WORK IN PROGRESS[1]

Life Turns into a Waiting Room: Women's Experience and Changing Emotions in Public Spaces under Emergency Rule, Turkey

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ABSTRACT

This article examines women's changing experience in public spaces of Diyarbakir and Istanbul, Turkey during the emergency rule that was declared after the attempted coup of July 2016 and ended in July 2018. Building on twenty-eight in-depth interviews I conducted with Turkish women in Istanbul and Kurdish women in Diyarbakir during the summer of 2017, I elicit how ordinary people embrace, cope, and make sense of gradual or sudden increase in policing of public spaces. The aim of this article is to unravel the relationship between the emergency rule, everyday life, gender, and space. I present an intimate way of knowing the emergency rule through women's feelings and bodily movement in the public spheres. Despite the stark contrast in the temporality and the level of policing between Istanbul and Diyarbakir, women experience similar escalated fears and insecurity during their daily interactions in public spaces. However, the sources of the perceived threat in public spaces are different for them.

 [Keywords: Emergency rule, state of exception, military coup, public spaces, policing of female bodies, politics of gender, Turkey]

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the spatial aspect of emergency rule[2] in Turkey from women's perspective while connecting emotions and use of public spaces. In doing so, I present an intimate way of knowing the emergency rule through women's feelings and bodily movement in the public spheres. I illustrate how state of exception is not only about politics, law, and discourse; it is also about the everyday, space, and gender by analyzing the twenty-eight interviews I conducted in Istanbul and Diyarbakir during the Summer of 2017.

For about a decade, right-wing populist movements and illiberal values in politics have gained support in both solidly democratic countries and pseudo-democracies. Turkey appeared to be moving toward democracy by incorporating an Islamic party within a democratic framework and putting an end to its long history of military involvement in political life. Gradually, the Western press, politicians, and regional leaders proclaimed "the Turkish model": neoliberalism and democracy could incorporate Islam and take root in the Middle East (Tuğal 2016). However, this "successful" patchwork model that grafted moderate Islam to neoliberal economic policies and democratization did not last long; Turkey drifted towards centralization and concentration of executive power (Onis 2013; Tuğal 2016; Cindoglu and Unal 2017). The Justice and Development Party (JDP) seemed to be normalizing Turkish democracy, pluralizing the hegemonic center. But, before and during the Arab Spring (2011-2013) and Gezi protests, the JDP's moderate and pluralist politics gradually evaporated and followed by ending the peace process with the Kurdish liberation movement as well as gestures toward integration into the European Union.

After the July 2016 coup attempt, consecutive declarations of emergency rule between 21 July 2016 and 18 July 2018 accelerated the transformation from a limited but plural democracy

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[2] I use state of exception and emergency rule interchangeably in this paper.

to centralized power in an executive president, curtailed even the modest checks and balances in Turkish governance, and undermined the rule of law. Continuing arrests of elected Kurdish members of the parliament, journalists, activists, academics, and Gulenist civil servants,along with banning media establishments and severely censoring journalism and free speech are among the initial targets of the decrees. The July 2016 coup attempt - "people's victory against the enemies of democracy" in the official narrative - has become a symbolic founding event of the increasingly authoritarian regime that was already well underway (Kucuk and Turkmen 2018). This chauvinistic narrative of the failed coup attempt enabled the government to rule by decree and implement institutional changes in the political, economic, and cultural domains (Altinordu 2017). During previous coups and long-lasting states of emergency, citizens expected the state to transition back to limited but plural democracy. In contrast, the results of the April 2017 referendum (ratified by elections 24 June 2018) legitimized the regime change and shift to centralized power in an executive president. Now, the state of emergency declaration is dropped but the president has gained extensive and unaccountable authority to rule by decree over wide spectrum of institutions from the parliament to the central bank; from appointing high-ranking judges and university directors to setting prices for pharmaceutical products. In a way, the state of emergency/rule by decree has become the norm.

Scholars generally take one of two views of the shift inTurkey. Some scholars frame the process as continuation and reproduction of an old authoritarian regime (Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu 2009, Kalaycıoğlu 2010, McLaren and Cop 2011, Çınar and Sayın 2014, Öniş 2015, Cebeci 2016), while others view increasing authoritarianism with new features that together constitute a novel regime (Baskan 2015, Somer 2015, Tas 2015, Esen and Gümüşçü 2016).

Emergent authoritarianism creates new state-society relations; paradoxically, political authority becomes simultaneously more particularistic, personalized, and mass-based (Somer 2018).

Rooted in this context, I inquire ordinary women's experience in public spaces under emergency rule in Istanbul and Diyarbakir, Turkey. This paper promises to analyze repercussions of the uneven conditions of state of emergency across cities and regions in the same country at the everyday level. My findings shed light on the interaction of space, gender, and emotions during state of emergency times. I present how people's feelings and the way & extent of their public space use are in constant flux. Despite different levels of militarization and overt policing of public spaces by state agents in these two cities, women in Istanbul and Diyarbakir share similar feelings of increased fear, anxiety, and insecurity in public spaces but the use of public spaces become even more limited for the women in Diyarbakir than the women in Istanbul. These women also share a common feeling of unpredictability about the present and future, thus they find themselves in a constant mood of waiting and postponing future plans. They differ in terms of experiencing the temporality and severity of this process as well as vary in the reported sources of repression. For women in Diyarbakir increasing safety concerns started earlier in 2015 with random explosions, continued and peaked with the Surici warfare, emergency rule, and the coup. The women in Istanbul also refer to the memory of the explosions in 2015 and the coup night but not exactly to the emergency rule. However, they referred to other dynamics that are intersecting emergency rule such as random explosions and increased attacks towards women by non-state agents in Istanbul. This connection that my informants make especially between the emergency rule and women's policing by non-state agents paves the way for future research. I show that increased militarization of the daily life during emergency rules transforms not only the urban spaces into detached lands for women, interacts with their emotions, perception of

time, and curtails already disadvantaged subjects' movement in public spaces. Thus, I will discuss urban spaces as not only socially constructed and interactive but also as interaction orders where effects and emotions emerge.

Methodology

This research is based on twenty-eight semi-structured in-depth interviews with Turkish women from Istanbul and Kurdish women from Diyarbakir, Turkey with the aim of capturing situated knowledge (Haraway 1988). I chose to compare Istanbul and Diyarbakir because (1) I wanted to compare how implications and experience of an emergency rule can vary in the same country based on region and subjects' ethnicity (2) these are the two major cities where overt militarization of public spaces increased, and random explosions took place before and after the coup night among Ankara and other smaller Kurdish towns. I used snowball sampling and conducted the interviews in Summer 2017 at a time when the emergency rule was one-year-old and had one more year to go. People's memory was still fresh about contentious events of 2015 and 2016 like random explosions in both cities, the Sur warfare in Diyarbakir, and the attempted coup. Only two of these women wear hijab and they too define themselves as Muslim and secular though they practice their religion more than the women who don't wear hijab and call themselves as Muslim and secular. All my participants are in their twenties and thirties. Their class relations are diverse, my sample includes unemployed, blue-collar, and white-collar women though a majority of them are from middle-class families. Interestingly, nearly all my informants picked a flower name as a pseudonym.

Theoretical Foundation: Thinking State of Emergency, Space, and Gender

Political changes shape institutional, economic, religious, and interpersonal relations. Gender organizes all these relations (Connell 2012), including state institutions and practices, as sites of power that also shape everyday experiences (Brush 2003:123). Thus, a shift in political structure will create changes in the governance of everyday life and gender as well. As a paradigm of government, state of exception; a German term for martial law in England stands for the state of siege in Italy and France, and a general condition for civil war (Agamben 2005). The empirical line of research on the relationship between the emergency rule and urban spaces proliferated especially after 9/11 and focus on the concepts of security and terrorism in Western societies (Beck 1992, Armitage 2001, Kellner 2002, Urry 2002, Gregory and Pred 2007). These works engage with the implications of terror and violence on global politics, daily life, and political repercussions of the state of emergency. Insightful works on the emergency rule in Turkey have eventually thrived after the recent coup July 2016 coup attempt and are dominantly about Surici warfare, place-making, and migration (Kucukkirca 2018, Konda 2017, Bakan 2018).

Here, I look into the intricate relationship between the emergency rule, urban spaces, and women's use of the city. Inspired by the concerns of feminist geographers like mapping the mundane exercise of power and making quotidian experience of the disenfranchised more visible (Dowler and Sharp 200, Fluri 2011), I investigate gendered and mundane repercussions of the organization of the space at a time when extra-militarization of everyday life becomes ordinary exercise of power during emergency rules. By asking questions about their daily routines and use of public spaces and time I get at spatial and relational aspects of emergency rule at the everyday level.

Unpacking these dynamics is possible by approaching space as produced in social relations (Lefebvre 1968, 1974); as heterogenous, relational, and multi-layered (Elden 2009); and as non-static, contentious, and gendered processes (Massey 1994, 2005). Massey defines space as: "Space is created out of the vast intricacies, the incredible complexities, of the interlocking and the noninterlocking, and the networks of relations at every scale from local to global. What makes a particular view of these social relations specifically spatial is their simultaneity. It is a simultaneity, also, which has extension and configuration. But simultaneity is absolutely not stasis. Seeing space as a moment in the intersection of configured social relations (rather than as an absolute dimension) means that it cannot be seen as static. There is no choice between flow (time) and a flat surface of instantaneous relations (space)…as a result of the fact that it is conceptualized as created out of social relations, space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and co-operation. This aspect of space has been referred to elsewhere as a kind of 'power-geometry'." (1994:265)

One pillar of power-geometry is gender relations among others like class, ethnicity, and race. Gendered organization of both private and public are intimately linked concepts (Landes 1998). This relational approach helps us see how spaces are where discourse becomes relations of power (Foucault 1982) thus, how gendered power relations are constantly reconstructed over space and place. Nancy Fraser (1990:5) points out, "not everyone stands in the same relation to privacy and publicity; some have more power than others to draw and defend the and feminists have shown how the line between public and private is constantly being renegotiated."
This power-geometry in urban spaces means limited access to resources and opportunities that the city offers.

Furthermore, issues of fear and safety for women in urban spaces are largely related to the dominance of patriarchal power relations in the city (Tovi 2005). The feminist critique of the discussions on the modern public sphere presents how the cities have been organized by and for the benefit of the white middle-upper class, heterosexual male domain. This makes it harder for women to use alleys, streets, and parks, especially alone (Massey 1994). Through the study of the lived experiences of women, I will explain how emotions and bodily movement in public spaces are in relation and the sources that curtail women's right to the city expand differently in these two cities during emergency rule.

Multiple Sources of Fear and Repression during and before the Emergency Rule:

The women in my sample identify random explosions as one phenomenon affecting their emotions and use of the public spaces in connection with the emergency rule. Different sources of repression interact with the public endeavors in addition to authoritarian politics such as the fear of ISIS terror attacks have created. Therefore, it is important to differentiate the sources of rising fear and insecurity in Istanbul and Diyarbakir to understand why women feel increasingly insecure in both cities while women in Diyarbakir limited their lives in public spaces and the women in Istanbul did not. In addition to the general anxiety that the increasing police presence and checkpoints create as a result of the emergency rule, the random explosions starting with the HDP's election campaign gathering in May 2015 in Diyarbakir and ending with the Reina night club shooting in Istanbul on the 2017 new year's night are important time stamps in understanding how ambivalence and violence can alter emotions in public spaces.

The year 2015 was full of deadly attacks and explosions not only in Turkey and its neighbors. The list in order stretches from Charleston Church shootings in June, Suruc explosion in July, Ankara explosion in October, and Paris attacks in November of the same year. During

2015 and 2016 more than thirty bombs exploded in the public spaces of Tukey and nearly 500 people have died, while thousands injured. Meanwhile, after the attempted coup in July 2016, consecutive declarations of a general state of exception and curfews specific to the certain Kurdish districts like Sur, Cizre, and Nusaybin prevailed the urban spaces. The televised memory of random explosions, increasing police presence, repression, and lack of trust to rule of law during emergency rule are added to women's globally shared fear and discomfort out of the masculinist order of the urban spaces during this process. I present the context in each city together with the chronology of the events and analysis of women's experience.

Setting I: Diyarbakir[3]

The concept of the state of emergency or martial law and what it can do to ordinary people's daily lives are not unfamiliar to especially the Kurdish citizens living in the Kurdish cities of Turkey. The South East region of Turkey was declared as a permanent region of the state of emergency between the years 1987 and 2002. Diyarbakir was among the last two cities that were excluded from the state of exception decree in 2002. During and before the peace process that took place between 2013 and 2015, when People's Democratic Party (HDP) started to win the local elections, the city has culturally and economically flourished and residents could enjoy the city without the long-lasted curfews. However, the peace process ended in 2015 with the tension that bomb attacks to HDP election bureaus in May, and HDP rally in June 2015 raised. Besides the ISIS attacks like HDP rally explosion, women in Diyarbakir also report fear out of PKK attacks towards the police in public spaces. Soon after the June 7, 2015 elections were canceled, on August 12, 2015, Kurdistan Community of Peoples (KCK) declared self-

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[3] (Kurdish: Amed) Pop. 1.673,119, the second largest city in the southeast region of Turkey, the symbolic capital city of the Northern Kurdistan.

governance in 16 different provinces within a week starting with Varto leading the warfare to move from rural to urban and violence to escalate throughout the year 2016 (Kucukkirca 2018). The murder of the head of Diyarbakır Bar Association, Tahir Elci, on 28 November 2015 marks the beginning of the violent clashes for the people of Sur, who became forcibly homeless as a result of the armed conflict in the district (Kucukkirca 2018).

The urban warfare in Surici district between the YPS (Civil Defense Units) and Turkish security forces endured for 103 days between September 2015 and March 2016 and the central state officially declared curfews at least 63 times both for single days and for indefinite periods of time in the various districts in the Kurdish region (TİHV, 2017). When the conflicts were about the end, the July 15, 2016 coup attempt happened, leaving 240 people dead. One major repercussion of the state of emergency declaration was appointed trustees in place of the elected local representatives of Diyarbakir and imprisoned MPs from HDP. Thus, people's periodization of emergency rule differs. It is "before Sur events/after Sur events (2015)" in Diyarbakir, whereas in Istanbul it is "before the coup attempt/after the coup attempt" (2016). I conducted my interviews the Summer after these incidents while people's memories were still fresh about them. Different from the women in Istanbul, there are more places and moments women feel increasingly anxious in Diyarbakir.

Setting II: Istanbul[4]

Unlike Diyarbakir, people were unfamiliar to the concept of the state of emergency or martial law as one of my informants tell: "I didn't even know what a coup means until I heard the gunfire shootings and that terrible explosive sound of the planes that night. I was a kid when it last happened, how can I remember!? I googled military coup that night. They say the state of

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[4] Population over fifteen million, most populous city in Turkey.

exception but everything seems normal so far." (Dunya, 38 years-old, Turkish, lives and works in Istanbul). Women in Istanbul have no memory of Sur events or anything alike. Different from Diyarbakir, women recall the "terrifying" coup night when the sudden sound of F-16s, the image of tanks and soldiers made them feel like under bombardment in Istanbul. However, women in both cities underline random explosions as a game-changer in their feelings and the way they use the city. Before the coup attempt and following the Suruc and Ankara explosions, three consecutive suicide bombing by ISIS happened at the most central and crowded districts of Istanbul in 2016: Sultanahmet, Fatih, Taksim, and in Ortakoy at a famous night club on the new year's night.

Women in Istanbul experience emergency rule in their daily lives different than the women in Diyarbakir in many ways. While women in Diyarbakir mostly referred to the increased police presence and ill-treatment of the police as dynamics changing their use of the urban spaces during emergency rule, women in Istanbul referred to publicized incidents of women's assaults. After the coup attempt, on September 12th, 2016, a man assaulted a young woman wearing shorts on a public bus in Istanbul by shouting at her as he kicked her in the face. He later defended himself as he thinks her outfit was not appropriate to wear on a public bus.

Following this event, on June 14th, 2017 another man attacked a woman in shorts on a public minibus stating that is not appropriate to wear short shorts during the Ramadan. At another public site on July 29th, 2017 a private security person verbally assaulted another woman in shorts by stating that her attire is disturbing the families in the park and he won't let her hang out in the park in that outfit. On August 9th, 2017 while a woman in shorts was walking on a busy street, a man first sexually harassed her and then beat her on the street while shouting as "Look at what you wear! You should be thankful to God for being a woman, otherwise, I

would have killed you!" Policing the female bodies and contentious discourses about legitimate/illegitimate femininities were not news in Turkey. However, this type of frequent attacks in shared spaces by non-state agents based on attire was not present at this level before. These events occurred at a time when state policies and the discursive emphasis is on "preserving democracy," "acting as a whole," and "strengthening the family" among other nationalist and populist discourses. As these attacks against female bodies in public spaces became increasingly frequent and dominated the evening news, women organized a "Don't touch my clothes" march in Kadikoy, Istanbul on July 29, 2017.

Changing Emotions, Limiting Movement and Use of the Urban Places: "Nowhere is Safe but Home"

Scholars already show that women's use of urban spaces is more restricted than men's uses because of the gendered organization of the public spaces (Massey 1994, Valentine 1989, Wilson 1991). Wilson (1991:11) defines the big city - a 'place' which is by its very nature open and in flux - has produced in many a feeling of fear; fear of the disorder, the uncontrollable complexity, the chaos. This line of work presents how in addition to the disorder and chaos, fear of sexual harassment and attack are the main reasons blocking women to freely use urban spaces. Agents' movements in urban spaces are in constant flux with these power relations that are about gender, ethnicity, or religion. As my findings show, they are also about emotions. Who moves where and when is about emotions as it is about power relations. During emergency rules when the law is used and abused for the good of the authorities and public spaces become highly militarized with arbitrary performances of policing, the already heteronormative masculinist order of urban spaces triumphs and women feel threatened more than ever. As the formal and informal warrants of the state agents expand, elbow room of the already disadvantaged shrinks. Here are three narratives

from Diyarbakir that represent how different sources of repression combined with emergency rule contributes to women's discomfort and abusing their right to the city. These narratives also exemplify

"I have always tried to be back home by 8 pm, previously this was due to my family's concerns, you know as a young woman I shouldn't…now it is because I am afraid of them…uhm…what else changed uhm, the number of police that you see around increased immensely. Driving feels safer but previously when a police officer slowed me down, I didn't feel afraid you know as a female driver he wouldn't... Now I fear because now I think like "this policeman can directly shoot at me you know, now they are so brazen (pervasiz) and fearless (korkusuz), they weren't like "nothing would happen to me." Now, (whispers "after the Sur") I know that they can do anything and walk away. So, I don't stay out when it is dark. They are literally everywhere but especially around Dagkapi and Ofis districts. By everywhere, I mean not only like blocking the roads or standing watching around. When you go to a dessert shop it's full of policemen hanging out in groups, fully equipped with heavy artillery, you wait in lines staring at each other. You must bare them not only when they are on duty, but they invade coffee shops, restaurants, or in the traffic you pass by a toma, hedgehog or a scorpion so you cannot feel comfortable. I am fearful around them but there is also this shameful feeling, this feeling is very irritating. I feel as if I let down a friend in her hard times. I didn't go to the Sur district during the war, I let them tear it down now I cannot go there and enjoy a cup of coffee. I feel like I betrayed, this is so shameful. I prefer staying at home mostly." (Sümbül, 30 years-old Kurdish, lives, and works in Diyarbakir).

"I entered Mado (a café chain) next to Yenisehir Municipality, they siege the cafe because the kayyum (trustee) goes there. I see the special police forces, they are built up you know they are specially trained. I was browsing the cakes, one of them with his huge automatic rifle at hand keeps staring at me. I feel very uncomfortable, I think "perhaps there is a new decree listing the cakes that we are allowed to choose, and I missed that one!" to myself. I nod my head to the sides showing my discomfort. I then turned to him and asked, "do I look like someone you know?!" I still think how I dared to say that! And he cynically smiled back at my question! That made me feel very irritated. Why? Because we are afraid of them! The waiter came and apologized to me but it's not the waiter's fault, they cannot keep the doors closed to them. It's just very irritating I cannot tell you how uncomfortable this was. I never went there again." (Çiçek, 31 years-old, Kurdish, lives, and works in Diyarbakir).

These are only the two examples narrating how women's interaction with the urban spaces under emergency rule create mixed feelings and lead them to refrain using those parts of the city. In a way, women's map of the geography of fear expands and threats eclipse the already limited public socialization spaces for women in Diyarbakir. Though, staying out until late or using public spaces fearlessly have never been the order for women globally. Women in Diyarbakir, especially if they don't work outside of the home, mostly use the mahalle (neighborhood) and home as spaces of socialization. Unless it is necessary, for instance, for the children's needs, doctor visiting, a wedding or funeral- fundamental events of socialization in Diyarbakir-it is not common for women to dwell in the city on their own. Toprak et al. (2008) report the limited use of the urban spaces by women in Anatolian cities: "In most Anatolian cities, if you go out when it's dark, you'd think only men live in those towns" (p.78). Alkan (2005)'s research shows that excluding chatting in front of the homes and neighbor visits, 42% of women living in Ankara go out only once or less a

week. That is to say, almost one of every two women's lives are spent at or around the close circle of their homes. Of course, this depends on the age and class. For instance, all my young women informants prefer malls and coffee houses as "safe places" when they go out and they find parks as dangerous. This is not particular to Diyarbakir. Arranging routes and duration of time spent outside according to a fear-threat calculation is a global phenomenon (Koskela 1997, Bondi and Rose 2003).

There is more in what these women are telling. Since space and place are co-dependent, pausing in space, experience, and feelings makes a place (Tuan 1977); increasing policing of the public spaces change the meaning and temporality of the ordinary routines of these women. Especially, visiting Surici becomes "shameful" to the extent that not wanting to have a cup of coffee there. Moreover, once having a coffee or a slice of cake at a café was enjoyable and worth spending time in those places. But their narratives show how ordinary places of joy and relaxation turns into places of fear and anxiety. They prefer taking what they want away to consume at home rather than hanging out at the place as they would otherwise do, or they decide not to go there again. As Massey (2005:172) puts: "the identities of places are inevitably unfixed." Because social relations that constructed those places are dynamic. In these narratives, the clear distinction of us and them also designates the boundaries of the space that women can occupy. Sumbul's definition of the police becoming brazen and fearless as herself becoming fearful, irritated, and uncomfortable is an example for showing whose space is shrinking. Although Cicek and Sumbul do not frame it that way, the extra-ordinary warrants of the armed forces during emergency rule also manifest as increased masculinist authority and harassment. Cicek's experience at the café and her response is a typical one a woman would give to a harasser. Their emphasis on the heavy artillery, equipment, uniforms, built bodies, and armed vehicles, in fact, are asking, How those

warzone bodies fit in the urban landscape? How do ordinary people make sense of central state practices as unfitting to their daily lives?

In the narratives from Istanbul, there is more emphasis on the changing emotions in public spaces out of the randomness of the explosions, and policing of women's bodies by non-state agents. They are cautious but continue using the public spaces as they used to do. The randomness of the events revealed as a kind of fatalism of tawakkul in their narratives. Their one way to ease the hardships of dealing with the multiple pressures of everyday life is tawakkul , as some of them also stated that they don't change their daily plans or routes. This attitude also coincides with random fear a resident in Cairo or Paris can also have tied to the similar explosions in public spaces:

Perception of Time During Emergency Rule

My informants also tell that their perception of time and future also changes during the emergency rule. Because of not knowing when the life will return to "normal," they cannot make future plans. Ambivalence is defined by Bauman (1991:1) as "the acute discomfort we feel when we are unable to read the situation properly and to choose between alternative actions." This feeling of ambivalence is common among two groups of women but feel it more severe in Diyarbakir. Here are two narratives from two cities to think about how emergency rule can change people perception of time in addition to emotions and use of public spaces.

"Haha you are asking me about my future plans ha!?I am afraid of the future. I am not sure how things are going to be like in a year. I want to buy a house but I cannot because I don't know what happens. I might need the cash to leave here. I don't want to tie my self here completely by buying a house. I think the doomsday will come and they will tear the whole city down. For instance, I feel so in-between, I want to have kid before it is too late but it concerns me a lot, you know how

it is going to be with a kid in a life like this. So, I wait." (Sümbül, 30 years-old Kurdish, lives and works in Diyarbakir)

"How can I tell you this…you cannot see that linear understanding of history. Nothing accumulates. There is no guarantee for tomorrow and the way I think about events have changed. I feel like I am constantly hanging out in a waiting room. I cannot make any plans towards the future for example. I know it won't happen because everything seems so random." (Zeyno, 30 years-old Turkish, lives and works in Istanbul).

People's future has been disrupted more than the ones living in Istanbul by the unstable political scene. Most of my informants say that they want to buy apartments or invest in land, but they prefer to keep their assets as liquid as possible, mostly in cash or gold, to be able to leave the city if things get worsen. Some young women postponed having kids or reduce the number of children they want to have.

Conclusion

In this paper, I aimed to understand and explain the changing dynamics of women's everyday life in public spaces during emergency rule. I presented how the concept of the state of exception/emergency rule is experienced at the everyday level from the perspectives of Turkish and Kurdish women. This multi-layered process is gendered and spatial and constantly in flux with emotions. My interviews reveal especially the relationship between changing street politics targeting urban women's bodies, and their daily habits/practices in Istanbul and Diyarbakir. With ethnic and spatial comparative aspect and a gender lens, I showcased how uneven conditions of the state of emergency altered interacted with women's emotions and thus, their uses of urban spaces. I pay special attention to how gradually introduced new state policies and practices

produce, position, and police gender difference and inequality while re-constructing hegemony in different cities.

This article shows that emergency rule is not only about politics, law, and governance but also space, gender, and emotions. Despite the uneven conditions of the militarization of the public spaces, women report similar feelings of fear and anxiety in both cities. However, women's right to the city in Diyarbakir is abused and the meanings they attach to ordinary places changed during emergency rule. In a way, emergency rule shifted the sources of threat for women in urban spaces. The women in Istanbul connect their increased anxiety and fear in public spaces to increased policing of women by non-state agents and random explosions in public spaces and did not directly mention the emergency rule conditions. The way they point out to this intersection is important to conduct further research.

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