in Yenişehir (1973) by Sevgi Soysal. However, in terms of reflecting upon matters such as how women relate to the modern city life in the early period of the newly formed Turkish republic Lying Down to Die differs from the rest of these novels. As I will elaborate in the following paragraphs, Ağaoğlu's Lying Down to Die should be considered as a critique but also as a correction to the body of modern literary writings in the city which are mainly written from male perspective.

Ağaoğlu as a woman writer in this novel reflects upon the everyday life of Ankara through the point of view of a woman protagonist Aysel. She unsettles and questions the long tradition of reading and writing the modern city through the male gaze. By focusing on Aysel's transformation process in Ankara in a way, she sheds light on the daily life and experiences of many ordinary women who lived in the nation's capital during the early republican period. Moreover, I argue that Ağaoğlu undertakes the activity of flânerie by writing this novel. Because she not only observes the daily life of the city where she was born and later grew up, she

moreover uses her own memories, observations, and experiences to contribute to the reproduction Ankara's cityscape in the literary field. Furthermore, I also argue that Ağaoğlu's novel illustrates us how women's voices, memories, feelings, desire, and experiences are integral and also essential to the formation of the cultural memory of the city. By being inspired by her own experiences and many other women's living in Ankara, Ağaoğlu in a way assumes the role of a mediator and represents her readers how Ankara was experienced by its women inhabitants in a certain period of time.

Lying Down to Die is also special in terms of opening a window for reflecting upon the following questions: First, how did the construction of a new modern capital change the way women lived and experienced the city? Second, what were the impacts and consequences of the new republic's modernization and westernization processes upon the daily lives and routines of people from different economical classes during the late 1930s and 1940s? Thirdly, in what way do gender and class intersect in shaping everyday experience of urban space?

In this chapter my aim is to examine *Lying Down to Die* in light of the above-mentioned questions and primarily focus on the life of the woman protagonist, Aysel and explore her relationship with the city and how this relationship transforms through time. This transformation takes place when Aysel begins to question her role and identity in life. In parallel to her self-alienation, she also realizes that she no longer feels at home in the city where she lived most of her life. Aysel's identity struggle is in fact intrinsically connected to her relationship with the city. It is not a coincidence that in parallel to her feeling of estrangement, she also begins to perceive Ankara as a strange place as if it is not the city where she grew up. The observations and reflections of her last stroll through the city before deciding to go to

a hotel room to commit suicide in a way illustrates us how she loses her connection with the majority of Ankara's inhabitants after becoming a successful independent middle-class woman.

2.1 The making of a modern capital and "the new woman"

When the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, the most urgent issue that the new republican elite dealt with was the construction of a nation-state. This meant primarily envisioning and constructing the "ideal" modern Turkish national identity and at the same time building the new capital of the nation as a space which would embody the Turkish nationalistic spirit and modernist ideas. As a modest Ottoman town in the middle of Anatolia, Ankara served as a center for national independence struggle against Allied occupation during the World War I. Immediately following the victory, it was from this small town that the leading figures of the independence struggle announced the establishment of the Republic. For the Republican elite, breaking ties with the Ottoman past was crucial in order to build a new modernnation state. Thus, moving the capital from Istanbul which served as a capital for Ottoman Empire for 470 years to Ankara was the first step that they took after establishing the new Republic.

For the Republican elite, Ankara seemed like it had a great potential to be transformed. Sibel Bozdoğan (2002) in her work on Turkish nation-building and architecture states that: "Ankara's own insignificant past conveniently allowed republican modernizers to perceive and portray it as a tabula rasa upon which their grand vision could be implemented" (p. 68). They believed this small town would give them the possibility to materialize and inscribe their modernist ideas and nationalist vision. While constructing the new capital with the help of foreign

architects and urban planners, the new regime also began to implement series of cultural, social, and educational reforms that fastened the process of creating a modern identity for the Turkish citizens. The schools and institutions that were established in Ankara were the first attempts for the Turkish Republic to disseminate its nationalistic and modernist values and ideas to the people to enforce the vision of "ideal" Turkish citizen. Therefore, it would not be wrong to state that the new regime gave great importance to Ankara and how people lived in it because they believed that the modern capital and its inhabitants would serve as a model to the rest of the Turkey to emulate (Bozdoğan,2001, Şenol Cantek, 2016).

In the process of building the nation-state, the new regime without a doubt gave a special importance to transforming the traditional woman figure as well.

According to the founders of the republic, the transformation, and the modernization of Turkey's traditional society, which for centuries was dominated by the Islamic values, could only be achieved through the education of women and their participation in public life. Therefore, ensuring that the new generations of Turkish women's education would be in line with the vision of an ideal modern Republican woman identity was an utmost priority. In accordance with this, the young girls of the new Turkish republic were encouraged to be educated and take active social roles in public life. The leaders of the new regime considered women's participation in public life and their visibility in public sphere crucial in terms of catching up with the Western civilization. Certainly, all of these radical changes that had taken place in the early period of the new regime transformed the lives of many young women.

Here it is important to point out that the new regime's emphasis on transforming the traditional woman figure to a "new" ideal modern Turkish woman was very much connected with its long complex relationship with the West.

Meltem Ahıska (2003) argues that for the new republican regime "The West" and its modern values were part of an "Occidentalist fantasy evoked a 'lack' in the 'people' upon which it organized the desire to fill it" (p. 365). According to Ahıska (2003) in the minds of the rulers of the new regime "the fantasy of the modern" was equated with the "West." However, as Ahıska points out the new regime had its own ways of interpreting the process of Western modernization. Certain aspects of the Western modernization were seen as immoral and dangerous; thus, the ruling elites of the new Turkish republic didn't really want to import all of its values and ideas. For them as Ahıska (2003) argues "The Western modernity" was both a desire and a constant frustration. It meant progress but some aspects of it was considered as a threat to the traditional patriarchal values of Turkey (p. 351). The signs of this complex relationship can also be traced in the way how the leaders of the new regime try to adapt certain aspects of the "New Woman" figure that emerged a century ago in the West.

The term "New Woman" was first used by Sarah Grand in March 1894. In her essay The New Aspect of the Woman Question she used this term for the very first time (Nelson, 2001, p. 1). Later on, the term began to be seen in many other journals used by different feminist writers of that period. Very soon in the public imagination the New Woman meant a woman who was not afraid of riding her bicycle through the city and participating in the vivid life of the urban space and challenging the Victorian ideology which was very strict in terms of designating different spheres for men and women. Feminist thinkers of that period in their writings were targeting women readers and arguing that women should reject the constraints that limit them to private spaces, moreover demand to have equal rights with men in terms of access to education and participation to professional life

(Nelson, 2001, p. 1). Starting from the nineteenth century, many feminist thinkers in Europe and United States challenged the established gendered norms in their societies by writing novels, articles, conducting meetings, and organizing protests. Slowly they succeeded to disseminate their emancipatory ideas to many women but also men. With their efforts, the lives of many women in the West changed radically. In Turkey, the ruling elite of the new regime was aware of the changing status of women in western societies. In many of these countries the increased presence of women in the public space began to be considered as one of the most important indicators of modernization and progress. According to Christanne Miller (2006) the opportunities in "the educational, legal, economic, professional, creative and public social" areas for women in the West were actually considered as a "barometer" of determining whether the change and progress in a society were taking place (p. 846).

Influenced by these developments in the West in order to fulfill its desire to become modern, the ruling cadre of the new republican regime (mainly men) in Turkey wanted its own version of the ideal "New Woman". Although the implementation of social and cultural reforms gave more rights to Turkish women and increased their visibility in the public sphere, they were still seen as "objects of modernization" (Göle, 1991, p. 9). Within the early period of the new regime, it was men who had power and authority to define what the ideal new Turkish woman meant. According to Zehra Arat (1994) all the legal, social, and cultural reforms that were related with the improvement of women's status in Turkey were seen "as tools for national development" rather than as means that would enable women to develop "an individual or collective consciousness" (p. 59). Therefore, I think Ağaoğlu's Lying Down to Die is very important because it is offers us a valuable insight by focusing on how Turkish women in the nation's new modern capital Ankara

experienced the impacts of the modernization process. In Turkish literature, although there are many novels that give us an opportunity to look at the early republic's modernization process from different angels, novels that approach this radical transformation through the eyes of woman characters unfortunately are very few. In *Lying Down to Die*, Ağaoğlu not only tackles with the question of how and to what extent the social and cultural reforms of the new regime changed the lives of women in living in Turkey but by setting the story in the newly built nation's capital she also reflects on how women living in Ankara adapted to the modern urban life from 1930s to 1960s.

2.1.2 *Lying down to die* as an allegory?

Lying Down to Die is about the life of a young woman called Aysel. Aysel's story begins at a hotel room in Ulus, one of the oldest and the busiest districts of Ankara. Having decided to commit suicide Aysel enters the hotel and checks into a room on the 16th floor. Lying naked on the bed, as she contemplates about suicide, Aysel also starts questioning her womanhood, sexuality, her youth in Ankara. Indeed, it is impossible to overlook how the unexpected consequences and impacts of the new republic's modernization process had such a crucial role in shaping Aysel's womanhood and her sexuality, which will be further elaborated below. In a way by focusing on how Aysel questions her life and tries to comprehend what changed and what went wrong with it, Ağaoğlu sheds light on the lives and problems of many young and educated women in 1940s and 1950s living in the nation's capital.

In the fifth chapter, Aysel while lying on the bed for a moment gets distracted and begins to think of the view of the city from her room on the sixteenth floor. Although she is curious, she refuses to slide the thick green velvet curtains and

take a quick look at the gloomy city view. However, she also cannot help making various assumptions of the possible places of the city which she could see from her window.

I have the feeling that I have been hanging from an unfamiliar point of a city where I lived so many years. A city I grew up with, and almost identified myself with its anonymity. I wonder what will appear right before me, if I open the curtains? Don't I really know it? Or am I afraid? Am I afraid of the possibility that my interest in the outside world could be renewed again (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 119) (see Appendix A,1).

In this passage, Aysel mentions how both herself and the city in a way went through similar journeys. She believes both of them lack concrete identities. In her case, she feels as if from childhood to womanhood she gradually internalized all the aspects of the modern "Ideal Republican Woman" role and responsibilities that come with that role that the early Republican regime envisaged for young Turkish women. She is in the hotel room planning to commit suicide because she realizes that she can no longer recognize herself. Sibel Irzık explains the reasons of the identity crisis which leads Aysel to that hotel room to kill herself. According to Irzık (2003), Aysel not only wants to get rid of the republican woman identity that has been imposed upon her but she also wants to shut down all those discourses that has "infected her voice" (p. 551). In a way one can read Aysel's situation as an identity crisis or as a self- discovery process in which she struggles to find out a way to recuperate her inner voice, her womanhood her subjectivity from all those discourses that she has internalized while growing.

According to Irzık (2003), one can think that in *Lying Down to Die* Aysel's story as an ideal republican woman illustrates perfectly what Frederick Jameson defines as national allegory. But actually, it is not. In order to explain her argument,

¹ All quotations from Adalet Ağaoğlu's novel Ölmeye Yatmak are translated by me.

Irzık first explains Jameson's national allegory model. Jameson (1986) uses this model to describe how unlike modern Western literature, in the Third World literature the characters' private destinies are always an "allegory of the embattled situation of the public third world culture and society" (p. 69). Irzık elaborates on Jameson's argument on national allegory in Third World literature by focusing on different novels from modern Turkish literature. According to Irzık throughout its history, the Turkish novel itself has always been a "social critique and mobilization". Nevertheless, novels such as *Lying Down to Die* cannot be understood simply by allegorical readings. In order to prove her point, Irzık focuses on *Lying Down to Die*, and argues that the protagonist Aysel in fact consciously rejects to see her destiny to be seen as a "national allegory". Her identity crisis in fact rises out from her protest and rejection of the ideal Republican woman identity that has been imposed upon her. Furthermore, Irzık argues that in a way Ağaoğlu as a non-western woman writer subverts Jameson's assumption that all "All third-world texts are necessarily... allegorical" (Jameson, 1986, p. 69).

Irzık (2003) argues that many Turkish writers such as Ağaoğlu and for instance Oğuz Atay, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Orhan Pamuk in their writings by using parody in a way reproduce national allegories. But stories that they create for their characters cannot be understood through a simplistic allegorical interpretation. These writers self-consciously reproduce national allegories in a tragicomical sense to resist the idea that their characters are always "condemned to live allegorical lives." In the case of *Lying Down to Die* we observe that when Aysel goes to the hotel room full of questions about her identity and womanhood, she is in fact consciously resisting the idea that she is the embodiment of a national allegory. She does not want to be solely perceived as Irzık argues representation of "things larger

than herself." Ağaoğlu demonstrates us that how as a Third World writer she "both fills and nullifies the allegorical impulse" and problematizes Jameson's simplistic modality of national allegory (Irzık, 2003, p. 551).

Moving back to Aysel's relationship with the city, one of my arguments in this chapter is that both hers and Ankara's destinies strikingly resemble each other. Similar to Aysel, Ankara, which was once a modest small Anatolian town, goes through a radical transformation and becomes Turkey's new modern capital. Parallel to Aysel's identity crisis, the nation's capital Ankara goes through a period of crisis as well due to the fact that Jansen Plan that was adopted to build a well-designed modern city had some unintended outcomes eventually. The large-scale migration Ankara received from rural areas from 1930s onwards transformed the urban fabric in ways that was not anticipated by the modernist city plan designed by Jansen. In the absence of further plans for accommodating the need for affordable housing, migration paved the way to a city that was divided by class where poor people live in gecekondu areas like Altındağ and the rich in its affluent neighborhoods such as Kızılay, Çankaya, Kavaklıdere. Moreover, from very early on the property owners successfully lobbied for exemptions and modifications to the city plan, that in the long-run made the plan a failure in regulating urban space and consolidating a particular urban identity. This is why as soon as Aysel enters a hotel room in Ulus to commit suicide she thinks about the city she spent most of her life and identifies herself with it because she believes both of them lack a proper identity.

Throughout the book, Ağaoğlu traces Aysel's early life in Ankara. In many passages one can easily notice the similarities between her and the city in terms of the radical transformation that they go through. Ağaoğlu by making a collage of newspaper articles that were published during the late 1930s depicts the

transformation of Ankara from a small Anatolian town to a modern city. For instance, on page 34, we learn that a new modern park called Ankara Gençlik Parki (Youth Park) had already started to be constructed in 1936, the state's bank Ankara Halk Bankası early in 1938 opened up a new branch in the city. A new dam called Çubuklu had been constructed and theaters began to show the European movies. (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 33-34). In line with this information which illustrates us how Ankara around that time was turning into a modern city, Ağaoğlu also depicts in detail how as a small-town girl Aysel's life changes drastically after moving to the nation's capital. After coming to Ankara, Aysel begins to write letters to her childhood friend Semiha. And from those letters we learn that she quickly begins to adapt herself to the new way of urban living. She describes her friend, the alluring aspects of the city in detail such as the new boulevards and buildings. She writes that for the first time in her life now she lives in an apartment building with her uncle's family in a newly built street called Işıklar Caddesi. She also mentions that unlike in her old small town, in Ankara men and women spend more time together in parties and gatherings (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 78). Similar to Ankara, Ağaoğlu illustrates the reader how Aysel gradually embodies the nationalist and modernist ideals of the early republic. In that sense the resemblance between Aysel's young mind which is ready to be molded and Ankara's almost empty terrain waiting to be transformed and constructed in line with the modernization ideology in the early days of republic is striking. However, when Aysel moves to Ankara in the summer of 1938, the construction of the city started a long time ago thus it is no longer empty. With its recently built modern apartments, squares, boulevards, government buildings it already reflects the modernist vision of the new Republic. And living and experiencing the modern capital means for Aysel to quickly learn the new urban

socio-spatial practices that this modern city requires its inhabitants to adapt to. And in a very short period of time these socio-spatial practices start influencing and molding Aysel's identity.

The chapters that Aysel tries to give meaning to her existence in a hotel room are followed by the sections that flashback to the past and give the reader a glimpse of Aysel's and her friends high school years in Ankara during the late 1930s and 1940s. It's in these sections that one can find many details to understand the radical changes that took place in Aysel's life and how these changes were closely related with the gradual transformation of her relationship with the city. In these sections, by following Aysel's and her inner circle's lives in the city, Ağaoğlu draws a picture of how the Turkish republic's modernization process transformed both the national capital and the lives of people living in it. The novel begins with the detailed depiction of Aysel's graduation ceremony from a small town primary school. Aysel's primary school teacher Dündar Öğretmen persuades her parents to send their daughter to a high school in the nation's capital. Although Aysel's father is very reluctant and vehemently believes that women should not be allowed to go to school, Dündar Öğretmen finally succeeds to convince him. Aysel arrives in Ankara during the summer of 1938. Few months after she starts school, Ataturk dies and the city experiences one of the darkest moments of its history. In this part Ağaoğlu narrates how Aysel and the inhabitants of Ankara reacted towards the news of the death of nation's founding figure. Interestingly the funeral ceremony held in front of the Turkish parliament is the first striking experience of Aysel in the new capital:

On a rainy evening, in front of the parliament, while holding her brother's and uncle's hands, Aysel saw Ataturk's coffin whom she had never seen his face before. Her uncle told her that the six torches burning around the coffin symbolized the six arrows in the Republican People's Party's flag. Next to the six torches in its right and left, one general, an officer and also a soldier with their ceremonial uniforms formed a group of guardians to honor the

leader. General and the officers pulled their swords and all of them held the position of saluting (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p.65) (see Appendix A, 2).

In this paragraph the first thing that draws my attention is the use of third person singular. Throughout the novel, Ağaoğlu uses different narrative techniques to tell the reader Aysel's story. For instance, the parts in the hotel room where Aysel checks in to commit suicide are written in first person present tense. These are the parts in which we hear Aysel's current inner thoughts. The parts in which we learn about Aysel's childhood and youth experiences in Ankara are written in third person singular. Using third person singular makes the reader doubt about the identity of the narrator. Because if it is Aysel who is telling her own story to us then it means that in order to examine and understand her own past, she is distancing herself from it on purpose. This also can be read as a sign of Aysel's identity crisis.

Moreover, Ağaoğlu's narrative is fragmentary and it does not follow a chronological order, because it reflects the way Aysel recaptures her past. Her memory does not follow a chronological order thus the way she narrates her past in Ankara is non-linear. It is also interesting that the chapters that are about Aysel's youth in Ankara give place to newspaper articles from the past and Aysel's friends experiences in Ankara as well. By adding these parts to the story, Ağaoğlu in a way enables reader to look at Aysel's life from different angles. That's why in the abovementioned paragraph Aysel's first experience in Ankara is narrated in the third person singular.

In the above-mentioned paragraph, the city bids farewell to its father to whom in fact owes its status as the national capital. This solemn scene tells us the following things: first as the inhabitants of the nation's capital respectfully gathers around its founding father's coffin the first era of the new republic ends and a new

era without him starts. Therefore, Aysel's arrival in Ankara coincides with this new period. Also, the first image of the city which would be imprinted in Aysel's mind and which also would have a very strong influence on how she perceives the city is the presence of the soldiers in front of the parliament building showing their respect to their deceased leader. Aysel and the rest of the participants of this funeral ceremony are surrounded by the strong presence of the state authority. With all the surrounding government institutions like the headquarters of the Turkish Military, living in the national capital no doubt means always living under the shadow of the state authority. However, it is the funerals of the presidents, commemoration ceremonies and official celebrations that suddenly makes the authority of the state very visible in the eyes of its citizens. Thus, it is not surprising that the funeral ceremony of Atatürk which stays in Aysel's mind for a long time plays an important role in the way she perceives Ankara.

In section XI, Aysel still lying down in a hotel bed suddenly wakes up from her sleep and reflects upon the dream she saw. In her dream, she is in a place where soldiers look like mummies and guard the doors of a huge Victorian building. After passing the doors, she enters into a long narrow saloon. In that saloon, she sees several old men sitting on a table. She believes that Ataturk as a highest judge is among these old men. She is there to defend her thesis to become a professor. She spots Ataturk among these old men who apparently was there waiting eagerly to hear the main arguments of Aysel's thesis (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 322). It is interesting that Aysel dreams that she is questioned in front of all these authority figures and especially the founding father figure of the Turkish republic. As one can clearly observe, Aysel as a grown-up woman still perceives Ataturk as the sole authority figure. Although he is long dead, his statues and photographs everywhere remind

Turkish people his everlasting presence and authority. That is why even in her dreams Aysel still associate power and authority with him.

Another important feature of Aysel's dreams is Anıtkabir. Right after its construction Anıtkabir very quickly became the most important symbol of the national capital. The huge mausoleum is built on top of a hill called Rasatepe. Even today, if the view is not obstructed by high buildings one can easily spot the mausoleum from almost everywhere in the city. While growing up, Aysel is constantly being reminded of her duty as a Republican woman to honor and serve her country on a daily basis as she walks by the buildings, public squares, statues of the capital. Anıtkabir in that sense is a crucial landmark of national collective memory. Because the majestic structure on top of a hill not only serve for the republican regime as space to commemorate the founding father of the nation but it also functions as a medium of "national remembering". And national remembering as Samuel Wilson (2016) argues is very often used as a way of assertion of power and authority. In his book on national memory and Anıtkabir, Wilson (2016) furthermore points out the close link between the construction of national memory and national identity.

In *Lying Down to Die*, Ağaoğlu draws our attention to how buildings and monuments in the urban space have a significant role in shaping the national memory, thus the national identity, by depicting how Aysel is reminded of her responsibilities to her country as an ideal republican woman whenever she sees Anıtkabir. It is not surprising that even when she is a grown-up woman, she is tormented by the fact that she is always torn between the role and the duties that the new regime expected from her to fulfill as a modern republican woman and her own desires and ideas which tells her to break free from all the roles and obligations that

she is forced to. Therefore, it is this authority of the state which is physically molded in the urban fabric of the nation's capital that constantly follows Aysel like a shadow and sometimes appears in her dreams and reminds her duties and roles in life.

2.1.2 Women and the making of a modern life style

After Ataturk's funeral ceremony held in Ankara, Aysel writes a letter to one of her best friends, Semiha. Since Semiha's parents did not allow her to go to school she could not move to Ankara and she had to stay in her small home town. Hence in order to tell her about her life in Ankara, Aysel begins to write letters to Semiha. In her first letter, Aysel shares with Semiha the details of her new life and how everything is different in Turkey's capital. In some of these details, it is possible to trace her astonishment towards how interesting and different the life style of people living in the national capital compared to the life style of the people living in her small home town. She writes Semiha about the recent move of her uncle and his family from a rambling house in the İsmetpaşa neighborhood to a bigger apartment in a newly built street called Işıklar. She is happy that from now on she no longer has to sleep on a sofa in the family living room. She writes that in this new modern apartment she has her own room with her cousin: "Our room is really beautiful it has a view of a hospital" (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 77) (see Appendix A, 3). This small information once again can be read as her fascination towards the modern buildings that are being built all around the city. Even the view of a newly built modern hospital facility seems interesting and exciting to Aysel compared to vast fields that she used to see in her home town. Later on, she writes to Semiha that she would never neglect or belittle her just because she lives and goes to school in Ankara.

Here again, it is easy to grasp Aysel's feelings from her tone, she actually feels proud of having the opportunity to study in the city rather than staying in her hometown.

But then again, she also feels bad for Semiha because she will not be able to live in Ankara.

In the following parts of the letter she describes Semiha, her first garden party experience in Ankara which her uncle took her in with her cousin.

For the first time, on the evening of September 2, the day after I came back to Ankara, I went to a garden party. Garden party means organizing a social gathering in the garden. This party organized by the members of the Günes Sports Club was in Yenişehir Park in the place called Old Bomonti. Each ticket costed one lira and it was for two ladies and one male. In order to act respectfully, my uncle bought a ticket for two ladies and a male. Since I was a guest in their house, my uncle took me and his daughter Iclal to the party. I felt really sorry. I never wanted my aunt to stay at home, but with their insistence, three of us went to the party. I don't really know how to explain it my dear sister Semiha. This is a civilized world that our supreme leader Ataturk paved the way for all of us. All of the guests; men and women in pairs went the middle of the garden and they hugged and turned around. It was much more intimate than the dancing shows we did in our graduation ceremony. I am not sure what you would think of it but I found the whole thing very civilized. I liked the fact that the things that our teacher Mr. Dündar made so much effort and forced us to do in our graduation ceremony, here now in Ankara is considered as something very natural. But when my uncle scolded a red-haired boy who came to invite me to dance, I felt really embarrassed because he thinks that my father entrusted me to them (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 79) (see Appendix A, 4).

Undoubtedly for Aysel the party in Yenişehir park was a new and a surprising experience. The details that she shares with Semiha about that day gives us a clue about the simultaneity of the radical transformation both the Ankara's cityscape and the life style of people went through with the modernization of Turkey. Similar to the garden party that Aysel goes to, throughout the 1930s and 1940s balls, dinners, tea parties, and gatherings were continuously organized in Ankara's newly constructed parks, restaurants, and big hotels. Like this garden party, many events that were organized sometimes by the national elite or sometimes by the government

officers itself during the late 1930s can be seen as the aspiration of the new regime to familiarize the public with the codes of the new modern urban life style. For instance, in section called *Ankara Ankara Güzel Ankara* summarizing the news from various newspapers of the early republican era, Ağaoğlu writes that all of a sudden there was a great need to open up dance schools in the nation's capital. Because middle class inhabitants of city for the first time in their lives were participating in events where they had to get used to dancing. So, dancing became a new hobby for the modern inhabitants of the nation's capital. The charity balls organized for instance by Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu (Child Welfare Association) or Kızılay (Red Crescents) or by schools and weekend parties in a way enabled the inhabitants of Ankara to practice and understand the new forms of entertainment very similar to the ones in any European city. Like the rest of the inhabitants of this modernizing city, after moving from a small town, Aysel was also observing and learning all these new urban life style codes as she was growing up.

During this period by participating these social events, young women like Aysel for the first time not only found a chance to learn the new life style codes of the modern city but also interacted with people from different backgrounds.

Examining Australian women's relationship with the modern cities, Barbara Brooks argues that urban and even semi-urban environments enable women to interact with people from different backgrounds. Brooks (1989) explains the difference between how women live in rural areas and cities with these words: "Coming from the country to the city was an escape into a freer more varied and tolerant way of life (...) the private and the public landscape interact, release each other. Moving to a different place gives you the chance to shift habits and routines, move into a different persona" (p. 33-35). In Aysel's case moving from a small town to the nation's

modern capital speeds up her self-development. Although due to the constant pressure and restrictions of the men in her family as we see it in the above-mentioned example the enriching social life of the modern city enables her in so many ways to encounter different life styles which she would not be able to observe in a conservative Anatolian small town.

The scene which Aysel describes to her friend shows us her astonishment about the way women and men dance together in the park. She is happy that the things she learned from school regarding how to act in a modern civilized way in public sphere were finally actualized for her in that garden party. For a period of time, it seems like Aysel believed that what her teachers taught her and friends in school was almost surreal because neither her family nor the people she knew in her hometown actually acted that way. Only through newspapers and the radio programs she was informed that the women could dance and have fun together with men in public sphere without being condemned by others as unvirtuous. That is why when she attends the garden party and sees with her own eyes women dancing with men, she feels like she finally took a step into a civilized world. She writes to Semiha: "I am not sure what you would think of it, but I found the whole thing very civilized" (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 79).

Afterwards Aysel's uncle reacts to a young man who tries to approach her and ask her to dance with him. Thus, Aysel is reminded of the fact that because of her uncle, she cannot be one of those young women dancing with men. This incident shows us that the new modern life codes that the new regime wanted to introduce to its citizens were not something that everyone was pleased or comfortable with. Men, who actually fully supported the new republican regime and its modernization ideology and policies most of time, had difficulties to adjust their traditional views

and understanding regarding the new status of women and their visibility in public sphere. On paper, they agreed to be part of a new modern society but when the women began to be more visible and free in the public sphere moreover act with full agency, men once again felt threatened and acted as if they had the power to determine the limits of women's freedom in the public sphere.

In fact, men's negative reaction to women's increasing presence in the public sphere shows us the inorganic top down formation of the "New Woman" phenomena by the ruling elite of the new regime. This new ideal modern woman figure was not something that was defined by women in Turkey. That is why Fatmagül Berktay (2016) argues that "New Woman" figure in Turkey "harnessed the traditional gender roles" because the "so-called new man of the new era tried to jealously preserve the right to define the new woman." According to Berktay (2016) in that sense sees no difference between the mentality of the modern men of the new republic with the "backward, religiously obscurantist men" from the Ottoman era. On the other hand, when Aysel describes to her friend her uncle's reaction towards the boy who tried to dance with her she tries to convince her that not for a second she thought about dancing with that boy. For Aysel, seeing girls in her age dancing with boys seem civilized and she enjoys seeing them participating in the party without feeling ashamed of themselves. But not for a second she feels like she is one of them and she can dance with boys like them. And later on, she sympathizes with her uncle thinking that his reaction in a way was understandable. She writes to her friend:

When I got home I heard my uncle saying my aunt: 'Of course, I don't want her father to call me a pimp.' But you know that if we truly know ourselves what could really happen? We always consider and we should always consider Turkish men as our brothers. Apart from this, we cannot and we should not have any bad thoughts (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 79) (see Appendix A, 5).

Aysel's way of evaluating what happened in the party shows us how she internalizes the official discourse of the regime and the patriarchy that still dominates the modern city where she lives in. Her voice sounds unnatural as if she is reading a text in front of an audience. This shows us that in the process of learning to become an "Ideal Republican woman" she not only internalizes the ideology and principles of the republican regime, she also swiftly begins to use their language in her daily life as well. She believes that for an ideal Turkish girl, having any sort of romantic feelings or being physically attracted towards boys is something unthinkable and unacceptable. Young Aysel's point of view regarding the relationship between girls and boys in a way is very much contaminated by the morality codes that have been taught to her in the Girls Institute and at home. Aysel is constantly been warned about how she has to behave in the public sphere. For the men in Aysel's family, her uncle, her father or her brother, the idea of seeing Aysel or any other woman from their family with a man in public sphere dancing or talking is still considered as something unacceptable which only "unvirtuous" women would do. In fact, the mentality of men in Aysel's family can be traced way back in the writings of Baudelaire who is one of the first writers who depicted the modern urban life through the male gaze in his poems of *Paris Spleen*. In these poems, we see Baudelaire as a man similar to Aysel's father, uncle and brother referring women freely walking in the streets talking with men as "fallen women". For him only "prostitutes" or "mistresses" or other marginal women characters such as a "widow" or a poor "old lady" could be present in the public sphere.

In the chapter called *Ankara Ankara* by introducing the reactions towards a newspaper announcement of the late 1930s in Ankara, Ağaoğlu continues to reflect on men's reaction towards women's visibility in the urban space in the early years of

the republic. In this newspaper announcement Kızılay is calling all the Turkish women to volunteer as assistant nurses in the hospitals to help the hospital staff (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 90). Right after the announcement Ağaoğlu narrates how men working as civil servants react to these announcements. She writes that when these men come home right after work they would see their wives "with compassion and full of patriotism" eager to volunteer. However only the most "civilized" ones among these men would support their wives and allow them to participate in the daily life of the city and volunteer in those hospitals, the rest would just turn a deaf ear (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 91). By narrating the reactions of these civil servants rather than women, Ağaoğlu in a way demonstrates how women's participation in social activities in the urban space was still something that had to be controlled and supervised by men. Thus, through men's reactions to these announcement, we learn women's eagerness to be part of the urban life and men's reluctance to support them.

During the early years of the new regime, reforms were carried out to give many rights to women and accelerate their participation in the workforce. Their aim was to make women active members of the civil society and ensure their visibility in the public sphere. However, as I mentioned above even male civil servants supporting all the reforms and modernization policies of the new regime continued to act as the sole "authority figure" in the household to decide when and in under what circumstances women should participate in the city life. By narrating the way men in 1930s Ankara react to the wishes of their wives to be part of the public life, Ağaoğlu once again demonstrates us that even with the unprecedented civil rights given to Turkish women to accelerate their participation in social life, how men continued to see women's visibility in public sphere as a threat long after the enforcement of these rights.

However, as it has been thoroughly discussed by feminist scholars such as Deniz Kandiyoti (1997) Nilüfer Göle (1991) Fatmagül Berktay (2016) and Yeşim Arat (1997) who examined the new regime's policies towards women, I believe men's resistance to accept women's new role in public life is very much related with the characteristics of the new regime's apprehension of the ideal republican woman identity (New Woman). Zafer Toprak (2017) in his book Türkiye'de Yeni Hayat (2017) discusses in detail the formation of the ideal woman figure by the new regime. Toprak analyzes the magazine and newspaper articles published during the early years of the republic. And he concludes that the prominent male writers and thinkers of that time were very busy in constructing the ideal woman identity which they believed would set an example for new generations of Turkish women (p. 116). While constructing this identity in order to differentiate the nation's new modern capital Ankara from the capital of the fallen empire Istanbul, they emphasized how women coming from rich families living in prominent neighborhoods of Istanbul such as Şişli-Nişantaşı-Taksim were irresponsible, unvirtuous and selfish. Thus, the new woman of the republic had to be different from the ones living in the old capital. Therefore, it is no coincidence that during the early years of the republic the ideal woman identity that the national intelligentsia disseminated through newspaper articles, stories, radio programs was called Modern Ankara Woman. The Modern Ankara woman unlike the ones living in Şişli-Nişantaşı-Taksim was aware of the primary duties which gave meaning to her existence. These were building a healthy and a strong family and serving her country.

2.1.3 Spatial differentiation in Ankara

Writers of the early republican era were conscious when they juxtaposed Ankara and its newly built neighborhoods such as Kızılay, Kavaklıdere and Çankaya to Şişli-Nişantaşı- Taksim. Because interestingly Şişli, Nişantaşı, and Taksim were the neighborhoods of the old capital city that were predominantly non-Turkish during the Ottoman period. These writers while portraying women in Ankara as good mothers and virtuous wives, preferred to depict the women living and spending time in these centers of commercial and business life of Istanbul as morally deprived. (Şenol Cantek, 2003, Toprak, 2017) The new republic's moral codes played a crucial role in drawing the boundaries of women's freedom and participation in social life. Therefore, during the early period of the republic, women's visibility in public sphere had to serve mainly her role as a good mother and a dutiful caring wife. Unlike men, her presence in the public sphere had to be always justified with a good purpose.

Throughout the novel while growing up in Ankara, Aysel does not spend as much time in the urban space as her other male friends Ali and Aydın. When we carefully trace her steps in the city terrain we can see that the only time she is alone in the streets of the city is when she goes to school. Apart from going to school very rarely and without the consent of her father, she secretly goes to see foreign movies with her mother (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 185). And sometimes during the weekends as a family they all go to Bomonti to have picnics where middle class inhabitants of Ankara usually go to entertain (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 149). In the novel we see young Aysel only once, alone walking in the streets to meet her friend Ali. She does not have a proper purpose that her parents would let her be outside in the streets. Thus, she gets nervous to get caught by her father or brother. Later, when Aysel becomes

an independent grown up woman, working as a professor at one of the universities of the nation's capital we learn from her internal monologues that she spends most of her time in Ankara's affluent neighborhoods where only middle and upper-class people live. She lists them: Çankaya, Kavaklıdere, Bahçelievler and Kızılay (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p.74). Interestingly these are the neighborhoods where the new Ankara was built. The old Ankara was situated near the castle. The German urban planner Jansen instead of destroying the old small town chose to build a new city expanding from Ulus to Yenişehir.

In his article on Ankara, Hakan Kaynar argues that when Ankara became the nation's capital, different population segments from all over the country migrated to the city. And the different socio-economic backgrounds of people who had come to live in Ankara in a way, overall determined the distinct features of every neighborhood. According to Kaynar (2017) this caused a certain hierarchy between the neighborhoods (p. 256). For instance, Kızılay neighborhood was built in accordance to Jansen Plan and for a long time the new elite of the regime populated it. Kavaklıdere was another outstanding neighborhood of Ankara where mostly the important figures of the state administration lived. The presidential palace was located in Çankaya. In the novel, the reader can observe that while growing up, Aysel almost never goes to these aforementioned upper-class neighborhoods because her father who is a middle-income tradesman buys an apartment for his family after moving to the city and opens up a small haberdashery shop in Küçükesat. During the early 1940s, Küçükesat, Bahçelievler, Anıttepe, Yenimahalle, Cebeci and Kurtuluş were neighborhoods populated by middle income families (Tuncer, 2014, p. 206). Thus only after becoming a professor, Aysel's socio-economic status changes and as an ideal modern republican woman that she aspired to become all her life, she

gradually distances herself from middle and low income neighborhoods of Ankara and she begins to live and frequent more in the neighborhoods where the first steps of modernization were taken by the early republican regime.

In the sections "İç Rahatlığı" and "Dündar Öğretmen Gazetesini Okuyor" Ağaoğlu portrays Dündar Öğretmen as a prototype Republican teacher a devout follower of the reforms of the new regime working in a remote Anatolian town. He is Aysel's primary school teacher who convinces Aysel's parents to send her to Ankara. The sections about him illustrates the reader the rural life that Aysel left behind after moving to Ankara. In a way Dündar Öğretmen's eagerness to experience the modern daily life of the nation's capital demonstrates us how the inhabitants of small Anatolian towns in their minds picture the nation's capital. Dündar Öğretmen in a way shows many similar features with so many other teachers and civil servants working in small Anatolian towns during the early years of the republic. Ağaoğlu portrays him as a young man desperate to learn and adapt himself to the new urban culture and modern living practices that were flourishing in Ankara. Through the newspapers and magazines that he reads, he follows attentively the new trends and developments in the capital. Because of financial difficulties Dündar Öğretmen cannot travel to Ankara but the images of the modern built environment he sees in the newspapers help him create an imaginary city in his mind. For example, in the section "İç Rahatlığı" he appears in the narrative, reading his newspaper Ulus and dreaming about going to nation's glorious modern capital to visit his former students if only he could purchase new modern pants appropriate to wear in the modern streets of the new capital (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 140). Living in a very small town Dündar Öğretmen feels proud of himself for following carefully what is happening in country's new capital. Every morning he wakes up and goes to the

town's square to pick up his newspaper. In his seminal work *Imagined communities* Benedict Anderson (1991), demonstrates the importance of print media outlets especially newspapers in the process of nation building. In this book Anderson looks at the process of how different communities begin to develop a national consciousness. He asks how do people start thinking and believing that they belong to a certain national identity such as French, Italian, or English? And he answers this question by listing three important developments: first the beginning of printing press, second the abandonment of Latin, and third the proliferation in the usage of national languages. Anderson (1991) claims that these are the three crucial developments that bounded the communities together and paved the way for modern nation building processes in the world. As one of the most important print outlets Anderson claims that newspapers served as a medium for creating a modern national consciousness (p. 33-40). He states that: "The newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subways, barbershop or residential neighbors is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life" (Anderson, 1991, p. 34). Thus according to Anderson (1991) the newspaper reader, through the act of reading the same information feels part of an imagined community. The news gathered from different parts of a country in a single printed paper made people realize the power of the community that they belong to and at the same time gave them a sense of security and belonging.

In *Lying Down to Die*, the only way for the inhabitants of the small Anatolian town to know what is happening in the rest of Turkey is the newspaper that comes from nation's capital every morning. Looking at the photos and the information about the latest developments in the country during those times, in a way gives Dündar Öğretmen and many other people living in the rural parts of

Turkey a sense of security and stability. The articles and information pieces that Ağaoğlu introduces in this section of the novel is actually from Ulus newspaper, one of the most important newspapers of the country at the time. From these small news pieces and articles, we gather information about the social life of Ankara, the novelties that were taking place in the capital around 1938. These small pieces of information enable the reader to capture the zeitgeist of that period. Moreover, they are important in terms of understanding and imagining the city life that was flourishing when Aysel was growing up in the nation's capital. One of newspaper articles is about the new dam; "Çubuk Barajı" that was built around that time. Here Ağaoğlu describes a published photo of the dam.

There are two boats on the lake... In one photograph, the head of the family appears to have boarded one of these boats and is rowing; his son, in sailor's clothes sits next to his mother. The mother tries to protect herself from the sun with a white hat with a large ribbon also with an umbrella on her hand. The head of the family toppled a white shirt collar over his double-breasted jacket. The ends of a white handkerchief hang from the jacket's pocket. He has Victor Francen mustaches covering his lips. He paddles very seriously and attentively as if he manages a big ocean steamer (This photo can be called *Belle Époque in the capital*) (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 32,33) (see Appendix A, 6).

As it is described in detail the presence of a modern nuclear family dressed accordingly to the contemporary proper Western dress codes enjoying an afternoon in the newly built dam is actually no coincidence. During the early years of the republic in magazines, newspapers, school books similar the photo that is described in *Lying Down to Die*, many photos and illustrations were used to disseminate the image of the ideal modern Turkish family to the masses. For people like Dündar Öğretmen living in small towns, these photos circulated by the regime were the only visual materials that enabled them to imagine what was living in the new modern capital of the country and most importantly in order to live there how one should

look like. On the other hand, these images were also very important in terms of introducing to the public the buildings, streets, monuments, parks, museums, and factories of the new republic. They were in a sense serving as a proof of the great achievements of the Kemalist regime.

Unlike Dündar Öğretmen, some of the other characters in the novel such as Aysel's father perceives Ankara as a source fear, rather than as a source of admiration and fascination. In the section "Işık Yolu Cumhuriyeti", Aysel's father Salim Efendi along with his wife visits the nation's capital to join the Republic's 10th year celebrations:

Because of the celebrations of the republic's 10th anniversary, he spent more money than ever before in his life in the capital. They even bought Aysel a tiny baby with her eyes opening and closing. After returning to the town, his wife for days, to their relatives and friends told about the planes, marines' parade, torchlight processions, the Havuzbaşı park and the roses and the lights of the Havuzbaşı park, three-storey buildings, the electrical switch in the hotel room and all kinds of candies arranged in the shop windows. When they were in the capital, his wife Fitnat Hanım's big sister and her husband took them to the Gazi Farm as well. Fitnat Hanım, also spoke about this farm to the people in town as if she walked to the end of the world. The things to talk about the nation's capital never finished. However, since then, no one understood the feeling of self-abasement that was growing inside Salim Efendi (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 56) (see Appendix A,7).

The way Salim Efendi experiences Ankara differs significantly from the way his wife and his wife's sister experience. They are allured by the lights, three story buildings, the electricity, the beautiful shop windows. In short, the modern atmosphere of the new capital captives captivates or enchants them. Unlike them Salim Efendi feels something quite different. It seems like all the big buildings, wide boulevards, great monuments, and parks reflects state's authority and make him feel insignificant. The nation's modern capital that the new regime created out of nothing devours him. That is why, when he moves to Ankara with his family he opposes to the way his wife and daughter very quickly adapt themselves to the daily routine of

the city. He does not allow them to go to cinema, walk in the streets without a purpose. Because of his oppositions and restrictions for Aysel living in the capital never feels emancipatory. Salim Efendi begins feeling uneasy and anxious from the first day that he sends Aysel to school in Ankara. He is tormented by the fact that people would blame him or talk behind him because that "he let his daughter to wander in a big city" (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 35). That is why when he settles in Ankara he feels more in control of Aysel's life. He constantly threatens her that he will not let her study in high school and he is planning to send her to Girls Institute where they would teach her how to be a proper housewife (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 215).

Feminist scholar Elizabeth Wilson (1992) argues that for men the modern city is "a place of growing threat and paranoia" (p. 7). She claims that men saw the presence of women in the city as a problem. For a long time, women who dared to stroll through the streets of the modern city and be present in the public sphere were seen by men as a "temptress", a "whore", a "fallen woman". And these women who found liberation in the city were dangerous in terms of being a bad example to other virtuous women. Wilson (1992) notes that with the emergence of the modern city, man for a long time posed "the presence of women as a problem of order, partly because their presence symbolized the promise of sexual adventure. This promise was converted into a general moral and political threat." Thus, men were desperately in need of constructing an authoritarian order which would enable them to overcome their paranoia (p. 9-10).

In the novel one can observe Salim Efendi gets angry with his son İlhan quite often because of his political activities that causes him trouble. But since he can't control what his son does outside in the streets of the city he gets frustrated and he begins to shout at Aysel. Because the idea that Aysel would be an independent

woman who would take care herself and live alone in the city eventually terrorizes Salim Efendi. In every occasion he reminds Aysel that she is the reason he moved to Ankara, to prevent other people to think that he left her daughter to the dangers of the big city. Similar to her father, Aysel's brother İlhan as well frightens Aysel by making it clear for her that that she is not allowed to wander in the city alone. In every opportunity he shouts at her and tells her like her mother and grandmother she ought to stay at home and look after her family:

... Why are you going to school? I don't understand why do women go to school? Did your mom or grandmother go to school? Don't even think about going to university after high school. Even if your father would let you, believe me I won't. Now I know very well what kind of girls study in those places. They are bunch of bitches under the name of university students! (Ağaoğlu,2018, p. 205) (see Appendix A, 8)

That is why Aysel lives with constant fear for her future. Because of her father and brother's threats apart from going to school and sometimes watching movies in the cinema with her mom, Aysel's early memories of the city is always dark and full of anxiety. German feminist scholar Anke Gleber in her article that focuses on the experience of female flânerie argues that women in patriarchal societies experience the public space with a constant anxiety because there is a "continuing containment of women" that impede their movement in the public sphere. Furthermore, Gleber (1997) states that: "These physical and material obstacles are reinforced by means of a psychological containment that often comes in internalized forms of (self-) control" (p. 74). Gleber's argument perfectly illustrates Aysel's the early phases of her relationship with Ankara. On a daily basis she is terrorized by the possibility that her brother or father or other men that her family is acquainted might encounter her alone or with a boyfriend in the city. While being afraid of the men in her life, she also feels ashamed and guilty because of not having

enough courage to disobey them. One day she meets with one of her primary school friends Ali, he proposes her to walk to a nearby park where they could talk in peace. Once again Aysel's reaction towards Ali's offer shows how fear and anxiety dominates the way she experiences the city. In her mind the parks and boulevards of Ankara are categorized in terms of where she feels safe and where she feels under the threat of being caught by her family.

2.2 Masculinity and class in the city

Throughout the novel, Ağaoğlu illustrates in many passages how female and male characters at the same age experience the city. The differences between the experiences of these characters in a way determine the relationship that they build with the city that they inhabit. Thus, I will present how Ali and Aydın, the two important male characters of the novel experience the nation's capital. Since both Ali and Aydın come from very distinct socio-economic backgrounds, the way they experience the city show many differences. Thus, this section will allow me to look at how class dynamics influence and shape the way people use and experience the urban space. Moreover, examining the relationship that these two characters build with the city is also important in term of seeing how Aysel's experience of Ankara as a young woman radically differs. Furthermore, in this section I will demonstrate how Ağaoğlu by portraying Ali, as a flâneur subverts the commonly held assumption that that flanerie is an activity that is only preserved for the men coming from privileged backgrounds. I think, in that sense, Ağaoğlu's depiction of Ali's flânerie activity in the early republican Ankara echoes with Walter Benjamin's reinterpretation of this figure. David Frisby (2001) in his work on Benjamin's understanding of the *flâneur* figure argues that Benjamin saw the flâneur figure "as an uprooted person. He is at

home neither in his class nor in his birthplace but rather in the crowd" (p.37). Similar to Benjamin's portrayal of the flâneur figure, Ali seems to be comfortable only when he is strolling through the streets of Ulus and observing the crowds after leaving the small town where he was born to a poor peasant family. As I will elaborate below, Ali is not a passive observer and similar to Benjamin's flâneur he constantly tries to decipher the hidden signs and dynamics of the streets from the faces and the outlooks of the people in the crowds.

On the other hand, looking at how Ali practices flânerie allows me to go back and question why for Aysel as a young woman moving around the streets of Ankara was problematic. I believe Ağaoğlu as a writer who aims in her work to shed a light on the memories and experiences of ordinary women purposefully lays emphasis on the fact that young Aysel hardly ever strolls through the city without any worry and as freely as Ali. By using this narrative, she enables the reader to see how gender dynamics during the early republican era a more determining factor was than class in terms of understanding how the modern urban space of nation's capital was experienced.

Before moving on with the novel's male characters experiences of Ankara, it is important to discuss how the narrative structure of the novel was designed by Ağaoğlu. Her polyphonic narrative technique enables us to take a step into the world of many different characters. In order to construct a multifaceted projection of the urban life in the early republican Ankara through the eyes of ordinary citizens Ağaoğlu in a way follows the footsteps of Baudelaire in terms of intending to find a new language which would reflect the "raw energy" of the modern city.

Andreas Huyssen (2015) in his book *Miniature Metropolis* while discussing Baudelaire's late work, argues that Paris which was in the midst of modernization

with the implementation of Hausmann's radical urban plans appears in the writer's work as a "fragmented and fragmenting space of the heterotopias of the imagination" (p. 31). Furthermore, Huyssen argues that Baudelaire succeeds to create a literary miniature of the modern city with this fragmented multifaceted projection. Going back to Lying Down to Die, we observe that in terms of experimenting with a narrative technique to create an urban imaginary of Ankara in the midst of a great transformation Ağaoğlu takes inspiration from a tradition that Baudelaire started with his literary production that focus on the life of modern cities. In her collage-like narration which consists of letters, diary entries, internal monologues conversations, newspaper clippings which echoes the perspective and voice of multitudes experiencing the modern urban space, Ağaoğlu succeeds in creating an urban miniature of the nation's capital in the early republican period. But as a woman writer by choosing to focus primarily on the experiences of a woman protagonist in the modern city, I think Ağaoğlu also draws our attention to the importance of bringing the overlooked experiences of ordinary women to the forefront in this urban miniature. In that sense Ağaoğlu's urban miniature should also be seen as a critique to the urban imaginary of cities that are generally shaped by narratives based on the male gaze and the experiences of male characters.

In *Lying Down to Die*, the reader can observe that her male friends unlike Aysel are free to wander around the city without any fear. For instance, Ali who comes from a poor background, moves to Ankara with the help of Dündar Öğretmen. He starts studying and working at the same time in the old part of the city near the Hergele square in Ulus. Unlike Aysel he is free to stroll in the city. It is interesting to see the nation's capital during the late 1930s from Ali's eyes.

We see that contrary to Aysel, Ali's relationship with the city is not controlled by the restrictions imposed by authority figures in his family. After school he goes to many places and observe the crowds without feeling scared or guilty. Although as a young man Ali can freely wander around the city, his socioeconomic status plays a huge role in determining how he uses and experiences the urban space. This fact is particularly revealed when we compare his experience to that of Aydın, another friend of Ali and Aysel. Although Aydın goes to the same primary school, he comes from an upper-class family. Since his father is a prominent civil servant he enjoys all the privileges of living in the modern capital. He spends time in the newly constructed neighborhoods of the city such as Kızılay and Çankaya where high ranking civil servants prefer to live. It is very interesting to observe how each of these characters' experiences in the city strikingly differ from one another.

When Ali moves to Ankara, he first feels estranged and lonely. He begins to stroll in the streets to get to know the city better. For the first time in his life, he sees a building full of lights. This building is the first branch of the People Houses inaugurated in 1934. He tries to enter the building, but since it is very crowded, he could only stand near the entrance. From far away he sees the meticulously ornamented ceiling of the building. While staring at the beauty of the ceiling, a woman pushes him angrily and yells at him: "You smell horrible kid, go away from me." It is interesting here that Ali's first significant experience in the city leads him to feel alienated and paradoxically this happens in a place where he should feel embraced and welcomed. When the regime established People Houses, its first and foremost priority was to disseminate its reforms and ideology to the young people like Ali. Sibel Bozdoğan (2002) in her book on nation building and modernism argues that the educational institutions, parks, gymnasiums, recreation areas open to

public in Ankara were seen as the most important symbols of Turkish republican modernism (p. 86). In that sense the places like People's House that aimed at disseminating the ideals of republican modernism and other institutions that the new regime built in the nation's modern capital were seen crucial in terms of setting an example for the rest of the country.

In the following pages, we accompany Ali in his daily walk from his school to the guesthouse where he lives and works. He almost never leaves Ulus and Hergele square and see other neighborhoods of the capital. But instead of taking the short cut he likes to walk along the avenue and look at the banks, stores and the crowds that pass by.

Ali left the Institute of Art for boys, which is situated on the left side of the second block of Ulus, the weather turns cold, he squeezes his book and the ruler- the first object he acquired in the nation's capital that his teacher Mr. Dündar gave him as a gift - under his arm. He doesn't have a coat. He shrivels under his coat which is now too tight and short for him. He is not very far away from Hergele square. If he runs in three minutes, he can be at the hotel in the old plaza. However, he does not want to hurry. He likes to taste the feeling of freedom in this short path (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 98) (see Appendix A, 9).

A careful reader can observe how Ali strolling through the streets of the nation's modern capital all by himself without a proper coat in the cold in a way echoes Gogol's story "The Overcoat". In this story the protagonist Akaky Akakievich lives in the modern St. Petersburg and he works as a low income copying clerk. Every day in the extreme cold, he walks the main street of St. Petersburg "Nevsky Prospect" with his worn-out coat. In order to adapt himself to the modern life style of the city and dress like mannequins that he sees in the glittering window displaces of shops that he comes across in the Nevsky street he spends almost all his monthly salary to buy an expensive coat. Marshall Berman (1983) argues that Akaky Akakievich only once in his life does not feel out of place walking in the crowded

Nevksy street and this happens when he wears that expensive coat (p. 205).

Akakievich's story has a tragic end, while walking in the street some men steal his coat although he tries to find his coat but he gets no help from the police or other important people from his work. And in the end, he falls ill and dies. Gogol's portrayal of Akakievich in a way illustrates perfectly the struggle of thousands of Russia's "small man" who try to become respected people through moving up the social ladder and survive the extreme pressures of a modern city. In that sense Ağaoğlu follows the tradition that Gogol started. And with the portrayal of Ali, living in miserable conditions in the midst of the modernization of the nation's capital she reminds us once again the details of the daily life of the ordinary people marked differences of class and social status.

During his daily walks in Ankara, Ali closely observes those people whom he passes by. In his mind, he takes notes about their outfits, shopping habits, places, and the streets that they choose to frequent. By paying attention to these details, he comprehends how class dynamics work and how one can easily spot who belongs to which economical class by observing their daily life practices, choices, and outlook. Ali makes comparisons between the senior public servants that he comes across in Ulus and the countrymen, truckdrivers, small town tradesmen who frequently come to the capital and stay in the guesthouse where he works (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 98).

The parts in which Ağaoğlu depicts Ali's daily strolls in Ulus reminds us immediately the figure of flâneur. Ali's effort to decipher underlying class hierarchies marking the urban space through carefully observing the attitudes and appearances of the people in Ulus echoes with the story of Edgar Alan Poe's *The Man of the Crowd (1840)* and the activity of flânerie that the protagonist of this story practices. In Poe's story the unnamed protagonist sits in a coffeehouse in London and

he observes the crowds walking in the street attentively. Ağaoğlu's portrayal of Ali again reminds the protagonist of this story because like him, he is not a passive observer and he tries to read the signs of modern metropolis through viewing the ephemeral appearances of the passerby and decipher the underlying socio-economic dynamics that shape the urban space.

Charles Baudelaire was the first writer who referred to Poe's unnamed protagonist as a flâneur. In his article *The Painter of Modern Life*, discussing the role and the attributions of the modern artist Baudelaire finds inspiration in Poe's *The Man of the Crowd*. For him the modern artist similar with the unnamed protagonist of Poe's story should feel at home when he is in the streets of the city among the crowds. He writes:

The crowd is his element, as the air is that of birds and water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, and to be at the center of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world—such are few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can clumsily define (Baudelaire, 2010, p. 19).

After Baudelaire's analysis of *The Man of the Crowd* and the figure of *flâneur*, in the early 20th century, Benjamin returns to Baudelaire's *Paris Spleen* and Poe's story and reinterprets the flâneur figure. According to David Frisby (2001) flâneur figure for Benjamin is not a passive spectator or a simple idler. He is on the streets among the crowds not without a purpose. Similar to what we have seen in both Ağaoğlu's and Poe's depictions, the flâneur is persistently "reading off the occupation, the social origin, the character from the faces in the street and the crowd" (p. 37).

In the following pages the reader accompanies Ali in another stroll through

Ankara during the summer time. After spending almost six months in the city he now

knows very well where he feels comfortable and where he feels unwanted and awkward. His sentiments are very much related with his socio-economic status. Ali does not feel like a stranger when he is walking amongst the crowds in Ulus because this quarter is dominated with people coming from all different types of backgrounds. Going through Ali's observations of the city seems like following his mental map of the city in which he inscribes his observations for each place he visits. When he goes out to stroll he designs his route based on this map. For instance, he does not like to go to the newly built southern part of the city Yenişehir (the new city) because he feels like there is no one like him and he is only surrounded by rich people. Yenişehir region was envisaged by the architect Hermann Jansen. He designed a project to extend the city from north to south. According to Jansen Plan all the ministry buildings would be situated in a newly built governmental quarter in the southern part of the city. The plan also consisted of construction of parks, avenues, and new living areas for the new middle and upper-class inhabitants of Ankara. Later, this region was called the new city/Yenişehir. Starting from the 1930s with the construction of the modern Yenişehir the city gained an entirely new character (Senol Cantek, 2017). Everyday hundreds of civil servants started coming to work in this new bureaucratical and political center. Recreation spots such as Kızılay Park adjacent to the Kızılay building became a relaxation and socializing place for the middle-class families of the civil servants. For a very long period of time, this part of the city was seen inaccessible by the lower classes who would usually live in the *gecekondu* quarters of Altındağ and work near the Ulus square.

Funda Şenol Cantek (2003) in her book in order to illustrate how Yenişehir was perceived by the locals of Ankara in the early republican period gives voice to some of them who used to live in Sıhhiye near the old town far away from the newly

clearly the new regime's tendency to use Yenişehir as the symbol of modern living. During that time the newspapers, magazines covered extensively this new part of the city. Photography served as an important tool in shaping the perception of the citizens regarding the nation-building process but parallel to that it was also used to demonstrate the modernist vision of the regime and how this vision was applied to the construction of the nation's new capital. However, in order to disseminate the new modern landscape of Ankara to the rest of the country, the regime, had to fill the newly constructed Yenişehir with modern looking citizens. According to the testimony of one of the interviewees of Cantek (2003) Ankara city police forces were very strict about inspecting and controlling people's entry to Yenişehir via Ataturk boulevard which started in Ulus. Especially poor peasants and workers seems to be on the radar of the city polices, they were not allowed to pass the boulevard and continue towards Yenişehir (p. 111).

Another interviewee of Cantek (2003) remembers how he and his family would perceive Yenişehir as a distant almost like a dreamy landscape like the ones people would hang on their living room walls. For the inhabitants of Ulus, living in Yenişehir with its big avenues, luxuries shops, newly built parks, and modern apartments meant belonging to an upper class.

In the section "Dündar Öğretmen Ulus Gazetesi okuyor" Ağaoğlu draws our attention to the mindset of the national intelligentsia in terms of sharing the urban space with other inhabitants coming from lower classes. Using an article written by an anonymous writer in Ulus newspaper, she depicts their discomfort and contempt when they encounter people walking in the newly constructed modern boulevards of Ankara with worn out worker or peasant outfits (Ağaoğlu, 2018:35). The discontent

of the national intelligentsia regarding the appearance of the lower classes comes to light with the modernization of the city terrain. The rapid construction process of large boulevards and parks made the urban space accessible to all inhabitants of Ankara regardless of their socio-economic statuses. This situation reminds *The Eyes of Poor*, one of the poems of *Paris Spleen* written by Baudelaire. In this poem Baudelaire describes the encounter of the city's poor with the rich, it takes place in one of the recently built boulevards of Paris. A rich couple while enjoying their drinks in front of a beautifully decorated café terrace all of a sudden encounter the gazes of a poor family who pass by from the boulevard. Baudelaire depicts the gazes of these poor family and how they look at the dazzling lights of the café with fascination and astonishment. The rich man observes their looks and he feels uncomfortable and almost ashamed but his lover unlike him, feels disgusted by the miserable appearances and the look of those poor people.

Marshall Berman (1983) in his book *All that Solid Melts into Air* while analyzing this poem asks his reader what makes this scene depicted by Baudelaire "distinctively modern?" (p. 150) According Berman (1983) the answer lies in the modernization of the urban space. Berman argues that in the mid 19th century while Baudelaire was writing *Paris Spleen* in order to open up the city through the construction of large modern boulevard's hundreds of old neighborhoods where mostly the poor lived were destroyed. Berman argues that these new boulevards were connecting all the neighborhoods thus it was impossible to move around the city without using them. Therefore, not only rich but the poor inhabitants of the city had to pass them on a daily basis. Berman notes that Hausmann's pattern was later considered as the most important model of modern urbanism. That is why a century later as Ağaoğlu depicts in her novel, the implementation of modern urban plan

created by Jansen in Ankara gave rise to incidents similar to the ones we observe in *The Eyes of the Poor*. However, as one can notice while discussing how modernization processes changed the urban space and the way people experience the daily life, Berman presents works that have been written only through the male gaze including Baudelaire on Paris but also Gogol, Pushkin, and Dostoevsky on St. Petersburg. He overlooks the literary work of women writers that tackle with the same topic. Therefore, I think *Lying Down to Die* is very valuable because it gives us the point of view and the reflections of a woman writer who deals with the question of how the modernization of urban space in a non-western geography shaped and transformed the habits and the daily lives of people.

The spatial manifestations of socio-economic differences are also visible in the places that Ali likes to hang out. We observe that after settling in the nation's capital, Ali starts living and working in Ulus in a guesthouse in Hergele square. During the early period of the republic, Hergele Square (later it was called İtfaiye Square) used to serve as a hub for the new comers to the city from all the nearby small Anatolian towns. In page 150, Ağaoğlu narrates how the buses from these places would stop at Hergele square and later people would stay at nearby guesthouses and small hostels like the one Ali works. Unlike Yenişehir, this part of the city had a more rural character due to the socioeconomic background of its crowd: the small tradesmen of Anatolian cities coming to the city with their bags and sacks full of local products to sell in the city. Ali prefers the liveliness and disordered atmosphere of Hergele square rather than Kızılay Park's unwelcoming distant atmosphere. During the summer time, while Hergele square is full of people who come from nearby small villages, Kızılay is full of rich kids who come with their

nannies or the door attendants of the newly built luxuries apartments (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 150).

The close connection between spatial patterns and socio-economic backgrounds is also observable in the section called *Gizli Mabetler*. In this section, Ali sees in the newspaper a job announcement by the Turkish National Radio (TRT). He decides to apply for the position(Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 293). For the first time in his life he feels more optimistic about his future in the city. He starts thinking that if he could get this job, his life would be changed and he would be able to afford new clothes and maybe he would earn enough money to help his mother more often. He gets excited while thinking about these possibilities. It is night time in Ankara and he feels this sudden urge to run towards Kızılay. This is quite interesting because due his socio-economic background Ali feels uncomfortable going to Kızılay. Thus, how can we interpret his sudden urge to go there?

It is clear that after applying for a job in TRT, Ali suddenly feels more optimistic about his future. He realizes that if he can get this job, one day among the middle and upper-class people who frequent in Kızılay he can finally feel comfortable. So, he keeps running towards Kızılay park (before it was known as Kızılay Park people used to call this park Havuzbaşı). The big monuments of this park scare him. He avoids looking at them for a long time because he feels as if their hands would reach his neck and interrogate him. It is interesting that the monuments were built to show the public to illustrate Turk's strength and grace. However, Ali does not identify with them. By looking at them he feels threatened. The monuments instead of making him feel proud to be part of this nation make him feel alienated and insignificant (Ağaoğlu,2018, p. 296). This feeling actually reminds us Salim Efendi's feeling of self-abasement in Ankara, since both of these male characters

have provincial backgrounds the modern life of the nation's capital very often make them feel insignificant.

In the section called "Boyalı Kuşlar" for the first time Ali feels welcomed in the city. He finds a restaurant, a gathering place where men with leftist political views come together. When people in the restaurant embrace him, he stops being ashamed of his economic background. (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 152). He thinks that he finally found a place in the city where other people do not judge him by looking at his outlook. This positive experience makes him forget his bad experience at the People House. In terms of seeing how different places of the city play a significant role in the socialization of people, this section of the novel is crucial. Ali's encounter with the people who frequently come to this place later changes his life. He makes new friends and these friends influence his political views and his choices in life. In a way this restaurant functions as a public sphere because it enables social interactions between people who have no connection with each other and come from different backgrounds

Aydın is another student of Dündar Öğretmen. His father is the district governor of the small town that they live. After finishing the primary school his family sends him to Istanbul to study at Galatasaray, one of the most prestigious high schools in Turkey. When his father gets appointed to Ankara, Aydın leaves Istanbul to continue his education in Ankara. He starts studying at Gazi high school. Aydın writes to his diary almost every day. In his small notes he shares his reflections about his friends, the current political affairs of Turkey, the social life in Ankara in mid 1930s, and later in 1940s. He gets sad because of moving from Istanbul to Ankara because he feels like provincial people once again surrounds him. In one of his diary entries he writes: "My friends at Gazi high school of course are

not like the ones at Galatasaray. Half of my class come from villages and small towns" (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 163).

He is nevertheless happy about where he lives. Aydın's family live in a newly built modern apartment in Yenişehir, close to the governmental quarter. He continues his French classes. Every weekend, he goes out with his friends and see movies. By going through his notes in his diary one can observe that Aydın's Ankara seems to be different from the Ankara that both Ali and Aysel live on a daily basis. Due to the socioeconomic background of his family, Aydın's spatial practices in the nation's capital differ strikingly. In the weekends he goes to play tennis with his friends, his family frequently attends the balls, dinner parties, charity events in the newly built luxurious hotels of the city. He frequents the parks of Yenişehir, he goes to People House to listen talks or watch plays very often. Unlike Ali, Aydın feels at home at People House. Apart from going to cinema, he rarely goes to Ulus. His life at Ankara revolves around the modern streets, apartments, patisseries, shops of Yenişehir. Except in school, he rarely interacts with people from lower classes.

Although he has a completely different life, Aydın cannot stop thinking about his primary school friend Aysel. He tries to spend time with her but every time they see each other, Aysel treats him badly. In one of their encounters when Aydın tries to approach her and tell her that he would like to be friends with her, she makes it clear she has no interest in seeing him because they belong to different classes. It is interesting that in order to emphasize this difference; Aysel uses the bread carnets that the government was handing to people during the period of second world war due to the scarcity of food in the market. Not everyone had the same type of carnet, some people were allowed to buy more goods some people less, so they were given different carnets.

I would like to conclude this part by pointing out the differences and similarities between the ways these three characters experience the city. When I analyzed Ali's relationship with the city, I saw both similarities and differences between his and Aysel's way of relating with the city. I would like to first mention that belonging to the same economic class plays a very important role in determining the socio-spatial habits of both of these characters. Both Aysel and Ali coming from lower classes spend most of their time in the old part of the city especially Ulus and in places where they do not feel like total strangers due to the class they belong, therefore their socio-spatial practices are hugely determined by their economic statuses. By following Ali's experiences in Ankara however the reader can also notice that in comparison to Aysel how relatively free and unrestricted he feels in terms of mobility and access in the city. In almost any time of the day Ali can roam around the city and be part of the crowds. This freedom which Aysel lacks comes from the fact that during the early republican period although women were much more visible in the public sphere, "the right to be mobile in the city" was still a right that only men could fully have and exercise. By tracing Aysel's youth in the nation's capital Ağaoğlu reflects upon women's daily life in the city during the early republican period and illustrate to the reader how women trying to be mobile and free in the city were forced into a constant negotiation process in which they had to convince the oppressive male figures in their lives.

Following the traces of Aydın's life in the city reveals to us that the way he experiences Ankara differs radically from his friends in terms of the places he frequents and his socio-spatial practices in the city. Throughout the book in many passages Ağaoğlu demonstrates the role of class dynamics in shaping the way characters use the space in nation's capital. However, the reader can notice that by

depicting the way Aysel and her two male friends use and experience the urban space different from each other Ağaoğlu also frequently draws our attention to how more than the class dynamics, it is the gender hierarchy that radically shapes the urban space thus determine the way how both women and men experience the city in the early republican period Ankara.

Examining the passages in which Ağaoğlu specifically deals with Aysel's relationship with Ankara allowed me to observe how patriarchy in the age of modernization as well, shapes and transforms the society's expectations with regards to the question of how women should live and experience the city and therefore affecting the relationship that the women build with the cities that they inhabit. Nevertheless, in *Lying Down to Die*, Ağaoğlu offers her readers more than the depiction of the oppressive nature of patriarchal structure that limit women's encounter with the urban space. In Aysel's journey of self-discovery and process of constructing her selfhood we have a chance to observe how she frequently challenges and tries to find new strategies and ways to experience the urban space. Protesting against the restrictions that are imposed upon her and in some occasions questioning and disobeying them, Aysel very often uses the urban space as a means to liberate herself. While she is growing up she constantly struggles and challenges her family members in order to be part of the public life and experience the city like her male friends Ali and Aydın. The constant dilemma she has between feeling guilty because of not obeying her father and her own free will to experience the city can be clearly observed in her decision to finally rebel against these restrictions and walk in one of the busiest parks of the capital with her friend Ali.

Let's go. Let's not go to Cebeci or anywhere else. Why should I hide? Why should I search for discreet places? Why should I sidle like craps? Let's go right to the boulevard. Let's sit in the middle of Güven Park. Let's just sit down. They will see. This September I will be seventeen. Nobody can do

anything to me. They can beat me or swear and talk behind my back. All this, it is not death after all. They are not going to take our lives, are they? I am going to walk with you right in the middle of the boulevard. At Havuzbaşı park, I will sit out in the open where everyone can see me. I have nothing to be shy about. I will sit out in the open! (Ağaoğlu,2018, p. 311-312) (see Appendix A, 10)

The above-mentioned example also illustrates and sheds light on the overlooked story of many Turkish women that went through similar experiences like Aysel in early republican Ankara. Furthermore, it demonstrates to us how in general women's experience and also use of the urban space differs completely from men's. Because unlike men, women even today encounter obstacles and restrictions hence they constantly need to come up with new strategies to appropriate the public space. Teresa Gomez Reus and Aranzazu Usandizaga (2008) in their study that focuses on the literary works of women that present their experience of subverting, negotiating and appropriating the urban space note that: "Whatever the constraints in their lives may have been, women have always existed who have striven to find loopholes in the often unwritten laws which have separated the constraining private domain of women from the enticing public world of men" (p. 20). So, in comparison to men, women's presence in the urban space in any given day should be perceived as asserting a claim to public sphere.

Discussing women's relationship with the city in her work similar to the above-mentioned scholars, Elizabeth Wilson (1992) also draws our attention to women's secondary status in the urban space: "...Women, along with minorities, children, the poor, are still not full citizens in the sense that they have never been granted full and free access to streets..." (p. 8). Yet Wilson (1992) also argues that since women did not simply come to terms with this situation as something irrevocable, they have "survived and flourished in the interstices of the city,

negotiating the contradictions of the city in their own particular way" (p. 8). Furthermore, Wilson (1992) says that women should continue to insist on claiming their right to the city. Because although urban life has many difficulties it is still more emancipatory for women comparing to rural life or suburban domesticity.

In the following section I will proceed with how as a grown-up woman in the midst of an identity crisis Aysel decides to take a long walk in the city. Her decision to experience the urban space alone by herself and observe the crowds without any specific purpose as she was supposed to present to her father and brother when she was growing up actually illustrates perfectly what happens when a woman in 1960s Ankara undertakes the role of *flânuese*. Although in this experience, Aysel encounters obstacles and dangers, she is persistent to continue her walk. By illustrating Aysel's walk and her detailed observations of passers by on the streets of Ankara, Ağaoğlu in a way subverts the traditional male flânure figure and demonstrates her readers that it is possible to imagine a female flânuere figure. In many examples of literary representation of the city walker it is almost always man who direct his gazes to other people and especially women and observe them with the comfort of knowing that he can hide himself strolling through the city in the midst of the passersby without feeling in danger. As I will elaborate in the following paragraphs in the case of Lying Down to Die apart from imagining a flâneur figure who comes from a lower socio-economic background such as Ali, Ağaoğlu also experiments with the idea of what happens when it is a woman who gets lost in the crowds and direct her gazes to the passersby and observes the city.

2.3 Aysel as a *flâneuse*

How did Aysel's relationship with the city evolve through time? After growing up and becoming an independent woman without the constant restrictions and regulations of her father and brother does she feel liberated in the city she grew up? Can she finally experience the city like the men experience it? The sections that take place in the hotel room at Ulus where Aysel checks in and lies in a bed to commit suicide, Ağaoğlu gives us a picture of how Aysel's relationship with the city changed as a grown-up woman. In these sections the reader can trace some details of the developments and changes that occurred in Aysel's life by following her inner thoughts. From these thoughts, we learn that she goes to Paris for a period of time and later returns to Ankara to continue her education. She then starts working at a university as an associate professor. She marries with Ömer a professor at another university in Ankara. Thus, it would not be wrong to state that from outside looking at Aysel's life one could portray her as the ideal modern Republican woman that the regime from the beginning aspired to create. However, she is not happy with this identity. She struggles with the fact that up until that moment all her life she obediently fulfilled the duties and responsibilities that were assigned to her and played perfectly the role of the ideal Republican woman" that was ascribed to her. And after entering to the hotel room she not only questions who she really is as illustrated in the following sentences:

I wonder have I ever been myself? Have we ever been ourselves? Have I ever had a place, where I didn't have to carry all my duties with me? (Ağaoğlu,2018, p. 191) (see Appendix A, 11)

While thinking about her life in the hotel room, she decides to commit suicide. We learn that she recently had sex with one of her students and she suspects she might be pregnant. Although she doesn't feel guilty about her affair, this incident

causes her to question her life. Her thoughts reveal how confused she feels about her choices in life, her womanhood, her sexuality, and heavy responsibilities and duties that are imposed upon her. Before coming to the hotel, she takes a long walk in the city which lasts almost three and a half hours. In section III Ağaoğlu depicts this walk in great detail. It is the first time in the novel that Aysel without any reason goes out to streets in the middle of the night and strolls around the city. Below mentioned passage is a perfect example of how as a woman in her thirties she dares to act for the first time like a flâneuse in the city that she has been inhabiting for so long. Unlike before Aysel is now free and no one close to her is restricting her mobility in the city. However, the reader can easily observe that although there is no male authority to restrict Aysel, the men in the public sphere pose a danger and make the city an insecure place for her. However regardless of these dangers, she steadfastly continues to walk at night.

I am turning over in the bed for the first time. As I am turning, I bend my knees. As I am bending my knees, I feel an unexpected pain. This happens because I walked almost all Ankara. Starting from four in the morning, until I came to this room I kept walking. And I got really scared before the dawn. Those lonely men who were returning from night life calling me from their cars, or from the sideways. They wanted to take me with themselves. I left the main street and walked at the side streets. And at the break of the day I was at the slope which went right up to the Medical School Hospital at Cebeci. All those workers, servants, nurses, carpenters, carpenter apprentices, footboys, janitors, garbageman... Whoever cannot go and see My Fair Lady at the Grand Theater tonight at the capital. Do they hope that one day a "sir" or a "lord" will appear right at the corner of a street and recreate them? Taxpayers, all of them rushing so fast... (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 49-50) (see Appendix A,12)

Aysel is very attentive to the movements of the people she encounters while walking. She observes them and questions what keeps them going with their daily routine so concentrated without realizing the fact they would never have comfortable lives like in the fairy tales. It is interesting here to observe the difference between the

way Aysel used to engage with the urban life when she was growing up and the way she engages as an adult. Before, Aysel wasn't allowed to be alone and spend as much time she wants in the capital's streets and because of this she wasn't quite attentive to what was happening around her or to say it better that her attention was directed not to what was happening around her but to what she had to be careful about. It seems observing the movements of crowds in the city is something that could only be done when someone has the privilege to roam around the city freely without any worry. And who can afford to experience the city like that?

Looking at the literature of city writings one can easily realize that they generally have the signature of men not women and these men usually belong to middle or upper class. Furthermore, it is also interesting to observe the differences in terms of how Ali and grown up Aysel experience the urban space. Ali as a young man while walking in Ulus and trying to decipher the socioeconomic statues of passersby from their appearances feels alienated in the city due to his poor background, which makes him feel like he does not fit in. Similar to Ali, Aysel as an upper middle class independent woman also feels alienated while strolling through Ankara. But the reason behind her estrangement is just the opposite. While walking Aysel realizes that due to her privileged socio-economic position the way she experiences the urban space differs drastically from the urban experience of the unprivileged people with whom she takes the minibus to gecekondu quarters of Ankara. Thus, the differences between the urban experiences both grown up Aysel and young Ali once again demonstrate us the importance of class dynamics in shaping our engagement with the urban space.

Growing up in a patriarchal social structure that subordinates women and supports the traditional values which in so many ways restrict women's freedom

Aysel cannot stop judging her own behavior and decisions with these very same traditional values she grew up with.

In section IV she mentions how in the early hours of the morning entering to a hotel at the city center made her feel like a "prostitute". She was certain that the receptionist had mistaken her for a prostitute because for her as well only fallen women very early in the morning with a tired outlook could ask for a room for themselves in a hotel. She hesitates writing her name down to the hotel's registration book. Because what if someone who knows her finds out that she is entering a hotel by herself? She feels ashamed of being there alone (Ağaoğlu,2018, p. 70). Her assumption is a sign how she still cannot free herself from the common prejudices about women walking in the streets late at night and entering to places alone. This also tells us that it is not only living in a traditional society or being imposed to male dominance that makes it very difficult for women to experience the city but also women themselves by internalizing these traditional values and gender norms very often for their own protection make the city more inaccessible for themselves.

In section VI, Aysel at the hotel room continues to remember her long walk in the city. After walking for a while she decides to get into to a minibus. She gives herself permission to get lost without worrying much about where she should go. From the moment she gets into the minibus, she realizes that everyone looks at her due to her modern outlook (Ağaoğlu,2018, p. 74). Aysel's outlook reveals that she is a urban woman and she has been exposed the republican ideology through education and popular culture. This ideology shaped and formed her ideas and life style and also her appearance as well. Unlike Aysel, her mother due to moving to Ankara at a later age and being married to a conservative man was not as exposed to republican

ideology as Aysel and would have shared the same outlook like the other women in the minibus.

In a way, the fact that Aysel embraced and internalized this modern outlook can be seen how effective was the education system in the early republican period in the urban centers in creating the ideal urban Republican woman. However, apart from the urban centers the early republican regime was not as successful and effective in disseminating and extending its modernist reforms the rural population of the country. Since the recently migrated people from rural areas to Ankara who became the major work force in the city started to inhabit the newly built gecekondu neighborhoods were not exposed to republic's modernization ideology as much as Aysel were judging Aysel from traditional point of view. That's why Aysel as the ideal urban Republican woman feels like a stranger in her own city. But what if it was a modern looking man who got in to that minibus? Would the passengers of the minibus give him the same attention as they gave to Aysel? We do not know but Aysel as an independent working woman with a modern outlook draws the attention of the rest of the passengers because not only they perceive her as stranger but also a threat to their traditional values. When they look at her, Aysel suddenly realizes that she lives in a divided city in which different income communities inhabit city's different quarters. And her Ankara consists of only Cankaya, Kavaklıdere, Bahçelievler, and Kızılay neighborhoods which are densely populated by middle and upper classes. And this class-based division that divide the city makes it harder for people coming from different socioeconomic status to integrate. Because of this Aysel feels that her Ankara is different than the one those people in the minibus. They stare at her because if they cannot experience her Ankara, maybe she as well should not be allowed to experience theirs. During the minibus ride, she also realizes

that she estranged herself from the daily reality of the rest of the inhabitants of Ankara, especially the ones who live in the gecekondu neighborhoods, by being only exposed to a certain life style and living in a socio-economically homogenous milieu. While passing through the streets of lower class quarters of the city she realizes that she has no clue about the lives of those people.

I don't know why I realized the faces of the people in the minibus later, they were looking at me as if I was a stranger. I realized them when they started nudging each other. Immediately I wanted to get off from the minibus. But I had to tell the driver a name of a bus stop. And I didn't know the names of the places that we were passing by. I did not know these streets, their names, all those roads that were stretching towards them ...(Ağaoğlu,2018, p. 74) (see Appendix, A,13)

In many passages of the novel the reader can trace the signs of Aysel's emotional breakdown which lead her to question her role in life. This is not something that happens all of a sudden. She checks into a hotel to commit suicide because she can no longer recognize herself. It is interesting to trace the details of her identity crisis but at the same time her alienation from the city which in a way shaped her identity. Her long walk before coming to the hotel in a way gives her a new perspective about the city that she inhabits. Aysel is aware of the fact that almost never leaving the affluent neighborhoods of Ankara caused her estrangement from the rest of the city.

At section V thinking about her life, Aysel identifies herself with Ankara. She thinks that both of them lack a concrete personality. What does she mean by that? Ağaoğlu in many passages of the novel draws a parallel between the gradual transformation of Aysel (from a small-town girl into an ideal modern Republican woman) and the construction of Ankara (from a small town to a modern capital of Turkey). Both Ankara and Aysel as the subjects of the modernization project in the course of time go through some drastic changes. By showing what happened to

Aysel and Ankara in the long- run, Ağaoğlu in a way illustrates the unintended results of the modernization process led by the republican elite. Throughout the novel, the reader can observe how both Ankara and Aysel embody the national modernization aspirations of the new regime. However, at the end of the novel we observe that they both fail to fulfill their role of symbolizing the national modernization project of the republican regime. As Aysel goes to gecekondu neighborhoods of Ankara, the reader can clearly observe the failure of the urbanization plan implemented by the leaders of the new regime that aimed to create an exemplary, ideal modern capital city. In that sense in the novel, it is not only Aysel who in a way fails to embody the ideals and aspirations of the new regime. Ankara as well in the long-run fails to embody the ready-made modern capital identity which is envisioned by the regime. Starting from 1940s the nation's capital goes through a radical transformation due to receiving thousands of migrants from Anatolia. Turkish state repeatedly failed to implement a sustainable development plan to find solutions to the problems that arise because of rapid population growth, lack of affordable housing, insufficient transportation systems, and environmental degradation. Thus, the nation's capital once envisioned to be an exemplary modern city becomes a divided city in which middle and upper classes inhabited the New Ankara and lower classes inhabited the old Ankara and the hills where they built their gecekondu neighborhoods.

To conclude this chapter, I would like to mention that after walking the city for three hours Aysel enters the hotel room and stays there only for one hour and twenty-seven minutes. In that very short period of time Ağaoğlu narrates us all the details of her struggle to understand herself, her womanhood, and sexuality. During this period of time, the city where she grew up lies behind the thick green velvet

curtains of the room. It is as if Ankara is the sole witness to Aysel's transformation. In parallel to the hotel chapters in order to give the reader a perspective of Aysel's life, Ağaoğlu traces her past and shows with all its complexities what it is like to grow up in the nation's capital in the early republican period. At the end of the novel after a long struggle to understand herself, Aysel decides not to commit suicide. She takes a shower and leaves the hotel, it is once again the hazy morning of Ankara that accompanies her.

Finally taking into account that the Aysel's body is juxtaposed to the urban body of Ankara what does this hopeful ending for Aysel suggests us about the future of the capital city envisioned by Adalet Ağaoğlu? Throughout the novel, Ağaoğlu draws our attention to the similarities between not only the identity formation but also the identity crisis of both Aysel and Ankara. In Ankara's case by depicting the urban space in Aysel's last stroll through the city in a way she illustrates us how the idea of the early republican regime to design a modern capital through a top down urbanization plan failed to address the demands and needs of the migrated population from rural areas to the city. In the novel Aysel's first encounter with Ankara's gecekondu quarters and the daily life practices of people who inhabit them in a minibus ride coincides with her self-discovery process. We observe that while she is rejecting the regime's discourses that have shaped her through her whole life she is also rediscovering the city where she lived all her life. As she is coming to terms with the fact she is not an ideal republican woman she simultaneously realizes that Ankara is not actually a perfect showcase of a modern capital as well. The land speculations induced by the rentier interests and later the interventions or noninterventions of the state made Ankara a divided city. Thus, it is impossible to assume that Ağaoğlu envisions a hopeful ending for the capital. She is fully aware of

the failures of modernization of Ankara, therefore any positive scenario concerning the nation's capital would entail an urban transformation which would aim to redesign the urban space in accordance with the real needs of people and avoid the division of urban space by drastic income inequalities.

CHAPTER 3

A WOMAN'S SELF-EXPLORATION PROCESS IN MARÍA LUISA PUGA'S NOVEL: PANIC OR DANGER

The Mexican writer María Luisa Puga wrote her third novel *Pánico o Peligro* (Panic or Danger) in 1983. Covering the period between 1960s and 70s, the novel is a coming-of-age story of the young secretary Susana and her friends in Mexico City. Through the form of a journal written by Susana addressing her unnamed boyfriend, the reader traces Susana's journey of self-discovery while also witnessing on the background certain key moments that left a mark on Mexican history such as the protests of 1968 student movement, Tlatelolco massacre and the violence enforced by the hegemonic party-regime of the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*) that ruled Mexico for over seventy years. As soon as it was published, the novel won the prestigious *Xavier Villaurrutia* award.

Going through María Luis Puga's writings one can notice that women's internal struggles to find their own voices and identities is a recurrent theme. In *Pánico o Peligro*, similar to her other novels and short stories, Puga continues to explore women's subjectivity and the process of self-discovery under different social contexts. Whether they live in the city or rural areas, Puga's women characters are in a constant search not only to understand themselves but in a more general way to make sense of the world that they inhabit. Scholar Irma López (1996) who worked and analyzed Puga's novels and other writings claims that Puga's oeuvre is ultimately about the "I" which begins with the desire to define and later protect herself from a society that confuses and bewilders her (p. 4). López (2010), also mentions Maria Luisa Puga's name along with other Mexican women writers such as

Silvia Molina, Brianda Domecq, Carmen Boullosa and Angeles Mastretta (p.32). According to López (2010) the above-mentioned writers who wrote extensively and on wide range of topics during the late 1970s and 1980s employed a very similar method in their work which she calls the "autobiographical model" (p. 33). López notes that these Mexican women writers used the autobiographical model which gave them a "formal structure" to explore the lives of their women characters. López (2010) explains the autobiographical model with these words:

The autobiographical model is derived from innovative narrative techniques which, although not original to the autobiographical genre, acquire new inflections in providing the formal structure for a subject matter that emphasizes both the interior (psychological) world of the woman and the particularities of a woman's exterior reality. The first of these three visions reveal the struggle to attain one's own identity; the second expresses the desire to explore and understand identity within the relationship between genders, and the third related to national identity. These issues are interrelated as closely and simultaneously as they were in the historical period from which they emerge. However, a preference for one or another of these three topics during particularly crucial periods of local history can be observed. (p. 33)

Parallel with the analysis of Lopez, in an interview Puga as well states that the purpose of her writing is strongly related with the aim of understanding herself and exploring the reality she is part of. She says:

I write to understand and to touch. All people have different ways of living and of feeling an active part of the world. Writing is one of those ways. If I do not bring the things I see to my writing, I feel like I have been left out. By writing them I make them real and I can touch them (Puga, 1985) (see Appendix B,1).²

In another interview, Puga (1985) also states that the four women characters of PoP are herself but at the same time none of their stories are exactly hers. These characters are the possibility of what she could turn out to be (see Appendix B, 2).

² All quotations from María Luisa Puga's novel Paníco o Peligro and the interviews conducted with her are translated by me.

Puga uses her own journey of self-exploration, observations, and feelings in the years she lived in Mexico City, which is also known as DF (Federal District), as a source to create her women characters living in the capital between late 1960s-1970s. In many interviews she gave to the Mexican newspapers and magazines Puga talks about her fascination towards the stories of people living in the cities. In one of these interviews Puga (1991) states:

You saw the city and you know that it is a monster. I suppose a gigantic city is not always so unique; Tokyo is also a gigantic city but it is consolidated and homogenous but Mexico City is not like that. Mexico City is the combination of thousands of little towns; thousands of little towns where there is a great diversity of lives and tremendous differences. Therefore, the greatest temptation of a contemporary Mexican writer is to write the panorama of D.F. but the only way that you can do this is to approach it step by step, one story at a time. (see Appendix B, 3)

Before starting my analysis of PoP (Pánico o peligro) it is important to emphasize how this novel and Ağaoğlu's *Lying Down to Die* are parallel in many respects. Puga and Ağaoğlu, an ocean away from each other, yet they almost contemporaneously chose to narrate the self-discovery of women protagonists whose stories are almost inseparable from the urban space that they grow up. Since in both novels Ankara and Mexico City play a crucial role in the processes of self-exploration of women protagonists, we can't just consider them as mere backgrounds where the stories unfold. As we see it in the previous chapter, it is impossible to fully grasp Aysel's identity crisis and ultimately her self-discovery process without taking into account her relationship with Ankara. The city can be two things at the same time: On the one hand it is a liberating place in which women find ways to realize themselves and on the other hand, it can be dangerous and alienating. In modern cities, patriarchy goes hand in hand with modernity and it not only determines the gender relations but also the way urban space is experienced as well.

Furthermore, apart from patriarchy, the modern political ideologies which are in circulation within the urban space such as nationalism or the leftist currents also impose a particular definition of ideal womanhood. These narrow definitions of womanhood eventually can suppress the voice of women and create obstacles in their daily lives to express themselves and embrace their own individualities. In the case of *Lying There to Die* the modern nationalist ideology of the early Turkish republic imposes its own definition of "Ideal Republican Woman" to Aysel, and in the case of PoP one can observe that Susana is overwhelmed with the dominant discourses of the Mexican left penetrated in everyday language of people who belong to her generation in 1970s.

Barry Carr (2000) in his article about the Mexican Communism between 1968-1981 argues that in 1970s among the intelligentsia and part of the middle class "the language of Marxism or a Marxisant discourse" was dominant and on the other hand "the precepts of revolutionary nationalism and of the ideology of the Mexican Revolution" was deeply imbedded in the language and consciousness of the Mexican working class and peasantry (p. 203). Therefore, although the stories of both PoP and *Lying Down to Die* take place in two distinct geographies and in different time periods, the reader can easily notice the striking resemblance in terms of how in both of them, women protagonists instead of being carried away by the current dominant political discourses, choose to construct an authentic language based on their own thoughts and personal experiences.

In PoP, Puga shows us how it is possible to gain political consciousness about the social reality that surrounds us not through reading or internalizing the common discourses of different political ideologies but through experiencing and observing the daily reality and struggles of people inhabiting the urban space.

Puga's portrayal of Susana's character is a perfect example of what happens when it is a woman, not a man who dwells in the daily life of the city. What kind of feelings does the city release in her? And through her gaze what kind of meaning do the images, faces, streets of the cityscape acquire? Moreover, in parallel to the previous question how do the city's different façades and realities nourish her personality? Ultimately in her journal how does Susana reflect upon her experiences in the city? In order to answer these questions in this chapter I will touch upon on several occasions on the arguments of feminist literary scholar Deborah L. Parsons. As I mentioned in the introduction chapter of this thesis in her book *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the city and Modernity* (2003) Parsons by analyzing literary works of women writers who wrote extensively on their experiences in the urban space focuses on the possibility of talking about a female flâneur figure: a flâneuse. She subverts the common male flâneur figure and claims that although not as unconstrained and free as men, women as well have always been present in the urban space and they too practiced flânerie.

Moreover, in her reinterpretation of the flâneur figure Parsons notes that flânerie is not an activity based on abstract wandering in search for a place but "for self and identity". She states: "Flânerie can thus be interpreted as an attempt to identify and place the self in the uncertain environment of modernity" (Parsons, 2002, p. 41). Thus, in accordance with Parsons's statement, in this chapter I argue that Susana constructs her personality through flânerie. What we read in Susana's journal is a collage of her impressions memories and reflections that are closely intertwined with the everyday life in Mexico City.

Furthermore, it is also interesting to see in PoP the strong connection between the activity of flânerie and writing. Susana's activity of keeping a journal of her past experiences and observations in the urban space echoes with Benjamin's activity of *flânerie*. Susana undertakes the role of a flâneuse not only as a city walker and an avid observer but as a writer and as a "producer" (Frisby, 2001, p. 83). The activity of writing her journals itself in a certain sense transforms into a way of strolling through the mental map that she creates of Mexico City. When Susana is writing, she imagines certain places of the city of her childhood and youth, which immediately remind her the long-forgotten emotions and experiences. These emotions and experiences in return enable her to explore her identity.

In one of the interviews that Puga gave to a Mexican newspaper, she is asked about what she meant in the enigmatic epigraph of PoP: "Nos decimos a través de lo diferente..." "We express ourselves through the difference." She answers this question with these words: "In the urban environment, the outside is always our mirror, then we actually really see ourselves when we see how we are and that is one of the things that sustains the individual in an urban environment" (Puga, 1991) (see Appendix, B,4). As it is written in the epigraph of PoP, people express themselves and become who they are through their encounters with different voices, different realities in the city. In the novel when Susana spends time in the streets of Mexico City, the city functions as a mirror for her and by looking at this mirror in a way, she observes and interacts with the reality of other people and the differences she sees between herself and the others enables her to construct her selfhood.

In PoP, Puga portrays Susana's quest to fight against the feeling of insecurity and the constant fear that the chaotic modern metropolis induces in her. Only after overcoming the sensations of "panic" and "fear" and accepting the fact that she is

alone in the city just like everybody else Susana begins to construct her authentic language. This language is made of her own experiences, observations, and feelings in the city. As the title of the novel suggests embracing her fears and constructing her own language in Mexico City is a challenging process for Susana in so many ways. During this process the city makes her float with panic. Hence for a very long period of time Susana prefers to observe the ever-changing movements of the city from a distance. By keeping a journal, she chooses to go back to her memories and observations of the city and reflect upon them.

Following the pages of Susana's journal, we observe the different phases of Susana's relationship with the city. In the first phase, one can clearly see how living in her father's protected world restricts her engagement with the urban space in so many ways. With the death of her parents, Susana enters into the second phase in which Mexico City turns into this unknown and fearful place. In this phase she looks for a secluded place to protect herself and instead of internalizing the language and the vision of other people to approach the city, she slowly begins to develop her own authentic language to observe the urban space. Throughout this phase Susana constructs the window corner of her apartment as a protective nest. However, this place of her own only allows her to observe the urban space without really being part of it. After witnessing the abduction of two young men by the Mexican undercover police officers, Susana realizes that safety of her apartment was actually illusory. In the third phase, we encounter Susana strolling through the city streets with a man. Walking the city with this man makes her feel secure in the urban space as if she was again in the nest of her father. But eventually it also causes her to look and engage with the daily life in the city only through his dominant gaze. Therefore, she realizes that, to be able to recover her own vision, she has to leave him.

In the last fourth phase, Susana finally succeeds to embrace her fears and confronts the dangers of the city. In this phase, for the first time, she walks in the streets of Mexico City without feeling panicked. This is the last phase in which we observe that the city finally turns into a liberating space for Susana.

In the last page of her journal Susana writes: "Actually it isn't a very big deal; the only difference is living with constant panic or to confront the danger" (Puga, 2014, p. 282) (see Appendix B,5). In the light of this statement, in this chapter I will analyze the gradual transformation of Susana's relationship with the city, its different phases, how she finally manages to confront the feeling of danger and creates her own language to appropriate the urban space and assert her identity in the city map.

This chapter will proceed first with the section of "Creating a Personal Map of the City". In this section, I will first focus on how Susana creates her own personal map of the city with the help of her memories by revisiting the familiar places of her childhood. And how this personal map eventually enables her to slowly construct her selfhood by linking her memories and thoughts with the urban space. In the second section "Growing up in Mexico City" I will elaborate on Susana's volatile relationship with the city and lay emphasis on certain influencing factors such as the role that her parents played in shaping her thoughts about outside world, her relationship with her best friend Lourdes and moreover certain events such as the Tlatelolco massacre and the death of her parents that take place during her youth and influence the way she later experiences the urban space. In the third section "A room of her own" I will explore how Susana creates a place of her own: a window corner in her new apartment to feel protected after her parents' death. In the midst of an identity crisis similar to Aysel who goes to a hotel room to discover what happened

in her life, in order to feel safe Susana chooses to take shelter in her house and sit near her window corner. Because for her, the city functions like a mirror. And watching the movements and the daily life practices of crowds in the street from her window corner enables her to slowly differentiate her vision and thoughts from other people . In the fourth section: "Susana's Awakening in the City" I will examine the role of the urban space providing an access to the reality of other people and how Susana nourishes her identity and her vision by encountering them. Following this section, I will finish this chapter by discussing Susana's relationship with Arturo and how the dominant male gaze for a while transforms her way of observing the city. As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter in writing these four sections my ultimate aim is to explain how Susana's engagement with the urban space plays a crucial role in her self-discovery process. In line with Deborah Parsons's argument regarding how flânerie is in fact a search for one's self, and identity I argue that throughout the novel Susana by strolling through the city and reflecting upon her observations through writing in fact practices flânerie. And flânerie enables Susana to understand herself.

3.1 Creating a personal map of the city

Maria Luisa Puga wrote PoP from the point of view of twenty-seven years old Susana. In the novel around 1979 Susana begins writing her life in Mexico City and how it evolved through time. In an attempt to recapture and understand her past and also share it with her current boyfriend she decides to keep a journal. In her journals Susana never mentions her boyfriend's name but through certain information, we understand that this person, unlike Susana comes from an upper middle-class family and has always lived in southern part of the city where affluent neighborhoods are

situated. Susana begins the first notebook of her journal (eventually she writes twelve notebooks) by writing about her childhood in Colonia Roma during the 1960s³

I slowly understand what's happening. I mean with these notebooks (...) I do not think so much about what they are going to mean for you. It has been a while since I stopped writing them for you. They are for me obviously and very often I remember that you are going to read them. I still want you to read them; I still think that only then they will have a meaning, but then again, I appropriated the process of writing them (Puga, 2014, p. 234) (see Appendix B, 6).

Susana begins keeping a journal so that her boyfriend could read them. It is as if in the beginning, she is in need of a man's recognition to ensure her that the reflections and memories that she writes down in these journals are meaningful. While continuing to write these notebooks, Susana gains more self-confidence and she stops thinking that she needs the acknowledgement of a man to make her feelings and thoughts meaningful. In these notebooks, she describes her family and her friendship with the other girls from school: Lourdes, Lola, Socorro. Susana narrates her childhood by recollecting her memories and sensations of certain places in the city. In her writing, she recaptures her past as if she follows an imaginary city map. This imaginary city map allows her to go back to certain places in the city that guide her in her journey to find out more about her past. The places of her childhood in Mexico City such as streets, cafes, squares, corners help Susana to recapture her past experiences thus and discover her lost memories. Deborah Parsons suggests that a writer who focuses on her/his experiences in the city is actually creating her/his personal map. She states: "The writer adds other maps to the city atlas; those of social interaction but also of myth, memory, fantasy, and desire" (Parsons, 2000, p. 1).

_

³ In Mexican Spanish Colonia means "neighborhood"

Throughout the novel, Susana uses her "memories, desires, fantasies and her social interactions" in the city as a medium to create in a way her own city map. For example, in different parts of her journal she contemplates on the question of what she achieves by writing down her thoughts and emotions and revisiting those places in Mexico City that are important for her:

What happens to me when I am writing? I think I start to see, smell and listen to the places. It is very strange. I have to make an effort to remember what I used to want and think, but the places are there standing clearly (Puga,2014, p. 195) (see Appendix B,7).

While writing my first journal I realized that I like it. I like writing. It is a way of recovering my life, something that we consume it without sensing it (Puga, 2014, p. 58) (see Appendix B, 8).

Susana's quest to discover herself through writing her past and reflections in Mexico City also echoes with what French feminist author Helen Cixous defines as *éscriture feminine*- feminine writing. Cixous argues that through feminine writing, women can explore themselves with a language that is not controlled by the phallocentric tradition. Similar to French feminist thinkers such as Kristeva and Irigaray, Cixous's work is also based on the argument that the western culture and civilization is phallogocentric and it is dominated by masculinist thinking which oppresses and objectifies women. Cixous by suggesting the term *escriture feminine* argues that women need to create a new language which would defy the conventional forms of expression defined by men. According to Cixous (1976):

It is impossible to define a feminine practice of writing and this is an impossibility that will remain for this practice can never theorized, enclosed, encoded- which does not mean that it does not exist. But it will always surprise the discourse that regulated the phallocentric system; it does and will take place in areas other than those subordinated the philosophic-theoretical domination. It will be conceived of only subjects who are breakers of automatisms, by peripheral figures that no authority can ever subjugate. (p. 883)

In parallel with Cixous's arguments through writing without order or any limits or restrictions Susana embraces her sensations, facing her fears, anxieties and reflects upon her past experiences in Mexico City. Thus, Susana in a way uses *éscriture feminine* as Cixous suggests finding out her authentic language through which she thinks that she can liberate herself from all sorts of impositions such as the imposition of patriarchy and the dominant political discourses which are imbedded in the language around her.

To reflect upon her childhood memories also to understand her trajectory in life, Susana writes about how she went to her old neighborhood and the Jalapa street where she spent most of her childhood. She visits her school and her house where she and her parents used to live: "I went to my school which was in an old house in Jalapa, I went to Rio de Janeiro square I think I am trying to understand what was happening in my life" (Puga, 2014, p. 97) (see Appendix B,9).

... When I think about that period of my life I miss it... It hurts me, I do not want to live it again but I realize that I am searching for scents, corners, and lights. I went back to Jalapa street many times, the building is still there but it looks much more dilapidated; it makes me sad, not because my parents are dead, it is because I no longer belong there (Puga,2014, p. 7) (see Appendix B, 10).

In both of these paragraphs one can notice that Susana tries to understand herself through evoking her memories, which are intrinsically bounded to urban space. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson in their article analyze the relationship between the formation of the selfhood and the city where they mention how space and buildings in the city form memory, which through them becomes spatialized. According to Bridge and Watson (2003): "Drawing on memory, learning from the past in one's relationship with the city is part of this self-development and self-actualization... The complex textures of the city are a rich source of memory for urban dwellers" (p. 13). In parallel with the arguments of these scholars in PoP, we

observe that Susana's self-realization takes place in two levels: first on the surface level it is the activity of writing a journal enables Susana to articulate her emotions and thoughts, and on a deeper level it is the city with its different spaces and buildings that enables her to discover these emotions and thoughts thus construct her subjectivity.

In the first book of her notebook, Susana warns her current boyfriend about the structure of her writings in her journals: "Look I am neither going to give you dates nor will I talk in proper chronological order" (Puga,2014, p. 13) (see Appendix B, 11). Later she resembles her memories to the form of the Mexico City: "My memories I think took the form of the city. They are disorganized and they grow out without any control" (Puga,2014, p. 13) (see Appendix B, 12). Here we observe that the fragmented structure of Susana's memory coincides with the structure of the city. Susana's memories are dispersed and rhizomatic. Pierre Nora (1989) states that memories "take root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images and objects" that's why unlike history "which binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things" they don't follow a chronological order (p. 9). In parallel with Nora's argument in PoP, Susana recaptures her past by searching certain "scents, corners, lights" because these are the random things that enable her to gather together her dispersed memories.

In PoP we observe that the parts in which Susana reflect upon her walks in her childhood neighborhood Colonia Roma echoes with what Benjamin (1999) defines as flâneur's common experience of the "colportage phenomenon of space". The places that Susana visits such as the house where she used to live in Jalapa street or the Rio de Janeiro square where she used to spend time after school with her friends just like Benjamin claims "winks at her." And in those moments as Benjamin

states "those far off times and places" such as her childhood memories in that old apartment at Jalapa street or the time she spent with her childhood friends at Rio de Janeiro square suddenly come to surface and enable her to discover forgotten details about her past.

In her journal Susana continues to recapture and write her childhood in her journal by picturing in her mind or actually revisiting the certain familiar places where she grew up.

I think, it was the first time I felt that, I was in the street. The people who were waiting for the bus were pressed against the wall which had a small roof and they were waiting and waiting. From their faces, you could notice. Only the couples who were so in love were not waiting. The women who had their hands full of bags. The plastic sheet that the taco woman who covered her stall and the one who was selling tamales as well. Everyone was quite, standing still and the sound of the cars was sad. Sometimes I would try to imagine how people would leave their houses. For example, the lady who sells quesadillas how did she come to the street corner? For me, they were living in the city, not in a house or in an apartment but in the street... Living in the other cities I guess would feel so strange. I think, here, I felt everything, all the feelings I was capable to feel, but I do not know (Puga, 2014, p. 10) (see Appendix B, 13).

For instance, in the above-mentioned paragraph we observe that walking in Jalapa street suddenly reminds Susana the details of the everyday life of her childhood. Here, one can see how the memory of the urban space overlaps with the personal memory. At first sight one can think that Susana's memories of the Jalapa street and are merely individual however since they capture the image of the urban space and the everyday practices of people living in the early 1960s Mexico City, they constitute part of the urban memory as well. This paragraph and many other paragraphs in which Puga illustrates the details regarding how it used to be like for a young girl to live in a middle-class neighborhood in Mexico City during 1960s resonates with the arguments of scholar Griame Gilloch regarding the importance of Benjamin's childhood memoirs in terms of shaping the urban memory of Berlin. As

part of his study about the role of the cities in Benjamin's writings, Gilloch examines *A Berlin Childhood Around 1900*. He argues that although Benjamin's childhood memoirs at the time of its publication was praised just because of its autobiographical features, it was actually very valuable in terms of exploring many long-forgotten details of urban memory of Berlin and the everyday life practices of a middle-class family at the beginning of 20th century. According to Gilloch, Benjamin himself denied his memoirs to be considered solely for its biographical features. In the foreword of the book he wrote:

In this endeavor those biographical features, which appear more readily in the continuity than the in the depths of experience, retreat. With them go the physiognomies- those of my family and of my friends. Instead I have sought to capture the images which the experience of the big city left in a child of the middle class (Gilloch, 2006, p. 58).

Furthermore, Gilloch (2006) argues that Benjamin's writings on cities in general center upon the "the relationship between the metropolitan environment, the individual memory and collective history" (p. 59). And all of them ask the reader the following questions: "How does the city transform memory?" and "How does memory give form to the urban complex?" and ultimately "Could the narration of an individual past critically illuminate the history of the epoch?" (p.59). I think especially the last question that Gilloch mentions is quite relevant to my analysis of Pánico o peligro. Because in the novel by conjuring up a multilayered image of Susana's life in Mexico City as a little girl and later as a young woman Maria Luisa Puga in fact tells us more than the story of Susana. Her story in a way functions as a medium in terms of elucidating the daily life of Mexico City during 1960s and 1970s and how women lived and moved in the urban space. In that sense since it is quite reductive to consider Benjamin's memoirs solely as an autobiography, I think along

the same lines, approaching Puga's Pánico o peligro merely as a novel about a coming-of-age story of a young secretary Susana would also be simplistic.

Because the literary image of the city that Puga constructs in the novel in a sense becomes part of the urban memory and moreover it makes a feminist intervention to the urban memory which in general constructed by the male perception.

Moving back to Pop we see that from an early age, Susana begins observing carefully how people use the urban space. I think as a kid Susana's reflections of the actions of people in the streets very much echoes with Michel de Certeau's arguments with regards to Wandersmänner. According to de Certeau (2011) Wandersmänners are both walkers and writers of the city because they "practice the city" (p.3). De Certeau (2011) explains this term by stating that Wandersmänners are people "whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban text they write without being able to read it" (p. 3). Susana as a kid similar to Wandersmänners instead of experiencing the city from above, becomes what Certeau calls "ordinary practitioner" who is part of the crowd and while walking in the streets without noticing it in a way participates in the process of writing the text of the urban space as well. Only later in her journal Susana remembers how her reflections and arguments were shaped through her observations of the daily lives of the people on the streets. (Puga, 2014, p. 59). She remembers how walking and carefully observing the actions of people gradually enabled her to reflect upon the social reality that surrounds her. Moreover, Susana's reflections on her relationship with the urban space when she was a kid show us how Susana perceives her subjectivity as something inseparable from the places she inhabits and how she experiences them.

Throughout the novel the reader witnesses that as she grows up the places in a way becomes part of her identity.

Australian philosopher Jeff Malpas (2018) following the arguments of French phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty regarding the strong connection between space and subjectivity claims that:

The very structure of the mind is intrinsically tied to locality and spatiality. Or again it is not that place is "something only encountered "in" experience, but rather that place is integral to the very structure and possibility of experience. (p. 21)

Therefore, in accordance with Malpas' arguments we become ourselves or find ourselves when we are in a place, when we are in action forming our agency.

Malpas also refers to Simon Schama's opinions regarding the constitutive role that the landscapes play in shaping our identities:

The very character of subjectivity, in the general and the particular, and the very content of our thoughts and feelings, is necessarily dependent on the place and places within which we live and act . . . the landscape that is in us, that we find in 'myth and memory', as Schama says . . . is the same landscape that we find around us and that provides the stuff of our dreams, thoughts and feelings; for that landscape is not only formed, to a greater or lesser extent, through our activity within it, but is itself constitutive of our character and identity— the landscape in which we find ourselves, and through which we are defined, is thus as much a part of what we are, of minds, our actions and ourselves, as is the food we eat and the air we breathe (Malpas, 2018, p. 189, Schama, 1995, p. 578).

3.2 Growing up in Mexico City

Following Susana's reflections of Mexico City, one can easily observe how the city can be a liberating place for her sometimes and while in others it can turn into a hostile, chaotic place. Remembering her high school years, in her journal Susana writes that for a very long time she was not aware how big the city was. She remembers how her whole world consisted of a few places: the Insurgentes avenue,

her house, the high school she went to. She mentions: "From the city I only knew my neighborhood my world and some houses which were more prosperous than the others. They intrigued me (Puga, 2014, p. 21) (see Appendix B, 14).

I would walk through canals without noticing that this city was so huge. That right there, just around the corner, someone could live in another world..." (Puga, 2014, p. 19) (see Appendix B, 15).

In fact, Susana's reluctance to go and experience the rest of the city is closely related to the feeling of fear towards the unknown. While growing up, her father's ideas and thoughts play a significant role in shaping both Susana's and her mother's vision of the outside world. It is as if Susana and her mother live in a bubble that he created for them. That is why when she writes her high school memories, she mentions that for many years Mexico City meant for her only her own neighborhood Colonia Roma, her school, and certain cafés, and squares that she and her friends like to spend time. Apart from these places, the rest of the city didn't exist for her: "It was a bit like not seeing during that period it was like that... Four of us or sometimes three of us would walk together and chat, and the world didn't exist" (Puga,2014, p. 20) (see Appendix B, 16).

Susana's realization of what was happening outside her peaceful neighborhood coincides with the political violence that began engulfing the rest of the country and especially the capital of the nation, Mexico City. One day, Susana's best friend Lourdes brings a newspaper to school to show it to her friends. The year is 1968 and Susana is fifteen years old. That year, the labor unions, NGOs, students, and people from the opposition began to protest almost every week the government's decision to spend millions of dollars to host the Olympics in Mexico. On the second day of October, the armed forces of Mexico opened fire to hundreds of unarmed civilians who participated in the protests at Tlatelolco. Unaware of what was

happening in the streets of the Mexico City when Susana sees the photo of the dead bodies of the protestors, for the first time, she realizes two things: first there exists another world in the city which was unknown to her because her father never talked about it and second the existence of an authoritarian state which killed hundreds of people during the protests. After this incident Susana's vision of the reality of Mexico City begins to transform:

... For the first time I saw a newspaper. I say I saw it, of course I have seen many newspapers before that, but this time it was different I really saw it. Lourdes brought it with her. It wasn't even a newspaper in fact it was a tabloid. With the photos of boys assassinated in Tlatelolco. Lourdes brought it, "Look at it" she said and continued "to the dead boys." While we are walking around here look what's happening. I remember the horror in the face of Lola and Lourdes's voice. Lourdes was reading the article aloud, but I was almost not hearing anything, I saw the death of those boys. Many of them. And there, in my time, in those same Tuesdays, Wednesdays that I knew very well. I was 15 years old when I discovered that in the world there were people. This filled me with fear. I wanted to hang out with Lourdes, not with my parents; I don't know why I began to suspect them. 'My brother' said Lourdes, 'were hanging out with these boys and he would be one of those dead boys if my father hasn't forbidden him to go outside that day (Puga, 2014, p. 20) (see Appendix B,17).

In the novel, Puga tackles with the memory of the Tlatelolco massacre and how the generation that Susana belonged lived and later remembered this horrible incident. But instead of putting what happened that day at the center of the narrative scheme, she chooses to look at its repercussions by focusing on the reactions of Susana who before seeing the photos of the massacre had no idea of what was happening in Mexico. Puga in that sense asks the following questions: What was the reaction of people like Susana to the massacre in Mexico City who were too young to protest? And by following Susana's experience how did this horrific incident change the mindset of the generation who lived their youth in its shadow? Puga attempts to answer these questions by reflecting upon the different trajectories of Susana and her friends and their experiences in the city which allowed them to gain

political consciousness. Irma López (1996) argues that the novel and especially the part in which Puga tackles with the memory of Tlatelolco massacre is response to the act of silencing imposed by the Mexican government after the massacre. Moreover, Lopez (1996) by referring to Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux memoire* claims that PoP in that sense functions as a memory site: "a place where collective memory materializes and becomes immortal" (p. 94). Furthermore, she states that "PoP constitutes a response to the act of silencing and subverts the curfew imposed by the Mexican government after the massacre" (Lopez, 1996, p. 94). Thus, Lopez (1996) sees Puga's attempt to contest the evasion of this incident in the national official history of Mexico by using fiction as a tool to narrate the experiences of common young people as a "tribute to the victims of the Tlatelolco massacre" (p. 94).

It is also interesting to observe that Puga evokes the memory of the Tlatelolco massacre in a mediated form. Susana finds out about the massacre through a newspaper article and the photo images that Lourdes shares with her. This indirect experience of the massacre although leaves a mark on Susana's memory it actually doesn't haunt her as the kidnapping of two young men by the undercover cops which she later witnesses from her apartment window in the following pages of the novel.

Furthermore, we also observe how Susana's first encounter with the political reality of Mexico obviously made her suspicious of her father's vision and ideas about the country. When she sees the photo of the massacre she realizes that she and her mother were living in her father's house at Jalapa Street away from the political turmoil of the country. And they had no interaction with the city beyond their neighborhood. Her father's indifference to the demands of the students and workers from the government is actually a reaction which can be traced in different parts of

Susana's memories. For instance, in her journal in several occasions she remembers the opinions of her father's on workers and the reality of Mexico:

When my father heard things about Mexico he would become very serious. He always used to talk about the country. He used to say that it was a pity we were so uncivilized. Everything he said, used to begin with the sentence "We Mexicans we are like this, and it is a pity." ... He would say: 'People don't understand' He was an accountant in Teléfonos and every so often he would say that workers were so lazy. They do not like to work he used to say. They do not like to fulfill their duties and obviously we were like this because of how they are (Puga, 2014, p. 15) (see Appendix B, 18).

In the above-mentioned paragraph, we observe that as a worker Susana's father does not consider himself part of the working class. He is unconcerned with the condition of workers and he does not agree with their strikes or their demands from the state. In a way, he internalized the discourse and the attitude of the power holders, and his wealthy employers. Instead of questioning the causes behind the structural inequalities, the disastrous policies, and daily repression and violence conducted by the authoritarian PRI regime, Susana's father chooses to blame the workers for demanding more rights. It is also interesting to observe that his political stand in the long-run has a huge impact on how for a long time Susana prefers to disassociate herself from the ongoing political turmoil of her country.

Unlike Susana, throughout the novel Puga depicts Lourdes as a politically conscious young woman. At a very early age due to being surrounded by a family that constantly talk about politics; Lourdes is more aware of the political reality of her country. Her brothers are part of the student movement and they have a huge influence on her. In his article about the history of Mexican student movement Antonio Gomez Nashiki explains that during 1950s onward the student movements in Mexico began to be concentrated in the universities. (Nashiki, 2003, p. 186) They were formed by the young urban middle class. And right after Tlatelolco massacre,

in the summer of 1968 the movements formed by the students and workers grew stronger than ever. According to Paco Ignacio Taibo (2019) a Mexican historian and one of the members of the Mexican student movement in 1960s, after the massacre, some students gathered together and formed neighborhood community organizations and some of them began to spread their ideas in factories. Thus, during 1970s in many cities of Mexico and especially in the nation's capital new forms of leftist popular movements emerged. In PoP through the characters such as Lourdes, Claude, or Susana's first boyfriend Mateo, we observe the increasing importance of these movements in terms of shaping and determining how the young generations used and experienced the public sphere. For instance, Puga depicts Lourdes as an active member of different political associations, in a way her use of the urban space is closely connected with her political activism. Through Susana we read that after high school Lourdes began to participate to the political discussions and joined the protests organized by students or workers. In a way Lourdes's self-realization takes place through the following things: first her participation to leftist movement, second her political activism in the public sphere and third through adopting the leftist discourse. Unlike her, Susana's lack of interest in politics in a way has a negative impact in terms of her use of public sphere. For a very long period she is not intrigued to join the protests or participate to the events organized by workers or student movement. This is why contrary to Lourdes she is not heavily influenced by the dominant discourses circulating in the public space around that time and the leftist narratives.

Going back to Susana's childhood world, we observe that, it is primarily shaped by the information and the opinions shared by her parents. Thus, her knowledge of what is happening outside of her house, in the streets of the city was

very limited. Remembering those times, she writes how little her family used to talk about politics and history and how they ignored her future. In her journal she addresses her unnamed boyfriend from an upper class educated family and asks him how his world in Mexico City was back then in 1964-1965:

When I was in school they used to teach us Mexican history later I used to ask my parents: 'How did you come here?' From Spain? Or are you indigenous? My father used to get angry. Do not ask stupid questions he used to say. "Don't you see us? How can we be indigenous? But I wanted to know. What were we then if we are neither indigenous nor Spanish? Who are we? Mexicans, my father used to say, what else can we be? But where do the Mexicans come from? What happened to indigenous people? The most I could understand was that indigenous people were poor and Spanish were rich. And who are we? My father always told me: We are Mexicans. My mother used to get surprised: Don't they teach them other things? I did my homework as much as I could and stopped asking questions all the time but I sensed that they would not know the answers to my questions. This was how I finished the primary school (Puga, 2014, p. 11) (see Appendix B, 19).

My father very rarely talked about what I would become in the future. After the primary school my mother wanted to send me to a needlework school. For me, it was all the same, I did not care. I did not know how to imagine a different future, a future which wasn't the same as that moment. I was in the fifth grade and I was becoming more aware of the form of our lives... Where were you during 1964-1965? How were you walking in Mexico? You must have been seventeen years old or something like that. Very probably you were finishing high school. Perhaps you already had a car. I was twelve years old and everything seemed normal to me... (Puga, 2014, p. 11) (see Appendix B, 20).

I think here we can observe a similarity between the attitudes of Aysel and Susana while growing up. As I elaborated in the last chapter *In Lying Down To Die*, Ağaoğlu along the same lines depicts young Aysel as a curious young student trying to understand the social inequalities that shape the world she lives. Both young Aysel and Susana spend their childhood and youth years without being able to understand very well how the outside world that surround them functions. Neither their parents nor the school environment enable them to find answers to their questions. And in both novels, both character's awakening process take place through their direct

experiences in the urban space. In Aysel's case her last stroll through Ankara and her encounter with the everyday life of gecekondu quarters triggers her to observe how her daily life in the city changed drastically through the years and how after embodying all the characteristics of "Ideal Republican Woman" she became estranged from the reality of the majority of inhabitants of Ankara. In the case of Susana as I will elaborate more in detail in the following paragraphs, one can observe that her way of getting acquainted with the social reality of her country occurs through direct observations that she makes when she is out in the streets of Mexico City. Susana rejects internalizing the opinions and adopting the language of others. She prefers to see what is happening in the city through her own eyes. Thus, through these direct experiences she gradually begins to discover the socio-political dynamics that shape the life in Mexico City.

Moving back to the novel, we observe that Susana like so many young girls in her age in Mexico around the early sixties grows up in a very traditional household. She remembers, neither her mother nor her father had any plans for her future. And as she starts high school it was very obvious for her and many other girls in her school that they would become either secretaries or teachers and get married. That is why as soon as she graduates without any thought of becoming something else she accepts the future that has been planned for her. Therefore, when she is nineteen Susana begins working as a secretary in one of the offices of a pipe factory at the city center, *Zona Rosa* (Pink Center) at London street with the help of her high school administration. Through these details Puga sheds a light on how in nineteen seventies Mexico gender hierarchy determines women's access to professional life. Like Susana many Mexican women at that period were only considered for jobs that were either related with child- care or secretarial positions. However, since a

generation of women before Susana in general were housewives, Puga also demonstrates how Susana and her girlfriends feel proud of themselves for just being part of the professional life.

Susana recaptures those times by remembering how the whole experience of the transition from school to working fascinated her. On the first day at work her father accompanies Susana to the office to teach her how to get there from their house. From her detailed descriptions of the office environment one can easily notice how this new place and its routine amazes her:

It was a small building in London street. In this office branch they were dealing with invoices, sales receipts, orders. The factory was at Vallejo. They assigned me as a secretary under one of the directors of purchases . A thin man with curt manners with very thick glasses... My office desk was near his and by my side there was a bigger and a smaller desk. For the most important directors there were separate offices, but with them I had no connection; I only saw them coming in the mornings. In the big room where there were lots of people, directors, secretaries; each secretary was talking with her director, we would talk in a very low voice although from the noise of the typewriters no one would hear anything. The office was carpeted and there was music constantly. There were a coffee machine and another machine for sandwiches. I am writing you all this because I saw all this as a tremendous luxury, incredibly comfortable (Puga,2014, p. 27) (see Appendix B, 21).

Undoubtedly starting to work in an office in the city center plays a significant role in changing Susana's experience of the urban space. She writes:

I loved the afternoons right after I would leave the office. I even liked to take the crowded bus full of people. I liked how the sky would darken while I would walk at the boulevard of Alvaro Obregon with all the birds on my head. I had the sensation of living the same time with the rest of the people (Puga, 2014, p. 28) (see Appendix B, 22).

Here her experience of strolling through one of the busiest boulevard of the Mexico City in the midst of the crowds echoes how Baudelaire defined the *flâneur* figure as a lover of crowds in his article *Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne* (The Painter

of Modern Life). For Baudelaire (1995) the perfect flâneur should "feel immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement"

Similar to Baudelaire's flâneur, while practicing flânerie Susana enjoys being part of the crowds. When she is in the streets or taking the bus with strangers she does not feel insecure at all. And she feels as if she belongs to the crowds.

While working at this office her director Mr. Gonzales turns into a father figure for Susana. Just like at home, under the protection of her father, at the office as well, she feels the protection of this old man. But unlike her father, who does not talk much, this old man teaches Susana the outside world with great patience:

... And all those conversations between me and Mr. Gonzales while we were checking the list of bills... it was a very special time, more than anything else it was very warm. As if nothing could happen to him. We talked about everything and nothing, the first thing that the day would bring. Keys, heaters, kids, marriage, the earthquake during the early morning, couples. Being young, anything. It was very natural, and all of a sudden, we were talking. He would make me laugh a lot and I would also make him laugh (how nice laughing with someone don't you agree?) and his smile was so different than the smile of Lourdes. Mr. Gonzales was not like anyone I know now. He was like a bit of everything...I think, he was the first human being that I truly saw... He made me feel the world.... It was as if every morning he would sit there with infinite patience and demonstrate me things very slowly. As if he was taking them with his hands and circling them with so that I could see them from different angles, feel them exist (Puga, 2014, p. 35) (see Appendix B, 23).

Susana's relationship with Mr. Gonzales and the way she compares him with her father is quite interesting in terms of observing how outside of her home she is still looking for guidance and protection. Unlike her father, Susana admires Mr. Gonzales because he is much more educated than him also again unlike her father he is willing to share his knowledge with her. Interestingly almost at the same time in her new job at the publishing house Lourdes begins a relationship with an older French man called Claude. For a period of time both Mr. Gonzales and Claude

become important figures for both Susana and Lourdes in terms of discovering the outside world.

Moreover, in the above-mentioned paragraph the reader can also observe the drastic differences between the working environments of Susana and Lourdes. Unlike Susana, Lourdes starts working at one of the distant upper middle -class neighborhoods of the Mexico City. Again, different than Susana's job which does not need many qualifications, Lourdes works as an assistant in a publishing house which requires her to improve herself constantly, write and read a lot and engage and interact with all sorts of people from Mexica's literary scene. Again, unlike Susana, Lourdes works for a director who is a woman. Remembering that period, Susana writes in her journal that Lourdes looked very different from her and many other young women in her age who were working at the city center as secretaries with high heels and dresses or skirts with a very formal outlook. Again, these striking differences between these two young women show us how their working environment plays a crucial role in their identity formation processes. Different than Lourdes who is surrounded by more open-minded people in a non-traditional environment, Susana is still part of a traditional environment where men are the bosses and women although are integrated to professional life are serving under men and their role is to make things easier for them by doing their errands. This actually is a perfect illustration how city at the same time can bring together diverse experiences for women. Looking at both Susana's traditional work environment and also Lourdes's progressive work environment which enables her to thrive, we see that the city can be paradoxically inclusive of traditional non-urban experiences and also progressive urban experiences.

In her journals Susana reflects upon her memories of those days and remembers how she was intimidated by seeing Lourdes every day with unconventional ideas, talking about the social reality of Mexico. Although both of these young women come from similar backgrounds and receive the same education, it seems like Lourdes is the one who is pushing the boundaries of the traditional Mexican society to assert her own identity and discover new things in the city:

Few months after graduating from school, she looked exactly the same and later I realized that her clothes were becoming more informal. It was very usual to see her with pants. Are you going to the office like this? I would have asked, looking amazed. Well yes why not? I wanted to explain her how her outfit would look so bizarre in my office; even at the streets of Zona Rosa which I still did not know very well, those streets of Zona Rosa intimidated me and I liked it, they were surprising me. I would like of course she works at the Satélite. I had no idea where Satélite was, I have never been there but Lourdes was taking the shuttle of the publishing house and this shuttle was bringing her back (close to her house) I imagined that place as a special world. And Lourdes was saying that taking the shuttle was very fun because she had time to read (Puga, 2014, p. 29-30) (see Appendix B, 24).

Only a few months after that she begins to work, one day at the office Susana receives a phone call from her mother. She gives her the news that her father died from a heart attack. She writes how his death shocked her and her mother tremendously. Following her memories, one can observe how her father's absence later plays a significant role in in her relationship with the city as well. After his death Susana begins to feel a great responsibility to be with her mother all the time. The city turns into a hostile place for her. Most importantly she begins to feel great anger towards her father:

I developed a certain type of aversion to my father. I felt as if he was this great burden that wanted to crush us. Especially my mother. I remembered him increasingly like a distant, cold figure. Despot. Requiring my mother's attention, dedication, all her life. With all my strength I really wanted that my mother would live and become who she was before (Puga, 2014, p. 56) (see Appendix B, 25).

Remembering this dark period of her life Susana reflects upon her thoughts back then about her mother. She writes how after her father's death she realized that her mother had no life of her own. She saw how she became totally dependent on her husband thus she did not know how to live without him. In one occasion Susana remembers how her mother told her: "I don't know how to live without him" (Puga, 2014: 57) (see Appendix B, 26. It was her father who was going to work every day or seeing his friends who had access to life in the city, which was outside of Susana's mothers reach:

I remember being surprised by the absence of people in her life. Even in that period of my life I had more people. In her life everything started with my father. The past, it was only time, like the sky, the silence, the night... At least my father had people in his office but my mom had only him. Seeing her consuming herself caused a great sadness in me... Her resignation seemed horrible to me. I was born in the streets of Roma neighborhood and although I never had an exceptional life still I could not imagine myself without the noise, without a space to occupy, without a schedule. It was as if she was preparing herself to die I almost felt that my father was calling her. He was taking her again (Puga, 2014, p. 36) (see Appendix B, 27).

I would go out from the office hurried to get to my house. I needed to see her, be in the apartment and feel the smell of her food. The radio sounding low and then I did not want to separate from her. We almost did not talk; sometimes we were going to walk around. We took each other's' arms and I looked for the streets with more trees with more gardens to encourage her to tell me how beautiful the jacarandas flower this year. And I felt her more fragile by my side, and everything in her hurt me. From her shoes that she always wears to her skirts, her blouses, her bag, her hair that turned gray from one day to the next. Her silence which was more intense now. And then I started to feel angry towards my father. I used to think about how he left her to me like this. How he emptied her. How he was now stealing her life (Puga, 2014, p. 33) (see Appendix B, 28).

Puga portrays Susana's mother as a silent obedient housewife who comes to Mexico City from a small town called San Blas. Susana's mother was one of the many Mexican women who migrated from provinces to the country's capital between 1940s-1970s. According to Martha Schteingart (1989) "6.2 millions of people in Mexico moved from the rural areas to the cities between the 1940s and

1970s. And for more than %60 of these rural migrants Mexico City was the final destination" (p. 41). Like the majority of the women living in Mexico around 1960s Susana's mother is also a housewife and she was very much confined to experience the city life only in her own neighborhood Colonia Roma.

When she writes about her childhood Susana rarely gives the reader a picture of her mother's daily routine but on one occasion she mentions how she sensed that there was something missing in her life:

I do not know whether if my mother needed to go out more or she was missing her family; her people. In the afternoons, sometimes she said that she was going for a while to the church. And she would ask me if I wanted to join her. But I used to get bored in the church (Puga, 2014, p. 17) (see Appendix B, 29)

Susana feels like after her father's death she needs to find ways to strengthen her mother's relationship with the outside world. That is why she starts taking her mother outside occasionally for long walks in the neighborhood parks. When she recalls those days that she spent with her mother Susana realizes that her mother had almost no social life in Mexico City except her frequent visits to the neighborhood church. In another paragraph Susana writes about her mother's experience of moving from a small town to the city: "She said that in her first visit to the city she was so shocked that she couldn't even talk. She said all she could do was to keep looking and she said I was lucky that I was born in the city" (Puga, 2014, p. 17-18) (see Appendix B, 30).

Susana's mother's experience of shock of seeing Mexico City for first time seems like continued even after she stayed and lived there for the rest of her life. Her long silence after her husband's death and how she withdraws herself from life illustrates how in fact she has never been able to "practice the city" by herself like her husband did. And that she continued to feel intimidated by the immensity of the

city and never been able appropriated the urban space thus never felt that she belonged there. De Certeau (2011) in his book "The Practice of Everyday" argues that "space is a practiced place" and he draws attention to the strong connection between the practicing, using the urban space and appropriating it (p. 117).

In line with the arguments of De Certeau, Neil Leach (2002) states that: "We make sense of a space through walking practices and repeat those practices as a way of overcoming alienation" (p. 284). Therefore, one can feel part of the urban space through practice and experience. And in the case of Susana's mother due to the lack of experience of urban space, it seems like she could never be able to overcome the sense of alienation.

Furthermore, bearing in mind that Susana in her notebooks mentions how her mother felt immensely grateful to her husband for taking her to Mexico City from her small-town San Bla, it seems like Susana's mother also felt that the city belonged to her husband. And she was there thanks to him and the outside of her house and maybe the protected environment of the church that she visited the rest of the city was part of her husband's world and men like him. Elizabeth Wilson (1992) in her work focusing on women's urban experience argues that cities in a certain way with their "triumphal scale, its towers and vistas and arid industrial regions" are "masculine" (p.7). Moreover, she claims that women can only appropriate the cities through "disruption, pleasure and deviation" (Wilson, 1992, p. 7). In Susana's mother's case one can notice that Mexico City continued to be impenetrable and it preserved its masculine side, because she could not find freedom in it.

After a very short period of time, Susana loses her mother as well. For the first time in her life she is all by herself. Although her best friend Lourdes and her boyfriend Mateo during that time want to live with her, she decides to move to an

apartment all by herself. This is also the first time she starts living in another place: Zacatecas Boulevard.

Those mornings when I used to go out from my house and walk until Insurgentes Boulevard to take the bus and later that bus journey to the office: always so slow and uncomfortable... I was 19 years old and I was feeling as if everything ended for me. I was missing my mother a lot and the city turned into this noisy and dangerous place for me. Inside the buses all the faces looked suspicious, malicious (Puga, 2014, p. 61) (see Appendix B,31).

Susana remembers that period of her life as dark and lonely. In her journal, she writes that after her mother's death she wanted so desperately to understand herself. Since her family was gone in the following notebooks of her journal her relationship with her best friend Lourdes begins to occupy significant space. Starting from their childhood among her friends Lourdes always stands out as the most outgoing, most intelligent, and also the most rebellious. In her journals, Susana mentions Lourdes's name more than she mentions her family or her boyfriends. For example, after seeing the photos of the Tlatelolco massacre Susana remembers how she felt as if she was deceived by her parents because they never told her anything about the political situation of Mexico and how Lourdes was the one only person who finally opened her eyes about what was happening in her country.

While reading Susana's journals we also observe the dynamics of her tumultuous relationship with Lourdes. Susana hates her best friend's didactic speeches and her endless criticism and sometimes she longs for being alone. She writes: "Since we were kids Lourdes who knows why decided to educate me" (Puga, 2014, p. 59) (see Appendix B, 32). Lourdes always blames her for not being curious enough or not improving herself, not reading. In fact, in many different parts of her journals Susana recalls how Lourdes used to call her "Pasmada"- "Dumb" all the time. Lourdes with all the new ideas she learns from the books and people she encounters in the city continues to intimidate Susana. I think by creating two

opposite woman characters growing up in the same metropolis Puga intends to illustrate the reader how Mexican women during the early 1970s had different forms of engagement with the city life. In one occasion remembering her high school memories Susana writes:

Lourdes used to say that one has to read a lot; that it was nice to read; that we should look for a library that would be close to us. But I was lazy and Lola said that she did not have time. That with her brothers she could not find time to read. And sometimes after school we would go to the Rio de Janeiro square and we would sit on the grass to chat. After a while Lourdes would take out her book. We have gotten used to seeing her always with a book while Lola and I talked about our houses about our feelings and fears (Puga, 2014, p. 19) (see Appendix B, 33).

Apart from cultivating her intellectual capacity through books soon after finishing high school Lourdes goes through a radical transformation due to the things that she begins to learn from her new job at the publishing house. Working in a publishing house in a way opens up a new window in Lourdes's life. In this place unlike a regular office environment she is not expected to repeat the same duties mechanically every day. Thus, unlike Susana who works as a secretary, working in a publishing house allows Lourdes to keep learning new things. Moreover, in this office environment she meets with many people from the Mexican literary scene and her intellectual French boyfriend Claude. All of these things demonstrate us that Lourdes's identity formation takes place in two levels: first through intellectual activities such as reading and writing and second by the use of public space through participating in political events, talks and conferences. Engaging in a dialogue with people from different backgrounds in the city. And precisely around the same time Susana begins to feel threatened by the imposing language of Lourdes. While Lourdes is becoming increasingly confident about her personality, Susana is feeling more defenseless and insecure. As I mentioned in the earlier paragraphs, we can

again observe that the city is paradoxically creating different political and social experiences for women. In the same urban space but in different work environments two women go through drastically different experiences and these experiences in a way shape and determine the way they constitute their identities.

Although Susana works at the city center and because she spends her days serving and helping men she continues to perform in accordance to the traditional gender roles. For instance, in one occasion she reflects upon the suffocating working environment and how she used to feel liberated as soon as she was out in the street:

I remember that in that office how I kept quite listening to every detail, every tone, every sentence. Then it was true that when I was in the street I would feel liberated and clean of antipathy. Everything seen and heard in the office stayed there but I think deep down you should not be living like this. Only moments. Don't you agree? As if each moment was isolated from one another... (Puga, 2014: 82) (see Appendix B, 34)

Meanwhile Lourdes in a relatively more non- traditional work environment finds more opportunities to realize herself. It is also important to reflect upon the reasons why Susana herself believes that she and Lourdes experience the city so different from each other. In one occasion Susana dwells on the reasons behind Lourdes's self-confidence, her outgoing personality and why she is not afraid of the urban life as much as she was:

The truth is Lourdes with all her rebellious attitude her desire of fullness, her continuous analyses and all those books that she read was living in a world much more protected than mine. Her family despite all those noises was a very united group. The world would stand outside and all of them would go out because they were not worried about where to return (Puga, 2014, p. 40) (see Appendix B, 35).

Lourdes nourishes her personality by interacting with people from different backgrounds in the city and inhabits the urban space without feeling like an outsider.

But Susana is very well aware of the security cordon that Lourdes's family, her work

and also her intellectual boyfriend Claude provides for her. According to Susana this feeling of security enables Lourdes to be open to new experiences in the city without feeling insecure. Unlike Lourdes, in those years due to the loss of her parents, Susana distances herself from the city life and becomes more withdrawn into herself.

In the second notebook of her journal she writes: "I would hear the sounds of the street from the window and I would feel the fear of all those things that were slipping away from me" (Puga, 2014, p. 63) (see Appendix B, 36).

Similar to Lourdes, Susana's first boyfriend Mateo whom she meets during a visit to her mother's hometown San Blas turns into a controversial figure as well in Susana's life. After her father's death, for a while she likes to be around with him because he makes her feel safe. However, when she goes back to Mexico City from her vacation with her mother at San Blas and starts seeing him more often and usually in the presence of Lourdes, she begins to hate the way both of them act as if they were a team to educate her. Only after when she recaptures those moments while writing her journal Susana realizes that she was different from both Lourdes and Mateo in the sense that she refuses to understand herself and see the reality of Mexico by appropriating the language that her friends learn from the books. Recapturing that period of her life Susana remembers how both Lourdes and Mateo although had no bad intentions were constantly trying to show her that her identity was pretty much defined by socio-economic conditions of Mexico and encouraged her to understand herself and the reality she is part of only within the limited scope of leftist political discourse. While writing her journals Susana realizes that she has never really wanted to define who she is through appropriating and internalizing political discourses that Lourdes and Mateo were imposing upon her. She realizes that her subjectivity is not a fixed thing and she cannot define it solely based on

abstract political ideas and social theories. It was the reality out in the streets of Mexico City which she was in touch on a daily basis that gave meaning to her existence.

In the process of writing she observes that the city, its streets, the movements of people, their daily routines and conversations were all crucial in terms of shaping her vision, her "authentic language".

For instance, in one occasion Lourdes encourages Susana to read *One*Hundred Years of Solitude. During her train trip to San Blas (the little town in which her mother was born) Susana starts reading this book but quickly she gets bored. In her journal later, she reflects upon this experience:

Lourdes gave me a book for the trip. She told me try to read this book otherwise the trip would be so long. The book was One Hundred Years of Solitude. I started reading it but I did not understand anything. All those words overwhelmed me. Only words, words that had nothing to do with one another. I really tried my best but I could not. I was looking out the window and listening to other people's conversations. They inspired me. They sounded like the daily habits of the everyday world (Puga, 2014, p. 43) (see Appendix B,37).

It is no coincide that Lourdes gives Susana to read *One Hundred Years of Solitude (1967)*. Written in 1967 by the Colombian author Gabriel Garcia Marquez in Mexico as an allegory of Latin American identity, the novel transformed the Spanish literary canon and had a tremendous influence in shaping and transforming the ideas and thoughts of especially the generation to which Susana and Lourdes's belonged to. It is interesting to observe that instead of submerging herself to the novel, Susana chooses to look at the everyday life "the daily habits" of people from her train window. Unlike watching the crowds and listening to their conversations which were taking place in the present moment, the novel bores her. Once again, we notice that she prefers the direct experience of the reality through observation rather

than reading. In that sense she is also differentiating herself from most of the young people in her generation like Mateo or Lourdes whose vision and ideas about the social reality of their country were heavily influenced by the leftist narratives.

And unlike them Susana chooses not texts but the urban space itself as her only medium to read and understand the reality. It is the rhythms, the routine of people and their pursuits that enable her to understand the reality thus construct her selfhood. For instance, in one occasion she writes: "Me, for example I go out to street without a clear sense of myself and while I see, listen and feel, I seem more in tune with what was happening around me" (Puga,2014, p. 59) (see Appendix B, 38).

3.3 A room of her own

In her journal, Susana recalls the period in which after her mother's death she began to frequently sit near the large windows of her new apartment and observe the Zacatecas avenue. She writes that this became one of her favorite pastime activities:

I remember I would sit near the window and sometimes I would stay there until it got dark. The overwhelming sensation of all that movement would turn into a restless and incomprehensible stain. By looking I would follow a person, imagine her story, her meaning looking for something that could say something about myself (Puga, 2014, p. 108) (see Appendix B, 39).

In the emphasized paragraph we see how the people outside in the streets and their movements function like a mirror for Susana. Through following their movements in a way, she tries to perceive herself. She believes observing them would reveal something that would enable to understand herself. Her apartment and window corner become a place for self-realization for Susana. One can easily notice the resemblance between Susana's apartment with large windows that look at the cityscape and the room as the symbol of a liberating space that Virginia Woolf writes about in her famous text *A Room of One's Own*. Just like Woolf's narrator who

engages with the city life through observing the streets from her window, the windows of Susana's room also enable her to observe the street from a distance without really participating. But this distance that she puts between herself and the street helps her to overcome the sense of insecurity. Susana's window corner in her apartment similar to the room by the window in Woolf's text is not a place where she feels imprisoned on the contrary, being there makes her feel secure and confident.

In her journal reflecting upon those times, Susana writes that after a while Lourdes begins to live with her. From the details that Susana shares we learn how the two young women gradually learn to share the same house without intruding into each other's space. Lourdes takes a room for herself in the apartment and converts it into her office where she begins to write her novel about Mexico. And Susana chooses the window corner to observe the city. It is interesting here to observe how Lourdes and Susana create a space for themselves in the same apartment and how these different spaces play an essential role in their self-discovery processes. Having their own space allow them to have the liberty to explore their subjectivity. And although they share an apartment together both of them manage to create their own private spaces. In her room Lourdes tries to discover herself in a textual level, by reading books and writing her novel about Mexico and Susana in the living room chooses to engage in a dialogue with the street by creating herself a small space near the window corner.

Sometimes in the afternoons ... I would sit near my window. Lourdes would continue to type her novel in her room; and I would look at the street... Those afternoons were the closest thing to what I call happiness. And maybe for this reason I believe that, happiness is a form of internal silence, still and attentive to what is happening outside. And what is happening outside is not threatening (Puga,2014, p. 121) (see Appendix B, 40).

In the emphasized paragraph we see that through her window corner Susana constructs an illusory connection with a fragment of the daily life of the street she observes. However, she finds the idea of being part of the city life and "practicing the space" as something threatening that is why in this phase we see Susana as an observer of the city rather than a practitioner. Her observant role, her reluctance to participate and become part of the urban space in fact reminds her mother's relationship with the city. And Lourdes observing how Susana is so disconnected from the outside world criticizes her: "And you Susana, you look at outside through the window as if the outside has nothing to do with you. I want to understand how you do it. What do you feel standing there?" (Puga, 2014, p. 142) (see Appendix B, 41)

Later in her journal, Susana elaborates on why she prefers to look at the movements in the street through a window rather than being part of it:

Actually, I think that from that window I was spying. And it was that as Lourdes had become a spokesperson for what I should be, for me she summarized the intentions of everything outside. That is why the outside had the face of Lourdes. Friendly, necessary, but without any respect for me. As if she knew more about me than me. What I was looking from that window was to spy what she knew, but without letting myself to be imposed by it (Puga, 2014, p. 156) (see Appendix B, 42).

Here we see that Susana uses the window corner as a shield to protect herself from the imposing language of others. She finds it crucial to build a space of her own in which she can put enough distance between herself and the others. Through this way she aims to create her own authentic language without feeling the threat of being invaded by the impositions of others.

In the early 1970s, Mexico was in a political turmoil. Almost every day the undercover police working for the Mexican secret service was kidnapping and torturing leftist dissidents. And while these things were happening Susana

remembers in her journal how she was still living in her own secluded peaceful world. She was shutting her ears to Lourdes's long monologues on what was happening in the country.

And Lourdes was continuing to criticize her for being passive and ignorant.

In her journal recapturing those times she writes how her reality was limited only to the things she saw on a daily basis on the street:

I liked everything, going out in the middle of the afternoon already free from all work-related obligations, and walk slowly to my house. Despite the noise, I liked to walk for a while on the Insurgentes Boulevard before taking the bus. While walking I was seeing shop windows and people and there I was standing among all those things... Lots of people say that Mexico City is ugly, violent, and harsh. I guess, I was walking in the middle of all that seeing only a small piece of reality which I knew back then and I was slowly expanding my vision. When you walk on Insurgentes Boulevard it is so messy. But I liked to leave those streets of Colonia Valle and get into the noise. I was not looking for anything and I had no special desire the only thing I wanted was slowly to walk to my house where one way or another I always found an activity to fill my afternoon (Puga, 2014, p. 105) (see Appendix B, 43).

This passage is one of the many examples of how Susana practices flânerie in the city. Here we see her without a specific purpose enjoying to blend into the crowd observing the vivid city life by strolling through one of the busiest avenues of Mexico City. The city turns into a liberating place for Susana and by gradually immersing herself in it she is discovering new experiences and feelings. Moreover, the part that Susana emphasizes the disorganized, chaotic character of the Insurgentes boulevard and how she is not intimidated by it, echoes with the Elizabeth Wilson's arguments on how women unlike men are not scared from "the carnivalesque aspects of life" (Wilson, 1992, p. 7).

Moving on with the novel during those times contrary to Susana, due to being politically very active, Lourdes experiences the city drastically different than her.

She participates in many political gatherings, she meets new people, she goes to

conferences and talks. Interacting with those people and reading extensively about Mexico makes Lourdes observe and analyze the daily life of the city different than Susana. She criticizes Susana, for being blind to the things that was happening every day in the city. She blames her for living in her own bubble. Remembering that period, Susana writes in her journal how Lourdes was very persistent to transmit her vision and her way of experiencing the city to her. Recapturing her tense relationship with Lourdes during that period she later comes to a conclusion that Lourdes was forcing her to use her language. And this made her feel as if she was constantly invading her space. In one occasion Lourdes explains to Susana the way she experiences the streets. Due to being politically aware of what is happening in her country Lourdes looks at the daily life of the city in a different way. When she observes the attitude and the actions of people in the city she sees things that Susana is not aware of. In a way, compared to Susana Lourdes has a multilayered vision of the city. And that is why when she explains to Susana what she sees when she walks on the streets, Susana simply rejects to hear her. It makes her scared because by just looking at the movements on the streets she cannot grasp what Lourdes sees.

Here in this city, every day. They make us do what they want. They change the soil, they hide our food, our taxes go up, they kill us, they hit us, they lie to us and they force us to hear thousands of words as in a rite that nobody believes, but all still continue to fulfill ... They are taking away from us the possibility to be ourselves. They make us hate us ... But who, when? I would ask. Today Susana here and now in Mexico City, open for so much refugee, for so much thesis and analysis of other realities, including ours of course... I left the apartment to buy milk for a while, she was saying: I saw it very clearly with my eyes that I almost shouted. I had to wait on a long queue and suddenly I saw myself; I saw us. The dirty city, broken everywhere, noisy, and bad in its unconsciousness. The little people inside it, living in a hurried and fearful silence, always skirting the confrontation to get somewhere. Always believing that the worst is left behind; because you look around and you always find someone in a worse situation than you. All enduring the discomfort, the humiliation. Don't you see it when you look out the window or does it scare you? So much life, she said, that holds there tight in a fierce resistance, determined not to break while we all do these little foolish acts which are full in this atmosphere. Because in the end, the city is that: the

dirty space which is between one house and another (Puga,2014, p. 141) (see Appendix B, 44).

Remembering in her journal how every time Lourdes talk to her about the darkness of the city, the indifference of people towards injustice and inequalities Susana evokes how she felt as if all those things that she was telling her was just manners of sayings things, pure discourse she appropriated from books to express the world (Puga, 2014, p. 144).

In the end, the Susana experiences an awakening moment not because

Lourdes finally succeeds to transmit her vision or language to her. The incident that
opens Susana's eyes to the political turmoil of her country happens on a usual
afternoon while she was looking at the windows in her usual spot. In her journal she
writes that what she saw that day looking through the windows of her apartment
shattered her understanding of reality. Something which she did not feel it or
understand it when Lourdes was trying to explain it to her. Before seeing what
happened that day on the street she thought that the outside world had nothing to do
with her:

From that day onwards something happened, that day when I saw that car, something was cracked. A form of unconscious confidence I think. An admitting look. Perhaps I felt that the street, the people, the movement have always been there and I was the one who was entering and leaving. The outside in some way was unchangeable for me. It had nothing to do with me only...And suddenly I was suspicious. I went out to streets with fear, feeling insecure. Luckily Lourdes was living with me because I think if I was alone I would be filled with terror. I start to realize that nothing I saw was completely real, by real I mean complete. Behind or below I felt that something was moving silently, happening while we were getting on and of the buses, entering and leaving the sites that were making our lives. I could not forget the terrified expression of that young man and I felt that somehow, we were all contributing to hide what was going on (Puga, 2014, p. 123) (see Appendix B, 45).

That afternoon while looking at the Zacatecas avenue which was full of people and traffic, Susana sees a black car stopping near the sidewalk and two men coming out of it. Suddenly she realizes that those two men were taking two young men by force from their necks and abducting them. In order to recapture that moment with all its details Susana later writes in her journal:

I felt the existence of a Mexico unknown to me, dark and sinister. I saw the matt car moving between other cars in the traffic and I thought that those boys were disappeared in the air... Next morning when I went outside nothing was the same. I did not believe what I saw. I felt that behind there was something that had always been happening. Behind, somewhere in this city, there were those boys (Puga, 2014, p. 121-122) (see Appendix B, 46).

The abduction of these two young men by the Mexican undercover police officers was a common method used by the hegemonic party-regime of the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Instituticional*) to suppress the leftist political dissidents in the late 1960s and 1970s. These abductions of students, workers, members of leftist political movements were later followed by tortures, and killings. During 1960 and 1970s university student groups, workers, doctors, farmers came together to demand social change from the Mexican state. However, the hegemonic party-regime of PRI continuously ignored the demands such as education reforms, improvements in infrastructure, better working conditions and wage increases and on a daily basis mostly through illegal measures such as tortures, kidnappings, and killings they violently repressed these oppositional movements. (Cedillo & Calderon, 2012, p. 6) Maria Luis Puga chooses to incorporate the memory of those violent times of Mexico into her narrative through the gaze of Susana.

Unlike everyone else passing by the Zacatecas avenue that day it seems like Susana is the only one who witnessed what happened to those young men. When she looked at the busy street she realized that no one reacted to what happened, not even

the kiosk owner who was selling newspapers and watching the passersby all the time. But then again, she stayed in her apartment and did not dare to go out to street for calling some help. The only thing she did was to call Lourdes immediately to explain her what happened. Being in her apartment in a protected space not out in the streets while this incident happened later makes Susana to realize that observing the city life behind the window is in fact a false protection from the chaos of the city. Although she distances herself from the dangers of the city, in the end witnessing an act of violence in front of eyes but not doing anything makes her complicit with the people who executed that violent act. Reflecting upon this incident later in her journal Susana realizes that she has to leave her comfort zone and face the reality of Mexico out on the streets.

Seeing this incident also makes Susana realize how the Mexican authoritarian state was through covert ways was controlling and transforming the daily life of people in the city. And moreover, this incident causes her to question the value judgments of the Mexican society towards the daily violence that was taking place in different parts of the city:

... And the people on the street that I saw with waiting tension; a solid endurance, and opaque look of acceptance of something. I saw the mouths laughing or chewing or yawning. I do not know why I felt that they knew, that they were fully aware of everything (Puga, 2014, p. 124) (see Appendix B, 47).

When Susana explains what she saw on the street to Lourdes she does not react as much as she does and she seems not shocked at all hearing what happened to those young men. And immediately she starts blaming Susana for her ignorance: "It is really enough that you inform yourself only about your own reality; start reading a little about what is happening here" (Puga, 2014, p. 124) (see Appendix B, 48).

Later Susana writes in her journal that for years she kept seeing the same vision: the terrified look on the faces of those young men. We see that it is the everyday reality of the city, the things that are happening on the streets, not the words of Lourdes nor the words written in newspapers or books that leave a mark on Susana's perception of the social reality that surrounds her. This incident shows us once again how Susana's engagement and interpretation of Mexica's sociopolitical reality do not take place in an abstract level through the assimilation of leftist political discourses, ideas and information written in the books and news outlets but by experiencing and observing the daily reality of the urban space.

3.4 Susana's awakening in the city

After seeing the abduction of young men on the street by the undercover police, without any objection Susana agrees to accompany Lourdes to a solidarity meeting organized by a Mexican leftist group to support the leftist dissidents who had to run away from different Latin American countries under the military regimes. Later writing in her journal she remembers how those people that she saw in that old house looked like people that she saw every day on the streets.

What surprised me most was that they were the same faces of for example the young woman in the beauty parlor that was near the apartment and where I passed every day. Or the face of the driver of the bus that I had unintentionally perceived, but now I was recognizing it. And the faces of who knows how many people next to whom I have walked across a street, all my life and suddenly here all gathered in that old house with very high ceilings and very naked lights (Puga,2014, p. 146) (see Appendix B, 49).

Recapturing the details of that day Susana later in her journal reflects upon the differences that she observed between the way Lourdes talked about the dissident groups who fought against the military regimes in many Central American countries, and the way those people that she saw at the gathering shared their own experiences

of violence and injustices in their countries. She understands it clearly that listening to Lourdes was impossible for her because her words about politics felt as if they were part of a learned rhetoric. Contrary to Lourdes's words, Susana quickly related and understood those people and their own life experiences that day. Later recapturing her memories of that day, she writes: "For me that had been the noise of the others. Of course, that noise was the complex situation of the world. And now I was seeing the Central Americans as young as me. Was it them who were doing all those things? People like me?" (Puga, 2014, p. 147) (see Appendix B, 50)

Encountering all of a sudden, different realities of people from different countries makes Susana question her wonted way of looking at her own country as well. It forces her out from her own world and leads her to look at Mexico from a different perspective. While observing and listening to different participants of that gathering, Susana also begins to question what makes her feel secure and welcomed in that particular environment which is full of strangers. And in return what makes her overall experience of the urban space different from her experience at that gathering?

I saw, I saw again, not a single moment I stopped seeing, those young faces so similar to the ones I saw every day. So different too. What would it be like if Mexico was like that? I thought. United like this. This whole city would not be scary. I would not run to get home and feel safe for sure (Puga, 2014, p. 150) (see Appendix B, 51).

Reflecting upon this question, she comes to a conclusion that it was the feeling of unity and solidarity which was bounding those strangers and making them feel as if they were part of a community. She realizes that this is why she did not feel like she was alienated nor in danger that day. One can clearly observe from the details she shares in her journal that the atmosphere of that solidarity meeting differs drastically from the atmosphere of the streets of the city which makes Susana feel

threatened. Similar to so many women living in the cities, the feeling of insecurity combined with being anxious all the time is one of the reasons why Susana most of the time thinks that after work she should just rush to her home. Scholar Anke Gleber (1997) explains why even today women experience the modern city more cautiously comparing to men, what makes them feel continuously anxious and panic in the urban space:

Women's specific use of space has historically been marked by anxieties and limitations that make them go about their daily matters in a more cautious fashion than men, assuming fewer, less expansive spaces to be open to their gaze and presence at any time. Restricted to the home, limited to functional forays into the public, forced to forgo the lure of aimless strolling without a specific purpose or destination women are unable to indulge their fascination with the metropolis, especially at night when any excursion in the city may mean, beyond hidden revelations in the street the more manifest dangers of attack. This epistemological awareness is fundamentally inscribed as an anxiety into women's experience of public spaces and remains a scarcely changing constant a continuing "containment of women" that curtails their access to and movement in the street. (p. 73)

Susana's experience of the city very much echoes with Gleber's arguments. Feeling constantly anxious in the public sphere Susana writes in her journal that she chooses not to dwell in the streets. But moreover, apart from feeling always self-consciousness and alert in the streets, Susana also observes some other lacking notions of the urban space which makes her feel constantly estranged. Such as the indifferent attitudes of the crowds and the lack of solidarity among people. Susana's observations of the attitude of crowds of the Mexico City coincides with Georg Simmel's argument of blasé attitude which I elaborated in the introduction chapter of this thesis. Moreover, going back to the earlier chapters of the novel we can also consider the indifference of the passersby, when they saw the kidnapping of young men by the undercover police officers as a perfect illustration of blasé attitude. Instead of reacting or helping those boys they chose to look away.

In her journals, Susana also writes about her encounter with Arturo during that political act. That night she walks back to her house with him. While walking he explains to Susana that he used to study at UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico) but after a year after realizing that he was not learning anything from his professors and he had no interest in hearing the opinion of other students he decided to stop going to classes. Remembering her first impressions of Arturo, Susana writes that that night she fell in love with him. In a very short period of time Susana's relationship with Arturo becomes the most important thing in her life. In a way her relationship with him enables Susana to leave her usual window corner and experience the city with him: I was Arturo, my previous life became a single gesture that led to being with Arturo' (Puga, 2014, p. 160) (see Appendix B, 52).

With him, Susana starts spending more time outside. She remembers how walking with Arturo gave her a new perspective of looking and observing the city. Later remembering her relationship with Arturo in her journal she realizes how this new perspective was not hers and it was solely based on the way Arturo saw and experienced the city. Reflecting upon their walks in the city, she later writes that Arturo's statements and observations drastically transformed her vision of the city.

To walk with Arturo through the city was to go through all conceivable moods. And what was known to me before with him revealed another face. Sometimes a comment from Arturo knew how to make me feel insecure, in danger something like in someone else's land. What for me had been a nice street with trees and peace that somehow cheered my route now acquired a sarcastic and impregnable aspect that made me smaller and also made me feel that I was outside (Puga,2014, p. 161) (see Appendix B, 53).

During this period, with the presence of a man in her life Susana once again feels secure in the urban space. However, this feeling also causes her to feel weak and more dependent. In the company of Arturo, she begins to think as if her observations and her feelings were becoming meaningless. Later while writing her

journal she remembers that during that period she immersed herself in living and experiencing Arturo's world thus forgot about her own observations and feelings. Susana also recalls how soon she became aware of the fact she felt more secure in the city with the presence of Arturo because she wanted to avoid the feeling of panic and danger while walking in the city. She also realized that just to feel secure in the city she was in fact giving up her independence and moreover giving up her own way of looking and experiencing the city. Later she writes about how Arturo's dominant and aggressive personality repressed her.

With Arturo, the objective, the goal was always the outside. Looking outside critically, he used to say. However, of course I was not looking outside I was looking at him. I was looking the way he looked outside. Because I did not remember how I use to look and observe before nor I could imagine how I will look in the future (Puga, 2014, p. 165) (see Appendix B,53).

When I walked alone, when I went to work or decided to meet Arturo somewhere, I did it with an idiotic sense of illegality. As if I had no choice but to spy... (Puga, 2014, p. 169) (see Appendix B, 54)

In the above-mentioned paragraph, we observe how Arturo's dominant male gaze debilitates Susana's emotional engagement with the space. It obstructs her ability to practice the space independently. That is why in order to explain her feelings Susana uses words such as spying and illegality to refer how after internalizing Arturo's language and vision she began to feel insecure and guilty whenever she was alone in the street. Susana's experience of feeling guilty reminds the arguments of feminist art historian Griselda Pollock. Pollock argues that because of men's hegemonic position in public sphere throughout the history women's gaze and presence in the urban space were restricted. According to Pollock (1988):

"Women did not enjoy the freedom of incognito in the crowd. They were never positioned as the normal occupants of the public realm. They did not have the right to look, to stare to scrutinize or watch" (p. 71).

In parallel with Pollock's arguments, Anke Gleber in her article on female flânerie in Weimar Germany draws attention to how women themselves very often internalize certain forms of self-control mechanisms due to the prevailing gender roles that keep subordinating them. However, in the case of Susana after a while she realizes that Arturo's imposing language and observations were transforming her perspective. For instance, when she is outside experiencing the city with him, the whole city becomes only a material for Arturo to support his arguments based on his Marxist political convictions. She remembers how Arturo used his experiences in the urban space not to really observe nor to understand what was happening around him but to use them solely as a material to support his judgments and already established political opinions:

For me it was obvious it was Arturo's rage, that anger that sometimes revealed in his face from something he has seen in the street, for something he has heard was not the same type anger which would come out in the form of a very coherent discourse when he read a book and commented it. These two experiences did not merge or complement each other. And what is more, the second overshadowed the first. Only that the second experience did not have a reality let's say a place to take root. He came with his own conditions of reality and I swear that what happened was that Arturo was forced to take pieces of the immediate reality, something concrete of Mexico City for example only to make his own thing more excited, His thing was definitely was the second (Puga, 2014, p. 182) (see Appendix B, 56).

Here we can observe that similar to Lourdes and Mateo, Arturo's engagement with the outside world takes place primarily through texts. That is why when he wants to understand the socio-economic dynamics that shape the urban space, rather than observing and experiencing the city, he prefers to focus on texts and Marxist narratives. He does not let the things that he experiences in the urban space to transform his thoughts. Unlike Susana, I think we cannot consider Arturo's strolls through the city as an example of flânerie. Because his presence in the urban space

has a purpose. For him the act of observing the urban space merely serves to support his political judgments.

Contrary to Arturo, for Susana experiencing the city itself does not have to serve for anything. In fact, the city is, what shapes and give meaning to her ideas and thoughts. These striking differences between how Arturo and Susana experience the urban space reminds once again Deborah Parson's reinterpretation of flânerie. As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, for Parsons flânerie is not an activity that is only reserved for men. Also, Parsons (2003) parallels flânerie with the idea of search. "Search for self or identity", she considers adaptability and fluidity as part of its characteristics (p. 41). Therefore it is in fact Susana not Arturo who is practicing flânerie because as I mentioned before when Susana is strolling through the city by herself she does it without any fixed agenda. And furthermore, as Susana writes in her notebooks when she is outside for instance in Insurgentes Boulevard, she is trying to find her voice her identity through her encounters and observations in the midst of the crowds.

Moving on with the novel we observe that leaving Arturo makes Susana feel liberated in the city at last. Towards the end of novel, the reader can clearly notice, how finally coming to terms with the fact that city can be both liberating and a dangerous place she finally leaves aside her constant fears and stops panicking. In her journal she recaptures that period of life with these words:

In fact, it was incredible how it became urgent for me to "get out". Get out of that little room of his and go back to the daily life of my apartment, and to Lourdes. And I do not know exactly why and at what moment it happened. I only remember that one day it became extremely hard for me to just keep walking next to Arturo who was always full of rage or next to Arturo with his convictions who was advancing in such long and firm steps but I began to step on to so many things in his path. I am talking about someone whom I rejected not as someone who leaves a boyfriend to continue "looking for" another partner. For me it was a tone, a vision ... a conviction that suddenly appeared to me in all its magnitude and strength and I could not I did not

want to share it or be part of it anymore. At that moment I did not care if it was cowardice or not, I just wanted to leave (Puga,2014, p. 181) (see Appendix B, 57).

On the one hand I felt much closer to everything; the street was much more familiar to me. The people were just people; They were ways of sitting, clothes, colors, hands, nails that somehow already lived daily. On the other hand, my work was much longer. Many aspects of the city slowed down before me, that I no longer saw them in different pieces but as waves, natural accidents of sight, as it were. Reference points also. Going and going back were exactly the same. It was all within that new world that I was perceiving. Or was it a need to live, to touch everything of losing fear? At least do it to one side, which does not cover my eyes (Puga, 2014, p. 226) (see Appendix B, 58).

In the above-mentioned paragraph towards the end of the novel we observe that Susana begins to engage with the urban life. And rather than choosing to be an observant, she begins to practice the space. This final phase in Susana's relationship with the city once again resonates with the arguments of both Deborah Parsons and Elizabeth Wilson. Both of these feminist scholars in their work emphasize that for women, the cities unfortunately are and perhaps will never be accessible as they are and will be for men, however they also argue that women as they did it throughout the history would continue to find ways and strategies to appropriate the urban space. Moreover, Parsons (2003) also states that: "The perspective of the *flâneuse* is thus necessarily less leisured, as well as less assured, yet also more consciously adventurous" (p. 42). Similar to how Parsons elaborates on the experience of *flâneuse*, at the end of the novel we observe that as Susana begins to feel less threatened by Mexico City, she changes her job and starts working far away from her home. Thus, the city becomes a more adventurous place for her. And instead of taking shelter in the protected environment of her house and observing the streets through her window corner, she joins the crowds and finally becomes part of the city life.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I examined Adalet Ağaoğlu's *Lying Down to Die* (1973) and María Luisa Puga's Panic or Danger (*Pànico o Peligro*) (1983) to study how women writers in non-western geographies reflect upon the relationship between women and the modern cities. By closely tracing the encounters of Aysel and Susana in modernizing Ankara and Mexico City, I have shown how Puga and Ağaoğlu illustrate the significant role that the daily experience of modern cities plays in the self-discovery and self-realization of women characters. This process takes place via their encounters with patriarchal relations, class inequalities, and dominant political discourses that are embedded in the spaces of these two national capitals.

Moreover, I have argued that Puga and Ağaoğlu's literary reproduction of the cityscapes, which reflect their own personal maps of the cities, is a feminist critique of the literary cartography mainly shaped by literary maps that render the perceptions and impressions of male subjectivities visible. Furthermore, I claimed that both Adalet Ağaoğlu and Maria Luisa Puga undertook the activity of flânerie by writing *Lying There to Die* and *Panic or Danger*. Examining both of these novels demonstrated me that these women writers not only observed the daily life of the cities that they inhabited but they contributed to the reproduction of the cityscape through a female gaze by reflecting upon their own observations and experiences in the city. Additionally, given that the literary productions are important mediums of cultural memory as Erll (2011) underlines, I also argued that both *Lying Down to Die* and *Panic or Danger* also remake the cultural memories of these cities. By assuming the role of mediators and showing their readers how a certain period of time (the

time period changes in both of these novels) Ankara and Mexico City were experienced by their women inhabitants I claim that both of these women writers in a way intervene the to the gendered cultural memory and give voice to the everyday life experiences and the memories of ordinary women.

In both of the novels, the stories unfold in modern cities therefore in order to understand how modernity was experienced in the metropolises. Therefore, in the introduction chapter I first touched upon some of the most classical texts written on the experience of modernity through the male perspective. I started with Baudelaire's Paris Spleen because he is one of the first writers who reflected upon the transformation of the daily life and the urban practices of people who experience the modernity in cities. In both PoP and Lying Down to Die the experiences of the character of modern urban life very interestingly echoes some of the scenes that Baudelaire described in his writings. Therefore, the brief analysis of Baudelaire's Paris Spleen allowed me to trace how the experience of modernity even a century later in non-western metropolises continue to produce similar effects on the inner lives of the individuals. Moreover, in this part by presenting the different arguments of some of the most prominent feminist scholars such as Rita Felski, Elizabeth Wilson, Doreen Massey, Elizabeth McDowell, Nazan Maksudyan and Deborah Parson, I aimed to reflect upon the question of how women and especially nonwestern women experienced the modern urban space throughout the history. In this part in order to understand the urban experiences of both Susana and Aysel in the modern Mexico City and Ankara I dwelled on the history of one of the modernity's most emblematic figures, the flâneur and discussed its origins and moreover how it was evolved through 19^{th} century and 20^{th} century by the theoretical contributions of different writers and scholars. I also touched upon the interventions made by feminist scholars and demonstrated their discussion on whether it is possible to talk about a female flâneure. This discussion was very crucial in terms of shaping my arguments in this thesis because it allowed me to explore Deborah Parsons redefinition of the flâneure and her reclaim the term flâneuse the female flâneur. Examining Parsons's understanding of the flâneuse made me understand how the women protagonists in both novels that I analyze, by strolling through the city and later reflecting upon their observations in a way practice flânerie. Furthermore, in the last part of the introduction I briefly touched upon the relationship between the activity of flânerie and cultural memory. In this part I dwelled upon Walter Benjamin's city memoirs and presented the arguments of scholars who demonstrated us how his practice of flânerie in a way contributed to the cultural memory. This discussion was particularly important in my analysis of both novels because in both of them Aysel and Susana's experiences and reflection of the urban life later become part of the memory of the cities and since they are written through the perspective of women writers these memoirs make a feminist intervention to the gendered cultural memory. In the following paragraphs I will focus on my main arguments of the following two chapters of this thesis.

In the second chapter of this thesis I analyzed Adalet Ağaoğlu's *Lying Down to Die.* First by looking at the detailed portrayal of the nation's modern capital in the novel I observed how both the protagonist Aysel's and Ankara's destinies strikingly resemble each other. As Aysel goes through an identity transformation through trying to adopt herself to the role of "Ideal Republican Woman" Ankara as well goes through a similar transformation process to become an exemplary modern city. However, in the novel Ağaoğlu by focusing on both Aysel's and Ankara's trajectories shows us how in a certain extend in the long-run this top down identity

formation projects envisioned by the early republican regime fails. Moving on, in parallel with my analysis of Baudelaire's descriptions of the experience of modernity, I looked at how Aysel and other characters of the novel adapt themselves gradually to the new socio spatial codes of the modern city. Following Marshal Berman argument of how "the modernization of the city at once inspires and enforces the modernization of its citizen's souls" (Berman, 1988, p. 47) in the second chapter by pointing out various paragraphs from the novel I showed how the experience of modernity began to influence and mold Aysel's identity. Following that, by reflecting upon Aysel's relationship with Anıtkabir, I also touched upon the arguments on how the buildings and monuments in the city space has a role in shaping the national memory and also the national identity. Moreover, in this chapter in line with Elizabeth Wilson's arguments on how men perceive women's presence in the city as a threat, I showed how patriarchy prevents Aysel to practice the urban space while she is growing up. In connection with this I also argued that gender and class dynamics play a crucial role in shaping the way we experience the city. To support my argument, I focused on the urban experiences of Ali and Aydın and focused on the differences between Aysel's and their way of experiencing the city. In this part I also argued that Ağaoğlu by depicting Ali as a flâneur subverts the common definition of flâneur figure who has been frequently portrayed as a wealthy man. Following these arguments ultimately in the last part of this chapter, I focused on Aysel's last stroll through the city as a grown-up woman and argued that by depicting in detail Aysel's aimless walk in the city, in a way Ağaoğlu illustrates us perfectly what happens when a woman in 1960s Ankara undertakes the role of flânuese.

In the third chapter, I focused on Maria Luisa Puga's novel *Panic or Danger* and analyzed the different phases of Susana's relationship with the city. In order to understand how Susana's relationship with the city gradually evolved and how she finally overcame the sensations of panic and danger in her experience of the urban space I drew upon the arguments of Elizabeth Wilson. In this chapter I particularly focused on Deborah Parsons' arguments on flânerie and the figure of flânuese. In line with arguments in which she draws attention to the relationship between selfdiscovery and the act of flânerie I argued that throughout PoP, Susana practices flânerie. I furthermore concluded that through flânerie Susana not only experiences and observes the daily reality and the struggles of people inhabiting the urban space she also finds her authentic language to reflect upon the socio reality of her country and the same time she gradually constructs her selfhood. Furthermore, after presenting David Frisby's arguments about the strong relationship between the practice of flânerie and writing, I touched upon Walter Benjamin's activity of *flânerie* in his Berlin memoirs and I argued that Susana's activity of keeping a journal can be considered as part of her role as a flânuese.

In developing these arguments, this thesis primarily aimed at contributing to the scholarship that studies women's urban experience in light of women writers' literary production. In line with the works of Elizabet Wilson and Deborah Parsons, I have emphasized the emancipatory role that the city plays for women as much as the inequalities and hierarchies that mark urban spaces and the discourses circulating through them. While the established literature makes these arguments by studying core Western cities, in this thesis I have also demonstrated these arguments also apply to two major non-western capitals by showing how Susana and Aysel construct their own languages and identities through their engagement with their capital cities.

As a result, I want to conclude this thesis by echoing Felski's point that "struggles for women's emancipation are complexly interwoven with processes of modernization" (Felski, 1995, p. 16). Therefore, any study of those processes has to take into account urban experiences of women.

APPENDIX A

LYING DOWN TO DIE QUOTES IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE (TURKISH)

- İçinde uzun yıllar yaşadığım bir kentin, nerdeyse birlikte büyüyüp, nerdeyse kimliksizliğiyle özdeşleştiğim bir kentin bilmediğim bir noktasına asılmış duygusu içindeyim. Perdeleri sıyırsam karşıma ne çıkacak? Bilmiyor muyum gerçekten? Yoksa korkuyor muyum? Dışarısıyla ilgimin yenilenmesinden mi korkum? (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 119).
- 2. Aysel, yüzünü hiç görmediği Atasının tabutunu, yağmurlu bir akşamüstü, abisinin ve eniştesinin elinden tutmuş olarak *Kamutay'ın* önünde görmüştür. Eniştesi, tabutun çevresinde yatan altı meşalenin altı oku anlattığını söylemiştir. Altı meşalenin yanlarında, sağ ve solda birer general, birer subay ve birer er de, merasim üniformaları içinde, altı kişilik saygı nöbet grubunu teşkil etmişlerdir. General ve subaylar kılıçlarını çekmiş, hepsi de selamlama durumuna geçmiştir (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 65).
- Bu odamız çok güzel. Penceresinden hastane görünüyor (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p.
 77).
- 4. ... İlk defa 2 Eylül Cumartesi akşamı yani buraya döndüğümün ertesi günü bir garden partiye gittim. Yani, bahçede bir eğlence demek oluyor. Güneş Sporluların gardenpartisi Eski Bomonti denilen yerde, Yenişehir Parkı'ndaydı. Bilet başına iki bayan ve bir bay olmak üzere bir liraymış. Güneş Sporlulara ayıp olmasın diye enişten de iki bayan ve biri bay için olmak üzere bir bilet almış ben henüz misafir sayıldığım için, enişten de beni ve İclal'i alarak gittik. Çok üzüldüm. Hiç istemedim teyzem evde kalsın, ama artık işte ısrar billah üçümüz bu gardenpartiye gittik ömrümde. Kardeşim

Semiha, sana nasıl anlatsam bilmem Burası Ulu Atamızın bize açtığı yolda medeni bir âlem. Bütün herkes kız demeden, erkek demeden orta yere çıkıp ikişer ikişer birbirilerine sarıldılar, döndüler. Bizim orda müsamerede oynadığımız oyunlardan çok daha samimi. Sen ne düşünürsün bilmem, ama ben çok uygar buldum. Dündar Öğretmen'in o kadar çabalayıp bize zorla yaptırdığı bir işin böyle artık tabii bir şey oluşu çok hoşuma gitti. Fakat eniştem, yanımıza gelip de beni birlikte dans etmeye. Çağıran kırmızı saçlı bir oğlanı azarlayınca, çok utandım Ne de olsa eniştem de benim yanlarında emanet olduğumu düşünüyor (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 79).

- 5. Eve dönünce teyzeme, 'Babasının bana pezevenk demesini istemem tabii' dediğini duydum, ki o da haklıdır bir bakıma. Ancak sen de bilirsin ki, biz kendimizi bildikten sonra ne olacak değil mi? Biz Türk erkeklerine hep kardeşimiz gözüyle bakarız ve bakmalıyız. Onun dışında bizim kötü düşüncelerimiz olamaz ve olmamalıdır (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 79).
- 6. Bu baraj mesiresindeki gölde yüzen iki kayık vardır. Bir fotoğrafta aile reisi, bu kayıklardan birine binmiş görünmekte, kürek çekmekte; bahriyeli giysileriyle oğlu, aile reisinin zevcesi yanında oturmakta; anne, başında geniş kenarlı, geniş kurdeleli, beyaz hasır bir şapka ve elinde şemsiye ile kendini güneşten korumaya çalışmaktadır. Aile reisi, kruvaze ceketinin üstüne beyaz bir gömlek yakası devirmiştir. Kalem cebinden beyaz bir mendilinin uçları sarkmaktadır. Dudaklarının üstünde Victor Francen bıyıkları. Kürekleri büyük bir transatlantiği yürütmenin dikkati içinde çekmektedir. (Fotoğrafa *Başkentte belle Epoque* adı verilebilir.) (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 32-33).
- 7. 10. yıl adına başkentte, ömründe hiç harcamadığı kadar para harcadı. Aysel'e gözleri açılıp kapanan bir bebek bile almışlardı. İlçeye dönüşte karısı

günlerce hısım akrabaya, eşe dosta uçakları, tankları, bahriyelilerin kordonlarını, fener alaylarını, Havuzbaşı'nı Havuzbaşı'nın güllerini ve ışıklarını, üç katlı yüksek yapıları, otel odasının elektrik düğmesini, o envai çeşit şeker vitrinlerini falan anlattı durdu. Fit Hanım'ın ablası ve ablasının kocası, onları Gazi Çiftliği'ne de götürmüşlerdi . Fitnat Hanım, orasını da, dünyanın sonuna dek yürümüş gibi anlattı durdu. Anlatacak şeyler hiç bitmedi. Salim Efendi'nin ise o gündür bugündür içinde gittikçe büyüyen küçülmeyi kimse anlamadı (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 56).

- 8. ... Niye okuyorsun bir kere sen? Kadın kısmına okumak nerden çıkmış?

 Anandan mı gördün, ninenden mi? Yarın lise bitince bir de üniversiteye gitmeyi düşünüyorsan, nah gidersin! Baban bıraksa, ben bırakmam. Oralarda okuyan kızların ne mal olduğunu şimdi çok iyi biliyorum ben. Üniversite öğrencisi adı altında bir yığın yırtık orospu! (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 205).
- 9. Ali, caddenin Ulus'a yakın ikinci adasında, sol kolda bulunan Erkek Sanat Okulu'ndan çıktı. Hava ayaza kesiyor. Kitaplarını, Dündar Öğretmen'in armağanı olan cetvelini, bu ilk başkentli şeyini kolunun altına sıkıştırdı. Paltosuzdur. Kendisine artık iyice dar kısa gelen ceketinin içine büzüldü. Hergele Meydanı uzak değil. İki koşsa üç dakikada o eski alandaki otelde olabilir. Yine de acele etmiyor. Kısacık bir yol boyu kendine kalan özgürlüğün tadını seviyor (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 98).
- 10. Dönelim. Cebeci'ye falan da gitmeyelim. Ne diye saklanacakmışım? Ne diye kıyı bucak dolaşacakmışım yollarda? Yengeçler gibi yan yan, niye? Doğru bulvara çıkalım. Güven Parkı'nın orta yerine de oturalım. Oturacağım işte. Görürler...Eylülde on yedimi bitiriyorum. Kimse bir şey yapamaz. Döverler, söverler. Söz ederler. Ölüm değil ya bütün bunlar. Canımızı alacak değiller

- ya? Basıp yürüyeceğim bulvarın ortasında seninle. Havuzun başında da en gözünü yere oturacağım. Çekinecek bir şeyim yok benim. En, en göz önü yere oturacağım (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 311-312).
- 11. Acaba hiç kendim olmuş muydum? Hiç kendimiz olduk mu? Görevlerin birlikte götürülmediği bir yerim oldu mu hiç? (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 191).
- 12. Yatakta ilk kez şöyle bir dönüyorum. Dönerken dizlerimi büküyorum.

 Bükerken dizlerimde beklemediğim bir sızı duyuyorum. Öyle ya, neredeyse bütün Ankara'yı yürüdüm. Sabahın dördünden bu odaya girene dek yürüdüm.

 Tanyeri ağarmadan önce epeyce de ürktüm. Gece eğlencelerinde dönen yalnız adamlar, otomobillerinin içinden, kaldırımlardan bana sesleniyorlardı.

 Beni de götürmek istiyorlardı. Ana caddeyi bırakıp yan sokaklara saptım.

 Ortalık iyice aydınlandığında Cebeci'de Tıp Fakültesi Hastanesi'ne çıkan yokuşun üstündeydim. İşçiler, hizmetçiler, hastabakıcılar, marangozlar, marangoz çırakları, dükkan çırakları, hademeler, çöpçüler... Bu gece Büyük Tiyatro'da My Fair Lady'i seyretmeye gidemeyecek kim varsa başkentte, hepsi.... Bir gün bir "sir"ün ya da "lord"un bir sokak köşesinde belirip kendilerini yeniden yaratmaya kalkacağını mı umuyorlar? Öyle hızlı koşturuyor, hepsi vergi mükellefleri... (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 49-50)
- 13. Minibüsün içindekilerin beni yabancılayan yüzlerini de nedense sonra fark ettim. Ta, artık birbirlerini dürtmeye başladıklarında. Hemen bir yerde inivermek istedim. Ama şoföre bir durak adı söylemem gerekiyordu. Geçtiğimiz yerlerdeki durak adlarını bilmiyordum. Bu caddeleri, bu caddelerin adlarını, içerlere giren yolları... bilmiyordum (Ağaoğlu, 2018, p. 74).

APPENDIX B

PANIC OR DANGER QUOTES IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE (SPANISH)

- Escribo para entender, para entender y para tocar [...] si yo no me traigo las cosas que veo a la escritura, siento que me quedo fuera de las cosas.
 Escribiéndolas las hago reales y las puedo toca (Puga, 1985).
- 2. Las cuatro de alguna manera soy yo misma, y ninguna es mi historia... Son las posibilidades de lo que hubiera podido ser, completamente (Puga,1985)
- 3. Ustedes han visto la ciudad y saben que es un monstruo. Supongo que una ciudad gigantesca no siempre es tan singular; Tokio también es una ciudad gigantesca, pero está consolidada, es homogénea, y México no, México son mil pueblos juntos, mil pueblos en donde hay una diversidad de vidas y unos contrastes tremendos. Entonces, yo creo que la gran tentación del escritor mexicano contemporáneo es escribir la panorámica del D.F., pero la única forma en que puedes acercarte es paso a paso... cuento a cuento" (Puga, 1991).
- 4. En los medios urbanos, lo de afuera es siempre nuestro espejo, entonces realmente nos vamos viendo cuando vemos como somos y esa es una de la cosa que sustentan mucho al individuo en un ambiente urbano" (Puga,1991)
- No es gran cosa; solo la diferencia entre vivir con pánico o enfrentar el peligro (Puga 2014, p. 282).
- 6. Voy entendiendo lo que pasa. Con los cuadernos, digo...Ya no pienso tanto en que van a ser para ti. Para ti. Hace un buen tiempo que dejé de escribirlos para ti. Son para mi obviamente y es muy de vez en cuando que me acuerdo que los vas a leer tu. Sigo queriendo que los leas; sigo pensando que solo así

- van a tener un sentido, pero como que me apropié del proceso de escribirlos (Puga, 2014, p. 234).
- 7. Lo que me pasa a mi cuando escribe, es que empiezo a ver, a oler, oír los sitios. Es muy raro. Tengo que hacer un esfuerzo por acordarme qué quería o pensaba yo, pero los sitios están ahí clarísimos (Puga, 2014, p. 195).
- 8. Escribiendo el primer cuaderno me di cuenta de que me gusta. Me gusta escribir. Es una manera de recuperar la vida que una ova gastando casi sin sentir (Puga, 2014, p. 58).
- Fui a mi escuela, fui a mi Antigua casa en la calle de Jalapa, fui a la plaza Rio de Janeiro, creo que tratando de entender como me iba sucediendo la vida (Puga, 2014, p. 97).
- 10. Cuando ahora pienso en esa época, la extraño... me duele, pues no que la quiera vivir otra vez, pero si me doy cuenta de que busco olores, esquinas luces me da tristeza no porque se hayan muerto mis padres, sino porque ya no me encuentro (Puga, 2014, p. 7).
- 11. Pero mira no te voy a poner fechas ni te voy a hablar en orden (Puga,2014, p.13).
- 12. Mis recuerdos, creo, tomaron la forma de la ciudad. Son desordenados, me crecen sin ningún control. (Puga, 2014, p. 13)
- 13. Creo que fue la primera vez que me sentí en la calle. Los que esperaban el camión se apretujaban contra la pared que tenia techito y esperaban, esperaban, en la cara se les notaba. Solo las parejas de enamorados no

esperan. Y las mujeres cargadas de bolsas. El plástico con que la señora de las quesadillas cubría su puestito, o el de los tamales. Todo se aquietaba esperando y los coches sonaban tristes. Trataba a veces de imaginar a la gente en sus casas. Como salía la señora de las quesadillas para venirse a la esquina. Para mi ellos vivían en la ciudad, no en una casa ni en un edificio, sino en la calle. La de las quedadillas que yo me acuerdo siempre estuvo ahí (Puga,2014, p. 10).

- 14. De la ciudad solo conocía mi zona, mi mundo, a veces esas casas mas prosperas que otras. Me intrigaban (Puga, 2014, p. 21).
- 15. Eso: caminar por canalitos viendo nada mas lo conocido. Sin que se me ocurriera nunca que eso era una ciudad tan grande. Que ahí mismo, a la vuelta de la esquina, alguien podía estar viviendo en otro mundo (Puga, 2014, p. 19)
- 16. Era como un poco como no ver, toda esa época fue así" ... "Íbamos a las cuatro, o las tres platicando y el mundo no existía. (Puga, 2014, p. 20)
- 17. Por primera vez vi un periódico. Digo vi, pero claro que había visto muchos, solo que este de veras lo vi. Lo trajo Lourdes. Ni siquiera era un periódico. Era un Alarma en realidad. Con fotos de los muchachos asesinados en Tlatelolco. Lourdes lo trajo: miren, dijo y las filas de muchachos muertos. Mientras nosotras andábamos por ahí paseando, miren lo que pasaba. Me acuerdo de la cara de horror de Lola. De la voz de Lourdes. De la foto. Lourdes leyó el articulo en voz alta, pero yo casi ni oía, veía la muerte. Veía a esos muchachos muertos. Muchos. Y ahí, en esos mismos martes, miércoles

que yo conocía tan bien. Quince anos tenia cuando descubrí que en el mundo había gente. Y me llené de miedo. Me quise colgar de Lourdes, no de mis padres. No sé por qué, pero empecé a sospechar de ellos. Mi hermano dijo Lourdes andaba con ellos y si no es uno de éstos es porque ese día mi papa le prohibió salir (Puga,2014, p. 20).

- 18. Cuando mi padre oía cosas sobre México, se ponía muy serio. El siempre hablaba del país. Decía que qué lastima que fuéramos tan incivilizados. Casi todo lo que decía empezaba con un "nosotros los mexicanos somos así, lastima." ... Decía: "la gente no entiende." Era contador en Teléfonos y a cada rato decía que los obreros eran unos flojos. Lo que no les gusta, decía es trabajar. No les gusta cumplir y claro por eso estamos como estamos (Puga,2014, p. 15).
- 19. Cuando en la escuela me ensenaban historia de México, yo después les preguntaba a mis padres: ¿como llegaron ustedes aquí? ¿De España? ¿O son indios? Mi papa se enojaba. No hagas preguntas tontas, decía ¿que no nos ves? Como vamos a ser indios. Pero yo quería saber. Que éramos entonces, si no éramos indios ni españoles. ¿Quienes éramos? Mexicanos, decía mi papa, que otra cosa vamos a ser. Pero ¿de donde vienen los mexicanos? ¿Qué paso con los indios? Lo mas que logré entender fue que los indios eran los pobres, los españoles los ricos ¿Y nosotros? Y mi papa siempre decía: nosotros somos mexicanos. Mi mama se sorprendía: ¿no les ensenan otras cosas? Yo hacia mi tarea como podía y dejaba de preguntar cada vez mas pues intuía que no iban a saber. Y así hice la primaria, sin entender mucho (Puga, 2014, p. 11)

- 20. Mi padre rara vez hablaba de lo que haría cuando fuera grande. Mi mama quería que, terminando la primaria, me metiera en un curso de corte y confección. A mi me daba bastante lo mismo. No sabia imaginar otro futuro que no fuera idéntico al presente. Y estaba en quinto y me daba mas cuenta de la forma de nuestra vida... ¿y tu por donde andabas en aquellos anos... sesenta y cuatro, sesenta y cinco? ¿Como caminabas por México? Debes haber tenido unos diecisiete o algo así. Seguro estabas terminando la preparatoria. A lo mejor hasta tenias coche ya. Yo tenia doce y todo me parecía normal (Puga, 2014, p. 11).
- 21. Era un edificio chiquito en la calle Londres. Ahí, en la sucursal, se hacían las facturas, las notas de remisión, los pedidos. La fabrica estaba en Vallejo. Me pusieron con uno de los jefes del departamento de compras. Un hombre flaco y seco, con lentes muy gruesos... Mi escritorio estaba al ladito del suyo y a mi lado había otro grande y luego otro chico. Para lo jefes mas importantes había despachos, pero con ellos no tenía nada que ver; solo los veía llegar por la mañana. En la habitación donde estaba había mucha gente, jefes, secretarias; cada cual platicaba con su jefe y lo hacíamos en voz baja, aunque con las maquinas de todas maneras no se oía nada. La oficina estaba alfombrada y tenia música constante. Había una maquina de café y otra de sándwiches. Te cuento todo esto porque a mi me parecía de un lujo bárbaro (Puga, 2014, p. 27).
- 22. Me gustaba la tarde cuando salía de la oficina. Hasta iré n el camión replete.
 Me gustaba como caía la noche cuando caminaba por el camellón de Alvero

- Obregón, con todos los pájaros sobre la Cabeza. Tenia la sensación de vivir al mismo tiempo que lo demás (Puga, 2014, p. 28)
- 23. Y todas esas conversaciones que había entre el Sr. Gonzáles y yo mientras checábamos las larguísimas listas de remisiones... eran un tiempo muy especial, más que nada muy cálido. Como si nada pudiera pasar en él. De todo y nada hablábamos; de lo primero que trajera el día. Llaves, calentadores, niños, matrimonio, el temblor que hubo en la madrugada, la pareja. El ser joven, lo que fuera. Salía natural y de pronto ahí estábamos diciéndonos. Me hacia reír mucho, y yo a el (que padre es hacer reír a alguien ¿no?) y esa risa era muy distinta a la de Lourdes. El señor Gonzales no era como nadie que yo conozca ahora. Era un poquito de todo...Creo que fue el primer ser humano que de veras vi... era el tono de su voz unido al mundo. Me hacia sentir el mundo... Era como si cada mañana se sentara ahí con una paciencia si las tomara en sus manos y les fuera dando vueltas para que yo las viera desde distintos ángulos y las sintiera existir (Puga, 2014, p. 35).
- 24. Los primeros meses después de salir de la escuela, siguió siendo idéntica y luego me di cuenta de que su ropa se iba hacienda mas informal. Era lo mas normal verla de pantalones ¿Y así vas a trabajar? Me maravillaba yo. Pues claro por que no. Hubiera querido explicarle como habría resultado rara en mi oficina; hasta en las calles de esa zona rosa que todavía no lograba captar bien pero que me intimidaban, me gustaban, me sorprendían. Claro, pensaba yo, ella trabajaba en Satélite. No sabia donde estaba Satélite, nunca había ido, pero como a Lourdes la recogía un camión de la editorial y la traía (cerquita

- de su casa) me lo imaginaba como un mundo especial. Y además decía Lourdes, es padre porque puedo leer en el camión (Puga, 2014, p. 29-30)
- 25. Yo había desarrollado una especie de rechazo a mi padre. Lo sentía como un peso que nos quería aplastar. Sobre todo, a mi madre. Lo recordaba cada vez mas distante y frio. Déspota. Exigiendo atención, dedicación toda la vida de mi madre (Puga, 2014, p. 56)
- 26. No sé vivir sin el (Puga, 2014, p. 57).
- 27. Me acuerdo que me sorprendía la ausencia de gente en su vida. Aun en la mía, en esa época había mas. En la de ella todo comenzó con mi padre.

 Antes, era el tiempo, el cielo, la quietud, la noche... Por lo menos mi padre tenia a la gente de su oficina, pero ella solo a el. Me resultaba de una tristeza enorme verla consumirse... Me resultaba horrible esa resignación. Yo nací en las calles de la colina Roma, y sin haber tenido hasta ese momento ninguna vida excepcional y no me sabia imaginar sin el ruido; sin el espacio ocupado; sin el horario. Era como verla prepararse para su muerte y casi sentía como mi papa la llamaba. Se la llevaba otra vez (Puga, 2014, p. 36).
- 28. Salía de la oficina y me apuraba en llegar a la casa. Necesitaba verla, estar en el apartamento y sentir su olor a comida. El radio sonando bajito. Y luego ya no quería separarme de ella. Casi no hablábamos; a veces nos íbamos a caminar por ahí. Nos tomábamos del brazo y yo buscaba las calles con mas arboles con mas jardines para animarla, para que me dijera mira que lindo florean las jacarandas este ano. Y la sentía a mi lado cada vez mas frágil, mas chiquita y todo en ella me dolía. Desde sus zapatos bajos que siempre

uso hasta sus faldas, sus blusas, su bolsa, su pelo que encaneció de un día para otro. Su silencio que era mas intense ahora. Y que empiezo a sentir rabia contra mi padre. Como me la dejo así pensaba. Por que la vacío tanto. Por que se esta llevando su vida (Puga, 2014, p. 33).

- 29. Yo no se si lo le faltaba a mi madre era salir mas o si extrañaba sus familiares; su gente. Por las tardes a veces decía que se iba un rato a la iglesia. Me preguntaba si quería ir con ella, pero a mi la iglesia me aburría (Puga,2014, p. 17).
- 30. Decía que en su primer viaje a la ciudad se había quedado tan impresionada que no puedo ni hablar. Que nomas miraba y miraba. Que yo tenia suerte por haber nacido en la ciudad (Puga, 2014, p. 17-18).
- 31. Esas mañanas en que salía de mi casa y caminaba hasta Insurgentes para tomar el camión y luego el trayecto lentísimo, incomodo hasta la oficina....

 Tenia 19 años y me sentía acabada. Extrañaba muchísimo a mi madre. La ciudad se me había vuelto ruidosa y peligrosa. En los camiones todas las caras me resultaban sospechosas maliciosas (Puga, 2014, p. 61).
- 32. Desde que éramos niñas y vete tu a saber por qué, Lourdes propuso a "educarme" (Puga, 2014, p. 59).
- 33. Lourdes decía que había que leer mucho; que era rico leer; que debíamos buscar una biblioteca que nos quedara cerca. Pero a mi me daba flojera y Lola decía que ella no tenia tiempo. Que con sus hermanos no podía. Y cuando a veces después de la escuela nos íbamos a la plaza de Rio de Janeiro y nos echábamos en el pasto, as a platicar nada mas al rato ya Lourdes había

sacado su libro. Igual que nos acostumbramos a verla escribiendo en su cuaderno, se nos hacia lo mas normal verla siempre con un libro mientras lola y yo platicábamos de nuestras casas, de nuestras sensaciones y miedos. (Puga, 2014, p. 19).

- 34. Me acuerdo que en aquella oficina como me quedaba queta escuchando cada detalle cada tono, cada frase. Luego es cierto ya en la calle me sentía liberada y limpia de antipatías. Todo lo visto y oído en la oficina se quedaba ahí, pero creo que en el fondo no se poder vivir así, de los momentos, ¿no? Como si fueran aislados unos de otros (Puga, 2014, p. 82).
- 35. La verdad es que Lourdes con todo y su rebeldía su deseo de amplitud su continuo analizar y todos esos libros que leía vivía en un mundo mucho mas protegido que el mío. Su familia pese a los gritos era un grupo muy unido. Un mundo quedaba afuera y ellos todos salían porque tenían adonde volver (Puga, 2014, p. 40).
- 36. Oía los sonidos de la calle por la ventana y sentía terror de que todo aquella se me estuviera escapando (Puga, 2014, p. 63).
- 37. Lourdes me había regalado un libro para el viaje. Lee, o se te va a hacer larguísimo. Cien anos de soledad era. Lo empecé y no entendí nada. Me abrumaron tantas palabras solo palabras que no tenían que ver unas con otras. Traté mu yen serio de seguirlo y no pude. Miraba por la ventana, oía las conversaciones de los demás. Me llenaban de admiración. Sonaban a costumbre de mundo. Todo tan normal (Puga, 2014, p. 43).

- 38. Salgo a la calle sin una sensación muy clara de mi. Es a medida que veo, oigo, siento que empiezo a ponerme (Puga,2014, p. 59).
- 39. Me acuerdo que me sentaba junto a la ventana y a veces me quedaba ahí hasta oscurecía. La sensación abrumadora de todo ese movimiento que acababa por convertirse en una mancha inquieta e incomprensible. Me proponía seguir con la vista a alguna persona, buscando imaginarle su historia, su sentido algo que pudiera también hablarme de mi (Puga, 2014, p. 108).
- 40. A veces por las tardes me quedaba junto a mi ventana. Lourdes tecleaba en su cuarto; yo miraba a la calle... creo que es lo mas parecido a sentirme feliz que he experimentado, y a lo mejor por eso creo que la felicidad es una especie de silencio interno, quieto y atento a lo que pasa afuera. Y lo que pasa afuera no resulta amenazante (Puga, 2014, p. 121).
- 41. Y tu Susana miras por la ventana como si no tuviera nada que ver contigo.

 Quiero entender como le haces. ¿Que se siente estar ahí? (Puga, 2014, p. 142)
- 42. En realidad, creo que desde esa ventana vigilaba. Y era que como Lourdes se había erigido en portavoz de lo que se debía ser, para mi ella resumía las intenciones de todo lo de afuera. Por eso lo de afuera tenia cara de Lourdes. Amistoso, necesario, pero sin ningún respeto por mi. Como si supiera mas de mi que yo misma. Lo que buscaba, desde esa ventana era espiarle eso que sabia, pero no dejarme que me lo impusiera (Puga, 2014, p. 156).
- 43. Sin embargo, todo eso me gustaba. Salir en plena tarde, libre ya, y caminar sin prisa hasta mi casa. Me gustaba caminar un rato por Insurgentes, antes de

tomar el camión y pese al ruido. Iba viendo escaparates y gente y a mi entre todo eso ... Que es fea la ciudad de México, dice mucha gente. Que es salvaje y dura. Supongo que yo caminaba en medio de todo eso viendo solamente el pedacito de realidad que conocía y que muy lentamente estaba ampliando. Es tan desordenado Insurgentes cuando lo recorres a pie. Pero me gustaba salir de esas calles de la colonia del Valle y meterme en el ruido. No buscaba nada ni tenia ningún deseo especial salgo ése: ir llegando poco a poco a mi casa en donde siempre se me ocurría algo que de una forma u otra me llenaba la tarde (Puga, 2014, p. 105).

44. Aquí, en esta ciudad, todos los días. Hacen de nosotros lo que quieren. Nos cambian el suelo, nos esconden los alimentos, nos suben los impuestos, nos matan, nos pegan, nos mienten y nos obligan a oír miles de palabras como en un rito que nadie creo, pero todos cumplen... Nos van quitando la posibilidad de ser nosotros mismos. Nos hacen odiarnos... Pero ¿que? ¿donde? Aquí, en esta ciudad, todos los días. Hacen de nosotros lo que quieren. Nos cambian el suelo, nos esconden los alimentos, nos suben los impuestos, nos matan, nos pegan, nos mienten y nos obligan a oír miles de palabras como en un rito que nadie cree pero todos cumplen... Nos van quitando la posibilidad de ser nosotros. Nos hacen odiarnos. Pero ¿quien, cuando? Hoy, Susana, aquí y ahora en esta ciudad de México abierta para tanto refugiado, para tanta tesis y análisis de otras realidades, incluyendo la nuestra por supuesto... Hace rato que salí por la leche, me estaba diciendo, lo vi tan claro que casi grito. Tuve que hacer una cola larguísima y de golpe me vi; nos vi. La ciudad sucia, rota por todas partes, ruidosa y mala en su inconciencia. La gente Chiquita dentro de ella, viviendo en un silencio

apurado y temeroso bordeando siempre el confortamiento para poder llegar a un lado. Siempre creyendo que ha dejado atrás lo peor, porque miras a tu alrededor y siempre encuentras a alguien en peor situación que tu. Todos aguantando la incomodidad la humillación. ¿No lo ves cuando miras por la ventana? ¿No te asusta? Tanta vida, decía que aguanta ahí apretada en una Resistencia feroz, decidida a no romperse mientras todos nos hacemos las pequeñas vilezas de las que esta replete eta atmosfera. Porque en fin de cuentas, la ciudad esa so: el espacio sucio que queda entre una casa y otra una vida (Puga, 2014, p. 141).

- 45. Pero si sucedió que, a partir de ese día, ese día en que vi lo del coche algo se resquebrajó. Una forma de confianza inconsciente, creo Un mirar aceptando. A lo mejor yo había sentido que eso: la calle, la gente, el movimiento estaban ahí desde siempre y era yo la que entraba y salía. No lo de afuera de alguna manera me había resultado inmutable. No tenia nada que ver conmigo, salvo porque era mi cadencia. Y de pronto me sentí recelosa. Salía con miedo inseguro. Menos mal que Lourdes ya vivía conmigo, porque sola creo que me hubiera llenado de terror. Me empezó a suceder que nada de lo que veía me parecía completamente real. real bueno, quiero decir completo. Detrás sentía yo o abajo algo se estaba moviendo silenciosamente; haciéndose mientras nosotros subíamos y bajábamos de los camiones; entrabamos y salíamos de los sitios que nos hacían la vida. No lograba olvidar la expresión de sorpresa aterrada del muchacho y de alguna manera sentía que todos contribuíamos a ocultarla (Puga, 2014, p. 123).
- 46. Sentía un México desconocido, oscuro, tenebroso. Volvía a ver el coche opaco confundiéndose con el trafico y pensaba que esos muchachos habían

- desaparecidos en el aire...A la mañana siguiente al salir a la calle, nada era igual. Ya no creía en lo que veía. Sentía que detrás había algo que estado sucediendo siempre. Detrás en alguna parte, estaban esos muchachos (Puga, 2014, p. 121-122).
- 47. Y a la gente por la calle le veía una tensión de espera; un aguante solido; una mirada opaca de aceptación de algo. Veía las bocas reír o masticar o bostezar o cerrarse. No se por que sentía que sabían, que se daban perfecta cuenta de todo (Puga, 2014, p.124).
- 48. Basta con que te informes sobre tu realidad; que leas un poco sobre lo que pasa aquí (Puga, 2014, p. 124).
- 49. Lo que mas me sorprendía era que eran las mismas caras de por ejemplo la joven en el saloncito de belleza que quedaba cerca del departamento y por donde yo pasaba todos los días. O la cara del chofer del camión que había percibido sin querer, pero que ahora la estaba reconociendo. Y las caras de quien sabe cuanta gente junto a la que he caminado, cruzando una calle toda mi vida y de pronto aquí todas reunidas en esa casona vieja, de techos muy altos y luces muy desnudas (Puga, 2014, p. 146).
- 50. Para mi aquello había sido el ruido de los otros. Claro la situación tan compleja del mundo. Y ahora estaba viendo los centroamericanos, tan jóvenes como yo. ¿Y eran ellos quienes lo hacían todo? ¿Gente como yo? (Puga, 2014, p. 147)
- 51. Vi, vi otra vez, ni un solo momento dejé de ver, esas caras jóvenes, tan iguales a las de todos los días. Tan distintas también. Como seria así México pensé. Unido así. Toda esta ciudad no daría miedo. Uno no correría para llegar a su casa y sentirse a salvo seguro (Puga, 2014, p. 150).

- 52. Yo era Arturo. Mi vida anterior se convirtió en un solo gesto que desembocaba en ese estar con Arturo (Puga, 2014, p.160).
- 53. Caminar con Arturo por la ciudad era recorrer todos los estados de animo concebibles. Y lo que me era conocido como que revelo otra cara. A veces un comentario de Arturo sabia hacerme sentir insegura, en peligro; algo así como en tierra ajena. Lo que antes para mi había sido una calle bonita con arboles y paz que de alguna manera alegraba mi trayecto ahora adquiría un aspecto socarrón e inviolable que me empequeñecía Que me hacia sentir afuera (Puga, 2014, p. 161).
- 54. Con Arturo, el objetivo, la meta siempre era esa fuera. Ese mirar críticamente, decía el, aunque, por supuesto, yo lo miraba a él mirar y como que no me acordaba de mi antes, ni me sabia imaginar después (Puga, 2014, p. 165).
- 55. Cuando caminaba sola, cuando iba a mi trabajo o quedaba de encontrarme con Arturo en alguna parte, lo hacia con una sensación de ilegalidad. Como si sola no tuviera mas remedio que espiar (Puga, 2014, p. 169).
- 56. Para mi se fue hacienda obvio que la rabia de Arturo, esa rabia que a veces le traslucía en la cara por algo visto en la calle, por algo escuchando no era la misma que luego le salía en forma de discurso muy coherente cuando leía un libro y lo comentaba. No se fundían ni se complementaban. Y lo que es mas la segunda opacaba a la primera. Solo que la segunda no tenia una realidad, digamos en donde arraigarse. Venia con sus propias condiciones de realidad y te juro que lo que pasaba era que Arturo se veía obligado a tomar pedazos de la realidad inmediata concreta esta ciudad de México por ejemplo solo para ir hacienda mas emocionante la suya era claro la segunda. (Puga, 2014, p. 182).

- 57. Es que fue increíble como se volvió urgente para mi "salirme". Salirme de ese cuartito suyo y volver a la cotidianeidad de mi departamento de Lourdes. Y no sé exactamente por qué. En qué momento paso. Solo me acuerdo que un día se me hizo extremadamente pesado seguir caminando al lado de Arturo metida en la rabia- convicción de Arturo que avanzaba a pasos tan largo y firmes, pero comencé a sentir, pisoteando tantas cosas a su paso. Te estoy hablando de alguien a quien rechacé no como uno deja a un novio para seguir "buscando" una pareja, sino que para mi era un tono una visión... una convicción que de golpe se me apareció en toda su magnitud y fuerza y yo no mas pude no quise compartirla. En aquel momento no me importaba si era cobardía o no. Simplemente quería salirme (Puga, 2014, p. 181).
- 58. Por un lado, me sentía mucho mas cerca de todo, la calle me resultaba mucho mas familiar. La gente ya no era nada mas gente; eran maneras de sentarse ropa, colores manos nucas que de alguna manera ya vivía a diario. Por otro lado, mi trayecto era mucho mas largo. Desfilaban ante mi, muchos aspectos de la ciudad tantos que ya no los veía como pedazos diferentes sino como ondulaciones, accidentes naturales de la vista como quien dice. Puntos de la referencia, además. Ir y volver eran exactamente lo mismo. Era todo dentro de ese nuevo mundo que estaba percibiendo. ¿O era una necesidad de vivir de tocarlo todo de perder miedo? Al menos hacerlo a un lado que no me tapara los ojos (Puga, 2014, p. 226).

REFERENCES

- Ahiska, M. (2003). Occidentalism: The historical fantasy of the modern. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102(2), 351-379.
- Ağaoğlu, Adalet. (2018). Dar zamanlar- ölmeye yatmak, bir düğün gecesi, hayır. Istanbul: Everest.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism.* (Rev.ed.). New York: Verso.
- Arat, Z.F. (1994). Kemalism and Turkish women. Women & Politics, 14(4), 57-80.
- Baudelaire C. (1964). The painter of modern life and other essays. London: Phaidon.
- Baudelaire C. (1995). *Baudelaire: Selected writings on art and literature*. London: Penguin Classics.
- Benjamin, W. (1999a). *Selected writings, volume 2: 1927-1934*. (Eds.). M. W. Jennings, H. Eiland, G. Smith, (Rodney Livingstone, Trans). Cambridge: The Belknap Press.
- Berktay, F.(2016). Gendering modernization and nation building: Turkey.
 Unpublished manuscript, Gothenburg University. Retrieved from:
 http://ips.gu.se/digitalAssets/1271/1271842_gendering _modernization and nationbuilding_turkey_.pdf
- Berman, M. (1983). All that is solid melts into air: The experience of modernity. London: Verso.
- Beth, M. (1990). *A la sombra del volcán. Conversaciones sobre la narrativa mexicana actual.* Guadalajara: México Universidad, INBA.
- Bridge, G., & Watson, S. (Eds.). (2002). *A companion the city*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bozdogan, S. (2002). *Modernism and nation building: Turkish architectural culture in the early republic.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Calderon F.H., Cedillo A. (Eds.) (2012). *Challenging authoritarianism in Mexico*. New York: Routledge.
- Cantek, F.Ş. (Ed.) (2006). Sanki viran Ankara. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Carr, B. (2000). *La izquierda mexicana a través del siglo XX* México, Ciudad Mexico: Ediciones Era.

- Cixous, H., Cohen, K., & Cohen, P. (1976). The laugh of Medusa. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1(4), 875-893.
- Connerton, P. (1989). *How societies remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Certeau. M. (2011) *The Practice of everyday life*. (Steven Rendall, Trans.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Erll, A. (2011). *Memory in culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Felski, R. (1995). Gender of modernity. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fleischmann, E. (1999). The other "Awakening": The emergence of women's movements in the modern Middle East, 1900-1940. In M.L. Meritwether & J Tucker (Eds.), *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* (pp 89-139). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Frisby, D. (2001). Cityscapes of modernity. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Göle, N. (1991). Modern mahrem. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Gilloch. G. (2006). *Myth & metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the city*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gleber, A. (1997). Female flanerie and the symphony of the city. In K. von Ankum (Ed.), *Women in the metropolis* (pp. 67-88). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Harvey, D. (2004). Paris: Capital of modernity. New York: Routledge.
- Hirsch, M., Smith V. (2002). Feminism and cultural memory: An introduction. Gender and Cultural Memory. Special issue of *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(1), 1-19.
- Irzik, S. (2003). Allegorical lives: The public and the private in the modern Turkish novel. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102(2), 551-566.
- Jameson, F. (1986). Third-world literature in the era of multinational capitalism. *Social text*, (15), 65-88.
- Kaynar, H. (2017). Yeni bir başkenti yaşamak: Ankara'nın edebiyatı veya edebiyatın Ankara'sı. In F.Ş. Cantek (Ed.), *İcat Edilmiş Şehir: Ankara* (pp.245-283). İstanbul: İletişim.
- Köksal, D., & Falireu, A. (Eds.). (2013). *A social history of late Ottoman women: New Perspectives.* Boston: Brill.
- Leach N. (2003). Belonging. AA Files, 49, 76-82.

- López I.M. (1996). *Historia, escritura e identidad: la novelística de María Luisa Puga*, New York: Peter Lang International Academic.
- López. I.M. (2010). 'The will to be' Mexican women novelists from the late 1960s to the 1990s. In N. Finnegan & J. E. Lavery (Eds.), *The boom femenino in Mexico: Reading contemporary women's writing* (pp.26-48) Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.
- Maksudyan, N. (Ed).(2014). Women and the city: A gendered perspective on Ottoman urban history. New York: Berghan Books.
- Malpas. J. (2018). *Place and experience A philosophical topography*. New York: Routledge.
- Massey, D. (1994). Space, place, and gender. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McDowell, L. (1999). *Gender, identity, and place: Understanding feminist geographies.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Miller, C. (2017). The 'new women' of modernism. In V. Sherry (Ed.), *The Cambridge history of modernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nashiki A.G. (2003). The Mexican student movement: History of political organization, 1910-1971. *Mexican Journal of Education Research* 8(17) 187-220.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *Representations*, 26(7), 24.
- Nelson, C. C. (Ed.). (2001). A new woman reader: Fiction, articles, and drama of the 1890s. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Parsons, D. L. (2000). *Streetwalking the metropolis: Women, the city and modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Poe. A. (2015). Edgar Allan Poe poetry, tales and selected essays, New York: Library of America.
- Pollock, G. (1988). *Vision and difference: Femininity, feminism, and histories of art.* London: Routledge.
- Puga, M. (1985, September, 28). Entrevista. (Javier Molina, Interviewer). Mexico: Unomasuno.
- Puga, M. (1991). Los miedos, las lenguas, los pesares. (Adela Salinas, Interviewer). Mexico: Revista de la Universidad de Mexico.
- Puga, M.L. (2014). Panico o peligro. Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- Simmel, G. (1950). The Sociology of Georg Simmel. New York: Free Press.

- Schteingard, M. (1989). The Environmental problems associated with urban development in Mexico City. *Environment and Urbanization* 1(1), 40-50.
- Taibo, I. (2019). '68: The Mexican autumn of the Tlatelolco massacre. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Tester, K. (Ed.). (1994). The flâneur. London: Routledge.
- Toprak, Z. (2017). *Türkiye'de yeni hayat: İnkılap ve travma 1908-1928*. İstanbul: Doğan Egmont.
- Tuncer, S. (2014). Küçükesat: Bağ evlerinden mahalleye. İdealkent, 11, 202-205.
- Wilson. E. (1992). *The sphinx in the city: Urban life, the control of disorder, and women.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wolff, J. (1985). The invisible flâneuse. Women and the literature of modernity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 2(3), 37-46.