

INCLUSIVE DESIGN IN MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON THE CASE OF TÜRKİYE

M.Sc. THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
AND THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND SCIENCE
OF ABDULLAH GUL UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

Vera YILDIZ GÜZELCE

November 2024

INCLUSIVE DESIGN IN MOSQUE
ARCHITECTURE: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE
ON THE CASE OF TÜRKİYE

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
AND THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND SCIENCE OF
ABDULLAH GUL UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE

By
Vera YILDIZ GÜZELCE
November 2024

SCIENTIFIC ETHICS COMPLIANCE

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work.

Name-Surname: Vera YILDIZ GÜZELCE

Signature :



REGULATORY COMPLIANCE

M.Sc. thesis titled Inclusive Design in Mosque Architecture: A Gender Perspective on the Case of Türkiye has been prepared in accordance with the Thesis Writing Guidelines of the Abdullah Gül University, Graduate School of Engineering & Science.



Prepared By
Vera YILDIZ GÜZELCE

Advisor
Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Erdem TOZOĞLU

Head of the Architecture Program
Assoc. Prof. Buket METİN

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

M.Sc. thesis titled Inclusive Design in Mosque Architecture: A Gender Perspective on the Case of Türkiye prepared by Vera YILDIZ GÜZELCE has been accepted by the jury in the Architecture Graduate Program at Abdullah Gül University, Graduate School of Engineering & Science.

11/11/2024

(Thesis Defense Exam Date)

JURY:

Advisor : Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Erdem TOZOĞLU

Member: Assoc. Prof. Hayriye Nisa SEMİZ

Member: Assoc. Prof. Ahmet GÜN

APPROVAL:

The acceptance of this M.Sc. thesis has been approved by the decision of the Abdullah Gül University, Graduate School of Engineering & Science, Executive Board dated /..... / and numbered

..... /..... /

(Date)

Graduate School Dean
Prof. Dr. İrfan ALAN

ABSTRACT

INCLUSIVE DESIGN IN MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON THE CASE OF TÜRKİYE

Vera YILDIZ GÜZELCE

MSc. In Architecture

Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Erdem TOZOĞLU

November 2024

The issue of mosque design in Turkey is often the subject of political and form-related debates. Places of worship need to be reconsidered as a design problem with a user-oriented space design approach. This study aims to develop alternative design proposals for women's spaces in mosques in Turkey. One of the main objectives of this study is to investigate how the issue of being 'inclusive' is addressed in contemporary mosque design and whether contemporary mosques offer a new and more inclusive usage experience to the user beyond a formal innovation. In doing so, the compatibility of the first mosque of the Muslims with this proposed inclusive principle was investigated. Afterward, it was analyzed how places of worship and their uses were handled by different authorities in the following periods. The aim was to analyze the masculine structure commonly seen in today's places of worship and to understand the archetype underlying the spatial segregation of women. Various women's movements, which are the basis of women's claim of rights in the public sphere in today's Turkey, and the journey of women's participation in public life are discussed. In this context, women's movements in the Ottoman Empire, women's associations and political gains in the Republican period, the political atmosphere of post-Republican Turkey, and the Islamist and Feminist movements that increased after 1980 are discussed. In addition, the rise of the 'Muslim Woman' figure in the public sphere as a result of these movements is also discussed. The necessity of new design ways for women users, whose visibility in public life has increased and who have started to use the mosque space more actively, is explained. Finally, how 'inclusive design' can gain a place in mosque architecture and what kind of principles it should be discussed. Accordingly, a set of criteria consisting of 12 items has been developed to be used in measuring the physical and psychosocial inclusiveness of the spaces allocated to women in mosques. Since the 21st century, the policies the Presidency of Religious Affairs adopted on the subject and the reforms made for women in mosque spaces since 2013 have been mentioned. In light of the criteria set, various mosques in the province of Ankara were identified and evaluated. Subsequently, various examples of mosques built around the world that innovatively address the use of gendered space are analyzed and discussions on gender representations in places of worship are included.

Keywords: *Inclusive Design, Mosques in Turkey, Contemporary Mosque, Islamic Feminism, Women-friendly Mosque*

ÖZET

CAMİ MİMARİSİNDE KAPSAYICI TASARIM: TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİNDE TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET PERSPEKTİFİ

Vera YILDIZ GÜZELCE
Mimarlık Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans
Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Ahmet Erdem TOZOĞLU
Kasım 2024

Türkiye’de cami tasarımı meselesi genellikle siyasi ve formla ilgili tartışmaların öznesidir. İbadet mekanlarının, kullanıcı odaklı mekan tasarımı anlayışı ile bir tasarım problemi olarak yeniden ele alınması gerekmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı Türkiye’de bulunan camilerde kadınlara ilişkin mekanlar için alternatif tasarım önerileri geliştirmektir. “Kapsayıcı” olma meselesinin çağdaş cami tasarımında nasıl ele alındığını, çağdaş camilerin formal bir yenilikten öte kullanıcıya yeni ve daha kapsayıcı bir kullanım deneyimi sunup sunmadığını araştırmak bu çalışmanın ana hedeflerindendir. Bunu yaparken Müslümanların ilk mescidinin bu önerilen kapsayıcı prensibe uygunluğunu araştırıldı. Ardından ilerleyen dönemlerde farklı iktidarlarca ibadet mekanlarının ve kullanımlarının nasıl ele alındığı incelendi. Amaç, bugünün ibadet mekanlarında yaygın olarak görülen eril yapısını çözümlemek ve kadınların mekansal olarak ayrıştırılmasının altında yatan arketipi anlamaktır. Dönemin sosyal şartları göz önünde bulundurularak kadınların cami kullanımlarına ilişkin bilgilerin yanı sıra topluluklarda kadının günlük yaşamlarına ve kamusal yaşama dahil olduğu noktalara da yer verildi. Çalışmanın ilerleyen kısımlarında bugünün Türkiye’inde kadınların kamusal alanda hak iddiasının temeli olan çeşitli kadın hareketlerine ve kadının kamusal yaşama katılma serüvenine değinilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndaki kadın hareketleri, Cumhuriyet dönemindeki kadın dernekleri ve siyasi kazanımları, Cumhuriyet sonrası Türkiye’nin siyasi atmosferi ve 1980 sonrasında artan İslamcı ve Feminist hareketler ele alınmaktadır. Ayrıca bu hareketlerin bir sonucu olarak kamusal alanda 'Müslüman Kadın' figürünün yükselişi de tartışılmaktadır. Kamusal yaşamda görünürlüğü artan ve cami mekanını daha aktif kullanmaya başlayan kadın kullanıcılar için yeni tasarım yollarının gerekliliği açıklanmıştır. Tezin son bölümünde, “kapsayıcı tasarım” ın cami mimarisinde nasıl bir yeri olabileceğini ve ne tür ilkelere sahip olması gerektiği tartışılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda camilerde kadınlara ayrılan mekanların fiziksel ve psikososyal kapsayıcılığının ölçülmesinde kullanılacak 12 maddeden oluşan bir kriter seti oluşturulmuştur. 21. Yüzyıldan itibaren Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığının konu ile ilgili benimsediği politikalara, 2013’ten bu yana cami mekanında kadınlar için yaptığı reformlara değinilmiştir. Oluşturulmuş kriterler ışığında Ankara ilinde yer alan çeşitli camiler belirlenmiş ve değerlendirilmiştir. Ardından Dünya genelinde inşa edilen ve cinsiyetlendirilmiş mekan kullanımını yenilikçi bir biçimde ele alınan çeşitli cami örnekleri incelenmiş ve ibadet mekanlarında cinsiyet temsillerine ilişkin çeşitli tartışmalara yer verilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Kapsayıcı Tasarım, Türkiye’de Camiler, Çağdaş Cami, İslami Feminizm, Kadın Dostu Cami*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I started asking questions about our genders and the boundaries that emerged due to them at an early age and questioning the flexibility of these boundaries. In this context, the exciting research that I conducted in high school on religious sources evolved into the city and space in university. I started to realize how I experience a place differently based on my gender. Mosques, which are at the intersection of these two fields, were repeat the secondary position of women by repeating old schemes, as far as I could see from my user experiences, competitions, or design processes in the design office. When I became an architect, my excitement to be a part of its solution increased as I delved deeper into the subject.

Before starting my thanks, I would like to thank my advisor Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu, who did not withhold his belief that this issue was a problem that should not be ignored, his vast knowledge, and his patient guidance. Sharing the excitement and sometimes anxiety I felt about the subject of the thesis throughout the process always made this experience enjoyable.

I am grateful to my entire family, especially my mother, whose support with the light in her eyes, and compassion I always felt in late study hours.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 AIM AND SCOPE	9
1.2 LIMITS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH	3
1.3 STRUCTURE OF THESIS	5
2. WOMAN AND MASJID: A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT	9
2.1 ABRAHAMIC RELIGIONS AND EARLY ARABIAN CULTURE.....	9
2.2 THE PROPHET’S TIME AND HIS APPROACH (SUNNAH)	14
2.2.1 <i>Inclusive Perspective</i>	18
2.2.2 <i>Exclusive Cases in Masjid-i Nabi</i>	24
2.3 THE PRACTICE IN HISTORY UNTIL THE MODERN TIMES	26
2.4 THE MODERNISATION OF MUSLIM WOMEN: THE OTTOMAN EXPERIENCES	50
2.5 THE MODERNISATION OF MUSLIM WOMEN DURING THE REPUBLICAN TURKEY ...	57
3. THE IMPACT OF MODERNIST & FEMINIST APPROACHES ON SACRED SPACE	71
3.1 FEMINIST THEORIES OF WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC SPACE	72
3.2 ISLAMIC FEMINIST THEORIES	77
3.3 MUSLIM WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN TURKEY AFTER 80S.....	84
3.4 DILEMMA OF EVERYDAY:THE SEGREGATION BETWEEN THE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE	91
3.4.1 <i>Contemporary Mosque Architecture in Turkey</i>	91
3.4.2 <i>An In-Between Space for Secular Life:Masjids in Public Spaces in Turkey</i>	98
4. CONTEMPORARY MOSQUE PRACTICE IN TURKEY: CASE OF ANKARA	104
4.1 INCLUSIVE TERMS IN MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE.....	104
4.2 POLICIES AND PRACTICE: MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE AFTER 2012 IN TURKEY	110
4.3 CASE STUDIES IN ANKARA	125
4.3.1 <i>Mosque Cases of Evaluation</i>	129
4.3.2 <i>Assessment of the Today’s Mosque Practice in Ankara According to Cases</i>	149
4.4 NEW DISCUSSION OPPORTUNITIES : INNOVATIVE EXAMPLES FROM THE WORLD.....	151
5. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.....	171
5.1 CONCLUSIONS	171
5.2 SOCIETAL IMPACT AND CONTRIBUTION TO GLOBAL SUSTAINABILITY	175
5.3 FUTURE PROSPECTS	176

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Figure 1.1 Sub-Questions for Research.....	5
Figure 2.1 Reconstruction of the plan of the Prophet’s mosque and dwellings of his wives and comrades	16
Figure 2.2 Plan of the plan of the Prophet’s after change of the qibla	16
Figure 2.3 Plan of the plan of the mosque in the time of Prophet’s with the positions of the famous istiḡwānāt indicated.....	17
Figure 2.4 Reconstruction plan of the Prophet’s mosque and dwellings.....	17
Figure 2.5 The Prophet’s Mosque Usage During the Pray	23
Figure 2.6 The Prophet’s Mosque Usage During the Day.....	24
Figure 2.7 The Prophet’s Mosque Usage During the Caliph Umar Period	29
Figure 2.8 The Prophet Mosque During the Caliph Uthman Period	32
Figure 2.9 The Prophet Mosque, Medina (Sauvage’s reconstruction of plan in 700s....	34
Figure 2.10 Mosque of Prophet as rebuilt by al-Walid.....	35
Figure 2.11 Reproduction of Dodds’s Reconstruction Plan by author	36
Figure 2.12 Reproduction of Qarawīyīn Mosque Reconstruction Plan by author.....	40
Figure 2.13 Reproduction of Masjid-e Nabawi's Expansion Plan by author.....	44
Figure 2.14 Reproduction of Suleymaniye Mosque Reconstruction Plan During the Ramadan in 1900s by writer (from SALT Archive, Ülgen, 1940)	55
Figure 2.15 Modern Turkish Women Figure in La Turquie Kemaliste Newspaper.....	60
Figure 2.16 Mixed Gender Celebrations in Taksim Gezi Park in 1930s	62
Figure 2.17 Important Public Space for Istanbul, Taksim Gezi Park in 1950s	63
Figure 2.18 Kınalıada Mosque plan and view	67
Figure 2.19 Etimesgut Mosque General and Indoor View	68
Figure 2.20 TBMM Mosque View	68
Figure 2.21 Reproduction of TBMM Mosque Plan by author	69
Figure 2.22 TBMM Mosque Interior.....	69
Figure 2.23 Vedat Dalokay Design Offer for Kocatepe Mosque (left) and Kocatepe Mosque designed by Hüsrev Tayla and Fatin Uluengin (right).....	70
Figure 3.1 Protests following YÖK's headscarf ban on university campuses	87
Figure 3.2 “Hand in Hand Chains” protest for headscarf.....	88

Figure 3.3 Çamlıca Mosque Plan (Reproduction of Şenel's Reconstruction Plan by author).....	92
Figure 3.4 Reproduction of Sancaklar Mosque Plan by author	93
Figure 3.5 Sancaklar Mosque Interior Photos and A view from Women's Section into Main	93
Figure 3.6 Interior of the Yeşil Vadi Mosque.....	94
Figure 3.7 Reproduction of Yeşil Vadi Mosque Plan.....	95
Figure 3.8 Interior Design of Şakirin Mosque	96
Figure 3.9 Reproduction of Şakirin Mosque Plan by author	96
Figure 3.10 Reproduction of Eyüp Yıldız Mosque Plan by author	97
Figure 3.11 Eyüp Yıldız Mosque View	97
Figure 3.12 Guide Elements and Ablution Room in Ankara High-Speed Train Station	101
Figure 3.13 Women's Praying Area in Ankara High-Speed Train Station	101
Figure 3.14 Entry and Ablution Room of Armada Masjid	102
Figure 3.15 Inside View of Armada Mosque	102
Figure 3.16 Entry of Yüksel Mosque.....	103
Figure 4.1 Icon Chart for Evaluation created by author	108
Figure 4.2 Count of Women Spaces in Mosque by DİB	111
Figure 4.3 Entry of 15 July and Ömer Halisdemir Martyrs Mosque.....	129
Figure 4.4 View from Women's Section in Abdullah Bin Ali El Attah Mosque.....	131
Figure 4.5 Recreation Areas of Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque	131
Figure 4.6 Entry and Recreation Area of Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque	133
Figure 4.7 Women's Space of Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque	134
Figure 4.8 Entrance Gates of Başak Central Mosque	135
Figure 4.9 Masjid in Basement Floor of Başak Central Mosque.....	136
Figure 4.10 Women's Praying Area in Great Ankara Mosque.....	137
Figure 4.11 Guidance Elements of Women Spaces in Great Ankara Mosqur	138
Figure 4.12 Guidance Elements of Ministry of Environment Urbanisation Mosque...	139
Figure 4.13 Women's Section of The Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation Mosque	140
Figure 4.14 Etlik Central Mosque Women's Mahfil	141
Figure 4.15 Etlik Central Mosque Guidance Elements and Elevator for Women User	142
Figure 4.16 Interior of Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque Interior.....	142

Figure 4.17 Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque Paid Toilet	143
Figure 4.18 Ground Floor Women Praying Area in Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque	144
Figure 4.19 Entry of Women's Ablution Room Entry of Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque	144
Figure 4.20 Women's Mahfil Separation Element in Melike Hatun Mosque	146
Figure 4.21 Women's Space in Muradiye Mosque	147
Figure 4.22 Entry of Muradiye Mosque	148
Figure 4.23 Entry and Women's Space of Seğmenler Mosque	149
Figure 4.24 Seyran Ateş (right) introduces Friday prayers during the opening of the Ibn-Rushd-Goethe Mosque	154
Figure 4.25 Nur-ul Yaqin Mosque General View	155
Figure 4.26 Interior image of Nur-ul Yaqin Mosque.....	156
Figure 4.27 Reproduction of Honeycomb Mosque Plan	157
Figure 4.28 Interior view of the Mamluki Lancet Mosque.....	158
Figure 4.29 Mashrabiya Screen in The Cambridge Central	159
Figure 4.30 Reproduction of the Cambridge Central Mosque.....	159
Figure 4.31 Reproduction of Islamic Forum Penzberg Plan	160
Figure 4.32 Interior of Al-Warqa Mosque	162
Figure 4.33 Plan of Al Warqa'a Mosque	163
Figure 4.34 Interior image of Basuna Mosque	164
Figure 4.35 Interior image of Puncbowl Mosque	165
Figure 4.36 Reproduction of Mayor Mohammed Hanif Mosque Plans	167
Figure 4.37 Women's Praying Area in Mayor Mohammed Hanif Mosque	168
Figure 4.38 View of Women Mosque of America (left) and Praying Women in Women Mosque of America in US (right)	169
Figure 4.39 Sherin Khankan, the founder and imam of the Maryam Mosque, was preaching to women prayers	170

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1 Survey form in the circular supplement, Matters to be inspected regarding the interior and outbuildings of the mosque.....	121
Table 4.2 Inspection Form of Women's Space in Mosque (source: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Pendik Müftülüğü, 2018)	122
Table 4.3 Number of Worship Place Opened by Year.....	126
Table 4.4 Places of Worship Built in Ankara Districts From 2013.....	127
Table 4.5 List of Assessment Mosque by author.....	128
Table 4.6 Assesment Chart of Mosque Cases by author.....	188



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Anadolu Ajansı
DIB	Directorate of Religious Affairs
KADEM	Kadın ve Demokrasi Derneđi





*To all women who give me power with
the light in their eyes and their resistance*

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Aim and Scope

This thesis aims to explore the designated spaces for women in contemporary mosque architecture in Turkey and to examine whether these spaces adopt an egalitarian approach. Historically, women were active participants in the Prophet's Mosque. However, it is well-known that over time, they were distanced from mosque spaces, a phenomenon largely driven by the post-Prophet belief that women's presence in public spaces could potentially lead to moral corruption ("*fitnah*"). The spread of Islam across different regions also contributed to varying practices regarding women's participation in public life. The presence of women in public spaces is closely tied to the dominant religious understanding within their societies.

To understand the current situation in Turkey, this thesis first tries to understand the patriarchal background of the religious practice. After that, it discusses the historical practices of mosque space usage chronically. It then addresses the modernization movements that began during the late Ottoman Empire, including examples of early attempts by women to engage in public life in Istanbul. This section also examines the decrees issued regarding women's use of public spaces during this period, not only in relation to mosques but also in areas such as city squares, markets, and recreational spaces. Over time, driven by increasing demands for rights and the influence of modernization, the use of these spaces evolved, leading to more flexible religious attitudes.

Today, the demands of women in public spaces regarding their right to worship and their increasing visibility in the public sphere raise new questions for mosque architecture. The global influence of women's liberation movements has also shaped women's spatial demands. However, as the later chapters of this thesis will discuss, the

primary objective of the modernization movements in Turkey was to incorporate women into public life through a "Westernized" appearance. For this reason, during the first half of the 20th century, the Muslim woman was not a central figure in public life. The rise of Islamic movements after the 1980s and the visibility gained through Islamic protests following the implementation of headscarf bans in universities had a significant impact on the public presence of religious women. Additionally, the more moderate policies toward religious communities in the second half of the 20th century played a critical role in this development. These changes created a new platform for discussions about mosque architecture, with positive implications for the ongoing debate.

Over time, various modern attempts and discourses surrounding mosque architecture have diversified. Consequently, contemporary mosque architecture today must not only generate new discourses on form but also interrogate the evolving relationships between its users. This thesis delves into the position of women and the dynamics of power in contemporary mosques through a series of subtopics.

Accordingly, there are several sub-questions below to be considered.

- How can we historically explain the formation of women's space in mosque?
- How can we define the boundaries between the women and man spaces in mosque?
- What were the concerns of designing the women's place in mosque?
- How was women's space design interpreted in the mosque architecture?
- Is there any correlation between a mosque adopting contemporary design approach and being inclusive?
- How was the evolution of the Turkish women's publicity in Modernization Period?
- How was the perception of the Turkish authority on Muslim women's publicity?
- How is the design of the inclusive women's space in contemporary mosque in world?

1.2 Limits and Methodology of the Research

The study begins by examining the practice of utilizing religious spaces within the Abrahamic faiths. Consequently, it does not delve into archaic periods where patriarchy became widespread, which is considered the historical backdrop for this analysis.¹ Rather, it focuses on the societal order shaped by pre-Islamic beliefs that continued to influence generations long after. However, the thesis provides a detailed exploration of the Prophet Muhammad's statements regarding women's use of mosque spaces. While a thorough understanding of the period's dominant views on women would require an examination of other sources and contexts, this lies outside the scope of the thesis.²

In subsequent sections, the thesis investigates the mosques built by Islamic states, focusing on the layout and how women accessed and utilized these spaces. This analysis is limited to mosques where information about women's spatial practices could be obtained.

Although the primary aim of the thesis is to explore the inclusive design of mosque spaces, the study deliberately excludes the use of mosques by children due to the broad scope and varying contexts of the topic. Children and women represent two user groups with very different ergonomic needs. Furthermore, gender-based segregation in places of worship is evident from childhood and can be observed spatially. Therefore, the use of worship spaces by children must be examined separately in relation to gender dynamics.

To understand and discuss the contemporary situation in Turkey, the thesis traces the historical development of mosque usage. It touches on the civilizations and practices that have influenced the formation of Turkish Islamic culture. However, North African countries, the Balkans, and the Arabian Peninsula are excluded from the study's scope. Additionally, the analysis focuses solely on the practices of Sunni groups, as the use of mosque spaces varies across different Islamic sects.

For the field research component, Ankara was selected as a case study in Turkey. However, the way and frequency with which mosque spaces are used are directly related

¹ See, Berktaş, F. (1995), *Tek Tanrılı Dinler Karşısında Kadın*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul

² See, Savaş, R. (2017), *Kadın ve İslam*, Siyer Yayınları, İstanbul

to their surrounding context, which can vary significantly. Educational levels in the area are another determining factor in mosque usage, particularly in relation to women's participation. A woman's engagement with mosque spaces is closely tied to her participation in the workforce and her level of education. The age demographics of the mosque's surrounding neighborhood also influence the frequency and manner of usage. Hence, when identifying the challenges women face in using mosque spaces, it is clear that these issues are not merely spatial but also deeply intertwined with the cultural environment in which they are situated.

The principal methodology of the study can be examined under three principal headings. These are the three main methodologies employed in the study: The historical analysis, qualitative and case study methodologies were employed. Historical analysis represents the initial stage of the research, during which the usage patterns of the Masjid are investigated in their historical context. The qualitative method is employed to elucidate the utilisation of mosque space by diverse groups and the genesis and significance of the social events that underpin these uses. The case study method is utilised to elucidate the site analysis and case studies on Ankara's mosques. At the outset of this chapter, a set of criteria and a design guide, developed for application in the field, is presented.

The initial step involved a comprehensive review of the existing literature, which revealed a significant gap in the current discourses on the subject. Subsequently, a number of research questions were identified. In this regard, the initial chapter of the thesis presents an exploratory examination of the historical background, while the subsequent chapter employs a controversial approach to project this background into the present day. The final chapter is devoted to the analysis of the fieldwork conducted by the author as a participant-observer. The analysis process was coordinated with the Presidency of Religious Affairs, which provided the author with access to data from its own records. The last chapter is structured around an explore, analyse, and discuss section, in which the thesis makes a significant contribution to the existing literature on the subject.

The chart below illustrates the sub-questions of the study and the data required to answer them. It also delineates the methods of data collection and the analytical techniques employed.

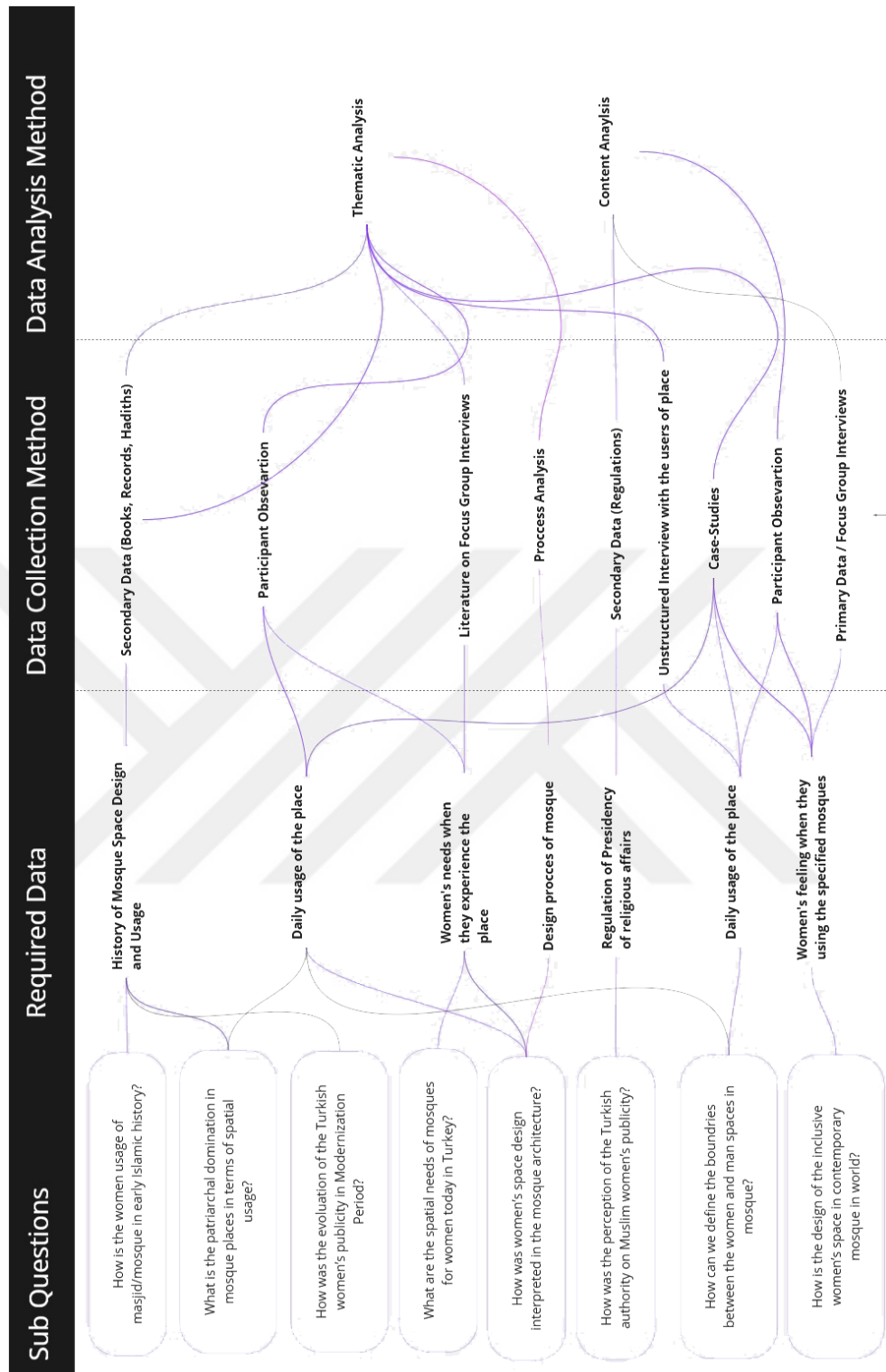


Figure 1.1 Sub-Questions for Research

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured in three main chapters, excluding the introduction and conclusion. In the second chapter, which follows the introduction, an examination is undertaken of the cultural structure of pre-Islamic Arab society and of the ways in which

other Abrahamic religions viewed the presence of women in sacred spaces. This is done in order to gain an understanding of the origins and foundations of spatial segregation. By analysing written and archaeological sources from the Islamic literature-defined "Jahiliyyah Period," an objective perspective on this era was obtained. Subsequently, I examined the various debates surrounding the Prophet's era and the establishment of the first mosque. This thesis analyses the discussions held by architectural historians on the design and usage patterns of mosques. Furthermore, I investigated the spaces where the image of Muslim women became visible and examined the invisible boundaries surrounding them. To do so, I utilised both primary and secondary sources to discuss the relationship between women and mosques in the early Islamic period. The following section of this chapter presents an analysis of the changes that occurred in mosques during the post-Prophetic era. This section encompasses five historical periods: the Rashidun, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Anatolian Seljuks, and the Early Ottoman Empire. Following an overview of mosque construction practices during these periods, the focus shifts to the utilisation of public spaces by women. Should any sources pertaining to the utilisation of the aforementioned structures be identified, a hypothetical plan layout will be devised. Thereafter, the late Ottoman modernisation period will be examined, during which women's participation in public spaces increased. This section will highlight sources that shaped women's daily lives and the usage patterns of worship spaces during modernisation. While travelogues and decrees from this period do not allow for definitive conclusions to be drawn, they do provide insights into women's use of urban spaces. The following section examines the Republican Period, which constituted a continuation of the modernization era. During this period, the image of the modern woman became a prominent feature of the social landscape. This period saw the adoption of Western clothing and lifestyles in anticipation of societal modernisation. The objective during the initial decades of the 20th century was to establish a secular state and guarantee public endorsement. Consequently, the image of women was conspicuous in public spaces when it conformed to Western styles, but this was not the case for other representations. Innovations that reflected the belief that religion's role in the public sphere would conflict with secular principles, as well as the creation of a new female image, were not always in alignment with traditional Muslim women. At the core of these conflicting or conciliatory principles was the image of women, who were obliged to represent themselves through their clothing in public spaces. In particular, during the 1980s, the headscarf in cities was

considered a symbol of political ideology. This perspective undoubtedly imposed various restrictions on women's presence in public spaces.

In the third chapter of the thesis, I discussed the struggles of Feminism and Islamic Feminism concerning women's status in the modern world. Islamic Feminism, which emerged after Feminism, questions women's secondary status, particularly in places like mosques, using the practices of the Prophet's era as its basis. In the first two subsections, I outlined the theoretical frameworks and various arguments of Feminism and Islamic Feminism, which offered new avenues of discussion for women worldwide. Consequently, these movements laid the groundwork for the reemergence of Muslim women's identity and their pursuit of new rights in public spaces. In Turkey, the headscarf, which was considered a political symbol, became associated with Islamist movements that reemerged in the 1980s. At the end of this chapter, which addresses the contentious debates over representation that form today's historical backdrop, I discussed how sacred space is included in the modernization discussion. So end of the part, I examined examples of modern mosque architecture in Turkey, which is the new courage to modernization attempts in mosque architecture. Although these examples, which increased after the 2000s, adopted contemporary approaches in form, they did not significantly offer new opportunities for women.

The fourth chapter of the thesis consists of four subsections. The first subsection focuses on identifying design principles that should be adopted in mosque spaces. Drawing inspiration from Eskandari's (2013) study, I developed a new set of criteria to test whether the space demonstrated a more egalitarian approach toward its users. In the second subsection, I examined various improvement projects initiated by Turkey's Presidency of Religious Affairs (hereinafter DİB) concerning women's presence in mosques. I discussed the potential effects of published regulations and statements on women's use of mosques. I conducted field research based on these improvement policies and narratives. According to my research, Ankara, as a metropolis city, serves as an example of a city that rapidly changes urban and social dynamics in Turkey. Therefore, in third part, I examined large-capacity mosques built in Ankara after 2013 to observe how the DİB's improvement interventions were implemented in practice. The selected cases were located in central urban areas and included women's galleries (*mahfils*). After the evaluation of cases based on the criteria was developed. In the final subsection of this

chapter, contemporary mosque examples from various parts of the world analyzed, which had gained attention in architectural media. I categorized these examples into three groups based on women's use of the space and discussed their designs and approaches to privacy with various examples.

In the conclusion, I reevaluated the relationship between today's mosques and women users, along with the findings from my field research. The mosque, originally constructed as a public space and still situated in visible urban areas, continues to serve similar secondary functions. I debated whether a relationship could be established between the formal modernity of these places of worship and their inclusivity. While mosque architecture offers new opportunities for discussion at the formal level, its proposed usage and circulation schemes often reinforce the secondary status of women.

Chapter 2

Woman and Masjid: A Historical Account

2.1 Abrahamic Religions and Early Arabian Culture

Patriarchy, as revealed by archaeologists, is a social system dominated by men, which emerged in archaic times and has existed for many centuries as the regulator of daily life (Lerner, 1987, p. 54). There have been various means of control over the domination that the system has established over women and children. However, the unconditional acceptance of sovereignty is monotheistic religions and their most important common feature is the "secondary" position of women. This "natural subordination" enabled the control of women and their bodies to be considered as a legitimate reason. The tenets of virginity, chastity and honour are common observed in Abrahamic religions. This can be explained by the fact that these religions originated and developed in historically and geographically proximate lands and in similar material conditions (Jeffreys, 2012, p. 28).

The differentiation of clothing between genders, which is a clear expression of gender dichotomy, is a common feature of monotheistic religions. Accordingly, the covering and veil, which show the sole authority of the man over the female body, express that respectable women know each other and that they are owned and protected by a single man, as Lerner stated in 1986. The veil, which was a common practice among the Jews, Greeks and Byzantium long before Islam, that is, in the entire Mediterranean civilization, especially among the upper classes, is also a concrete form and symbol of male domination, oppression and control over women (Berkday, 1996, p. 94). Therefore, contrary to the common belief in the West today, covering women or confining women to the home is not a situation specific to the East or Islam. On the contrary, the roots of patriarchal tradition have extended back to the Mesopotamian region which is the birthplace of agricultural society (ibid, p. 99).

Women's use of public space and their visibility in social life is closely related to their status in society, from Ancient Athens to the 19th century Ottoman Empire. For example, in the Ancient Athenian society, women and men lived in separated places, while men were together in public spaces such as the agora and gymnasium, "respectable" women generally stayed at home (Ağaoğulları, 1989 as cited in Berktaş, 2023, p. 97). However, as an exception among the Mesopotamian civilizations (Hopkins, 1980).

In the religious sphere during the New Testament period (50-100 AD) and thereafter, evidence concerning the status of Jewish women indicates certain regressions. While the domain where women exerted religious and spiritual influence has always been primarily within the household and the education of children, it is understood that in the past, some Jewish women were educated in both oral and written traditions and laws, and were able to read religious texts within the community. However, this right was later revoked, and they began to sit separately in temples. While it is known that women sat separately in the Jerusalem temple, there is no information regarding exactly when the practice of separate women's sections in synagogues began. Furthermore, it is evident that the practice witnessed various implementations during the same period (Kloppenborg & Wilson, 2011).

This discrimination against women in the religious sphere was carried over to Christianity in the form of banning women from speaking in the Church. Paul expresses this in his 1st Letter to the Corinthians (Chapter 14: 34-35): "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."

In the 6th century BCE, Solon's laws specified when women could go out and how they should dress when they did. It emphasized that women should not be publicly visible for the sake of social order (Goody, 1990, p. 393). The pressures developed towards women and the spaces where they could be present gained legitimacy through belief systems and found appropriate ground in all belief systems. In the light of the geographies and cultural transmissions, Arabia was dominated by a polytheistic belief culture. Many female deities existed in Arab societies (Fisher, 2015; Hitti, 1970). "Al-Uzzā," translated

as "The Great," was mentioned as the most powerful female deity in Byzantine writings from the 10th to the 12th centuries and inscribed on epigraphs (Fisher, 2015). The term "The star" frequently appeared in inscriptions and was often associated by Herodotus with Aphrodite/Venus and Al-Lat or 'Uzzā, with Aphrodite often being identified with 'Uzzā (Segal, 1984). Additionally, epigraphs indicate that tribes fought for the honor of their women, witnessed practices like "prima note," and concepts such as a woman's honor, pride, and virginity were significant throughout history (Cook, 2010).

Montgomery Watt, referring to the same periods, mentions that matrilineality was prevalent in Arabia and that during the time of Muhammad's birth, society was transitioning to patrilineality, with Islam supporting and reinforcing these tendencies. According to Watt, the commercial development of Mecca in the 5th and 6th centuries and the increasingly settled nature of its most powerful tribe, the Quraysh, led to the dissolution of tribal values, especially the tradition of communal property (Watt & Kalkan, 2016, p. 97). As the Meccans became wealthier, the desire to pass wealth to their children made the concept of property inherited from the father more important. This increased the value placed on the legitimacy of paternity, legitimizing control over women's bodies. It is suggested that pre-Islamic Arab society, while not matriarchal, was inclined towards such a structure, where children were attributed to the mother. This inclination was transitioning to a patriarchal structure as wealthy men sought to leave inheritance to their sons (Watt, 1986). Similar theories are frequently made regarding the transition to agriculture and the patrilineal social system in Mesopotamia.

One of the controversial topics is whether the existence of female goddesses or priestesses indicates a matriarchal structure within the society. While it is not possible to establish a direct relationship, it does provide insights into the social status of women (Aḥmad & Ali, 2021; Al-Hibri, 1982). The written inscriptions passed down to us mostly address inter-tribal wars and agreements between them.³ The claim that Islam's contribution to the social status of women represents an absolute gain in rights is highly debatable when viewed through sources from that era. Sources related to the post-Islam period have reached us through oral history transmission, and it would not be inaccurate to say they often take a biased position in describing the "Arami" society. However,

³ For detail, see Fischer, G. (2015), *Arabs and empires before Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

modern periods bring the topic to an even more contentious point. Some sources argue that women's social status improved with Islam, representing an absolute gain in rights. In contrast, other sources claim that women already had various rights and freedoms inherited from ancient times and beliefs.

Leila Ahmed believes that the marital lives of Prophet Muhammad's two wives, Khadijah and Aisha, exemplify the changes that would occur in Arabia under the influence of Islam. According to Leila Ahmed (1992), the Prophet's relationship with Khadijah, where he married an older woman with economic independence and accepted a marriage proposal from a widow older than himself, reflects characteristics of pre-Islamic Arabian society rather than being an exceptional situation. Referring to the words of one of the Prophet's wives, Aisha, Ahmed states that women in ancient Arab society practiced polyandry, meaning they had multiple husbands (Ahmad & Ali, 2021, p. 44). For men, however, she notes that polygyny, the practice of having multiple wives, was rare in ancient practices and became legalized with Islam. According to her, Islam emerged during the transition from a matrilineal society to a patriarchal one and was legitimized through religious commandments (Shah, 2006).

Mecca and Medina are regions on the Arabian Peninsula dominated by Arab tribes living in a society primarily sustained by animal husbandry and trade. This society consists of people from different religious and ethnic backgrounds living in tribal formations. It is important to differentiate between the nomadic and settled populations because their daily habits and gender roles are quite distinct (Ahmed, 1992). Consequently, for the people living with various beliefs, including Arab Jews, Christians, and different Pagan religions, it is impossible to speak of a common culture accepted by all tribes or everyone. Additionally, the society is class-based, consisting of free individuals, slaves, and freed slaves. Depending on her class or tribe, a woman could sometimes own property, engage in trade, remarry if her husband died, or even participate in wars alongside men (Khūrī, 2000). Moreover, women could participate in poetry gatherings and attend councils to the extent of their influence and power. Sources indicate that women in ancient Arabia moved more freely and asserted themselves more strongly compared to modern Eastern societies (Zwemer, 1937). For more objective perspective, Abbott claims that the status of women in the Jahiliyyah period prior to Islam was mixed,

with some women holding public positions but also experiencing a decline in prestige and privileges (Abbott, 1942).

On the other hand, despite various assumptions about women's social status during the period, most sources in post-Islamic historiography refer to the era as the "Age of Ignorance" (*Jahiliyyah*). They argue that social justice was absent, men practiced polygyny, women had no inheritance rights, were not valued in social life, and had no place in decision-making bodies (Şahin Aynur, 2019). The intertribal wars and increasing competition mark an unstable period. In this context, it is debated to what extent the social hierarchies existing at the time were maintained by the system proposed by Islam. However, in the poetry of the period, there are rare mentions of the virtue of burying female infants. Notably, while women's physical attributes were often praised, their moral values were rarely discussed (Nicholson, 1996 as cited in Shah, 2006, p. 29). Levy (1992) warns about accepting the evidence of early Muslim scholars uncritically, as their statements were sometimes made deliberately to compare and sanctify Islam over previous beliefs. Thus, claims such as women being treated as objects to be bought and sold or being compelled to marry the highest bidder are more commonly found in religious sources (Levy, 1959; Shah, 2006, p. 27).

In 12th century Arabia, patriarchal marriage "*Baal marriage*" was prevalent, where the man who desired a girl paid a dowry to her father or guardian in exchange for taking the girl. The matrilineal marriage common in the region had two types: *Benna* and *Muta*. The former was permanent, while the latter was temporary; both types allowed marriage or divorce without any witness. Although various approaches were exhibited regarding the social status of women in societies where such marriages were observed, it can be said that women were relatively well-off considering that the child was counted as belonging to the mother or the mother's tribe, women could engage in trade, and manage their property. Historians have noted that Islam emerged at a pivotal moment when nomadic tribal society was transitioning into a state, addressing the needs of this transformation. In this context, the intertwining of religion and state within Islam, and therefore its regulations on every aspect of believers' lives, can be explained. The teachings of the Quran and Sunnah encompass not only the relationship between God and humans but also regulate social relations among people. Thus, the form of Islam that is intrinsic to human nature and lifestyle is significant in shaping social life. This holistic

system is known as *Sharia*. Belyaev (1969) states that the rise of Islam coincided with the decay of the "primitive communal regime" in Arabia and that the shift from polytheism to monotheism in the region was inevitable. Specifically, the formation of tribal alliances and efforts towards unifying Arabia indicated the rise of a central power, signifying monotheism. This power could only find its reflection and sanctification in monotheism (Belyaev, 1971).

In conclusion, understanding the origins of patriarchy and the many social norms it upholds is challenging, and it is impossible to pinpoint a single source or reason. There is significant continuity between the old and the new, not only geographically but also in the changing world. Religious practices and beliefs are a fascinating part of this broad continuity (Goody, 1990, p. 465).

2.2 The Prophet's Time and His Approach

Examining the existing cultural structure of the period is crucial for understanding the reforms Islam introduced in social life. This is important because, as will be discussed in the later parts of this thesis, it is necessary to track the changes of various reforms implemented during the Prophet's era and their impact on society over time. Islamic historical sources indicate that the Prophet Muhammad introduced significant social, political, and educational advancements for women during his lifetime, emphasizing their public participation in daily life. The fact that various regulations introduced in later periods were met with resistance even among Muslim communities and were eventually abolished illustrates the transformation over time. Considering the cultural-historical origins of gender-based class divisions, it is evident that these have evolved and been transmitted since the archaic period. This situation, which directly affects the right to use space, influences the daily lives of women of the period and is reflected in the structures and their formations. Therefore, it is essential to examine the plan and use of the first mosque to understand the hierarchical relationship Islam established between genders through spatial usage. The mosque, considering its function, has been a meeting point since its inception and represents the first public space where the figure of the Muslim woman was depicted. Historical sources provide us with limited information about women's use of the mosque. Understanding the process by which patriarchy dominated this space is one of the main objectives of this thesis. In this context, Medina holds a

significant place as the city where the first mosque was established and where the initial Islamic social regulations were implemented (O’Kane & Hillebrand, 2021). Furthermore, Medina's position and evolution as an Islamic city are crucial. The preservation and development of ideas and teachings related to sacred places by scholars and rulers influential during and after Muhammad's era reinforced the elements observed in Medina. The practices that solidified throughout the first three centuries of the Hijri calendar eventually became integral to religious acceptance over time.

Our knowledge about the first mosque relies on written sources and authenticated hadith sources accepted by Muslim scholars, written approximately two hundred years after the Prophet's life. However, the first mosque is the subject of two main debates regarding its function. Various studies on whether it was primarily a residence or a mosque show us that the Prophet's mosque evolved from serving as a residence to becoming a place of worship with enriched functions over time. Including this debate helps us understand the original purpose of the mosque from its early stages and emphasizes the encouragement of Muslim women's visibility in public spaces, proving that it was not a "private" space.

Some art historians have argued that the mosque was originally the Prophet's personal residence and was later converted into a mosque by his followers (Caetani, 1905; Creswell, 1979). One of the bases for this theory is the close proximity of the Prophet's wives' rooms to the mosque. However, this proposition is widely acknowledged to have obvious logical flaws. (Esposito, 1999; O’Kane & Hillebrand, 2021). In comparison to traditional Arab homes, it is much larger and has three entrances. Additionally, its public use is quite extensive. The prevailing and fundamentally accepted view is that the changes in the mosque's architecture or functions evolved organically over time (Ayyad, 2013). Today, it is accepted that the first mosque was the main place of worship and focal point for Muslims. Various reconstruction drawings of the mosque exist, among which the plans drawn by Akkouche, al-Shang, and al-Shihr are considered relatively more accurate based on hadith sources. In this thesis, Akkouche's drawing from 1940 has been chosen as the basis due to the specific location of the Suffa and the women's entrance. Other reconstruction drawings have not been included in the study because they do not accurately depict the locations of the Prophet's wives' rooms according to the hadiths.

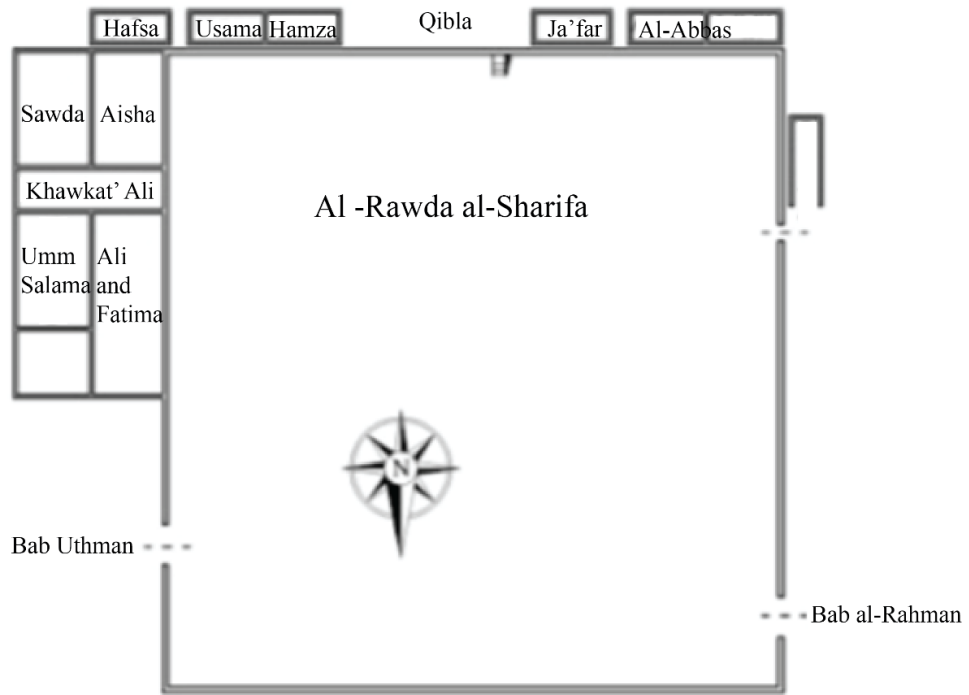


Figure 2.1 Reconstruction of the plan of the Prophet's mosque and dwellings of his wives and comrades (after al-Shanqîfî, 1991)

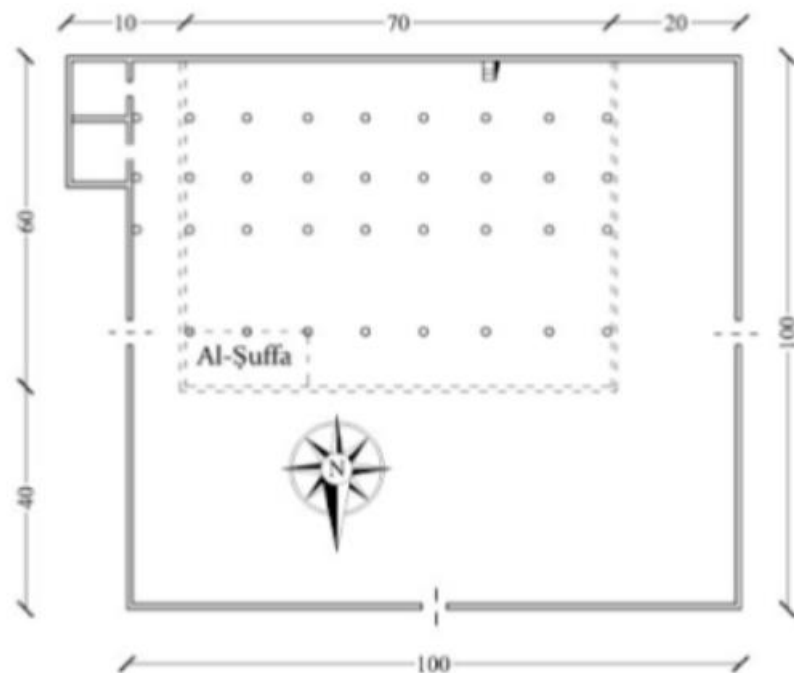


Figure 2.2 Plan of the plan of the Prophet's after change of the qibla (al-Shihri, 1991)

Information about the materials and functioning of the first mosque has been passed down to the present day. Accordingly, it consisted of a column system made of palm trees, with upper coverings made of leaves and reeds, and walls made of stone blocks and mud bricks. It is known that there were no segregating elements between male and female

users during its use, with men praying in front and women behind them. Additionally, one of the two areas covered by the upper coverings was used during worship, while the other was the Suffa, where the Prophet and his companions spent time and which primarily served as an educational space. Like the mosque, we also know that women used the Suffa during the time of the Prophet, they were going there for education. The variation in plans is mainly due to the relationship between the Prophet's wives' houses and the mosque.

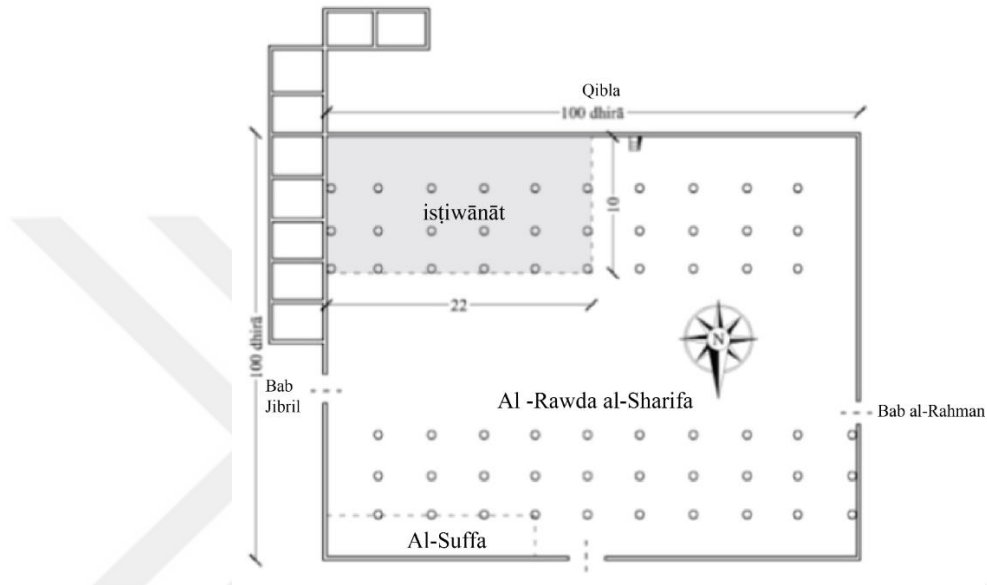


Figure 2.3 Plan of the plan of the mosque in the time of Prophet's with the positions of the famous *istiwanāt* indicated (al-Shihri, 1991)

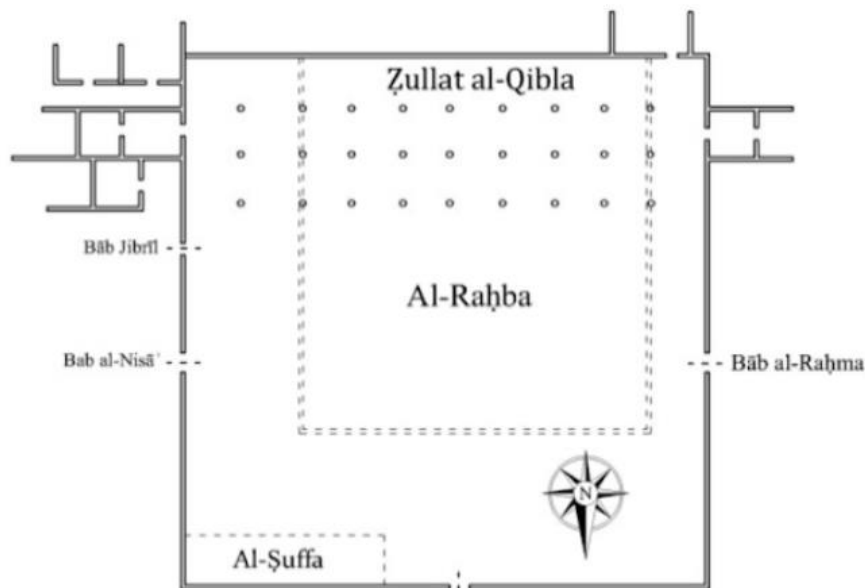


Figure 2.4 Reconstruction plan of the Prophet's mosque and dwellings (after Akkouché, 1940)

Akkouche's plan shows the women's entrance added during the reign of Caliph Umar. (Figure 2.4) It is known that during the time of the Prophet, there was no distinction made at the entrance to the space. However, due to its indication of both the women's entrance and the location of the Sufra, it has been chosen as the reconstruction drawing to be used to produce usage diagrams.

Following the first mosque, art historians referred to it as a hypostyle plan. In its simplest form, this term refers to an open courtyard and an enclosed area located near the qibla, surrounded by walls (Hillenbrand, 2000). Emphasis on closely spaced supports at regular intervals is important. In other early mosques built after the first mosque, columns and buttresses allowed for expansion and contraction over time according to user needs, making it, in the words of Grabar, a "quite modern" example (Grabar, 1975).

Furthermore, considering the usage pattern, the fact that the arrangement of ranks could change, with men typically in the front, and the absence of any distinction between free and slave individuals, is noteworthy. Since one of the main acts of worship performed in the mosque, namely prayer, involves bowing and prostration, it is suggested that the positioning of women in the back rows during worship was to preserve their modesty. Some scholars currently argue that this arrangement reflects the patriarchal nature of Islam and signifies a particular status. However, historical sources also mention instances when the mosque was exclusively allocated for women's use at certain times. In situations where both genders were present, it is noted that there was no spatial or visual segregation used within the space.

2.2.1 Inclusive Principles in Masjid-i Nabi

In Islam, the importance of congregation is often emphasized, and the Prophet encouraged women and children to use the mosque for worship and education. Many stories about this have been passed down to us, offering illuminating perspectives on the societal understanding of that time. While the roles and characters in these stories may vary, they shed light on important aspects of the society of that era. In later periods, various events that serve as references for Islamic schools often stem from initiatives taken directly by the Prophet or those close to him.

According to Ibn Umar (d. 73/693), as narrated by many hadith sources later on, women expressed their desire to attend mosque prayers and sermons of Muhammad, but their husbands did not allow them to do so. It is not clear whether this restriction applied to all public spaces in the city or specifically to the mosque. However, it is likely that the visibility of women in daily life was considered problematic, and after the complaint, the Prophet warned his companions as follows: "Do not prevent the female servants of Allah from attending mosques." (Imam Malik, "Qibla", 12; Buhârî, "Friday Prayer", 13; Muslim, "Prayer", 36; Abu Dawood, "Prayer", 52; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, al-Musnad, 12/281 as cited in Savaş, 2017) This warning is important in preventing inter-gender tension in the public functions of the mosque. Because in the conditions of the time, the mosque was not only a place of worship but also an educational institution. Female companions who regularly attended mosque prayers have reported that they learned many things directly in the mosque. (Ahmad ibn Hanbal, al-Musnad, VI, 436; Muslim, Friday Prayer 51 as cited in Savaş, 2017)

Muhammad's advice to women was given in the mosque from the early days. (See Abu Dawood, Marriage 49 cited in Savaş, 2017) Therefore, the consensus in the sources of the time is that women actively participated in the mosque and congregation. It is known that participation continued at different times of the day, with women attending prayers at dawn and dusk, the earliest or darkest times of the day. (Buhârî, "Times of Prayer", 24; Muslim, "Mosques", 225; Nasa'i, "Times of Prayer", 20; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, al-Musnad, 40/65.) As a meeting and celebration place, the mosque was actively used for Eid prayers without gender distinction. Funeral prayers were prayed in congregation by both men and women, making it a platform for sharing the teachings of the religion.

The period of menstruation, which was a symbol of Divinity in ancient times, has been interpreted as a punishment from God or as "impurity" in Abrahamic religions. In the third chapter of the Mishnah (Jewish Laws), Niddah, it is stated that women are considered impure during menstruation and that they make everything they come into contact with impure during this time. "On the days when she is menstruating, anything she lies on or sits on during that time will be considered unclean." (Leviticus 15:19-23 as cited in Yiğitoğlu, 2019, p. 227) The evidence that this is not just a physical state of impurity is the recommendation for women to stay away from worship during this time. (Baskin, 2003, p. 1479 as cited in Yiğitoğlu, 2019, p. 230)

In Islam, this differentiation is conveyed as "A *junub* (ritually impure) or menstruating woman cannot recite anything from the Quran," by the command of the Prophet. (Tirmidhi, Taharet, 98, 131; Ibn Majah, Taharet, 105, 595-596). However, the Prophet desired that menstruating women also participate in the Eid prayers. He instructed Muslim women without appropriate clothing for prayer to come with borrowed attire, even if they couldn't find any. Umm Atiyye mentioned that during the Eid prayer performed in an open area outside the Medina Mosque, menstruating women stood at the back and joined the congregation during the pray. Additionally, women asked the Prophet questions about their biological conditions during the Eid prayers and obtained knowledge from him (Bukhari, Eid 20; Abu Dawud, Salah 247). After delivering a sermon from the pulpit during an Eid prayer, the Prophet thought that women couldn't hear the conversation, so he went to them and repeated the sermon. (Buhârî, "Eid," 21; Muslim, "Eid," 12; Abu Dawud, "Salah," 99; Tirmidhi, "Eid," 7; Nasa'i, "Eid," 3; Ibn Majah, Establishing Prayer and Sunnah, 154; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, 33/338; Bukhari, Menstrual Periods 9 as cited in Savaş, 2017). Imam Bukhari compiled the narrations on this topic under the heading "The Imam's Sermon and Advice to Women on Eid Day" in the Book of Eid. (Buhârî, Eid 19).

The Prophet, contrary to the patriarchal norms of the time, encouraged women to participate in prayers at all times, emphasizing the acceptance of congregational worship regardless of gender. The hadith "Allow the women to come to the mosque at night (for evening, nightfall, and dawn prayers)" (Bukhari, Adhan, 162) stands as the most concrete manifestation of this view. During the time of the Prophet, it is understood from a conversation between Abdullah ibn Umar and Bilal that the participation of women in public life was not encouraged. When Abdullah ibn Umar narrated a hadith, his son Bilal objected, saying, "By Allah, we do not let women out at night. They may go out and deceive their husbands." (el-Kuşeyrî, t.y., c.II, 78) Upon this, Abdullah ibn Umar sternly reprimanded his son, saying, "I am narrating what the Messenger of Allah said, and you are saying we do not let them go out."

The Prophet, considering the special circumstances of women in the mosque, mentioned that he shortened the prayer when he heard a child crying during the prayer, thinking of the mother. (Tirmizî, Salât 267; Buhârî "el-Cemaâ ve'l-imâme", 36; Müslim,

2013, Volume I-V , Salat, 192). He himself brought his granddaughter Umama to the mosque, prayed with her on his shoulders, and when he bowed, placed her on the ground, and picked her up again when he rose from prostration. Additionally, Muslim women used the mosque not only for obligatory prayers but also for voluntary (*nafile*) prayers. (Buhârî, “Teheccüd”, 18; Müslim, “Müsâfirîn”, 219; Ebû Dâvud, “Salât”, 104; Nesâî, “Kıyâmu”1-Leyl”, 17; İbn Mâce, “İkâme”, 184; Ahmed b. Hanbel, 19/45.) It is reported that women generally prayed their voluntary prayers (*nâfila*) at home after praying in congregation at the mosque, but this example shows that if women wished, they also prayed their voluntary prayers in the mosque. The important point here is that women could be seen by men during voluntary prayers, which indicates that it did not invalidate a woman's pray. However, over time, many beliefs developed that a woman's presence could invalidate her prayer, leading to precautions such as a woman avoiding certain situations or continuing her prayer while sitting.

In the mosque, it is known that women and men were in separate areas but there is no mention of opaque separators like curtains or walls in the sources. (İbn Kesir, 1997:VI, 154 cited in Savaş, 2017) A special section was allocated for women in the mosque. Therefore, it is understood that women prayed, listened to sermons, and attended lectures in the mosque in the section designated for them, without any physical barrier but with the intention of avoiding the gaze of male participants. (İbn Hanbel, 1992: VII-523; Taberanî, 1985: XXIV-204 cited in Savaş, 2017) The positioning of this area in relation to the density of the male congregation has been criticized for suggesting a structure that prioritizes male participants. (Ebû Dâvûd, Salât 98) However, during Muhammad's time, Muslim women complained that they could not hear properly due to their distance from the pulpit and asked for a special day to be designated for them in the mosque. Upon this request, the Prophet designated a day in the mosque specifically for them. (Buhârî, İlim 36)

It is known that women had a say in the mosque and could intervene in certain matters within the mosque. An example of this from the Prophet's era is a situation where the clothing of the imam leading the prayer was deemed inappropriate for prayer, and the imam's garment was criticized (Buhari, 256 C.E. Adhan 83). The fact that around twenty female scholars of jurisprudence emerged among the Companions provides an important clue about the extent to which women benefited from mosque education during the

Prophet's time (Hamidullah, 2003, II/79; Okic, 1978: 26). One of the most concrete indicators of spatial segregation is undoubtedly the "Women's Gate (Babun Nisa)", which was built over time for the increasing number of female congregants. Muhammad wanted one of the gates to be allocated for women to facilitate their easier entrance and exit. According to reports, Caliph Umar announced the Prophet's request during his administrative process and had an additional gate constructed for the mosque to be used exclusively by women (Ebû Dâvud, 2000 Salat 54, Salat 17).

It is mentioned in the hadith sources that not only women living in Medina but also groups of women and men from distant places came to participate in the Friday prayer and returned the next day. However, the Prophet warned both men and women attending the mosque to be careful of their behavior. He advised against wearing eye-catching outfits and advised women not to apply perfume when attending the prayer. Additionally, because women stood behind men during prayer, he advised women not to stand up from prostration until men had straightened up to prevent any chance of men's private parts being exposed. After the worship was completed, the mosque was emptied orderly, with women leaving first, followed by the Prophet, and then the men. Even not just during the prayer, during the preparation process of the prayer (ablution) is important to understand the approach. During the time of the Prophet, there was no need for separate places for women to perform ablution. It is reported that women performed ablution from the same vessel as men and joined the congregation. Abdullah b. Umar narrates that women and men performed ablution together from the same vessel. (Buhârî, "Vudu", 45; Ebû Dâvud, "Tahâret", 39; Nesâî, "Tahâret", 57; İbn Mâce, "Tahâret", 35; Ahmed b. Hanbel, 8/60; Abdürrezzâk, Musannef, 1/75)

Various examples given above can be diversified to clearly illustrate the approach of the Prophet. Following the revelation of new verses related to hijab, Muslim women were able to use the Mosque freely, day and night. (Buhârî, Mevakitü's- Salât 27) It is noteworthy that in the Arab society where it was not welcomed for women to be outside at dark hours, the attitude of Muslim women is remarkable. There were no restrictions placed on women working in public during Muhammad's lifetime, as seen by some women working as market inspectors. These women were advising people to do good and refrain from malice in the market. (Heysemî, IX, 264; İbn Abdilberr, İstî'ab, IV, 355; Kettanî, I, 285 cited in Savaş, 2017)

In accordance with the narratives, the usage diagram of the Prophet's Mosque during worship is as follows. (Figure 2.5) The gradient transition indicates that it was shaped according to the number of people present in the congregation, without a specific number. The plan is a revised version of the area published by Akkouche in 1940 by the author based on the sources. This plan was chosen because it determined the location of the women's door in later periods.

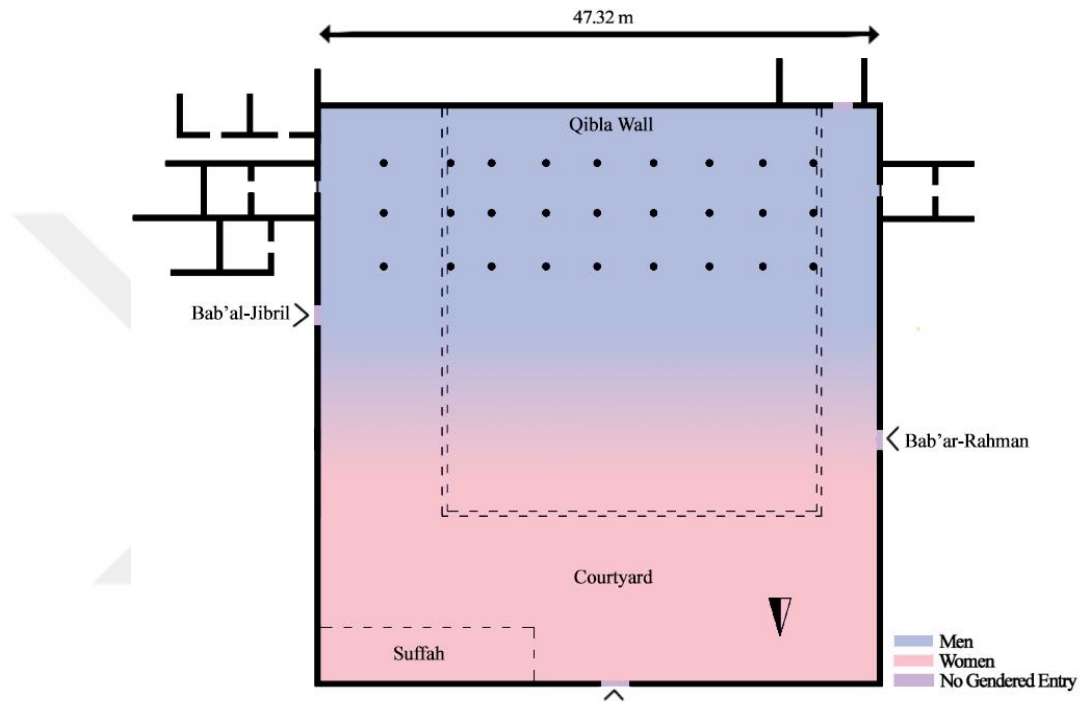


Figure 2.5 The Prophet's Mosque Usage During the Pray (An Annotated Version of Akkouche's Reconstruction Plan by author)

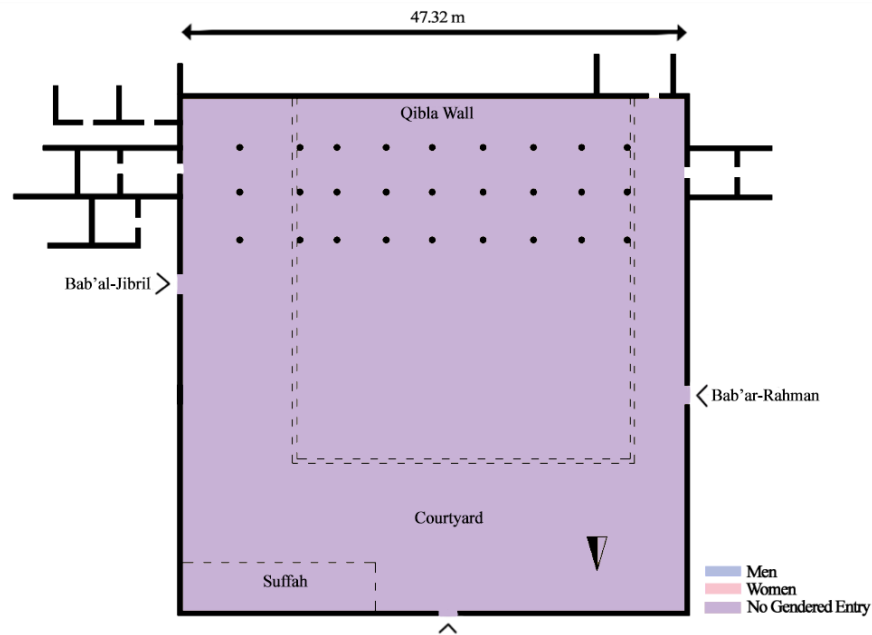


Figure 2.6 The Prophet's Mosque Usage During the Day (Reproduction of Akkouche's Reconstruction Plan by author)

In the provided plan diagram, it illustrates the use of the mosque during non-worship times, at any time of the day. Considering the functions of the mosque, it is important to recognize its value as a public space for Muslims, serving as a main gathering and educational venue. The Suffa, as semi-open spaces with covered tops, are where people gather for conversations after worship, and various sources have mentioned that women actively used these spaces as well.

2.2.2 Exclusive Cases in Masjid-i Nabi

The association of women's presence in public spaces with the potential for *fitna* is closely related to the patriarchal nature that predominantly reinforces these Abrahamic religions. While *fitna* is often addressed in the Quran as a threat to administrative and political unity and not directly attributed to women or gender (Berktaay, 2023). This portrayal is observed in future transmissions. Therefore, these Abrahamic religions, which often make various regulations regarding the presence of women depending on the society and geography, draw references from the religion itself. Over time, this system, which finds many references from oral history and culture, will also carry the potential for answers to new problems that future scholars will encounter. For example, the hadith "Beware of the world and beware of women, for the first trial of the Children of Israel was because of women." (Ebû Zekeriyya en-Nevevî', 2015 as cited in (Arsel, 2019), p. 57) and "I have not left after me any *fitna* (trial, tribulation) more harmful to men than

women." (Buhârî Nikâh 17; Muslim Zikir 97-98. Also see Tirmizî Edeb 31; Ibn Maja Fiten 31) are clear warnings about women being a source of *fitna*. Detailed discussions on the subject are being held, but they are not within the scope of the thesis.

It's noteworthy how historical narratives shape contemporary perceptions. The advice given to a woman unable to go to the mosque due to her husband's restriction sheds light on evolving dynamics (İbn Esîr, 1970: VII, 323). While some interpret it as prioritizing marital harmony, others view it as implying that praying at home is more virtuous for women. Over time, concerns about *fitna* led to segregating educational functions of mosques for men only, hindering women's access. (Aydın, 2001) In later periods, the educational function of the mosque was reserved for male users only, and it was considered haram for women's voices to be heard by non-mahram people (Ateş, 2017). This trend, prohibiting women from attending mosques, reflects societal norms, but also raises questions about gender equality in religious spaces.

Another hadith that encourages women to stay at home and be invisible is: "The prayer of a woman in the most private part of her home is better than her prayer in the courtyard, and her prayer in the most private part of her house is better than her prayer in the courtyard." (Ebû Dâvud, 2000, Salat 53). This hadith gained popularity over time and was adopted by scholars in later periods. However, some scholars have prohibited women from coming to the mosque.

In conclusion, during the time of the Prophet, a dominant belief prevailed regarding women's use of the mosque, which was considerably more concrete compared to other perspectives, emphasizing the ease of women's access to the religious space and prioritizing facilitating their use of it. However, there are also sources that suggest women should worship in their homes, but yet less commonly.

Based on the information provided above, some fundamental principles regarding women's use of the mosque have been outlined. These include:

- Women's use of the mosque is freely permitted and encouraged at all times.
- Women stand behind men in prayer without any visual barriers.
- Women are encouraged to attend Friday prayers and listen to Imam's speech.

- Women should borrow appropriate dress if they do not have suitable clothing for the mosque.
- Women should attend Eid prayers, even when menstruating, and be present as part of the congregation.
- Women should be brought to mosque congregations to experience the atmosphere of tolerance.
- Women should listen to their husbands if they do not want them to go to the mosque.
- The mosque can be used for educational purposes by women.
- Women should not use perfume when going to the mosque.
- Women and men can engage in conversations and spend time together in the mosque when not engaged in worship.
- Sermons should be repeated in a way that women can hear them when they are not clearly audible due to the crowdedness of men.

As seen, the Prophet's mosque, as opposed to rigid class divisions such as free-slave and male-female, stands out with its inclusive structure. The arrangement of prayer lines positions men in front and women behind, not to establish hierarchy between them but to prevent exposure of women's private parts or any sexual connotations from arising among the male congregation. In exceptional circumstances, the Prophet mentioned that women could pray in their homes but frequently emphasized the necessity of joining the congregation. He commanded them to participate in Eid prayers, delivered special sermons to them, and designated certain days for women in the mosque, indicating their place as primary participants in the Masjid al-Nabawi. So how did the Rashidun Caliphates handle this situation in the later period? The following section will explore their practices after the Prophet's death.

2.3 The Practice in History until the Modern Times

In this section, the mosque space and gender-centered social regulations directly associated with it after the Prophet's death will be discussed. The *ijtihad* (new practices) of the four caliphs who took over leadership after Muhammad's death were interpreted by future Islamic scholars, becoming references for increasingly diverse *fatwas* over time.

This section will sequentially address the practices of the four caliphs. The participation of Muslim women in various public spaces, including worship places, markets, bazaars, and public entertainment areas, has been examined. To understand the development of mosque spaces, the important mosque structures of the period and their uses have been reviewed.

However, it must be remembered that women are not a monolithic group, and daily habits and responsibilities vary across different regions. Therefore, it is necessary to state that the thesis of women becoming invisible in public spaces with Islam distinctly separates into urban and rural contexts (Belyaev, 1971, p. 239). However, it should also be noted that the tradition of historical writing rarely includes non-noble/lower class urban women.

With the spread of Islam and its expansion into various regions, the caliphs in Islam encountered new questions and made new openings. During this period, significant issues concerning women were debated. The practices of these four Rashidun caliphates, who hold an important place in Islamic history, show instances of personal initiative. These practices, sometimes aligned with and sometimes contrasting with the cultural understanding of the time, were considered by the rulers of that era as necessary adaptations and personal approaches. Therefore, it is essential to recognize that any assumptions made after the Prophet's death are personal interpretations.

The first caliph, Abu Bakr, was the closest friend of the Prophet and older than the other companions. Although his election did not face significant delay or dispute, some argue that the Prophet's lack of direct appointment led to the first political crisis within Islam (Demircan, 2015). However, modern historians generally do not attribute the Sunni-Shia split, which they trace to issues of succession, to this period (Madelung, 1996). There is limited information about Abu Bakr's two-year rule, but it is known that he closely followed the practices of the Prophet.

After this farewell, the mosque continued to function as it did during the Prophet's time, remaining a central gathering place for Muslims. There are no records of any spatial or operational changes. It is known that the caliph used the mosque's second floor (similarly to the Prophet) as the Bayt al-Mal (treasury). (Bukhari, Mazalim, 25) However,

none of the reconstruction drawings of the first mosque show a second floor. Some sources also mention that the Prophet used his own house as the Bayt al-Mal. (Muhammad b. Sa'd b. Mani al-Zuhri 230/845, *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir*, Thk. Ali Muhammad Umar, Maktabat al-Khanji, Cairo, 2001, vol. 3, p. 337 cited in Savaş, 2017)

The prohibition of women from joining prayers in mosques with men and the separation of men and women in public ceremonies, particularly the Hajj, represent the most significant implementations of gender-related policies in the Caliphate of Ebu Bakr. (Malik & Rohilla, 2018, p. 168) Unfortunately, there is no definitive date available. However, a review of the historical evidence suggests that Caliph Umar's perspective on this matter is more clearly defined. There are several potential explanations for this. During the Umar era, Islam underwent a process of institutionalisation, which may have necessitated a more radical and thorough application of the principles involved.

After Abu Bakr, Umar became the caliph and during his 10-year caliphate, he made numerous changes to the administration and physical and social use of the mosque. Alongside his significant efforts to institutionalize Islam, he also gathered large amounts of booty through conquests in what is now Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. For detailed information on Umar's era (Sarıçam, 2013). During his period, Umar expanded Al-Masjid an-Nabawi from the south, north, and west, raised the height of the roof, and added three more doors to the mosque. These were: "Bab an-Nisa" to the east, beyond the "Bab al-Cibril", "Bab al-Salam" to the west, and an additional door to the north. He designated the Bab an-Nisa gate exclusively for women and stated that the Prophet wanted this gate to be built for women to use the mosque more comfortably. It is reported that his son Abdullah never used this gate until his death (Ebû Dâvud, 2000). Some narrations indicate that Umar forbade men from using this gate (Ibn Hazm, *al-Muhalla*, III, 131-132; Muhammad Rawas, *Mawsoo'ah Fiqh Umar*, p. 345). Located at the back of the mosque, this gate eventually led to the creation of a special area for women at the rear of the mosque (Ibn Shabba, *Tarikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah*, IV, 1229). This move, which would be the first segregation within the mosque, should be considered Umar's personal initiative. This interpretation is based not only on the addition of an extra gate but also on Umar's subsequent restrictive statements and attitudes towards women's public use. Women, who had previously been able to visit the mosque freely, found their usage and timing of mosque visits restricted. It is noted that men and women who gathered in the

mosque would easily converse before or after prayers. On one occasion, women engaged in conversation with men were reportedly driven out of the mosque by Umar (al-Hindi, Kanz al-Ummal, VIII, 326, Hadith No: 23131). Parallel to this, Hawla bint Qays narrated that Umar only allowed women to come to the mosque during prayer times. The same narration includes: "During the Prophet's time, Abu Bakr's era, and the early years of Umar's period, we women used to sit and talk with each other in the mosque; sometimes we would spin yarn, and sometimes we would make things from palm fronds. Umar told us, 'I will leave you free,' and then he expelled us from the mosque. After that, we could only go to the mosque during prayer times..." (Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat, VIII, 296). This statement clearly summarizes the restriction on women's use of the mosque at that time. Umar did not prohibit women from praying in the mosque but did not favor their participation in the congregation. It is noted that Umar's wife Atika frequently went to the mosque, a situation Umar disapproved of but did not forbid (Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat, VIII, 267). However, it is known that the accepted societal values became increasingly authoritarian and restrictive, thereby limiting women's use of the mosque. In this context, Berktaay evaluates the new punitive measures and rules during Umar's period, similar to how Christianity's patriarchal nature became more pronounced and institutionalized during the time of Saint Paul (Berktaay, 2023, p. 135).

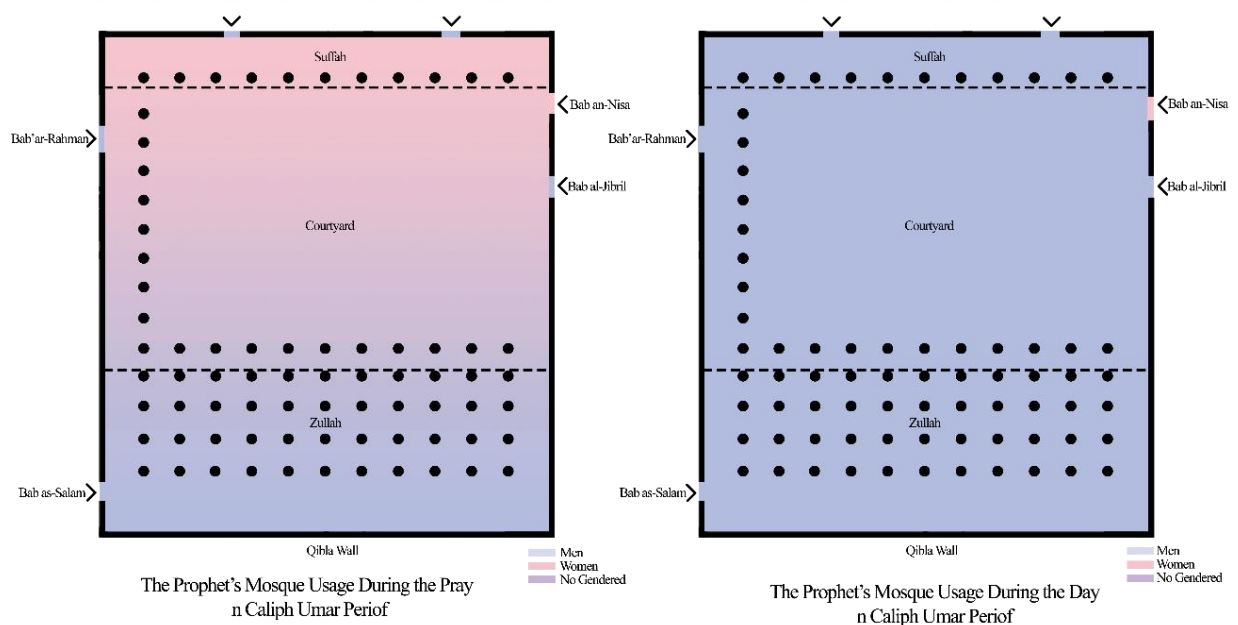


Figure 2.7 The Prophet's Mosque Usage During the Caliph Umar Period (Reproduction of plan by author)

Caliph Umar appointed two separate imams for men and women to lead the *Tarawih* prayers. Ubayy ibn Ka'b led the prayers for the men in Muhammad's mihrab,

while Sulaiman ibn Abu Hathma led the prayers for the women in the northeast corner of the mosque, in an area called the Butayha (rahba). The Butayha was constructed by Umar and designated for non-worship activities of Muslims. Until the time of Hazrat ‘Umar, it was not customary to perform the tarawih prayer in congregation in the Masjid al-Nabawi. Caliph ‘Umar appointed two separate imams for men and women to lead the Taraweeh prayer, Ubay b. Ka'b led the men at the mihrab of the Messenger of Allah, and Suleiman b. Abu Hasma led the women at the portico (rahba), which was built at the northeast corner of the mosque, in Butayha (Bozkurt & Küçükaşçı, 2004). In this area, Muslim men would gather to socialize and recite poetry. The sources do not specify whether women used the Butayha during non-prayer times. The significance of this situation can be considered in two scenarios. In the first scenario, if women used the Butayha in their daily lives, Umar's reason for asking women not to be in the mosque outside of prayer times could be explained as a way to prevent their daily dialogues from occurring in the prayer area. On the other hand, if the *Butayha* was built solely for men's use, it could be interpreted as a deliberate restriction on women's public presence, creating new space for men's socialization. Restrictions on women's participation in funeral ceremonies also began during Umar's period. Umar did not favor women attending any funeral ceremonies and even requested that women not attend his own funeral (Ibn Abd al-Rabbih, al-Iqd, III, 169). The Prophet's wife Aisha shared this view (Abdurrazaq, al-Musannaf, III, 455). The reasoning behind this view was that women's loud lamentations and excessive reactions were seen as inappropriate and leading to disorganization.

In Islamic societies, the mosque served as a social space where men and women came together, prayed, received education, and conversed. For instance, it is mentioned that men and women performed ablution together during the Prophet's time (al-Bukhari, Sahih, I, 56 (Wudu, 43); Malik ibn Anas, al-Muwatta, p. 41). However, Umar prohibited this practice (Abdurrazaq, al-Musannaf, I, 71, 76). The interpretation that men and women performing ablution together occurred before the revelation of verses related to "Hijab" is not supported by scholar al-Qastallani. (see: Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Qastallani, Irshad al-Sari li Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, I, 267-268 as cited in Savaş, 2017, p. 253).

Umar made several statements aimed at restricting interactions between men and women. For instance, he advised men, "Do not buy clothes for your wives that they can wear outside, because women who have many clothes and good adornments will eagerly

want to go out" (Ibn Abi Shaybah, *al-Musannaf*, IV/II, 771-77; Ibn Abd al-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, VII, 105; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Manaqib Umar b. al-Khattab*, p. 201). He also said, "Women are a cause of temptation; cover them with houses and treat their weaknesses with silence" (Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun al-Akhbar*, IV, 78). These statements clearly demonstrate that women's presence in public was seen as a fundamental source of social disorder. While some interpret these statements as advocating for confining women to their homes and disregarding their desires others argue that such views were quite normal within the cultural and societal context of that time (Savaş, 2017). Additionally, the restriction on women's use of public spaces extended beyond mixed-gender environments. For example, it was reinforced that women going to public baths was impermissible (Ibn al-Jawzi, *Manaqib Umar b. al-Khattab*, p. 196; Muhammad Rawwas, *Mawsu'at Fiqh Umar*, p. 342). Public baths were a primary public space for urban women and were often compared by later historians to men's coffeehouses (Alkan & Şentürk, 2009, pp. 136–201).

However, alongside these restrictions, there were also approaches that accepted and even encouraged women's participation in economic life. It is known that Umar appointed Shifa Bint Abdullah, who was literate woman, as a market inspector (*muhtasib*). This indicates that women continued their commercial activities during the caliphates, as they had in earlier periods. We know that women went to the market to shop. (al-Isfahani, *al-Aghani*, XXI, 205-206) Although Umar wanted to impose various restrictions on women's attendance at the mosque, the fact that his wife Atika was present when he was injured while leading the morning prayer shows that women continued to attend the mosque (Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, X, 253).

After Umar, the next caliph, Uthman, expanded the Prophet's Mosque (*Masjid al-Nabawi*) to accommodate the rapidly growing population of Medina and the increasing number of Muslim worshippers due to the spread of Islam. The mosque was completely demolished and rebuilt using more durable materials while maintaining the original layout. The names and locations of the doors were preserved. The designated *Bab an-Nisa* (Women's Door) remained unchanged.

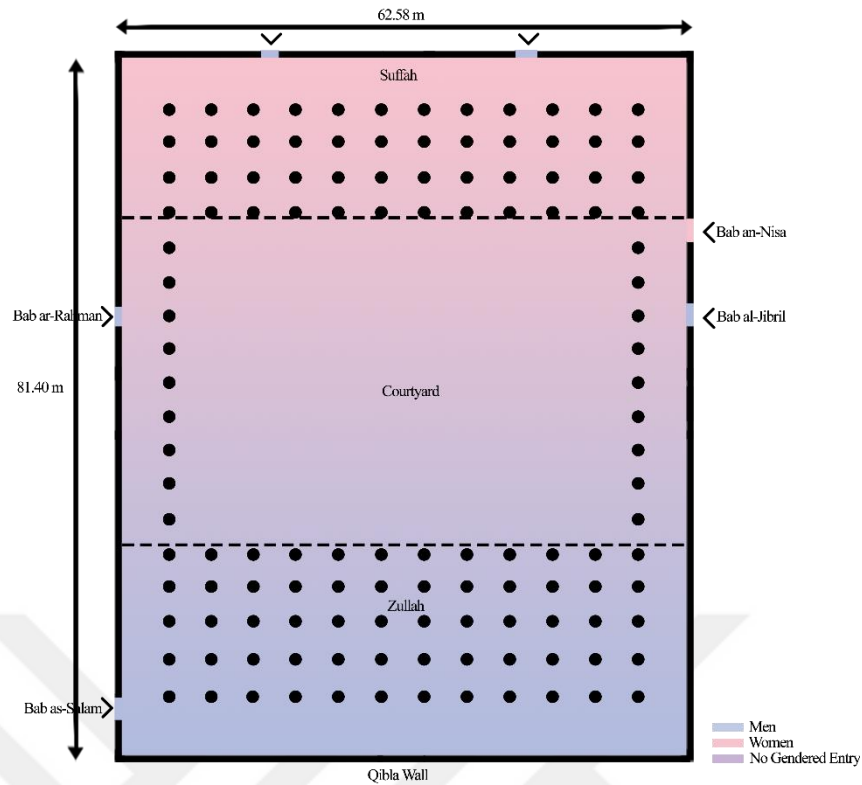


Figure 2.8 The Prophet Mosque During the Caliph Uthman

During Uthman's caliphate, there are no recorded instances of a markedly negative attitude towards women's use of public spaces. In fact, according to Ibn Sa'd, Uthman's wives, Na'ila and Umm al-Banin bint Uyayna, attended his funeral prayer held in the cemetery. After Uthman, the caliphate was taken over by Ali, the son of the Prophet's uncle Abu Talib and the Prophet's son-in-law. Ali shared Umar's stance on the restriction of women going to the baths, viewing it as consistent with Umar's policies (Jawziyya, 1982, p. 119). Within the cultural context of the time, the encouragement of women's presence in the private sphere (their homes) rather than in social life was deemed to be in the women's best interest. Many companions legitimized such restrictions with the Prophet's hadith: "I advise you to stay in your homes, for your jihad is in your home." (Ibn Hanbal, VI, p. 68) Scholars' opinions during Ali's caliphate reflect a preference against women's participation in public gatherings like weddings and funerals (Ibn Qayyim, Akhbar an-Nisa, p. 119). Narratives, primarily from men, during this period often depicted women as dangerous entities or traps set by the devil that a more repressive attitude was followed compared to the earlier period, reflecting the dominant mindset of the time. (Jāhiz, 1895, p. 57)

In conclusion, it is evident that a more repressive attitude was followed compared to the earlier period, reflecting the dominant mindset of the time. While some studies argue that these attitudes began with the institutionalization of Islam and Umar's regulations regarding social life (Savaş, 2017), other research suggests that these periods were inspired by the Prophet's governance and that attitudes detrimental to women's rights were more prevalent during the Umayyad period (Aksu, 2001).

After the Prophet's era, different practices regarding women began, linked to individuals' interpretations of Islam. Some argue that the regulations implemented during the Rashidun Caliphate were well-intentioned but later misused (Savaş, 2017). This viewpoint suggests that a small deviation during the Rashidun Caliphate expanded significantly in subsequent centuries. History indeed records significant female figures, foremost among them the Prophet's wife, Aisha. She was influential in councils, respected for her authority and knowledge, participated in battles with her husband, and led armies in post-Prophet conflicts. As the first notable female opposition figure in Islamic history, Aisha holds a prominent place in hadith scholarship. Although we see few and influential women like her in historical initiatives, some contemporary feminist studies view these exceptional roles as intriguing examples for future female liberation (Gettleman & Schaar, 2003). Leila Ahmed (1992) argues that exceptional figures like Khadijah and Aisha reflect pre-Islamic Arabia more than Islam itself. While figures such as Khadijah, Fatimah, and Aisha were highly visible in history, it should be noted that their prominence was largely due to their roles as the Prophet's wife or daughter, which earned them significant respect within society. But the reason of Prophet's other wives or daughters have remained in the background can be their characters.

Umayyads

After the period of the Four Caliphs, the Umayyad dynasty, in an effort to showcase their authority and wealth in the regions they dominated, constructed various significant structures. Three of these early Umayyad constructions hold particular historical importance: the mosques in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Medina (O'Kane & Hillebrand, 2021). These mosques were built to reflect the aesthetic and opulence of their time and served as significant public spaces within the cities. The first of these, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, was constructed under the leadership of al-Walid I. This mosque

was created by converting the Temple of Jupiter into a mosque while retaining the main framework, making it the first mosque to adopt a basilical plan instead of the traditional hypostyle plan (O’Kane & Hillebrand, 2021). The Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (The Great Mosque of Damascus) was later replicated with minor modifications in the Mosque of Córdoba approximately half a century later (Hillenbrand, 2000).

Medina holds a unique importance for Muslims as the primary location of ongoing Islamic culture. The Prophet's Mosque (Al-Masjid an-Nabawi) was expanded by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I, who added towers at the corners (Figure 2.9). While these towers are thought to have been built for the call to prayer, Bloom argues that it is premature to call them minarets. The acceptance of minarets as a fundamental element of mosque architecture dates back to the Abbasid period. (Bloom, 2020).

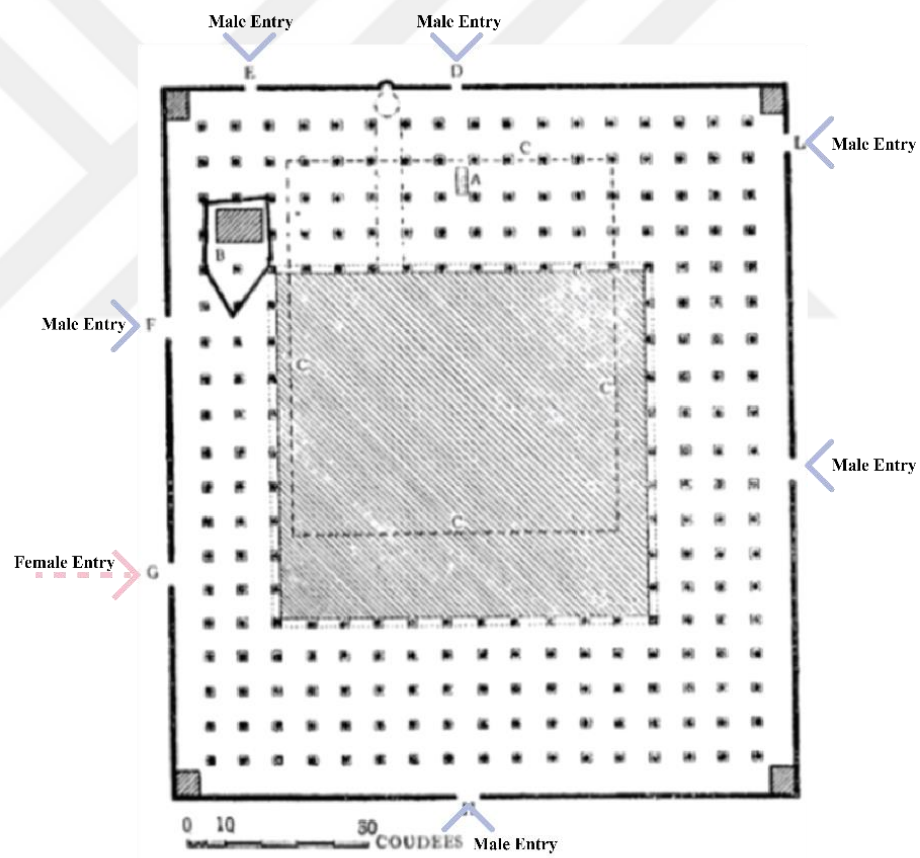


Figure 2.9 The Prophet Mosque, Medina. Sauvage’s reconstruction of plan in 707-709 (Khoury, 1996)

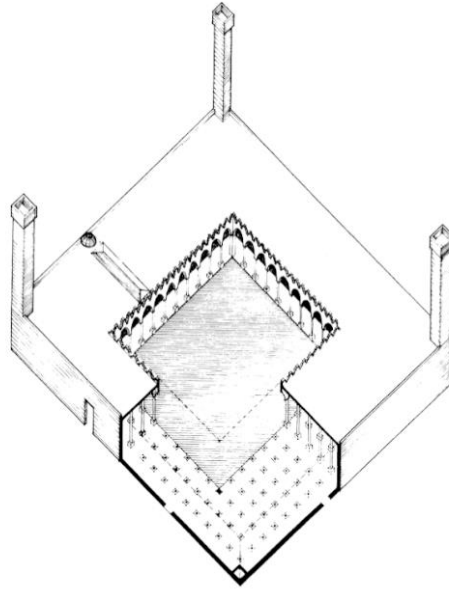


Figure 2.10 Mosque of Prophet as rebuilt by al-Walid (Hillbrand, 1994)

In North Africa and Andalusian mosques of the period, it is interesting to note that there was a designated area specifically for women, which differed from practices in the Middle East. While Hadiths do not indicate any spatial differentiation within the mosque, many Islamic scholars delivered sermons advocating for the restriction of women's access to public spaces. The Medinese historian Ibn Zabāla mentions that during the spatial revision ordered by Caliph al-Mahdi, there were specially designated arcades (*saqā'if al-nisā'*) for women. Although the term "*saqā'if*" is translated as "curtain" in Arabic, it more accurately refers to a covered area located at the rear of the mosque's enclosed courtyard (Katz, 2014, p. 120). Soon after, the Spanish Umayyad Caliph Hisham (reign 788-796) made a similar arrangement in the Great Mosque of Córdoba. This area, built as a covered arcade at the rear of the mosque, was designated for women. It is not clear whether this area was level with the ground or constructed as an elevated gallery. However, while Lucien Golvin observed raised galleries in later periods, these examples are dated to a much later time (Lambert, 1936, p. 172-175 as cited in Katz, 2014, p. 120).

Umayyads Dynisty has important women portrait in administrative and education sects. They have

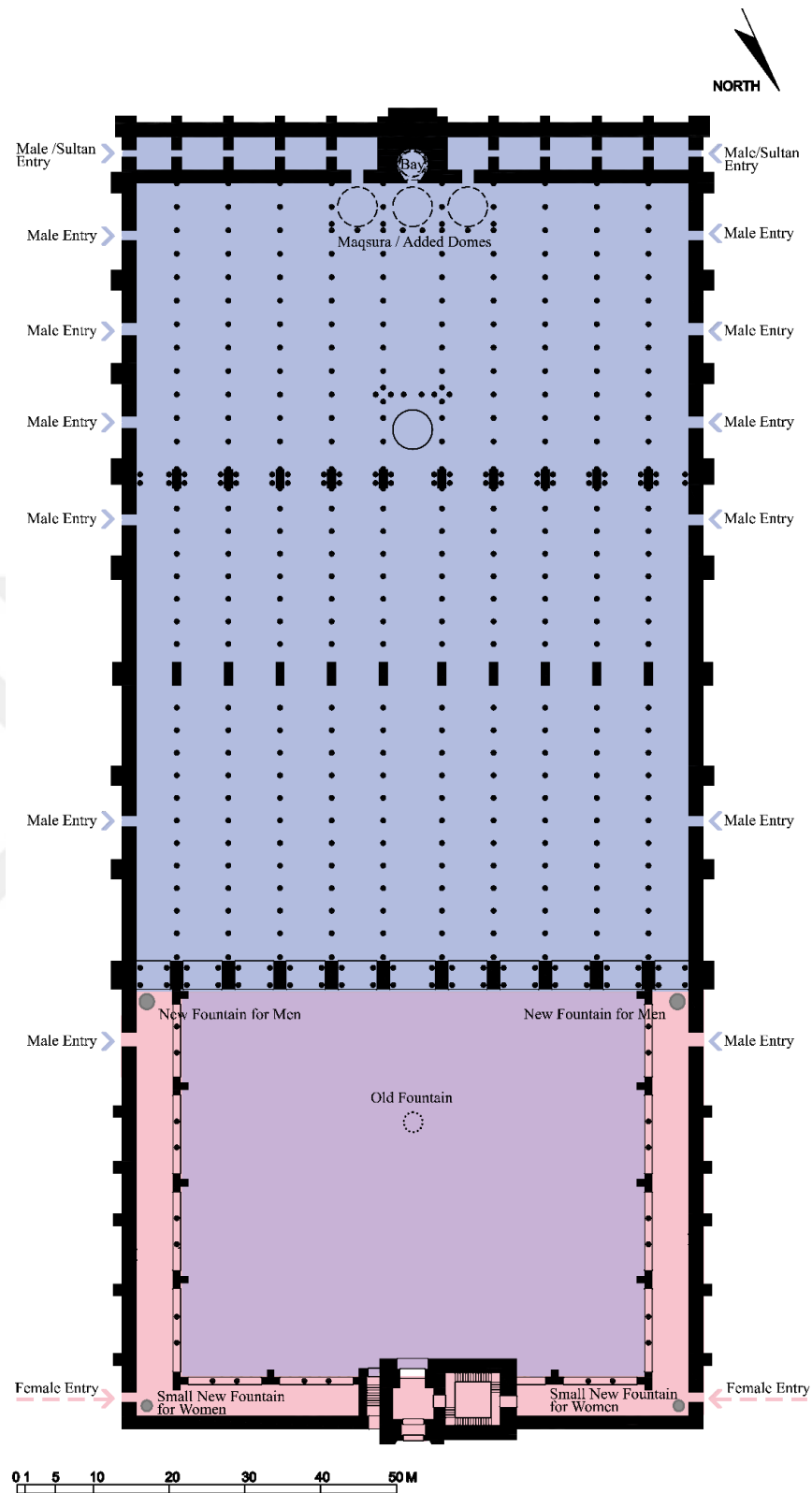


Figure 2.11 Reproduction of Dodds's Reconstruction Plan of Great Mosque of Córdoba by author (Dodds, 1992, p. 392)

Ibn al-Munāṣif reports complaints about women attending Friday prayers at the Great Mosque of Córdoba, noting that some were young and attractive, potentially causing *fitna* (disturbance) (ibid, p.122). The mosque, which was one of the few public spaces where men and women came together, increasingly viewed the presence of women as a serious issue.

Damascus, known for its Hanbali scholars, was one of the places where Hanbali jurisprudence flourished, which was the most tolerant of women's attendance at mosques, although this changed later. It is also reported that a female scholar named Umm al-Dardā taught at the main mosque in Damascus. This suggests that, around 150 years after the Hijra, women were able to use mosque spaces for worship and education. It is believed that this tolerance for women's participation was present not only in large mosques but also in village mosques (Katz, 2014, p. 149). Until the 6th to 12th century, there is evidence of specific areas designated for women in mosques. Although many scholars of the time suggested that women should be separated from male worshippers by a partition, it is known that women used the main prayer area of the mosque both as listeners and speakers. Women continued to engage in learning and education. Notable female scholars of the era made significant contributions to various fields, including Arabic language and literature, Ulume Quran, Hadith literature, Arabic poetry, prose, medicine, history, law, and other subjects. Additionally, female slaves played a prominent role in music, singing, and dancing (Malik & Rohilla, 2018, p. 174). However, it is also noted that in situations where there were significantly more men than women, the use of mosque space by women was quite limited. This situation can be said to reinforce the masculine structure of the worship space. Indeed, just as today, the ability of women to use the mosque when the male congregation is small reinforces their position as secondary users of the mosque (Katz, 2014, p.152). In later sources, sections designated for women in mosques are described as "enclosed areas" (*maqāṣīr*, sing. *maqṣūra*). This indicates that these areas included physical and visual barriers beyond just columns. The *maqṣūra* was an innovation introduced by the Umayyad rulers to protect themselves from adversaries in early Islamic mosques. However, the relationship between the *maqṣūra* and the areas for women in Córdoba, referred to as "women's galleries," is not clear. It is possible that either all or only some of the galleries were used. (Katz, 2014, p. 121)

Discussions similar to those concerning the Córdoba Mosque were also made regarding the Qarawiyyin Mosque, located within the borders of Morocco today. However, it is known that the use of maqṣūra for separating women from men in congregational prayers was not the only valid practice from the 5th to 11th century onwards. During that period, Qarawiyyin legal scholars (famous religious authority) were asked various questions about issues arising in congregational mosques. Men users reported to scholars who accepted women in the mosque about the confusion that occurred during Friday prayers due to their participation. To prevent mixing or side-by-side rows when the male congregation was large, they decided to erect a partition (maqṣūra) for women. When consulting whether this partition should be a curtain or made of bricks, they agreed that it should be fixed with bricks. However, one of the students objected by stating that nothing that was not present in the early times should be introduced into the mosque without consulting the scholars. Among the religious scholars of the time, El-Lahmi:

If men need the space where women are praying, so that if men are to pray there, women should not come there first, nothing should be built there and women should be prohibited from coming; men have more right to it. If men are not numerous and do not need this space, it is good to build a partition and barrier between men and women." In response, Abd al-Hamid simply said: "If the construction conceals women and does not harm the mosque or the worshipers, it should be done. This is a matter of prudence (huwa 'alā qadr al-ictihād)." (Katz, 2014, pp. 123-124)

According to the investigation's statement, it is noteworthy that women were restricted to the maqṣūra only during prayer times. Sources confirm the construction of partition walls. After the mosque's expansion between 875 and 902, the following explanations about the structure are noted:

"The mosque has ten doors and a separate maqṣūra area designated for women. There is another wall between this area and the mosque, which is perforated (muharrem) and skillfully crafted (muḥkam al-'amal)." (Bakri as cited in Katz, 2014, p. 124)

Other North African mosques offered a distinct architectural separation for women's areas from the main worship space. In the two main mosques of Fez, the Qarawiyyin and the Andalusian mosques, separate spaces were allocated for women. At

least from the 8th and 14th century onwards, the Qarawiyyin mosque had a women's prayer room (*beytü'l-nisā`*) located behind the courtyard (*bi-mu'akhkhar al-ṣaḥn*), with its own external door. The mosque had two small doors specifically for women, while men had access through fifteen larger doors. (Miranda, 1964 as cited in Katz, 2014, p. 124)

A modern source claims that during the reign of Emir Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (1286-1307), the judge al-Maḡlī, who supervised renovations at the mosque, constructed an upper level with columns (*riwāq*) for women on top of the mosque's storage area (*mustawda`*). This space would have allowed women to follow the ongoing teaching sessions below. This would be consistent with modern data regarding the mosque's layout. A plan of the mosque from the 1920s shows what appears to be an elevated "women's mosque" in the northwest corner of the mosque (and thus in one of the rear corners of the courtyard), accessible by a staircase. An account by a Western traveler in 1918 mentions "a raised hall above the *mustawda`* or court where women come to pray"—possibly a misheard reference to the *mustawda`* or a similar term. Lucien Golvin notes that the small size of this space suggests that women were no longer participating in large congregational prayers at that time. (Golvin, 1918 as cited in Katz, 2014, p. 124) However, while awaiting further evidence, it is difficult to definitively determine when or for what purposes women might have been restricted to this area.

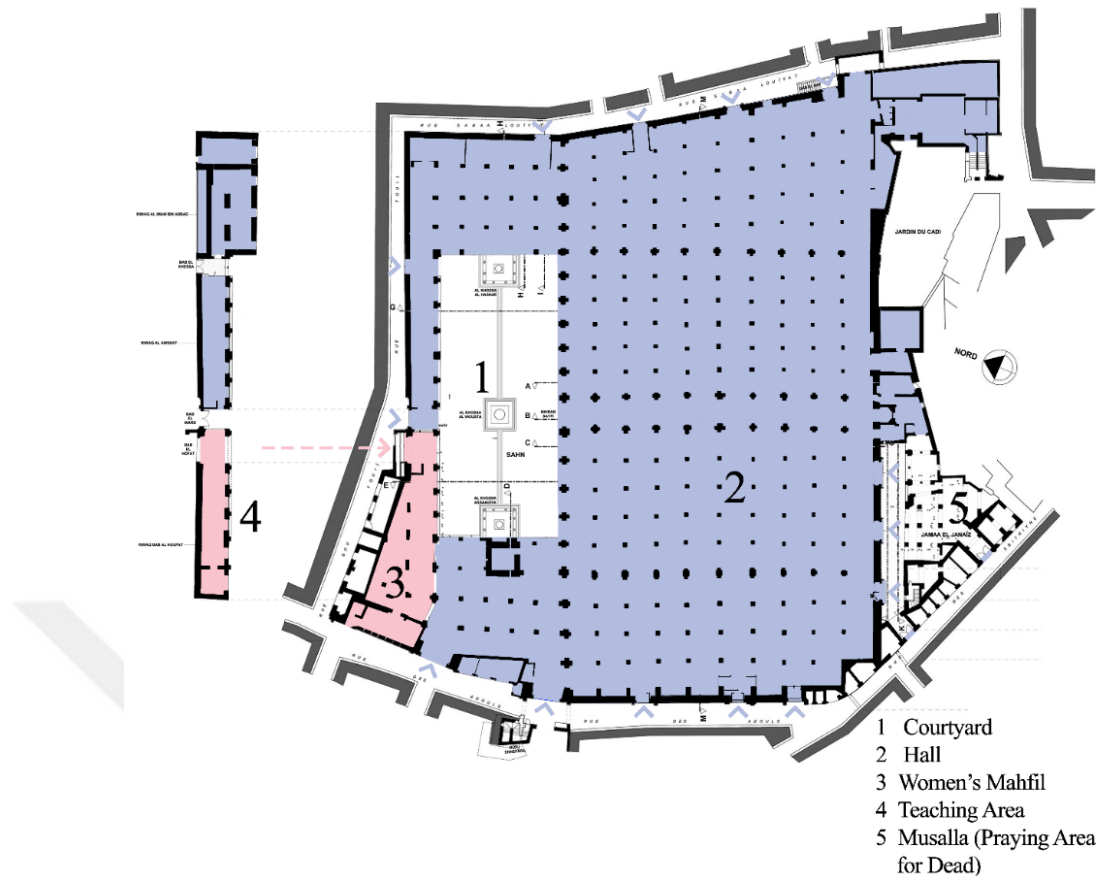


Figure 2.12 Reproduction of Qarawîyîn Mosque Plan by author (from The Aga Khan Visual Archive)

In light of the Caliphate of Umar practice, the entrance to the mosque was initially divided into sections for men and women, and this practice was repeated in subsequent periods. On the other hand, the need to separate the area where women worship could be attributed to controlling the growing population or to the potential *fitna* believed to be caused by the presence of men and women together. Women's positions within the mosque were initially defined by covered areas surrounded by columns, and later by architectural elements that physically and visually separated the spaces. Therefore, the usage of the later constructed *maqṣūra* areas allows for various assumptions. While women's active use of the mosque was restricted, it was not completely prevented. The fountains built in the mosque's courtyard, designated for women, also confirm the presence of a significant female congregation.

It is widely acknowledged that as the Umayyad period drew to a close, a growing number of views and perspectives that were not aligned with the fundamental tenets of

Islam began to emerge. One of the reasons for this is thought to be the ascent of individuals from disparate cultural backgrounds to influential positions within Islamic society (Savaş, 2017). To illustrate, the Umayyad governor Ziyad b. Abih forbade women from riding valuable animals and employed violence against those who disobeyed, thereby enforcing this prohibition. (el-Beâzü'i, Ensâb, IV/A, 207) Bukhari makes reference to the practice of women and men worshipping in the mosque during the Eid al-Adha in the Umayyad period. Furthermore, mosques continued to serve a pivotal role in women's education and instruction during the Umayyad period, just as they had in preceding eras. The restrictions on the education and usage of the masjid that originated during the Rashidun Caliphate period persisted into the Umayyad period. However, various spatial interventions were also observed. One of the complaints raised by Islamic scholars regarding women's use of mosques was validated by the statement of Aisha, who argued that women's attendance at the mosque should be prohibited. These complaints by the period's scholars demonstrate the continued presence of women in mosques.

Savaş, the approach to women's education and teaching during the Umayyad period closely resembles that of the caliphal periods, asserting that restrictions on women evolved in the later periods. (Savaş, 2017, p. 407) In contrast, Aksu (2001) argue that from the Umayyad period onward, there was a deviation from the gender equality principles prescribed by Islam, leading to the re-emergence of issues regarding women's roles in social, political, economic, and religious life. Some narrations, *fatwas*, and interpretations have been made to reflect negative rulings regarding women. Moreover, with the deterioration of the times, it has been suggested in religious texts that the presence of women in mosques could lead to *fitna*, making it undesirable for women to come to the mosque and join the congregation, although there was no objection to elderly and unattractive women coming to the mosque. In this context, women users were categorized as children, youth, elderly, or beautiful/ugly, with the elderly and unattractive being considered safe from the perspective of *fitna* and thus allowed.

Abbasids

During the Abbasid period, significant changes in the economic and social structures had notable impacts on women's roles within society. The increase in economic prosperity, along with urbanization and the development of trade, brought about major shifts in social life, leading to significant advancements in science and arts. The period

saw clear distinctions in the roles and statuses of women, particularly between free women and concubines. Free women were required to cover their faces to maintain their social respectability, whereas concubines (slave women) were prohibited from covering their faces (Caswell, 2011, p. 270). This distinction highlighted the social class differences within the society. Additionally, it was stipulated that respectable women should remain in their private spaces and never reveal their faces. These practices marked significant factors affecting women's visibility and roles within social spaces. The high level of prosperity and development during this era influenced social norms and the roles of women in society, making it a crucial period for understanding the evolution of social structures and women's positions.

Various sources indicate that during public celebrations, such as the *mawlid* (the celebration of the Prophet's birth), high-status free women would observe the ceremonies alongside men. No sources mention the presence of slave women at these celebrations. Richardson (2009) notes that noble women rarely used public spaces and explores the implications of this behavior. Women visible in public reinforce social hierarchies and contribute to the seclusion of noble women who avoid public exposure (Abbott, 1986; Richardson, 2009, p. 301). Another consequence of this is the perception of appearing in court as shameful and dishonorable for women, as it contradicts the widespread practice from Late Antiquity where high-ranking women should avoid public display. Their behavior likely served as a model for other women.

From the h. 9th to 14th (h.3rd to 9th c.) after the advent of Islam, the qadi court became a domain for men and lower-status women (Richardson, 2009, p. 301). A similar perception is noted in later periods: in the 15th century, Hans Dernschwam wrote that women preferred to worship at home and that only "disreputable" women went to the mosque, while Nicolas de Nicolay supported the view that women of authority and fame did not attend the mosque (Katz, 2014, p. 181). Thus, it is concluded that the idea that a Muslim woman's public presence could diminish her status has roots extending back to the 9th century.

In the sources about the Abbasid period, various assumptions regarding the social status of women are noted. According to Leila Ahmed's studies, the erosion of women's status in Islamic societies began during the time of the second caliph. Efforts to distance

women from mosques, which started during that period, were solidified during the Abbasid era. (Ahmed, 1992) Ahmed notes that the decline in women's societal status became more pronounced during the Abbasid period. She also observes that the status of slavery, functioning as a sexual object, became more widespread during this time:

"The practices and lifestyle arrangements of the dominant classes in the Abbasid period were such that, in a subtle and often overt manner, the terms woman, slave, and sexual object became nearly indistinguishable. These practices and the concepts they produced informed the dominant ideology and affected how Islam was perceived, interpreted, and legislated during this period." (Ahmed, 1992, p. 67)

Ahmed (1992) further notes that the views of the famous Abbasid scholar Imam Ghazali on women are more closely aligned with those of Tertullian and Augustine than with what is expressed in the Qur'an. This alignment is attributed to the integration of the patriarchal understanding inherent to Islam with the pre-existing patriarchal systems in that region. Given that nearly all of the caliphs' marriages served political purposes, and considering the thousands of concubines in the harem culture, marriages with free women or official marriages aimed at advancing political relations were significantly more complex compared to those with concubines, especially in terms of women's legal rights (Gordon & Hain, 2017). El-Cheikh relates the social shift in early Islamic imperialism to the ongoing culture from the pre-Islamic period, suggesting that the roles assigned to women and their relationship with male authority established deep social connections (El-Cheikh, 2015). Hasan (1985, II/433) points out that although women began to occupy various state roles, their influence in public life was different. However, some sources argue that during the early Abbasid period, women had a recognized authority and status, even if not equal to men. When the Caliph al-Muqtadir was very young, his mother, Shaghab Hatun, managed the state for 23 years. During this time, she not only built hospitals and public buildings but also appointed a woman as head of the *Diwan al-Mazalim*, making a notable first (Gündüz, 2012). These details suggest that the experiences of women from different social classes varied, yet the presence of male authority was evident and directly influenced women's status in society and their participation in public life. In the practice of mosque construction, the architectural structure of mosques was typically hypostyle in plan with internal courtyards. They built monumental structures using brick and constructed the first known minarets in the form

of towers (Bloom, 2013; Petersen, 2002). Visual compositions created with pointed arches and wall decorations produced with plaster were fundamental elements used in mosque architecture. Due to various conflicts in the region and the perishability of the materials used, many of these structures have been lost over time. Today, the Ibn Tulun Mosque is one of the best-preserved Abbasid mosques.

During this period, the Abbasid caliph al-Walid expanded the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. The city of Medina was frequently targeted due to *Sunni-Shia* conflicts and was used as a political power display. Consequently, the architectural morphology and function of the mosque were also affected (Omer, 2016). The mosque, which retained its rectangular form, had ten additional columns and five new *saqā'if* (covered areas) added to the women's section from the courtyard side (al-Quāitī, 2007; Omer, 2016; İsmail, 1998, p. 45).

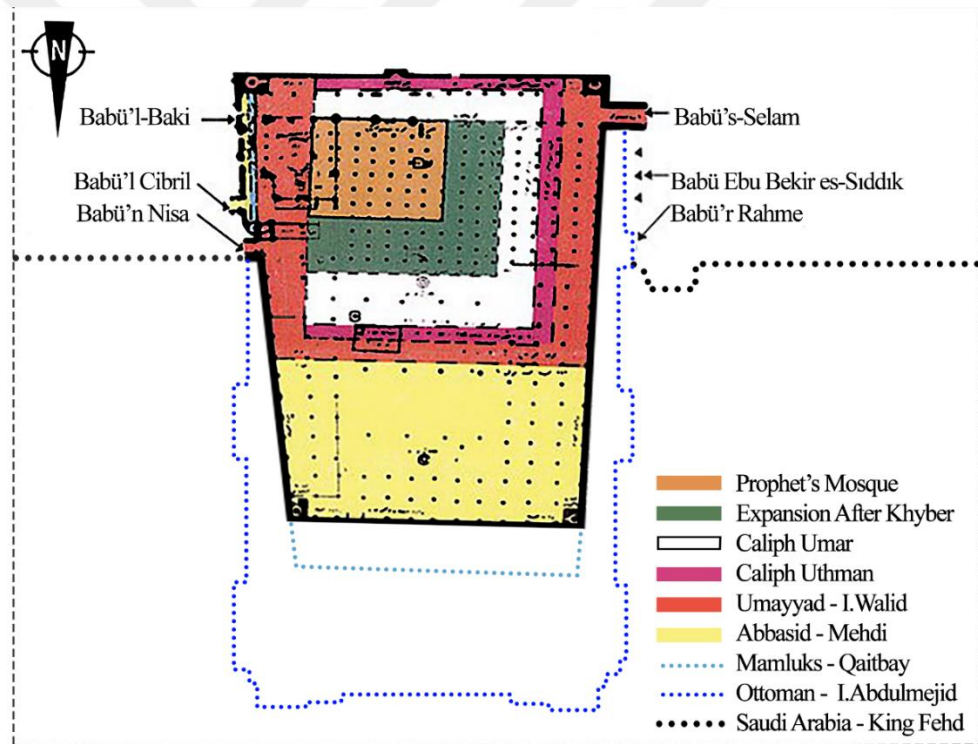


Figure 2.13 Reproduction of Masjid-e nabawi's Expansion Plan by author

According to Çam, the first spatial arrangement for the position of women in mosques occurred in 870 when the governor of Mecca separated the women's area from the men's by stretching ropes between columns in mosques. (Çam, 1999) In the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, it is known that there were three separate galleries for women in 913 (as cited in Çetinaslan, 2012, p. 200). Çam notes that due to the loss of function of

these specialized areas over time, it is difficult to determine which of these were specifically for the *muezzin* and which were for women. (Eroğlu, 2014, p. 65)

The Seljuk Turks

The Great Seljuk period was a transitional era where Central Asian Turkic traditions were combined with Islamic law and customs. Women, particularly those who were the wives or mothers of rulers, played significant roles in state administration. As a continuation of Turkish traditions, they governed in the absence of the ruler (Can, 2011 cited in (Gündüz Küskü, 2021, p. 61). Marriages during this period were often political and involved free women, influenced heavily by the "*Harem*" culture that originated during the Umayyad period.

It is noted that women in the Seljuk dynasty were quite active in social life. They were not directly involved in political activities or decision-making councils. However, representations of women in social life during the 12th and 13th centuries are frequently seen in period tiles (Öney, 2021). It should be noted that the status of women varied according to social class. The available information pertains to women within the dynasty and cities, so the situation of rural women remains unclear. In contrast to other Islamic societies of the period, the use of public space was relatively flexible. Women used public baths comfortably, and according to the traveler Clavijo, women went shopping in the market while wearing white robes and masks made of horsehair (though the term "mask" used by the author likely refers to a face covering or veil). (Katz, 2014)

During the Great Seljuk period, the Bacıyan-ı Rum was a significant institution functioning as the female branch of the Ahi organization, allowing women to actively work in various professions. Women could use mosques and madrasas for worship and education, and they played active roles, especially within *tarikat* (Sufi orders). They participated in Friday prayers and mosque gatherings, and were also present in official ceremonies and celebrations within the city (İzbudak, 2017, pp. 647–649).

During this period, women's visibility in social life and in mosques is evident from the work "*Fustât uladâle*" by Mehmed bin Mahmud el-Hatib, written during the reign of Sultan II. Gıyâseddin Mes'ûd. The responsibilities of the *muhtesip* (market supervisor) included ensuring that stories were not told, poetry was not recited, and women were only

allowed to sit in the back rows in mosques (Turan, 1988). However, according to the Mesnevi, men and women attended sermons together without any separating elements (İzbudak, 2017, pp. 647–649).

The influence of Islam on ceramics is minimal, with only a few examples featuring veiled women motifs (Öney, 2021). Four notable women from the Seljuk period who were known for their contributions to religious buildings include: Raziye Devlet Hatun, Mahperi Huand Hatun, Melike İsmetü'd-Dünya ve'd-Din, and Gömeç Hatun. These women, who were prominent even before their marriages to sultans, were exceptional figures who inspired many in later periods. Their involvement in the construction of mosques, hospitals, inns, and complexes demonstrates their financial strength and their use of wealth for architectural projects (Gündüz Küskü, 2021, p. 90).

Seljuk mosque architecture is classified into four groups by Doğan Kuban: "hypostyle mosque" "prayer niche with domed mosques," "special type mosques," and "mosques modeled after churches" (Kuban, 1974). Among these, the Diyarbakır Ulu Mosque, which replicates the design of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, is one of the earliest examples from Anatolian Turkish architecture. The design includes a spacious courtyard with a multi-columned main space extending lengthwise. The plan featuring a central dome over the prayer niche emerges and becomes established in Artuqid mosques (Altun, 1988). The four-iwan mosques with large courtyards of the Great Seljuks in Iran are not adopted in Anatolia. Another significant type of mosque from this period includes those with wooden columns, which stand out due to their open and well-lit sections and intricate woodwork. Like the Sivas Ulu Mosque, are supported by numerous columns and piers. Domed prayer niche mosques, such as the Silvan Ulu Mosque, feature one or more domes over the prayer niche. Special type mosques, emerging in the 12th century with a unique Anatolian plan, include a light lantern or domed lantern aligned with the prayer niche dome; an example is the Kayseri Huand Hatun Mosque. Basilical planned mosques use prayer halls extending perpendicular to the mihrab, such as the Niğde Alaaddin Mosque.

No distinct separations or barriers regarding women's active use of social and mosque spaces have been identified from this period. However, due to the lack of detailed imagery, hypothetical plans cannot be developed.

Early Ottoman Period

The Ottoman Empire's multi-ethnic and multi-layered structure complicates this assessment. The fundamental issue stems from the religious arguments surrounding women's presence in public spaces, which contain inherent dilemmas and inconsistencies in their application. Indeed, free Muslim women could own property and apply to various public administrations, yet they could also face spatial restrictions and prohibitions at different times. The persistent repetition of increasingly stringent rules can be seen as evidence that these rules were not widely accepted by society and were often violated. Therefore, the use of space within the social structure of the period could also vary.

In the early Ottoman period, particularly in Bursa, the first capital, and Edirne, many examples of mosques can be observed. The hypostyle mosques and single-dome mosque types that developed from the earliest mosque period are prominent examples in Anatolia. An early example of the single-dome mosque practice in the Ottoman period is the Yusuf Sinan Mosque. The earliest single-dome mosques built during the Ottoman period are the Alaeddin Bey Mosque and the Hacı Özbek Mosque, dating back to the 14th century and still standing today.

Over time, the interior of mosques expanded not only in one direction but in all four directions. Features similar to iwans began to form, but these niches were less defined. Despite the primitive similarities with church architecture, Ottoman mosque architecture evolved from iwan-type mosques to a diverse range of typologies, including those with enclosed iwans. The deepening of niches and the growth of iwans as separate but connected spaces resulted in complex mosque designs, or külliyes, which became a defining architectural feature of Ottoman architecture (Kuran, 1968).

In the 14th century, the prominent feature of Ottoman architecture is the integration of madrasa and mosque functions within multifunctional mosque designs. In Anatolia, where the multi-columned mosque type persisted, the prayer niche's (mihrab) front dome, which began to specialize during the Abbasid period, was fully covered with a dome in Anatolian mosques. A second dome was placed over the prayer niche, leaving space underneath for a fountain, giving the mosque a unique character (Kuban, 1995).

Following the 14th century, zaviyes and tabhane sections, initially integrated with mosque functions, gradually evolved into independent structures with reduced significance compared to the mosque's primary functions. The Üçşerefeli Mosque, built in the mid-15th century, is a prototype of what are known as "Sultanic Mosques" or "Salatin Mosques" (Kuban, 1974). This mosque, which synthesizes the multi-columned Arab mosques, features an interior with a main dome supported by two lateral domes. It is also the first mosque in Ottoman architecture to include a portico (revak) and an inner courtyard. Additionally, the minarets are organically added to the four corners of the structure, marking an important transitional design (Kuban, 1974). After this development, the construction of mosques dedicated solely to worship continued, along with single-dome prayer halls. Although various forms of Ottoman mosques existed, the construction of such mosques continued with minimal changes until the 16th century. Most mosques built in the 16th century, many attributed to Sinan, are categorized based on the number of supports carrying the dome.

Kuban describes the primary goal of early Ottoman mosques as structurally enlarging the dome. The domes of early single-dome mosques gradually expanded, and particularly in Anatolia, porticos were added to serve as "Semi open congregational space". Early Ottoman mosque architecture represents various experiments with expanding domes (Kuban, 1974).

In the Ottoman region, predominantly following the Hanafi school of thought, two key distinctions should be considered. First, as mentioned earlier, there can sometimes be parallels between *fatwas* or edicts and period practices, though there can also be a tense and contrasting relationship between these and daily life. Second, Istanbul, being the capital of the state, is significantly different from rural areas in terms of lifestyle and conditions. European travelers' observations of the early Ottoman period are numerous, but these observations are almost entirely written by male travelers. This has often led to misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the "Harem" areas in cultures with harem traditions, as these foreign travelers could not directly experience them.

But in general terms, in the Ottoman tradition, the man's world was distinctly public, while the woman's world was relegated to the private sphere. (Çakır, Ottoman Women's Movement, 1994: 158) While the mosque and the bazaar were reserved for the

man, the private sphere of social life, the civil dwelling, i.e. the home, was reserved for the woman. Apart from Friday prayers, only men would take part in Friday prayers, which also had a political character. This explains why mosques were understood as a public space reserved for men (Parlak, 2020a).

In the early 15th century, Johann Schiltberger, who was captured at the Battle of Nicopolis and served Sultan Bayezid for about six years, reported that "they do not allow any woman in the temple, so long as they are inside" (Telfer, 1879, cited in Katz, 2014). The practice of women being segregated from men in religious spaces by covering themselves was quite common in many Christian churches before the 16th century (Kalpaklı and Andrews, 2005, cited in Katz, 2014). It is noteworthy that travelers of the period who observed "women's sections" or areas where women were not allowed in mosques interpreted these as "gender-segregated worship" rather than "women's exclusion from mosque spaces." Scottish traveler William Lithgow noted similar practices in Protestant churches in Southern and Eastern Europe and described it as "a very modest and necessary observation" (Lithgow, 1906, cited in Katz, 2014). In the same century, Hans Dernschwam observed that women preferred to worship at home and that only "disreputable" women went to mosques, while Nicolas de Nicolay supported the view that women of authority and fame did not go to mosques. Although there appears to be a relationship between women's mosque use and their status, it can be inferred that their use was not entirely free. (Katz, 2014)

Later, it was frequently mentioned that women were not allowed to attend congregational prayers in mosques, with European travelers indicating that women's access to mosques was restricted because they were believed not to go to heaven (Schweigge, 1964, cited in Katz, 2014). In the 16th century, a decree issued by the Judge (*Kadı*) of Eyüp prohibited women from visiting confectioner's shops, with the reason being to prevent women from meeting men who were not lawful to them. The decree threatened heavy penalties for shopkeepers if the prohibition was not observed.

It was observed that women's sections appeared to be separated by curtains but were not necessarily at a different level from the main worship area. By the 20th century, balconies had become a paradigm of mosque design and were often anachronistically

projected into the past. (Katz, 2014) Overall, it reinforces the general impression that, based on the Ottoman Empire's practical experience, a limited number of women had access to mosques, but were spatially separated from the rest of the congregation and hidden from the view of men.

The specifics of whether women could use mosques on special occasions and, if so, exactly where they were located in the space remain uncertain. Therefore, creating a gender-segregated hypothetical plan for the period is challenging.

2.4 The Modernisation of Muslim Women: The Ottoman Experiences

The influence of Western styles in architecture is generally considered to have begun during the Tulip Period (1718-1730). During this time, innovations, especially in decoration, allowed the representation of natural motifs. This new style, known as Ottoman Baroque, is thought to have begun with the construction of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque during the reign of Sultan III. Osman (Kuban et al., 2010). The mosque is distinguished by its simple single-dome schema and its abstract vegetal decoration on the exterior, as well as its circular courtyard. The Ayazma Mosque (1758-1760) and the Beylerbeyi Mosque (1777-1778), built in the latter half of the 18th century, are among the most characteristic examples of this style. The most notable examples of this period are the fountains, which constituted an important public space for the people of that time (Hamadeh, 2008).

The Tanzimat period's establishment of Western-style schools marked the first time women were officially invited into the public sphere in Ottoman history. This process resulted in a new workforce transfer from home to the public sphere and women assuming direct public responsibilities (Akşit 2009: 8, Mardin 2000: 231, as cited in (Işık, 2018). According to Işık (2017), various improvements were made for Muslim women living in rural or urban areas. Court records from that period indicate that many women sought legal redress for domestic violence, theft of jewelry, and other grievances. Although the fact that women could approach public courts and find witnesses does not provide a

complete profile, it indicates that women had various claims to rights in public and legal spheres. Especially in the 19th century, improvements in transportation led to a significant increase in the number of visitors to the Ottoman Empire.

The regulation of women's street clothing by edicts dates back to the 16th century (Aktaş, 1989, p. 56). From that period onward, sultans, adding the title of caliph, began to pay close attention to women's attire. However, during the same century, the increasing interactions with Europe and the arrival of various goods in Ottoman markets meant that urban Muslim women could not remain indifferent to this diversity. The issuance of edicts related to clothing as a new indicator of power is directly related to this.

Lady Montagu, in her "Turkish Letters" written in the early 18th century, noted that women could use public spaces freely if they were completely covered. Montagu, who was more in contact with the elite of the period, described women's harem life with admiration and luxury (Montagu, 1996, pp. 75–81). She compared the baths used by women for socializing to the coffeehouses of men. Montagu, who experienced the harem firsthand, pointed out that a distorted and inaccurate portrait of Turkish women had been drawn by other male travelers. Similarly, De Tott, who wrote in the same period, mentioned that women were rarely allowed to go to mosques and, when they did, were completely covered and prayed behind darkened screens (Katz, 2014, p. 182).

In 1725, a decree was issued prohibiting women from coming to Hagia Sophia and other imperial mosques on sacred days⁴. This prohibition could be interpreted as allowing women to use the space on other days, as the ban was specific to special days. The action aimed to prevent confusion during special days by clearly prohibiting women's participation. About a hundred years later, a similar decree was issued warning women who gathered in Sultanahmet Square for *Mawlid* celebrations, prohibiting them from going out for two days. Decrees that clearly limited the presence of women in public spaces were repeated at certain times of the year. Women were forbidden from traveling

⁴ İŞS., Bab Mahkemesi, nr. 97, vr. 20a.2, 21 Şevval 1137 / 3 July 1725

in carriages around city squares, lingering in markets, and visiting mosques where the Sacred Relic was displayed, and were required to wear closed clothing.⁵

In 1748, the routes that women could travel by carriage were specified, and in 1765/1766, women were ordered to stay at home on festive days and were prohibited from going to the market or wandering around the neighborhood. A decree issued in 1752 mentioned that women who went to picnic spots in the summer were considered to dress inappropriately and potentially lead others astray. These decrees, which did not allow the presence of both genders together in transportation or recreational areas, regulated which days and districts each gender could travel and visit. For women, the days they were allowed to go out were Fridays or Sundays, depending on the district (Takvim-i Vakayi, 1263 as cited in Işık, 2017). In 1789, boatmen who carried women traveling without male family members were penalized, and women wearing inappropriate clothing were threatened with death (E. E. Akşit, 2005, p. 47). Especially between 1802 and 1808, seven court registers specified the old-style clothing that Muslim women were required to wear in public spaces, and Western-style clothing was explicitly prohibited.

In 1803-1804, although there had long been a ban on women visiting Hagia Sophia, the prohibition was reinforced during the three holy months considered sacred in Islam.⁶ From 1821 to 1830, regularly included bans on women's clothing and reminded them not to wander in the market and bazaar. From 1827 onwards, women were prohibited from going out during *Ramadan* and *Eid al-Adha*.

The minimal mention of women in public spaces in Tanzimat Period novels and the positioning of women's primary domain as the home is one of the outstanding features of Tanzimat novels. The notion that women would be tainted in the public sphere, which is described as a complex and unsafe atmosphere, led to the depiction of those who held this view as Westernized characters. Women's participation and modernization in the public sphere were considered a loss of privacy in various works (Günaydın, 2007) In early modernizing novels, well-regarded female characters are those rescued by male heroes

⁵ İŞS. Bab Mahkemesi, nr. 154, vr. 13a.1, 15b.1, 17a.2, 19a.1, 20a.1, 22b.1, 24a.3, 25b.3, 28a.2, 28a.4, 28b.2, 36b.3, 51b.2, 65a.1, 66a.1, 70b.1, 80a.1, 80b.1, Fî 7 Z sene 1237- Fî 8 N sene 1245 / 26 July 1822 - 2 March 1830

⁶ (İŞS, Bab Mahkemesi, nr. 97, vr. 20a.2, 21 Şevval 1137 / 3 Temmuz 1725)

and are depicted as harmonious. Conversely, overly Westernized women are portrayed as falling into immorality and working to trap male heroes. The portrayal of women as good or bad can also be interpreted through their environments. Good women are shown at home and in minimal communication with men, while overly Westernized female characters are often found in mixed environments with men. In later periods, the relationship between *haremlık* and *selamlık* and the accompanying spatial boundaries were more clearly defined by authority. For instance, the term "places for women" was included in the Mecelle written in 1888, where places for women were defined as kitchens, wellheads, and courtyards. Owners of these spaces were responsible for preventing them from being visible from outside, and legally prohibited outsiders from seeing them.(Güçlü, 2023)

In the Ottoman Empire, new public spaces for the people began to be created only after the 18th century, with the Sa'dâbâd Gardens. During this period, travelers frequently mentioned the presence of women in these areas. In these recreational spaces, women were much more visible than in the city (Hamadeh, 2008). A document from 1811 notes that Muslim women could only visit designated areas on Fridays, separate from men, and that it was forbidden for Muslim women to stop and sit by car in places like Maslak, Şişli, Levent, and Pangaltı. Decrees justified the strict monitoring of women as a means to prevent societal disruption and emphasized that women's presence in public spaces needed to be restricted for this reason

When the empire came to the end of the 19th century, women were aware of their secondary status as gender and developed a consciousness of womanhood by questioning their position compared to men. They used women's magazines and associations as primary tools for expressing and solving their problems (Çakır, 2021). Women's magazines provided a new platform for women to seek rights in public spaces. They anonymously criticized various issues, from segregation in public transport to new clothing bans. The feminist movements in Europe were rising in parallel with Ottoman women's movements. Women's demands varied depending on their class and status. The process that began with women's magazines and associations aimed to become a voice for new representation. The first to initiate women's periodicals were enlightened men, who established the *Terakki-i Muadderât* magazine in 1868. This magazine, which included various anonymous women's letters, addressed women's social status. It was

followed by many other magazines such as *Ayine*, *Aile*, *İnsaniyet*, *Hanımlar*, *Mürüvvet*, and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* was the first newspaper with a long publishing history where most of the chief editor and writers were women. Many notable figures, such as Fatma Aliye, Emine Semiye, Şair Nigar, and Gülistan İsmet, actively participated in the newspaper. (Çakır, 2021, p. 79)

Women first organized themselves through charity associations and later continued their existence around various purposes. They engaged in various social volunteer activities such as contributing to women's education, including women in working life, and providing dowry assistance to brides. Halide Edib was one of the prominent female figures of the period. Through her establishment of the *Teali Nisvan* (Society for the Advancement of the Status of Women) and her numerous writings, she fought for women's visibility. In her memoirs, she describes the changing empire and the struggle processes. Her memory of the Süleymaniye Mosque from her childhood during Ramadan nights with her grandmother provides detailed information about mosque use during those times. On the first day of Ramadan, she mentions women gathered around the preacher, in greater numbers than men, in the mosque she visited with her family. This conversation is likely one of the moments of prayer before or after the sermon. The author mentions that they moved to the upper gallery during the Taraweeh prayers and could see the imam and the congregation from the gallery. She describes the mosque and its courtyard as a lively festive space. (Edib, 1923) The reproduction plan of Suleymaniye Mosque below with gendered map according to Edib. (Figure 2.14)

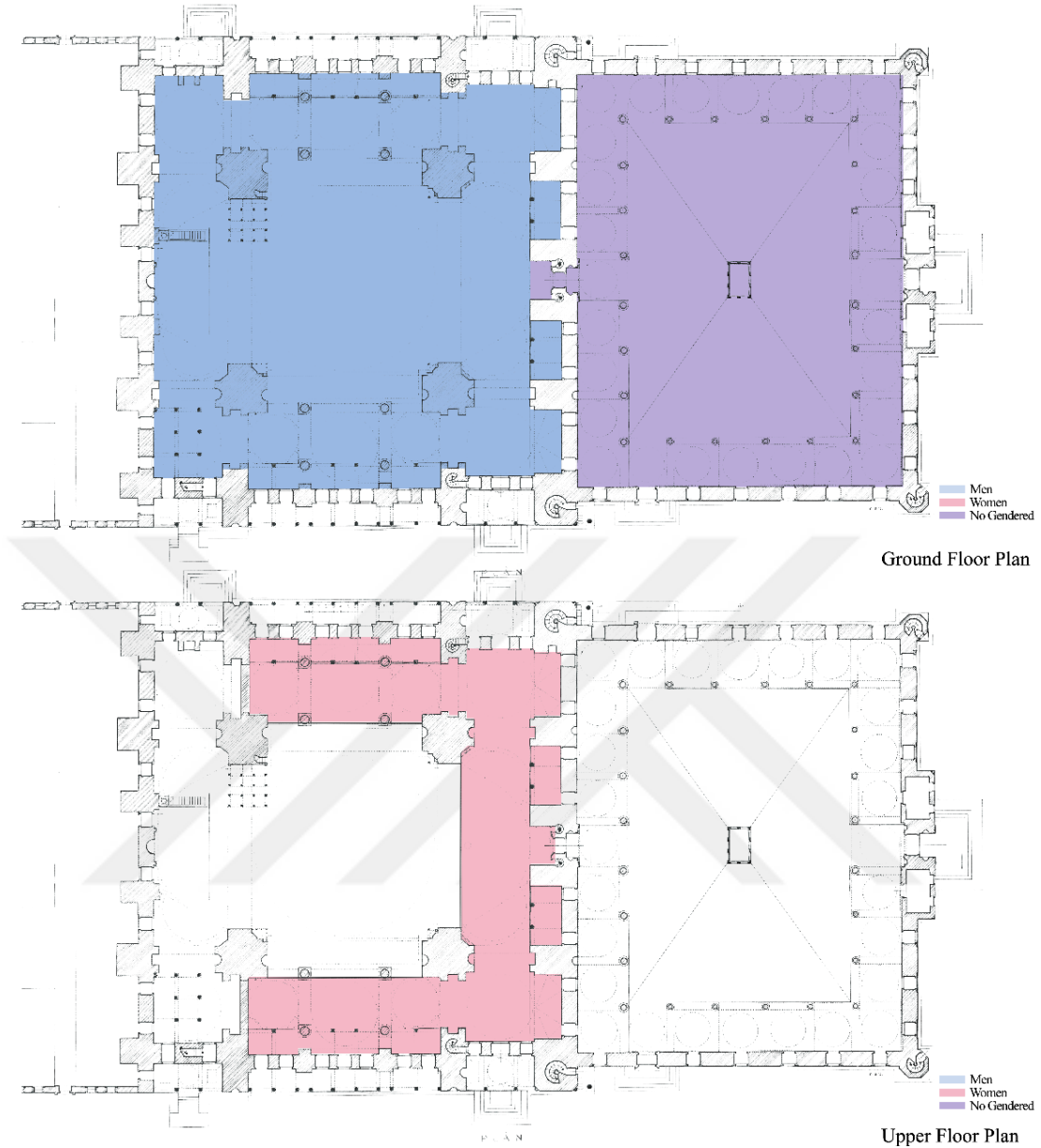


Figure 2.14 Reproduction of Süleymaniye Mosque Plan During the Ramadan in 1900s by writer

In the accounts of the period, the mosque is depicted as a place where women went outside their homes, particularly during Ramadan, for worship. Zeynep Hanım, one of the noble women of the time, describes the atmosphere of the mosque as follows: Women's choices of worship spaces were also restricted. For a long time, they could not go to mosques other than Sultanahmet and Şehzadebaşı. It was even said that if they did not stay at home during Ramadan, the authorities would return them to their homes. Especially the sultan's visits to mosques during this holy month could be a primary reason for this restriction. According to a decree published on October 16, 1841, in *Ceride-i*

Havadis, due to Ramadan, women in mosques were asked to pay attention to their attire because the sultan would be visiting the mosques (Zeynep Hanım, 2001), p. 132).

In the 19th century, the number of European and American travelers increased, leading to more detailed descriptions. Lucy Garnett notes that women used the mosque with the congregation and were secretly located in the galleries accessed by a separate entrance (Garnett, 1904 as cited in Katz, 2014, p. 389). This description takes us to the areas constructed in semi congregational space” of the mosque, often referred to as the "*hünkar mahfili*" in sources. In the 19th century, a new synthesis emerged in sultanic mosques, characterized broadly by Baroque style but with decorative elements of Empire style (Kuban, 1975). Unlike traditional mosque architecture, the *hünkar* rooms, placed where the portico entrance used to be, stand out. Examples of this palace-like touch include Aziziye Mosque (1722), Beylerbeyi Mosque (1777-1778), Bezmialem Sultan Mosque (1843), and Ortaköy Mosque (1854-1856). These structures, where various styles are combined, feature neoclassical and neogothic motifs. However, with the empire's decline and rising nationalism, the influence of these styles was felt in many areas.

Although the use of the mosque by women and their spatial practices vary according to sources, some sources agree that women attended mosque sermons and actively used mosques, especially during Ramadan (Katz, 2014). Also, William Makepeace Thackeray, who visited Sultanahmet Mosque during Ramadan in 1844, noted that he saw a preacher addressing women. The main topic of the sermon was to discourage women from using public spaces and to speak less (Thackeray, 1844 as cited in Katz, 2014).

Ottoman intellectuals and the upper class began discussing European social life and women's presence in daily life after the 17th century. Particularly from the 18th century onward, female writers started addressing issues related to rights and gender-based social stratification. Today, most scholars regard this activist movement as the first feminist initiative in Ottoman history. Modernist intellectuals, when faced with resistance from the public towards modernization, slowed down or halted demands for reforms for women. However, as will be discussed in detail in the later sections of the thesis, the Ottoman women's movement was not a "bestowed freedom" but was rooted in a much deeper resistance.

2.5 The Modernisation of Women During the Republican Turkey

With the Republican Era, modernisation efforts started to become institutionalised and more radicalised. Many innovations discussed in the last period of the Ottoman Empire came to life in this period. Therefore, in order to understand the orientation of the country and the revolutions during the Republican period, it is essential to consider the continuity of modernisation attempts. In the early years of the Republic, modern discourses and the established environment created a new space for itself. The new government expressed its power through the built environment. The fundamental aim of the Kemalist revolution was to produce all institutions and organizations, including daily life, according to scientific and European standards. This production method was not only constructive but also had to be shaped by research and rational thought in religious matters (Bozdoğan & Birkan, 2002, p. 104). However, mosques, being places of worship associated with religion and specific to the East (oriental), were seen as contrary to the rational and scientific priorities of the new state. Consequently, the state prioritized creating secular spaces over religious ones. In this context, "halkevleri" (people's houses) took over functions such as gathering and socializing previously associated with mosques. This transformation was not just functional but also had fundamental ideological implications. In architectural representation, one ideological element was the balconies and towers designed to address the public (Ibid, p.110).

In the Kemalist project, women's presence in the physical, social, and political spheres was clearly defined, shaping the newly created modernist public space (Göle, 1998, p. 66). Göle (1998) focuses on the active role of Muslim women in Islamic revolutions and mentions that when secular public spaces faced Islamic representation in the Republican revolutions, this visibility was considered an occupation. Similar to how, during the modernization period, Liberals and reformers justified women's freedom through a "modernist" interpretation of Islam, while conservatives perceived this initiative as a clear threat to the Islamic state and religion. (Kandiyoti, 2022) Some argue that this conflict, although it may appear as modern versus conservative, should also be examined socio-economically and class-wise (Cole, 1981 as cited in Kandiyoti, 2013). The 1924 Constitution continued to deny women political rights, despite the recognition

of their rights as citizens of the 'Republic'. Sancar (2020) elucidates this predicament by citing the absence of their right to elect and be elected, as well as their exclusion from any significant position within the state apparatus. Indeed, she asserts that the exclusion of women from the administration following the establishment of the nation-state represents a fundamental sexist impediment that persists even in the contemporary understanding of modern politics. (Sancar, 2020, p. 113) She then proceeds to reiterate her criticism of Turkish modernisation as sexist, stating that the activities undertaken in the early years of the Republic, rather than contributing to the development of a women's revolution, were the first to be wasted in political conflicts (Sancar, 2020, p. 172). Although this perspective is relatively objective when viewed from the present day, it fails to take into account certain fundamental rights. A reconsideration of the comments made during the studies of the period, specifically in relation to the subject of the study, reveals a shift in perspective. Parlak (2020) posits that it is imperative to discard the notion that the period advanced with a fixed principle. An appreciation of the disparate ruptures that occurred within the period itself will facilitate a more objective perspective. Indeed, the sociologist Kandiyoti makes reference to the concept of "paternalistic benevolence" in order to highlight the fact that Kemalist modernisation, while serving to enhance the visibility of women as a symbol of the modern regime, also resulted in the socialisation of women as professionals. However, the Kemalist regime, with its 'paternalistic model', has been both a liberating and limiting phenomenon for the women of the period (Parmaksız, 2016, p. 52).

The main goal of the period was to introduce a secular distinction to almost every aspect of daily life, including politics, education, and dress, and to align the representation of these areas with Western civilisations. Therefore, in a general perspective, considering the mosque construction practices of the period, a visible understanding of Islam in public spaces contradicted Kemalist principles. In the period after the 1920s, the gradual steps of the secularisation movement followed one another. The main concern for the nationalisation of religion was first reflected in the religious literature. (Parlak, 2020a, p. 299) The institution, which was separated from the Ministry of Sharia and Efkaf as the Diyanet, took over the management of mosques and masjids and sought to address the issue on a more institutional basis. Due to the wars, some of the mosques and masjids were destroyed and some of them became ruins due to lack of maintenance (Parlak, 2020a, p. 154). Parlak argues that the post-Republican period does not have a static and

radical progression and distinguishes between the periods 1923-1930 and 1931-1946. The second period, the radical period, corresponds to a period in which secularism was increasingly institutionalised, and in this period, mosques were, on the one hand, places where the Islam to be constructed could be manifested and therefore needed to be integrated into reform politics, and on the other hand, places where the public was expected to distance itself in parallel with the secularisation process. (Parlak, 2020a, p. 303) However, just like today, they were male spaces in the early Republican years. In Roux's words, only men were present in mosques, and the women who were present were vaguely present behind a curtain or a fence. (Caporal, 2000 cited in Parlak, 2020a, p. 333) Even in 1925, when dervish lodges, lodges and tombs were closed, mosques continued to be owned by men, but women embraced the tombs despite the ban (E. Akşit, 2008, pp. 155–156). On the other hand, discussing the spaces allocated to women in mosques today is directly related to their role as actors in the public sphere.

The impact of the women's movements and Republican-era reforms on the visibility of the "Muslim Woman" image examined up to this point in the thesis is significant. Because, up until that period, women, whose public space usage was restricted under Islamic understanding, were not considered as active figures in the city. They were seen as potential threats due to their encounters and dialogues with men in these spaces. The public visibility of images such as the "good wife and mother" creates a portrait of the "Modern Turkish" woman as one of the founding faces of the new republic. In contrast to the image of religion's backwardness and association with the old state, the new young "Turkish Woman" image is also dressed in Western style, devoid of any religious elements. (Figure 2.16) In this context, it is also possible to encounter many contents indicating that the primary priority of a woman working in the same environment and public spaces as men is her home, and that standing out from men is not endorsed.

It is unfounded to think that feminism was not a ground for discussion in the environment in which the Republic was born. Muslihiddin Adil, a lecturer at the Thessaloniki Law School during the Constitutional Monarchy (Meşrutiyet) years, in his text on 'Feminism' written in 1912, treats feminism as a defence of the division of labour. He advocates that women should participate in all areas of social life, science, industry and politics like men. (Toprak, 2000) The existence of women's branches of the Committee of Union and Progress and the fact that the society had about forty women

members shows us that women were personally involved in political issues at that time. (Sancar, 2020, p. 98) In the early years of the Republic, the secular state not only facilitated the propagation of Westernised portrayals of women in the public domain, but also enacted several significant legal reforms pertaining to the status of women in society. The pluralistic women's movements of the late Ottoman period, reflecting a diversity of ideas pertaining to secularism, nationalism and reformist Islam, were unified by the newly established Turkish state in 1924 under the aegis of the Turkish Women's Federation, which endorsed the secular ideals of the state. With regard to the visibility of women, the process resulted in the unification of diverse women's groups under the premise that the integration of women into the public sphere could and should be achieved through the removal of the veil. It is crucial to highlight that the representation associated with secularism (i.e. the image of the modern woman in the public sphere) is defined in opposition to the representation attached to Islam (i.e. the image of the Muslim woman wearing the veil). In other words, the process of modernisation and the construction of the new woman would be achieved through the removal of the veil from women. (Çınar, 2005, p. 66)



Figure 2.15 Modern Turkish Women Figures in La Turquie Kemaliste Newspaper

The most dangerous boundary in the novels of the early modernisation period is excessive westernisation. In some novels of this period, women exist in the public sphere in an asexual way and are idealist actors working for society (Sancar, 2022, p. 131). For example, Halide Edip's characters and 'Çalıkuşu (1922)', it is one of the most popular novels of Reşat Nuri Güntekin, one of the writers of the Republican period. The novel

emphasises that women should be able to change their clothing and behaviour in harmony with the society they belong to and according to the requirements of the environment. However, the visibility of women remains limited. In the Republican era, women are generally expected to maintain the father-daughter relationship. On the other hand, most authors emphasise that modernisation should be limited and should not be overdone. Because they defend the idea that modernisation (the concept of westernisation is used in this period) can bring moral destruction. Peyami Safa, in his novels *Sözde Kızlar* (1923) and *Fatih Harbiye* (1931), portrays the female figures in his novels as being Westernised and the moral decadence experienced because of this (Sancar, 2022, p. 132).

One of the most significant places where women were visible in the city during this period was public parks. New parks, designed for socialization and incorporating various activities, served as places of relaxation for the modern people of the time. One of the notable parks is Taksim Park, completed in 1869. It was built symmetrically according to the principles of Beaux-Arts style from the 19th century. The park, designed in a Western style, was frequently visited by the Pera residents, predominantly Levantines. It features various facilities such as a fountain, a casino, a buffet, orchestra venues, and pavilions (Ercan, 2018).

Kandiyoti (1997) criticizes the focus of modernization research in Turkey on legal, political, and institutional aspects and highlights the neglect of less tangible impacts of new developments: identities and subjectivities. Kandiyoti emphasizes the need for a broader methodological approach in examining discourses on modern family and gender construction. This section examines the polemic perspectives of Turkish modernization, which Kemalists equated with progress and civilization, while critics saw it as an integrative and authoritarian project marginalizing traditional ways of life. The discussion extends to analyzing changing masculinities, the impact of Kemalist reforms on female identities, and the tensions and complexities in contemporary expressions of femininity. It also underscores various areas and cultural influences that shape gender identities in Turkish society. Overall, this section calls for a more comprehensive and critical approach to understanding the complexities of modernity in Turkey, particularly in relation to gender and family dynamics.

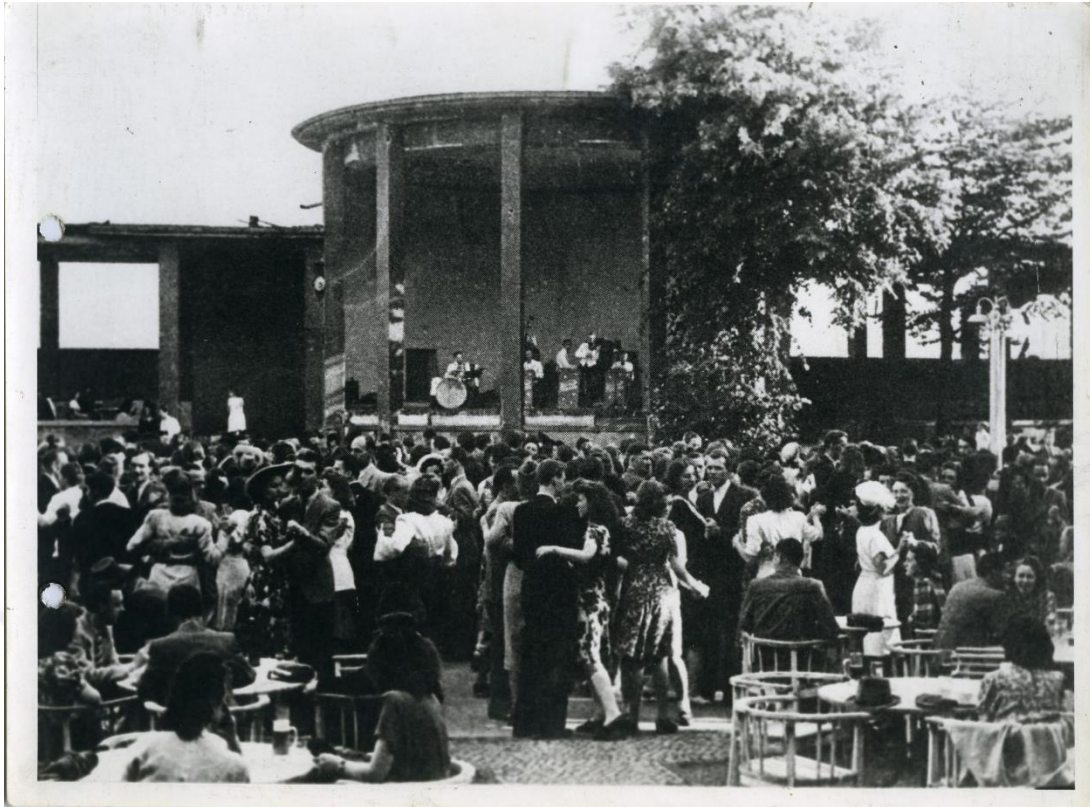


Figure 2.16 Mixed Gender Celebrations in Taksim Gezi Park in 1930s

Kemalist regime ideologies created two distinct female models: one was the serious, masculine, professional woman in the public sphere, while the other was the cheerful, attractive, knowledgeable, and fertile woman in the private sphere. In pre-modern classical patriarchal societies, the family was used as a metaphor for the political order. All relationships were hierarchical and under paternal dominance, with the father's authority extending to the people. The transition to the modern world involved a shift from this paternal-centered model to a new modern form. The new focus was not on paternalism but on "brotherhood." However, the nation envisioned as equal still conceptualized the nation as a "brotherhood" of men. With the elimination of the paternal figure, all power and responsibility remained with the male sibling, who might initially struggle with this new identity and develop paranoia towards women. The dismantling of paternal sovereignty did not create equality between brothers and sisters but instead provided a space where women could expand their own freedom. Furthermore, a new utilitarian approach emerged, aiming for women to utilize all their resources, aligning with the Republican state ideology. According to this perspective, since the "monstrous" Ottoman (the father figure of the past) that repressed the essence of the Turk no longer exists, the "new man" state requires the "new woman" to be loyal to the "new man." (Berktaş, 2001)

According to Fatmagül Berktaş, although the official ideology of the Republic supported women's participation in the public sphere, working outside the home, and having careers, a closer examination reveals that the “ideal new woman” envisioned by Kemalist intellectuals was one who embraced familial, social, and national duties and lived for others. The most prominent feature was her nurturing role. The Western model not only assigned women their “natural” duties and responsibilities in the family and private sphere but also imposed sacrifice and responsibility in the social sphere. Thus, the new female figure took on a new double burden. (Berktaş, 2001) In the end, after the conflicted process that shaped the fundamental character of Turkish modernization, women were recognized as having unequal citizenship status and position compared to men. (Sancar, 2022, p.112)



Figure 2.17 Important Public Space for Istanbul, Taksim Gezi Park in 1950s

However, it is important to note that the visibility of women in public spaces is predominantly associated with a secular appearance. For Muslim women, this presents a significant contradiction. Their presence in public spaces is often encouraged if they adopt a secular style of dress (Sancar, 2022). Consequently, the needs of the devout women of

the time and their requirements in public spaces are not adequately considered. Therefore, it is difficult to speak of a genuine female presence in mosques.

Nevertheless, there were numerous endeavours to incorporate women into the public domain, wherein they assumed a role as active participants. One such party was the Women's People's Party, which was established in 1923 under the presidency of Nezihe Muhittin (Toprak, 2015, p. 463). However, at that time, it was proposed that women should establish a society rather than a political party. Consequently, women who were unable to establish a party established the Turkish Women's Union (Türk Kadınlar Birliği) on 7 February 1924 under the leadership of Nezihe Muhittin (Toprak, 2015, p. 466). One of the primary areas of focus for the Turkish Women's Union, which engaged with numerous issues, was the advancement of women's political rights. It is a matter of historical record that women were granted the right to vote and to be elected in 1934. Following the granting of suffrage and the right to stand for election to women in Turkey, the International Women's Union convened its 12th Congress in Istanbul. This was an indication of the efficacy of the Turkish Women's Union in the international sphere and a significant development for the women's movement in Turkey. In the period preceding the Second World War, the Women's Union's advocacy for peace, articulated at a time when the international discourse was dominated by discussions of war, caused concern in Ankara. This led to the immediate closure of the Turkish Women's Union following the congress. Consequently, the women's movement in Turkey entered a period of thirty years during which it was largely inactive (Toprak, 2015).

By the 1950s, political and social dynamics in Turkey were undergoing significant changes. The Democrat Party's moderate stance towards the "right" allowed the conservative base to operate with greater freedom. The abolition of the mandatory Turkish call to prayer, the reopening of historically significant tombs for visitation, the legalization of the printing and distribution of religious publications, the reopening of mosques and masjids that had been closed for worship, and the introduction of religious culture and moral education courses as elective subjects in primary and secondary schools were all issues that resurfaced with the transition to a multiparty political system. Some viewed these developments as a "naturalization" process for Turkey, while others saw them as a "regression" involving concessions on secularism (Şahin, 2012).

During this period, the policy of moderate secularism adopted by the government promoted the idea that Islam and secularism could coexist, while carefully maintaining adherence to the core principles of the Republic and ensuring that religion remained under state control. In a sense, the Democrat Party continued the policy of moderate secularism initiated by the Republican People's Party after its 1947 congress. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that the Democrat Party pursued an anti-secular policy. However, it is undeniable that a well-established thesis has emerged in Turkish political life, suggesting that the departure or deviation from secularism began with the Democrat Party (Duman, 1997, p. 52). The period from 1950 to 1960 is almost the only era in which conservatism dominated the nationalist-conservative ideological spectrum. In subsequent years, nationalism became the dominant influence in the 1960s, liberal thought in the 1970s, and Islamism in the 1980s. After 1980, Turkish conservatism underwent a more political evolution, filtered through the lens of the Motherland Party, and eventually manifested in the "conservative democracy" of the Justice and Development Party (Okutan, 2004). Following the challenges period of nascent nation-building, the women's movement experienced a prolonged period of inactivity, spanning from the 1950s until 1975 (Tekeli, 1981). In the 1970s, the Progressive Women's Organisation (PWO) challenged the state's 'official ideology' on the 'claim of full equality'. However, these women did not identify as feminists; their perspective was, in fact, 'anti-feminist'. The focus of their actions was the challenging circumstances faced by working-class women. The 1980 military coup resulted in the dissolution of all political parties, with a particular impact on left-wing organisations. As a result, members of the PWO were compelled to seek refuge in exile. In the aftermath of the coup, a feminist women's movement emerged, grounded in a comprehensive re-evaluation of the existing paradigm. A new generation of middle-class, left-wing, intellectual women, in touch with the ideas of the new wave of feminism in Western countries, advanced the argument that the 'paternalistic Turkish state' was, in fact, a 'patriarchal state' defending the interests of men. This new movement adopted the famous slogan of Western feminists, 'The private is political', and argued that family arrangements were not egalitarian. In particular, during the period between the 1960s and 1980s, notable female writers such as Fatma İrfan Serha, Jale Candan, Özden Çankaya, and after Duygu Asena and Şirin Tekeli persisted in their efforts to enhance the visibility of women in political and social sphere (Emiroğlu, 2022). During the period between 1960 and 1980, the relatively low number of women in parliament constituted a significant challenge. Despite the inclusion of women's rights in the Development Plans,

no radical steps were taken to advance these rights. While newspapers and magazines did occasionally address women's issues, the primary concern was the underrepresentation of women in parliament and the lack of sufficient attention to women's problems. While the legal framework treated men and women as equal, traditionalist attitudes persisted.

In the secular lifestyle envisioned by Kemalist ideology, religion was expected to remain within the private sphere, and as a result, it was largely absent from the Republic's agenda for an extended period. In cities that already had a substantial stock of mosques, new mosques were often designed in a style that emulated the classical Ottoman mosques of the 16th century. This was not only true for rural areas but also for urban centers like Istanbul, where the first mosque built after the establishment of the Republic, the Şişli Mosque, was a representative of the Second National Architectural Movement, which drew inspiration from neo-classical Ottoman architecture. Similarly, the Kocatepe Mosque, the Tatbikat Mosque, and the Bahçelievler (Yayla) Mosque are examples of structures that continued the traditional Ottoman mosque construction practices. In this context, the prolonged crisis of representation in mosque construction is significant. Throughout much of the 20th century, the predominant strategy in mosque architecture was imitation (Batuman & Tokel, 2019, p. 31).

By the 1950s, the pluralistic environment that emerged allowed the mosque to finally appear on the architectural scene as a legitimate subject of design. Influenced by modernist trends resonating in Turkey, numerous new mosques were constructed. In contrast to the traditional approach, modernist mosques were often devoid of many architectural elements found in classical period mosques. Notable examples of such modern mosques include Kınalıada Mosque (1965), Etimesgut Mosque (1965), Batıkent Mosque (1983), the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) Mosque (1985), and TEK Mosque (1988).

The Kınalıada Mosque, for instance, accommodates a variety of functions beyond the main prayer hall, including waiting areas, service spaces (such as ablution facilities, a ghusl room, and restrooms), an imam's office, a library, a health center, shops, and a room belonging to the mosque's foundation. The area designated for the last congregation is realized through an eave that extends from the roof to the entrance door. The mosque's minaret is a distinct structure, featuring a pyramidal form made of exposed concrete,

separate from the main building. Part of the structure and its courtyard are built with rubble stone walls, while the other sections and the roof are constructed of reinforced concrete. Notably, there is no separating element beneath the main prayer hall. (Figure 2.19)

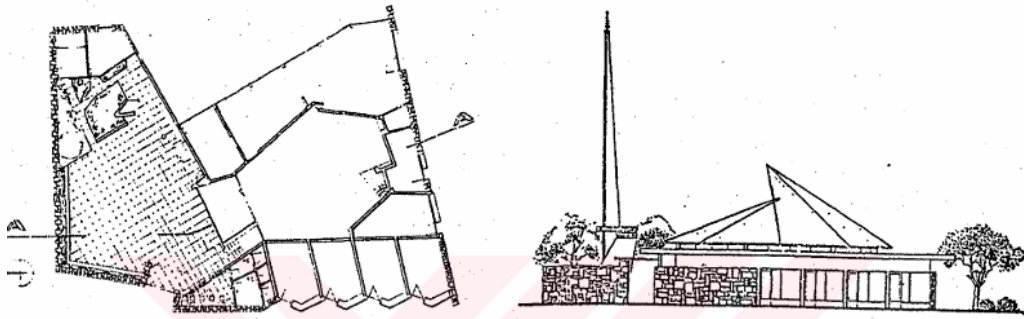


Figure 2.18 Kınalıada Mosque plan and view

The Etimesgut Mosque was designed by Cengiz Bektaş and built in 1965 on the grounds of the Etimesgut Armored Units School in Ankara. The mosque's architectural program consists of the main prayer hall, service areas, and ablution facilities. The mosque's plan resembles an irregular hexagon, and the walls do not encircle a prismatic volume. Instead, the structure features a plastic configuration that allows for recesses and apertures. The mihrab inside the mosque appears to be a natural outcome of the geometric form of the plan, allowing light to enter the structure and creating various shadow effects. The windows are narrow openings formed by the fragmented wall configuration of the plan, which disperse natural light throughout the space by reflecting it off the walls.

The interior atmosphere, heavily influenced by the architectural style of Le Corbusier, exudes a mystical quality. The mosque does not feature a traditional dome; instead, it has a flat terrace roof, separated from the main mass by a horizontal strip window. The minaret is detached from the main structure and stands prominently, resembling a stair tower. It incorporates no traditional elements, making it a distinctly modern interpretation of mosque architecture.

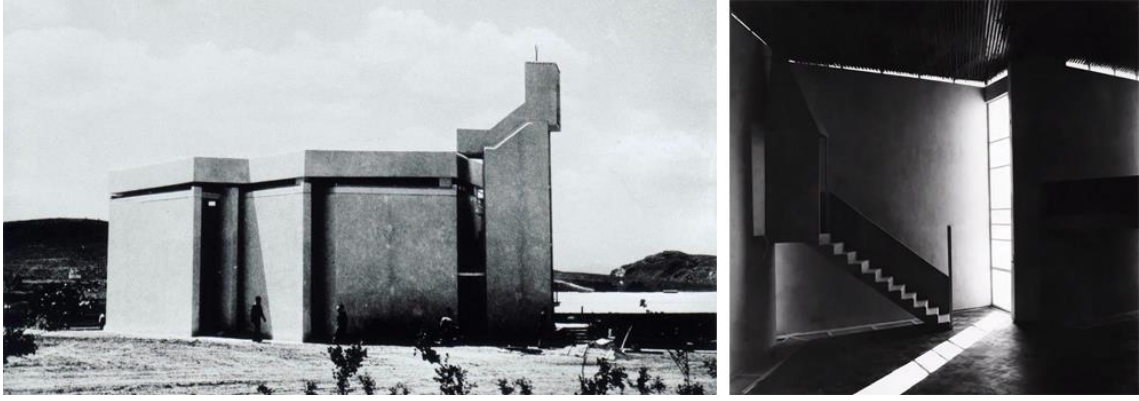


Figure 2.19 Etimesgut Mosque General and Indoor View

The TBMM Mosque, designed in 1985 by Behruz, Altuğ, and Can Çinici, is notable for its integration of traditional mosque elements with a contemporary architectural language. The mosque's architectural program includes a main prayer hall, service areas (such as ablution facilities and restrooms), and a library. Echoing the classical Ottoman mosque layout, the design features spaces organized around a colonnaded courtyard, reminiscent of the traditional “arcaded courtyard (revaklı avlu)” arrangement. Instead of a dome, the mosque utilizes a pyramidal roof structure as its upper covering. The mihrab wall is transparent, establishing a visual connection with the courtyard pool. The mosque, constructed with exposed concrete, features an interior that incorporates wood and marble elements. The minbar and mihrab are reinterpreted in a modern style. A distinguishing feature of the TBMM Mosque, unlike other examples from the period, is the inclusion of a women's gallery. This area, separated from the main prayer hall by transparent glass, horizontally divides the mosque's rectangular plan. Due to the structure's current absence, detailed information regarding its usage of mosque is no longer accessible.



Figure 2.20 TBMM Mosque View

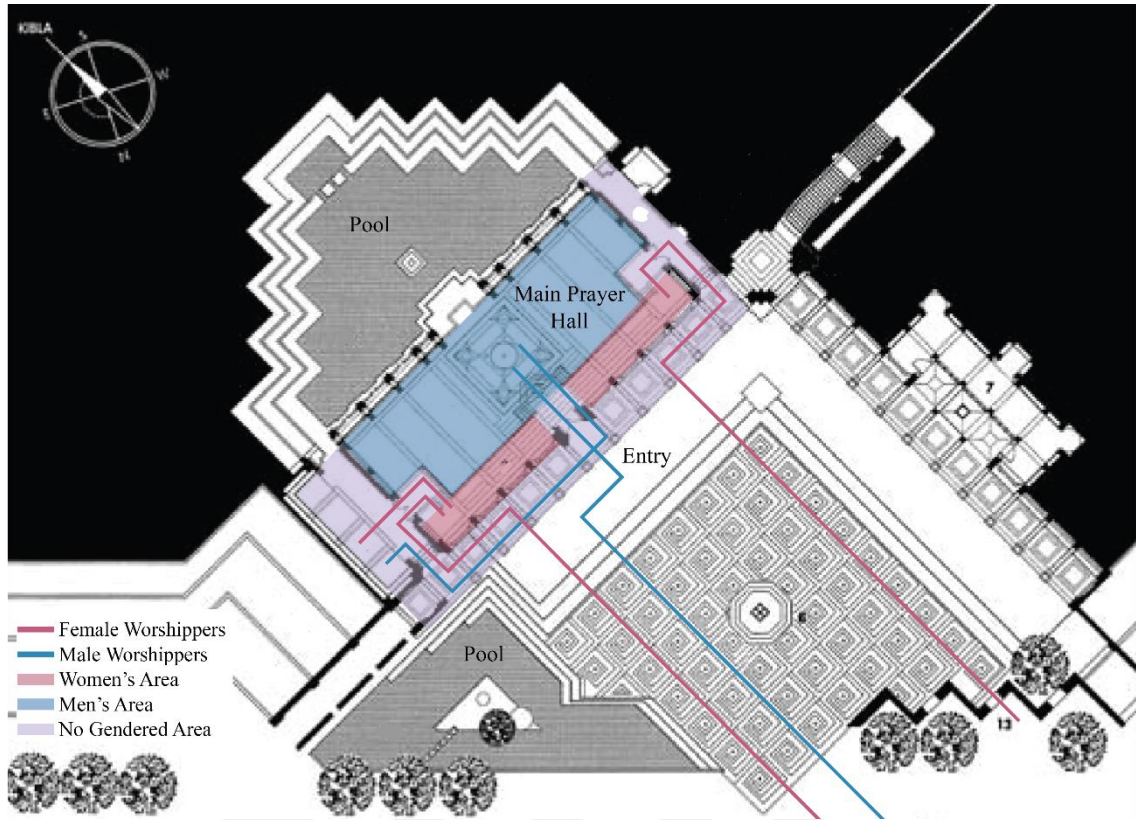


Figure 2.21 Reproduction of TBMM Mosque Plan by author



Figure 2.22 TBMM Mosque Interior

The emergence of modern mosques in the post-1950s period can be seen as a reflection of the demands of the increasingly visible religious people of society and politics. The mosque, which previously had no place in the secular public sphere, only

began to enter the architectural agenda during this time. However, it is important to recognize that this practice underwent a period of social and architectural preparation.

The Kocatepe Mosque competition, opened in 1957 to meet the needs of Ankara's Yenışehir neighbourhood, is the first of the competitions. The mosque project prepared by Vedat Dalokay with a modern approach was selected first in the competition. The construction of this project, which started in 1962, was criticised for its design outside the traditional forms and could not be implemented even before the foundations were laid. Selim İltuş and Nazif Topçuoğlu have explained in detail why this project could not be implemented in their articles (İltuş & Topçuoğlu, 1976). Dalokay's project would later be implemented in the King Faisal Mosque in Islamabad, Pakistan (1987), after winning a competition. The present-day Ankara Kocatepe Mosque project was accepted in a second competition in 1967. The project designed by Hüsrev Tayla and Fatin Uluengin conforms to the traditional mosque architecture. Inspired by the Süleymaniye Mosque, the Kocatepe Mosque is indistinguishably similar to the mosques of the Ottoman classical period in terms of exterior appearance and plan. This shift towards traditional forms, following an era of modernist experimentation, reflects the complex interplay between religious expectations and architectural expression in that period. Batuman suggests that the cessation of the Kocatepe project marked a turning point in Ottoman mosque architecture. The emulation of the traditional Ottoman mosque, regarded as a victory over modernity and a nostalgic representation of imperial power by conservatives, represents this pivotal moment (Batuman, 2018, p. 271).

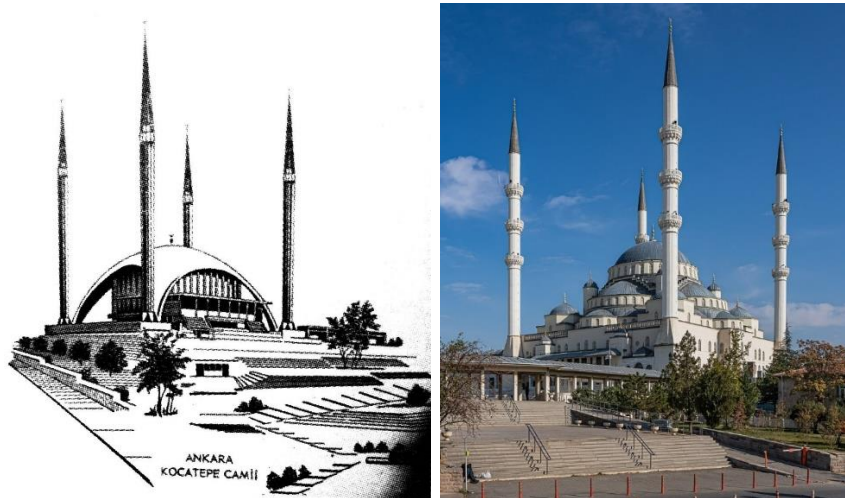


Figure 2.23 Vedat Dalokay Design Offer for Kocatepe Mosque(left) and Kocatepe Mosque designed by Hüsrev Tayla and Fatin Uluengin (right)

Chapter 3

The Impact of Modernist & Feminist Approaches On Sacred Space

Mosques are spaces directly related to the political understanding of the period and the authoritative guidance of religious authorities. Developments regarding these spaces are closely tied to the social life of the era and the prevailing thought atmosphere. Women's use of mosque spaces and their inquiries about inclusion are undoubtedly related to claims of rights regarding public spaces. In the 19th century, rising feminism advocated a series of rights concerning women's presence in the public sphere and citizenship. Although feminism only gained public visibility and achievements for headscarf-wearing women in Turkey after the 1980s, it is important to recognize the progress of mainstream feminism and its reflections in Turkey. This is because, during periods of rising Islamism in Turkey, mosques have often served as carriers of political or symbolic meanings. Understanding this role, along with the indifference to or attempts to control women's presence in the public space, is crucial for deciphering the dynamics of current mosque practices.

In the subsequent sections of the chapter, the birth of Feminist Theory and the major waves of feminism recognized in the literature are first addressed. Following this, the emergence and main arguments of “Feminist Islam/Islamic Feminism” due to these waves and their effects are discussed. This is followed by an examination of Turkish women's movements and Turkish Feminism. The next section explores Turkey's changing Islamist identity after 1980 and the presentation of the Muslim Woman image, along with various claims for spatial rights that emerged with this identity. The final part of the chapter addresses Turkey's mosque practices and related discourses in light of these developments.

In the 1990s, feminist critiques from within the Islamic world began to emerge. A significant aspect of these critiques was the examination of the spatial forms of gender

segregation within the mosque. In Islamic world, Muslim women have advocated for the integration of men and women in prayer, as well as the possibility of female-led prayers within Islamic tradition. During the 1990s, the issue of female-led prayer has not been subjected to discussion in the same manner as in other regions of the Islamic world, despite parallel discussions taking place in Turkey. In contrast, the demand for equal space inside the mosque gradually gained ground. This was due to two factors: firstly, the increased social mobility of pious women and secondly, the perception of women's exclusion from the mosque space as discrimination. Consequently, beginning in the 1990s, Muslim women challenged the de facto assignment of the home as the space of worship for women (Batuman, 2018, pp. 273–274)

3.1 Feminist Theories of Women Representation in

Public Space

Feminism is a movement aimed at ending sexism, gender-based exploitation, and oppression (Hooks et al., 2012). It became more distinct at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, following the principles set forth in Mary Wollstonecraft's "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman". The main claim here is that women are citizens just like men. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's "The Declaration of Sentiments" presented at the Seneca Falls Conference (1848), also argues that all men and women are created equal. During this period, numerous declarations and works were produced advocating for women's voting rights, participation in government, and educational equality. Women fought for social and political rights as well as against racism. After World War I, many countries, including the United States, Russia, and England, granted women the right to vote (Turkey was also included in this group). In France, reforms were made to allow women to work in the public sphere and to ensure equal job and wage rights. The Industrial Revolution and the subsequent development of capitalism are directly related to the emergence and evolution of women's liberation movements. The spread of the division of labour and specialisation led to the production of goods being carried out outside the family unit, with the products needed being procured from markets. The development of capitalism has led to a clear differentiation between production carried out inside and outside the home. While production is conducted in various systems outside the home, reproduction is confined to the domestic

sphere, with women bearing the sole responsibility for this. In addition to enabling women to engage in paid work, capitalism has resulted in a notable diversification of women's roles. The value of women's informal contributions in agriculture, food production and domestic labour has diminished alongside this shift. The Industrial Revolution, which saw women enter the workforce, marked the advent of a transition from a mode of production based on human and animal power to one dominated by machine power. The Industrial Revolution first emerged in England during the eighteenth century, particularly within the textile industry, and subsequently proliferated rapidly across a range of other sectors. The Industrial Revolution precipitated a rapid transformation in lifestyles and social norms across the Western world. One of the most significant aspects of the Industrial Revolution was the emergence of novel concepts in production and design, accompanied by a notable increase in the scale of production, which paved the way for mass production. Women began to make their presence felt in the economic labour force, initially in production and subsequently in design. Over time, they became increasingly visible at every stage of production and design (Rostow, 1971 cited in (Yararel Doğan & B. Asar, 2019).

The primary achievement of first-wave feminism was to resist the patriarchal societal structure, laying the foundation for what would be known as the “sexual revolution,” which would influence changes in social status, roles, and mental frameworks (Millett, 2000, p. 63). In America, first-wave feminism was closely related to the anti-slavery movement, with the right to vote being its most significant legal victory. Women continued to work in singular organizations for reproductive freedom, equality in work and education, and voting rights for Black women. Constance Grady emphasizes that, alongside voting rights, women also fought for educational and employment opportunities and property rights during this period. However, after achieving the right to vote, the movement lost its cohesion; as Constance Grady notes, it no longer held a unified purpose or cultural momentum. It was not until the 1960s, with the emergence of the second wave, that a cohesive feminist movement emerged in America.

The first wave of feminism, also known as Liberal Feminism, is characterized by demands for equal rights irrespective of gender, race, color, or belief. The foundation of this philosophy is the principle of individualism. Liberal feminists argue that women's

equal rights with men are ensured through their participation in the public sphere (Çaha, 1996, p. 149). They believe that women's complete freedom will be achieved when they are economically independent of men and have equal rights (Payne, 1997, p. 239). Feminists with a liberal perspective attribute the cause of the "woman problem" to the patriarchal system. They assert that all of women's issues stem from this oppressive male-dominated system and emphasize the necessity of women's liberation as individuals.

In the United States, the second wave of feminism is considered to span from 1963 to 1980. The movement is marked by the publication of Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique" in 1963. The main slogan of the second-wave feminist movement was "The personal is political," which opened up discussions about women's positions in society without classifying them as either public or private. Issues such as family, domestic labor, sexual rights, and reproductive rights were discussed radically. At that time, feminists argued that equality should not be limited to the political sphere but should also involve societal transformation. As Constance Grady noted, second-wave feminists claimed that "issues like sexuality, relationships, access to abortion, and domestic labor, which may seem individual and minor, are actually systematic and political, and central to the struggle for women's equality." (Grady, 2018)

One of the most debated issues of this period was domestic violence. The second wave of feminism achieved many legal victories, such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which theoretically eliminated gender pay gaps. As the women's movement developed, it became part of broader anti-capitalist, anti-racist citizenship rights movements. However, Black women felt largely excluded from the mainstream feminist platforms because the experiences of white and Black women differentiated their areas of struggle. One of the most significant contributions of second-wave feminism was naming the discrimination women faced in society and demonstrating how patriarchy and sexism enveloped women's lives.

After the mid-19th century, discussions began on the proposals of liberal feminism, and the debate over whether the gender equality solution proposed by liberal feminists could be implemented led to the emergence of Marxist feminism and the second wave of feminism (Sevim, 2005, pp. 63–64). Marxist feminism, which continued its influence into the early 20th century, is primarily inspired by the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

(Yörük, 2009, p. 67). Marxists insist that the primary cause of women's oppression is class difference rather than gender difference, believing that in societies with class distinctions, opportunities for equality cannot exist. According to them, capitalism is the root of women's oppression. Marxist feminist thought presents an alternative family structure to the patriarchal societal system. Engels analyzed the issue of women's exploitation in the patriarchal system based on Marx's theories in "Capital". Engels' fundamental thesis is about how patriarchy eradicated prehistoric communist matriarchy and replaced it (Donovan, 2019, pp. 142–143). However, Marxist feminists have not focused on patriarchy as much as radical feminists. For them, the key factor in women's oppression is class difference rather than gender difference (Demir, 1997, p. 56). Thus, Marxist-feminist views address the possibility of eliminating the opportunity inequality between women and men, based on Marx's views on the abolition of the family institution. Marxist feminists argue that the discourses promoted by liberal feminist theories have not been able to materialize into action and have remained merely as discourse. Therefore, Marxist feminist theory highlights the issue of women's opportunity inequality within the class-based capitalist system, emphasizing that the main concern is to achieve gender equality or overcome existing opportunity inequalities, which liberal feminism has failed to address.

The central issues of the third wave included combating workplace sexual harassment and increasing the number of women in power positions. Additionally, the concept of "intersectionality" emerged with the third wave. This term was used to describe the relationship and intersections between gender and other systems of discrimination. Judith Butler, who provided a new perspective on gender, argued that gender is performative. With the combination of performativity and intersectionality, transgender rights and LGBTQ+ rights became central issues of the third wave or radical feminism.

Radical feminist theory emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, primarily introduced by a group of former "activist women" in New York and Boston. These "activist women" were involved in political activities for civil rights and anti-war campaigns during the 1960s (Donovan, 2001, p. 267). The 1960s were a period of radical and reactionary movements in the Western world, and radical reactions also manifested in women's issues (Donovan, 2001, p. 272). Radical feminism views the exploitation and

oppression of women as rooted in the biological differences between men and women. Small groups of women, who shared their personal experiences of oppression and exploitation in a non-hierarchical manner, significantly contributed to the development of radical feminist theory (Ramazanoğlu, 1998, p. 31). Radical feminism emphasizes the “differences between men and women,” with a focus on sexuality and biological differences, making the action-oriented aspect of radical feminism more compelling. Therefore, it has had a greater impact on addressing women’s differences compared to men. According to radical feminists, women’s liberation comes through differentiating from men.

The existence of a fourth wave is a debated topic, but there are claims that its potential platform is virtual environments. In 2009, feminist Jessica Valenti’s statement “Perhaps the fourth wave is in the virtual space” became one of the central ideas of fourth-wave feminism (New York Times, 2009). The virtual space has become a platform where activists meet and plan their actions, and where feminist discourses are discussed. For example, #MeToo tweets represent a feminist action that entirely occurred on social media platforms. Thus, fourth-wave feminism can be said to have been conceptualized and developed in the internet environment, with its rough beginning generally fixed around 2008.

In this wave, emulating men is considered a significant setback for the women's movement. Therefore, radical feminism promotes a culture that values femininity. It develops a policy of identity formation dominated by feminine attributes such as beauty, aesthetics, tone of voice, charm, politeness, and fertility (Çaha, 1996, p. 162). Radical feminism’s criticism of the liberal feminist discourse on gender equality arises at this point. The difference between radical feminism and Marxist feminism is that radical feminism argues that the source of inequality between men and women is not production relations but the production process itself. Radical feminism asserts that there has always been an oppressor-oppressed relationship between men and women since the first division of labor in history. For radical feminists, the family institution was established to maintain women’s subordinate status, and biological necessities are directly linked to assigned roles.

However, the exact start and end dates of feminist waves are still debated and can vary depending on geography and political contexts. Considering the global impact, similar timelines apply to Turkish feminism. The period from the publication of anonymous letters sent to newspapers in 1868 to the dissolution of the Turkish Women's Union in 1935 is considered the first wave of feminism in Turkey. The first wave is divided into three main phases: the early period, the Second Constitutional Era (Ottoman Feminism), and the early years of the Republic (Republican Feminism) (Zihnioğlu & Bora, 2016). The second wave began after the 1980s, with feminist women's groups collaborating with conservative women towards the end of this period for the public visibility of women.

3.2 Islamic Feminist Theories

Islamic Feminism is a feminist discourse and practice expressed within an Islamic paradigm. It derives its understanding and mission from the Quran and seeks justice and rights for both women and men within its entirety (Sirri, 2021). This definition is a core argument for later Muslim feminists. Miller (2009) suggests that three prominent female figures in Islamic society have the following characteristics:

- **Khadija:** Khadija is depicted as an autonomous figure managing her own property and was the Prophet's only wife throughout his life. She was also one of the first to embrace Islam. It is believed that she contributed to the freedom of Muslim women concerning property.
- **Aisha:** Known as the Prophet's youngest wife, she played an active role in the politics of her time.
- **Fatimah:** After the Prophet's death, despite not being granted any property, she protested to Caliph Abu Bakr. (Miller, 2009, p. 290)

Thus, the freedom and boundaries observed in the most prominent female figures of Islam have been debated in subsequent periods. The individualism and independence of women, suppressed within patriarchal traditions, can be retracted within the space recognized by the religion itself. However, it is possible to categorize the fundamental approaches to Islamic feminism into three main groups:

1. The first group argues that feminism is related to modern life and cannot be integrated with Islam, asserting that men and women are fundamentally not equal in any area, including biological aspects.

2. The second group views that Islam fundamentally adopts the principle of equality, which has been corrupted over time. According to this perspective, the legal issues produced by Islam in different geographies and conditions are explained by individual discretion and are not reconcilable with Islam.

3. The third group contends that Islam is a patriarchy-based religion and is inherently in conflict with feminist theory and discourses (Gosh, 2008)

Mernissi discusses the main issues faced by Muslim women in today's world and the position of patriarchy in the face of this revolution in her book "Beyond the Veil". According to her, in Islamic culture, men use Islam's space as a "sexual control mechanism." (Mernissi, 1995) She examines the conflicting relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and contemporary Muslim women's lives, drawing some basic conclusions. In her study on the sexual boundaries of space, she argues that for fundamentalists, streets and avenues (thus any primary or secondary spaces a Muslim woman might use to experience the city) are considered dangerous and sources of corruption due to their inclusion of the opposite sex (Mernissi, 1995, p. 27). Women's participation in the public sphere is related to making themselves visible within urban spaces. Muslim women develop a defense mechanism against men through their veiling and the use of the *niqab* (a piece of cloth worn by some Muslim women to cover the whole face except the eyes).

In Eastern societies where Islam is prevalent, women's veiling is reinforced by both traditional and religious rhetoric, as women feel more secure in the male-dominated areas while wearing the veil. (Benzerfa-Guerroudj, 1992; Lateef, 1990 as cited in Greed, 1994) However, it should not be forgotten that veiling and the *niqab* have different meanings and representations from the perspectives of women and men. Indeed, Leila Ahmed expresses that women who adopt Islamic clothing use it to create a legitimate public space for themselves and thus redefines the public space to accommodate women. (Ahmed, 1992) As discussed in her works, the veil does not declare that women's place is in the home; rather, it views them as a uniform, legitimizing their existence outside the home. According to Mernissi and Berkday, the Islamic space views women as belonging to the

inner space, the "Harim" or forbidden space. Women who wear the veil can extend the "inner space" to the outside, expand the boundaries of the Harim space. Veiling facilitates Muslim women's entry into the external world; because, even if veiled women go outside, they carry their private world in a manner that still keeps them inside. It concludes that Islam uses veiling as a means of controlling space. (Berkday, 1995, p. 168) Furthermore, the social nature of space prevails over its physical nature. The concept of violation is more related to the identity of the violator rather than physical boundaries. (Mernissi, 1995, p.180) Essentially, the fact that the body is considered a potential source of corruption, whether covered or not, continually places women as transgressors of male spaces. Mernissi describes this fundamentally as follows:

"The presence of women in these spaces signifies the upheaval of the masculine order and the disruption of male peace. Essentially, their presence in places where they should not be constitutes an attack on men. Women in traditional male spaces incite men to sin, thereby disrupting God's order. In this encounter, the man loses much: inner peace, free will, devotion to God, and social respect." (Mernissi, 1995, p. 180).

In this context, space is only perceived at the level of representation. Lefebvre's three-dimensional concept of space includes perceived (practical space), designed (representational space), and lived (representational spaces) (Lefebvre, 2014, pp. 66–69). Each of these dimensions is interrelated and collectively produces social space. In other words, space is reciprocally re-produced by those who perceive, design, and live in it. In parallel, Rose (2013) defines the everyday as an arena where patriarchy is (re)created and contested. Gender, as a spatial and temporal construct, is repeatedly reproduced through performances in everyday life (Rose, 2013 cited in Bondi, 2005). In this construction process, both space and the gender embodied in individuals are reconstructed (Bondi, 2005, p. 10). Thus, gender and space are inevitably constructed together and can change or reinforce over time according to their use. Therefore, the subject's relationship with space is examined through their relationship with their body. However, the restriction or use of the relationship between female bodies and space as a means of control is as old as patriarchy itself. The construction of gender segregation over time as harem-seclusion and its constant reference to religious texts or events indicate that religious discourse on space usage has found new references and interpretations, becoming entrenched in shaping social life. Clothing, as an important form of representation in the public sphere,

also constitutes a significant area for urban-rural class distinction. Ahmed argues that both Western clothing language, which is heavily influenced by secularism and feminism, and the language of veiling and the niqab, which represents societal grassroots, are pursuing the same autonomy goal. (Ahmed, 1992) However, even though this interpretation views the quest for autonomy in the language of Islam and the niqab, it does not change the fact that this autonomy remains within the boundaries set by patriarchy. This is because veiling, while associated with the Middle East and Islam, has a much more archaic infrastructure and is a trans-religious phenomenon. (Berkday, 1995)

The extreme segregation of women and men in today's mosque spaces can be explained by Muslim sexuality. This sexuality is regional: regulatory Islamic mechanisms have allocated separate spaces for each sex and resorted to special ceremonies to resolve inevitable spatial intersections. (Mernissi, 1995, p. 173) The term 'region' is very primitive to describe the phenomenon of the space's developed, diverse usage. The term "*Harim*" used by Mernissi refers to a threshold, a place that separates two areas. In this sense, *Harim* is a threshold that organizes the universe, distributes entities within space, and does so according to their power (with the relationship to power), and their ability to defend thresholds. (Berkday, 1995, p. 169) In parallel, Berkday describes the ummah as a space of public power and authority, while the family is defined as the space of women and sexuality. (Berkday, 1995, p.170)

Mernissi suggests that those who claim that there is no difference between men and women in the political/public sphere are actually avoiding addressing the fundamental issue. According to her, Islam's requirement for everyone to remain in their allocated space is fundamentally in conflict with the Western democratic principle that all individuals should have access to all spaces. (Mernissi, 1987) However, Aktaş argues that the hegemonic spatial power established over women has emptied the meaning and essence of veiling. According to her, if women are to be confined to the home, the question of why veiling exists should be asked (Aktaş, 1997). The author explains that "Veiling is already a means for women to participate in society without causing corruption," and criticizes the fact that the burden of veiling is solely placed on women. She emphasizes the absurdity of restricting the social and human activities of women as a potential source of corruption or disregarding these needs. According to her, "The existence of veiling finds its definition through the woman's presence in society. In other words, the phenomenon of veiling is essentially related to the social."

The development trajectory of the concept of *fitna* awaits thorough investigation, but discussions on women's collective worship reveal that in the works of Maliki Ibn Rushd, Hanafi al-Sarakhsi, Shafi'i al-Mawardi, and Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi, *fitna* is retrospectively constructed as a global justification for restricting women's participation in public worship. Although Qurtubi expresses that women's participation in communal prayers is necessary to protect them from *fitna* (Katz, 2015; Qurṭubī, Tafsīr, 2:54 (2:114)), it does not change the fact that women are viewed as a potential source of *fitna*.

As mentioned before, the view of women as *fitna* and their exclusion from worship spaces is a commonality seen across all Abrahamic religions. (Berkday, 1995) Katz emphasizes that, unlike Christianity and Judaism, the concept of *fitna* mentioned thirty-four times in the Quran has no erotic or sexist implications (Katz, 2015). However, this does not mean it is neutral in its perception of the potential negative outcomes of the presence of the two sexes together. While early sources associated *fitna* more with political or religious opposition, the statement “I have not left after me a more harmful *fitna* for men than women” found in Bukhari and Muslim (Buhārī, Nikāh 17; Müslim, Zikir 97, 98. Also see Tirmidhi, Edeb 31; Ibn Mâce, Fiten 31) is a sharp judgment regarding the sexist identity of *fitna*. This fact has undoubtedly reinforced the situation between gender and *fitna* in a patriarchal system and has associated it with women. In this way, from the 7th to the 13th centuries, across sects and geographies, the most appropriate religious place for women was accepted as the home, and their sexually alluring and chaos-creating role was embedded in jurisprudence discourse.

The close relationship between veiling and spatial usage in the Islamic context pertains to the legitimate ways of reproducing and commanding the religion's unique spaces. Therefore, the issue of veiling discussed in the above sections has become a tool and symbol that justifies dominance over women in the public sphere, regardless of whether it prevents or does not prevent the potential of women as a source of *fitna*. This understanding is most clearly reflected in the edicts published about women's clothing in the late Ottoman period, which can be understood through the responsibilities imposed on the *ummah*. The edicts of the period generally granted male citizens the authority to punish women who dressed inappropriately. It is thought that this authority encouraged men to cut and harass women's cloaks as seen in the late Ottoman newspapers.

Thus, the use of space by Muslim women is closely related to their identity. Indeed, Katz (2015) states that by gaining the power to enter spaces they had previously been excluded from and thus altering these spaces, women are redefining who they are as an example of the phenomenon explained by the term “reflectivity of social and physical space” (Cooper, 2014). Since sexual segregation is a symbol of women's spatial confinement, the mere act of a few women walking unhurriedly in the streets would be enough to disrupt the spiritual balance of society (Mernissi, 1995, p. 196). Modernization and economic necessity have undermined the traditional Islamic solution of gender segregation. Sexual coexistence, while bringing new tensions and difficulties, has blurred spatial boundaries and authority structures between genders. (Mernissi, 1995, p.203)

It is hard to ignore the prevalence and durability of practices such as veiling, confining women to the home, polygamy, and men's ease of divorce in Muslim societies. These practices, even if they existed before Islam and vary significantly from society to society today, ultimately derive their legitimacy from a divinely inspired text that forms the basis of existing laws. According to Kandiyoti (2013), the difficulty is partly because references to Islam are largely lacking in conceptual clarity. However, although there may be many instances and events where the *fatwas* of scholars do not align with the realities of daily life, it is certain that these religious approaches have deeply influenced the perception of society or reinforced existing acceptances. (Katz, 2015) Additionally, one of the contentious issues used to justify and restrict women's use of mosques is their menstruation status. Historically, being considered impure in such situations and not using the mosque space, and fatwas stating that their prayers would not be accepted, has caused women to stay away from the mosque space periodically (Khuri, 2001). Islamic feminist Aziza al-Hibri has stated the following about Islamic feminism:

“In Islam, there is no clerical class between God and the servant; every person is directly responsible to God for their own beliefs. Additionally, if patriarchy can legitimize the existence of five different schools of thought within its ideological boundaries, feminists can certainly advocate for the inclusion of one more.” (Schimmel, 2001).

Islamic feminism struggles to find its place in traditional domains dominated by patriarchal norms due to its Western origins and its often conflicting nature with

traditional Islamic schools of thought. However, al-Hibri's statement is about the reinforcement of the patriarchal order that has evolved and been accepted historically through religious interpretations. It emphasizes that it is very natural for sects shaped by the era and lifestyle to be reinterpreted in contemporary conditions. There is a need to re-examine Islamic norms in light of today's conceptions of justice and inter-gender hierarchies. But what is the axis of inquiry, the limits of reform, or our point of reference?

It can be said that gender debates, which began to gain traction in the 1970s around the roles of men and women, affected conservative religious women relatively late. According to Tekeli, the 1970s marked a period of intellectual preparation for feminism, the 1980s represented a phase of activism, and the 1990s saw the rise of organizational efforts (Tekeli, 2017, p. 276). Islamic feminist discussions, however, began to emerge more prominently after the 1990s (Tuksal, 2020, p. 221). Several factors contributed to the delayed visibility of conservative religious women in the public sphere, including the agrarian character of Turkish social structure until recent times, the late inclusion of women in educational activities, and the slow process of urbanization.

Starting from the 1980s, liberalization policies, the increase in literacy among women, and studies highlighting the marginalization of women in social life positively influenced conservative religious women's engagement in these debates. Over time, these factors also accelerated changes in women's religious orientations, perspectives, and modes of evaluation.

Historically, numerous interpretations, practices, and intellectual traditions (such as different Islamic schools of thought) have emerged concerning sacred texts. This context necessitates not only the critique of these texts but also the interpretations surrounding them. In other words, religious perspectives, perceptions, and paradigms are the products of particular interpretations, and the interpreters themselves are human beings shaped by their social, political, cultural, and educational environments. This reality underscores the likelihood that debates on any issue will evolve according to the social context. Islamic thought traditions have exhibited a flexible and pluralistic approach to interpretation throughout history (Bauer, 2019). Likewise, a variety of interpretations and perspectives have developed within the tradition of Islamic thought (Üzümlü, 2004, pp. 526-532).

Urbanization, economic development, and rising education levels have played an undeniable role in the emergence of these differences.

3.3 Muslim Women Representation in Turkey after the 1980s

About half a century after the proclamation of the Republic, Islamist movements were rapidly gaining prominence on the agenda of many Middle Eastern countries, including Turkey. The secularization promoted after the Republic was not adopted across different segments of society, and the modern lifestyle and gender relations idealized by the Republic were criticized by conservatives. Therefore, the visibility of Muslim women in the public sphere in Turkey only achieved prominence in the last quarter of the 20th century. In Turkey, especially after the 1980s, the increasing entry of conservative women into professional fields, higher education, and their representation in the public sphere, alongside the specialization of religious conservative women in religious domains, led to notable shifts in the debates and interpretations surrounding religion. Figures such as Konca Kuriş, Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal, Berrin Sönmez, and Nazife Şişman began to highlight the influence of women on religious interpretation, and the subjectivity of educated women in knowledge production led to new readings of religion (Tekin, 2017). For example, Tuksal's work *Kadın Karşısı Söylemin İslam Gelenegindeki İzdüşümleri* (The Reflections of Anti-Women Discourse in Islamic Tradition), which critiques classical religious discourse for its male dominance, is a valuable example of this approach.

This section will provide information about the political atmosphere of the period and the tumultuous process reflected in the press. This process undoubtedly served as an early indicator of the new habitus created by conservatives in the 21st century. (Akçaoğlu, 2022) The "Western gaze" transformation that began in the late Ottoman period was distant from both the physically and symbolically distant rural inhabitants and conservatives. Akçaoğlu argues that the imposed physical transformation constantly reminded rural and urban poor people of their inadequacy and bestowed upon them an unhappy consciousness (Akçaoğlu, 2022, p. 36).

With its unique demographics, Turkey encountered a series of claims and initiatives related to the public space of Muslim women, due to factors such as the urbanization of rural areas following the adoption of a secular social life by the government. As can be seen through Islamist feminist theories, existing as a "veiled woman" in a space is subjected not only to state authority but also to religious authorities. This is related to how patriarchy, which has persisted for centuries, has built the control of public space in society upon the female body, thus directly linking it to her dress and appearance.

In Turkey, the headscarf ban, which had no constitutional or legal basis, was implemented especially after the 28 February Coup in education, public, and political life. The root of this issue is highlighted by the interpretations of the Constitutional Court of the time based on the principle of secularism. In Turkey at that time, the headscarf issue appeared not as a social problem but as an ideological one (Çarkoğlu & Toprak, 2006, p. 71). In fact, the roots of the problem extend back to the post-1980 Coup period. The first ban on headscarves was imposed in 1982 by the Higher Education Council (YÖK), prohibiting students from attending classes with headscarves. Some universities imposed disciplinary penalties on veiled students, while some students were not admitted to school (Benli, 2011, p. 146). The Council of State responded to objections at the time with the statement, "It is known that some of our girls and women cover their heads to indicate their adoption of a religion-based state system in opposition to secular Republic principles. For these individuals, the headscarf becomes a symbol of a worldview that opposes women's freedom and the fundamental principles of our Republic rather than a mere habit..." (Constitutional Court, 1984, p. 56-57, 317-318), interpreting the headscarf as a means of protest. As a result of these justifications, veiled women were banned from entering universities. The Constitutional Court used the same rationale in all cases filed to annul the sanctions imposed due to the headscarf ban. Under the leadership of the ruling party ANAP, a law was accepted in the Parliament in 1988 to allow university girls to continue their education with headscarves. (Law No. 3503, November 16, 1988) The law was not signed by President Kenan Evren and was sent back to the Parliament for reconsideration on November 30, 1988. In response, the Turkish Grand National Assembly accepted a new Article 16 with Law No. 3511, allowing "covering the neck and hair with a veil or turban for religious reasons." Against this, President Evren appealed to the Constitutional Court for the annulment of the law. The Court, in its

decision on March 7, 1989, annulled the law on the grounds that it was contrary to the principle of secularism. In the understanding of the period, secularism was not limited to the separation of religion and state affairs but constituted a significant position for the continuity of the Turkish Republic as an ideology. It can be said that secularism was used by the period's government as an ideological imposition for representation across all segments of society. The main justification of the Court was that religious practices could be an obstacle to progress and modernization and might conflict with the values of the Republic. Ultimately, it can be concluded that the headscarf was considered a "political and ideological symbol" in the turbulent political actions of the time. Consequently, women from generally rural and religious backgrounds, as carriers of this symbol, could be easily excluded from public spaces.

Examples of women's increasing visibility in public spaces and their demand for mosques can be found in the 90s. Because the 90s are also important dates in terms of the rise of the feminist movement (Parlak, 2020b, p. 253). In addition, Yılmaz states that the Islamist movement, which changed in the 90s with the globalisation process, was an articulation with neoliberalisation and that the Islamist women's movement was also included in this process (Yılmaz, 2015). The book also states that the representatives of this movement, unlike in previous periods, criticised men harshly and established a connection with feminism in some way. Joining Aziz Al Azmeh (2003), Nilüfer Göle (2009, 2012) and Yıldız Atasoy (2005) on the compatibility of Islamism and modernist capitalism in Turkey, Yılmaz emphasises that Islamism is not the antithesis but the complement of the global modernisation process (Yılmaz, 2015). This is exemplified by the Islamist government in power in Turkey, the establishment of Islamist capital and foundations, the use of mosques by women, Islamic fashion and the development of the Islamist women's movement. In the following period, prominent figures of the AK Party indicated that rather than directly addressing this issue, civil society organizations should make efforts to resolve it. In 2008, then Prime Minister Erdoğan stated that even if the headscarf was a political symbol, the ban needed to be lifted, and a proposal for amendments to Articles 10 and 42 of the Constitutional Court was decided. After a prolonged period of contentious political atmosphere, the following sentence was added to Article 42 of the Constitution: "No one can be deprived of their right to higher education for reasons not specified in the law. The limits of this right's use are determined by law." (Yeni Şafak, 25.01.2008) (Roznai & Yolcu, 2012)



Figure 3.1 Protests following YÖK's headscarf ban on university campuses

With the entry of AK Party female MPs into the General Assembly of the Turkish Parliament wearing headscarves, the headscarf was effectively allowed in the Parliament (Sabah, 31.10.2013). The swearing-in ceremony of 21 headscarf-wearing MPs following the June 7, 2015 elections highlights the progress made in addressing the headscarf issue in Turkey. The swearing-in of headscarf-wearing MPs in the Parliament is of great significance for the pluralism of Turkish politics and the democratic positioning of secularism. Today, the headscarf is agreeable political symbol in Turkey and its use is free in all other public areas. Although the participation of women from lower-middle classes in the public sphere has been legally restricted in Turkey, the active discussion of women's participation in public life is a significant step for the coming years. Various debates have been held regarding the variability of feminism's perspective on pluralism and equality. Aktaş (1989) addresses numerous incidents related to the prescriptive and Western images of the headscarf issue and the separation of social environments. He mentions that during the 28 February process, headscarf-wearing women had to establish new forms of relationships with men in the public sphere. The “sister” identity, which maintains a distance from sexuality alongside its gender emphasis, was thus adopted by headscarf-wearing Muslim women of that period. As the most legitimate form of the woman as a source of *fitna* (discord) in the public sphere, “sister” was the most reasonable identity in the perception of Muslim men of that time (Aktaş, 2019). However, one of the fundamental disadvantages of gaining visibility for this identity is the transparency of vulnerabilities. Women who show their presence in the public sphere while wearing a headscarf are under surveillance by Islamists for expressing their Islamic sensitivities and are also targeted for criticism by opponents of the headscarf for their perceived adaptation

to the modern process. (Barbarosoğlu, 2000). Therefore, the presence of women in the public sphere in Turkey varies not only according to gender-based hierarchies but also based on whether or not they wear a headscarf. Besides the political agenda, the protest chains formed by thousands of people holding hands on October 11, 1998, calling for "Freedom for Headscarves" were organized in response to the headscarf ban. The students who organized the protest were tried and sentenced to imprisonment by the State Security Court. (AA, 2021)



Figure 3.2 “Hand in Hand Chains” protest for headscarf in 1998

Göle argues that during that period, the headscarf represented different classes and educational levels and highlights the various implications of Muslim women's participation in public life in Turkey. According to the author, the participation of women in public life required their visibility in urban areas and interaction with men, reflecting a modern and secular lifestyle. However, this also indicated a radical shift in the culture of "open threat" in Islamic literature regarding public spaces, as well as the roles and responsibilities assigned to genders (Göle, 1998, p. 67). The entry of women into social life under these contradictory conditions was aligned with the mixed lifestyle found in the Islamic utopia of the *Asr-ı Saadet* (Golden Age). The ideal societal model was sought by reverting to Islam's "golden age," moving away from traditional Islam while looking for alternative sources to Western modernism. Over time, Muslim women in Turkey who entered public life adopted a more secular lifestyle, which led to new acceptances and lifestyles in the increasingly visible conservative group of the 21st century. Rapidly rising headscarf firms and conservative fashion quickly established themselves in a clothing

industry shaped and developed by the preferences of upper-middle-class conservatives. Göle's assertion that claims of liberal public inclusion necessitate radical shifts holds the key differences between Turkey's political atmosphere and Iran. The presence of both authoritarian and democratic secularists in Turkey, along with their influence, has somewhat prevented the radicalization of Islamists. Additionally, Iran had maintained the autonomy of its Shiite clerical class even after Shah Reza, and it was not state-dependent like in Anatolia (Kandiyoti, 2022, p. 98). Indeed, in the veiled women's movements in Iran, women protested in a veiled manner, believing they were preserving their cultural identity. For them, the veil was not a symbol of submission and seclusion but of freedom. They argued that the veil allowed them to escape the limitations imposed by their position as sexual objects and to gain a fundamental identity as "human beings." However, despite the revolutionary nature of the movement, both women and clerics did not perceive this public right-seeking as something beyond the traditional, cultural, and religious framework. Indeed, the current situation explains how the power has abused its position (Berkday, 2023, p.227). However, approximately twenty-five years after the mentioned actions, the emergence of the White Wednesday Protests and the actions against the headscarf mandate is noteworthy. This is because it demonstrates that what is symbolized or represented can change over time and under pressure.

Now, let's consider how these political and social changes are reflected in mosque spaces. Radical changes in social life lead to changes in users' needs. When considering the public-private and haram-halak (segregation) dichotomies, both contribute to constructing and reproducing gender policies in society. In this context, the mosque, in addition to being an architectural space, is becoming a new site of political representation debates. The construction and usage practices of mosque spaces follow the traces of political tensions and social changes. With changing gender roles and participatory policies, the mosque is now also the subject of a new discussion.

Considering the debates, the mosque space has had a patriarchal structure since its design phase. Given that women's access was completely banned at certain historical periods, the position of women in mosques has varied according to periods and administrators. The neglect of mosque construction by Kemalist reforms was revived by Islamic movements in the 1980s (Mete, 2013, p. 312). Mosque constructions have increased, and the conservative segment has found an opportunity to represent itself in

the public sphere. The momentum of Islamic movements in the publicization experience of women can be explained by their presence in urban squares or streets (Göle, 1997). However, by the end of the 20th century, the mosque space remains an exception for women who are visible in secular areas.

In Turkey, the emergence of Islamic feminist discourse in the 1990s, along with broader societal transformations, emphasized the need for a reinterpretation of the Quran and Sunnah free from patriarchal perspectives, advocating for gender equality (Badran, 2014, pp. 37-50). By the 2000s, conservative religious women began to show an upward trend in educational activities, civic associations, and public participation. The subjectivity of women in knowledge production and their increasing participation in social activities introduced new dimensions to the approaches toward classical religious interpretations. In 2017, a group of women established an online platform called “Women in Mosques” (WIM) to raise awareness about the conditions of women's galleries in mosques and to assert their rights to mosque spaces. The platform's primary manifesto focused on resisting the exclusion of women from mosque spaces due to patriarchy. The organization emerged as a response to the traditionally male-dominated nature of mosques, is a significant example of this development. The platform critiques not only the practical aspects of mosque use but also the doctrinal discourse surrounding mosques. Through contributions from various locations across Turkey, primarily Istanbul, they shared the status of mosques with the public. While the group remained active until 2022, their posts ceased as of January 2022. The examination of the relationship between mosque spaces, digital feminism, and feminist geography through this platform is noteworthy (Nas, 2021).

3.4 Dilemma of Everyday: The Segregation between the Inside and Outside

3.4.1 Contemporary Mosque Architecture in Turkey

After all the turbulent political atmosphere, the issue of headscarves for women and men in public spaces in Turkey has been resolved today. Public institutions are hiring, and the misconception that the headscarf is an ideological propaganda has ended. However, it is occasionally possible to observe various forms of discrimination in everyday life because societal traumas have deep-rooted histories. Many sociological studies on this topic are ongoing. A frequently accepted fact in women's studies is that demonstrating solutions with concrete data is the first step towards resolution.

In the 21st century, the main criticisms of mosque construction practices are generally related to the mosque's form, political representation, and capacity. Publications written after 2009 view the mosque issue as a struggle in public media. One of the most popular examples of this is Çamlıca Mosque. It's located in İstanbul, Üsküdar, and was built in 2013-2019 with a design competition by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanisation and Climate Change. The Çamlıca Mosque is one of the few examples designed with female users in mind, featuring facilities such as ablution units with direct access to the women's gallery, workshops dedicated to women's education, and rooms for breastfeeding and child care. It also includes numerous exhibition halls, event spaces, and outdoor landscapes, making it an accessible meeting place for users. However, due to its highly political and undemocratic construction process, the mosque has found itself at the center of a major clash. Since news began circulating in 2012 about the construction of a mosque in Çamlıca, numerous articles and texts have been written on the subject (Taşar, 2015). As a political symbol, discussions about the mosque are limited to architectural debates outside the architectural community. The basic principles of the space have made it a rather static topic when considering its religious and political representations. According to Taşar, mosque discussions could only find their healthy debate route once they break free from these assumptions and face the reality that what is being discussed is not truth but politics (Taşar, 2015).

While these discussions are on the agenda, it is difficult to say that there is a reflection of the issue of women's use of mosques within the architectural world. Şenel (2022) addresses the applicability of the design in daily life in her thesis on women's use and roles within the Çamlıca Mosque (Şenel, 2022). The existing usage scheme of this highly media-covered mosque is provided below. (Figure 3.3)

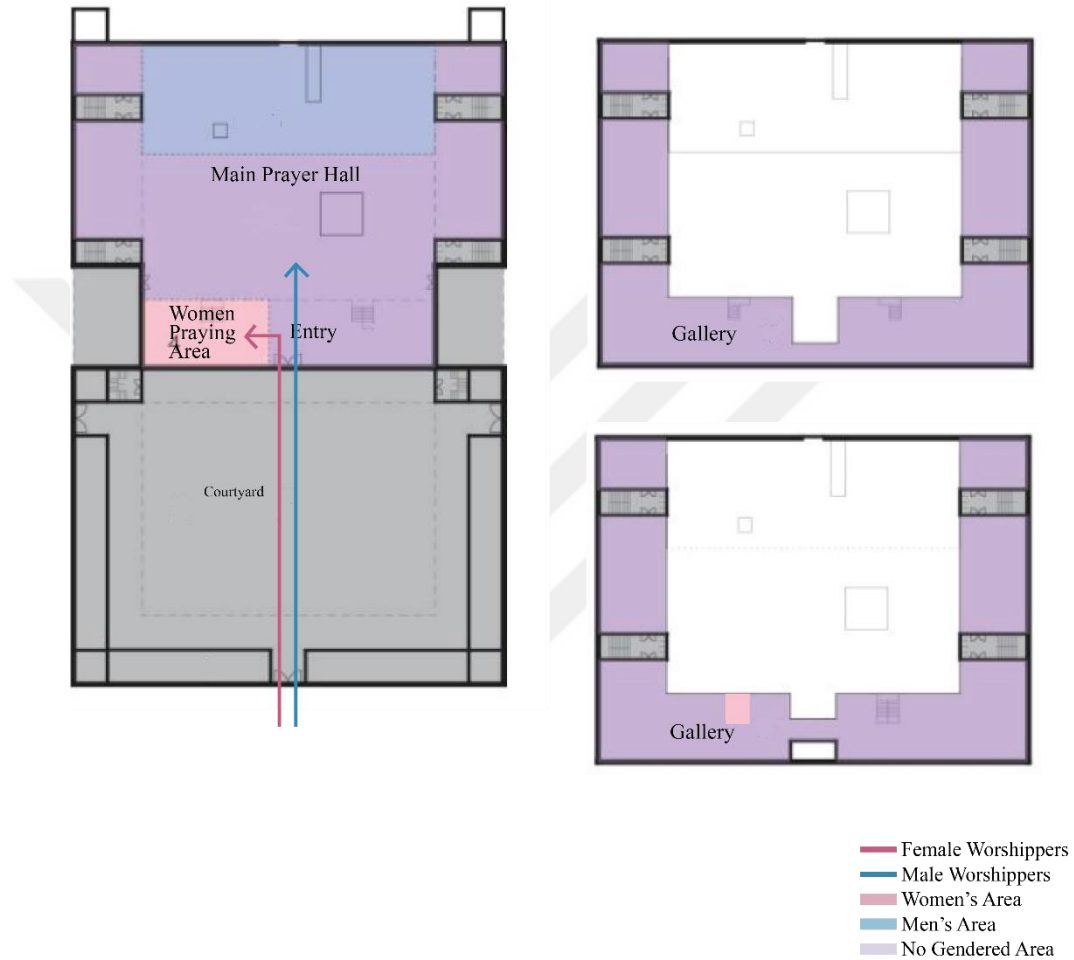


Figure 3.3 Çamlıca Mosque Plan (Reproduction of Şenel’s Plan by author)

In 2011, a social media page named “Camigor” was launched, designed for users to share photos of the mosques they have experienced. Although its visibility has decreased over time, the page continues to share posts. The primary goal of the platform is to create a visual archive of mosque spaces, regardless of their qualities (*Cami Gör*, 2019).

While these discussions are ongoing, many mosques that are popular in the architectural world and media have also become visible. However, it is necessary to question to what extent innovative mosques have changed the experiences of female

users. For example, the Sancaklar Mosque, designed by Emre Arolat and opened in 2013, has received numerous awards for its innovative design, including the “ArchDaily Building of the Year Award” in 2015, located in İstanbul, Büyükçekmece. Below, the spaces and interrelationships created for male and female users in the Sancaklar Mosque are examined. (Figure 3.4)

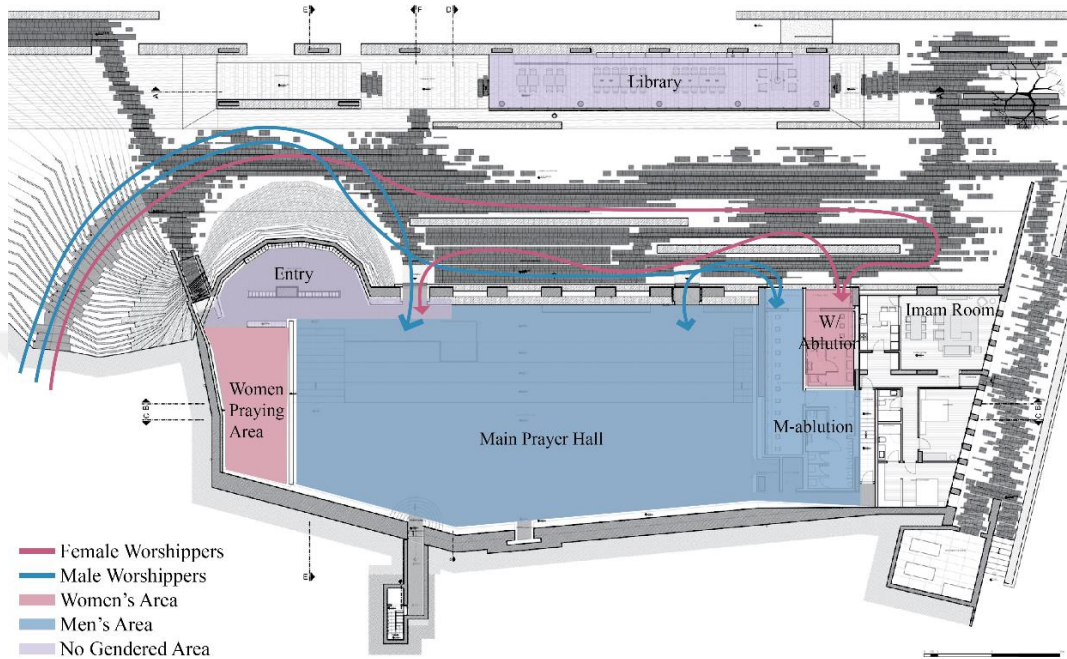


Figure 3.4 Reproduction of Sancaklar Mosque Plan by author

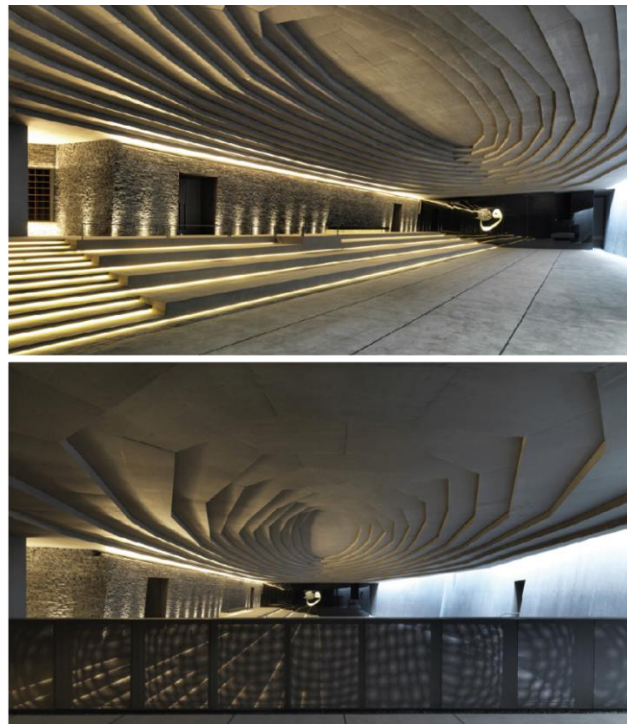


Figure 3.5 Sancaklar Mosque Interior Photos and A view from Women's Section into Main

Access to the women's section of the mosque is independent of external factors. The ablution unit designed for women is quite small (accommodating 3 people) and is located far from the women's entrance of the mosque. Although the architectural features of the mosque have been the subject of many studies and have inspired various works, they are not innovative for female users' experiences.

Projects built after 2010, which are mentioned in architectural discourse, can be evaluated under a new criterion of inclusivity. This is because a place of worship reduced to its form and its codified user-space relationships can lead to various issues over time. For instance, the Yeşil Vadi Mosque, another contemporary example in İstanbul built by Adnan Kazmaoğlu Architecture Research Center in 2003-2010, strengthens the perception of a shared space with its dome form. Women and men enter the mosque through the main entrance, and women use a steel spiral staircase in the main worship area to reach the gallery. The design is positive as it allows women to experience the main worship area and does not segregate them. There are glass railings that do not obstruct the visual connection with the mihrab. The design makes use of natural light and ventilation in the main worship area. However, since the upper floor is accessible only by stairs, it can be said that the design is not inclusive for individuals with disabilities. Below is the usage schematic of the Yeşil Vadi Mosque. (Figure 3.7)



Figure 3.6 Interior of the Yeşil Vadi Mosque

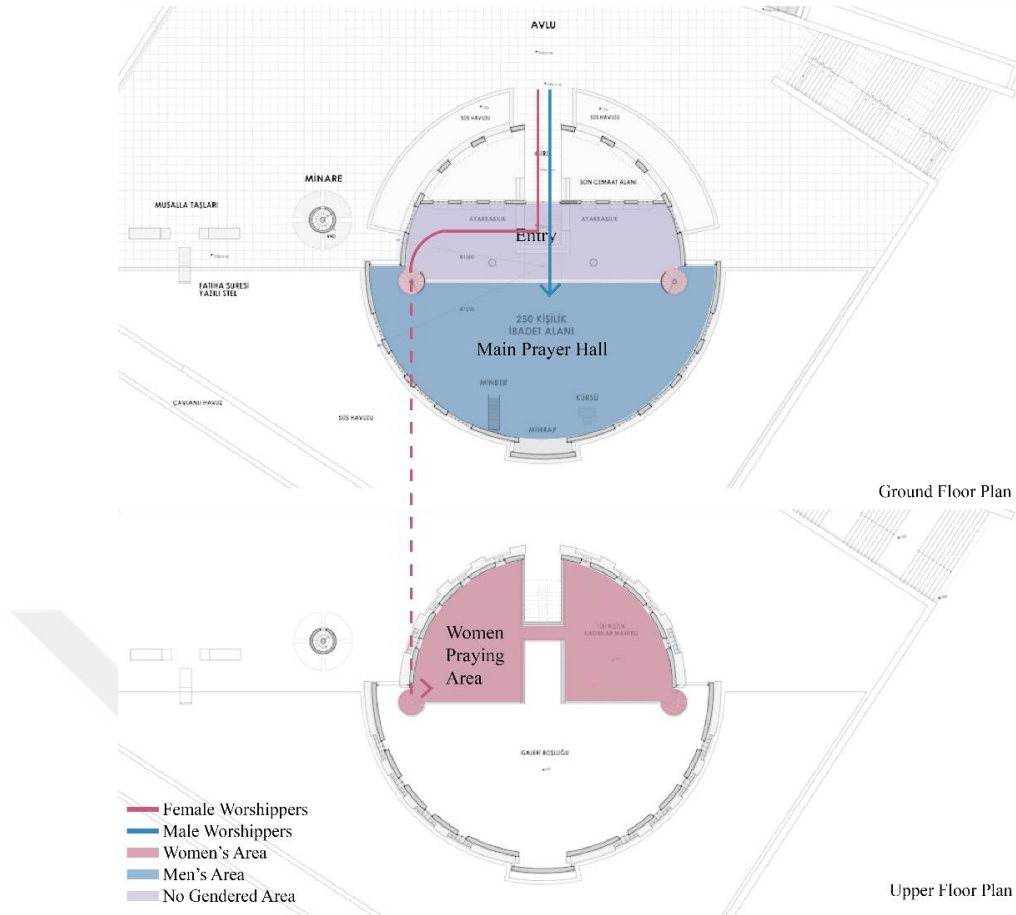


Figure 3.7 Reproduction of Yeşil Vadi Mosque Plan

The Şakirin Mosque is a project designed by architect Hüsrev Tayla and interior accessories by Zeynep Fadıllıoğlu, which has gained media attention as “The First Female Architect to Design a Mosque Project” in İstanbul, 2009. This headline underscores the mosque as a representation of male-dominated power in the design of worship spaces, and it is associated with the female designer and her detailed work on the mihrab and minbar. The innovative approach to the mosque’s elements is highlighted in interviews. The main worship area, situated beneath a dome that touches the ground, opens up to an arcade-enclosed courtyard with a pool. Separate entrances have been designed for men and women. Female users cannot experience the mosque from the ground level. Visual connection with the mihrab is possible only from the gallery level, which is accessible only by stairs and features laser-cut metal railings. Below is the usage schematic of the mosque. (Figure 3.6)



Figure 3.8 Interior Design of Şakirin Mosque

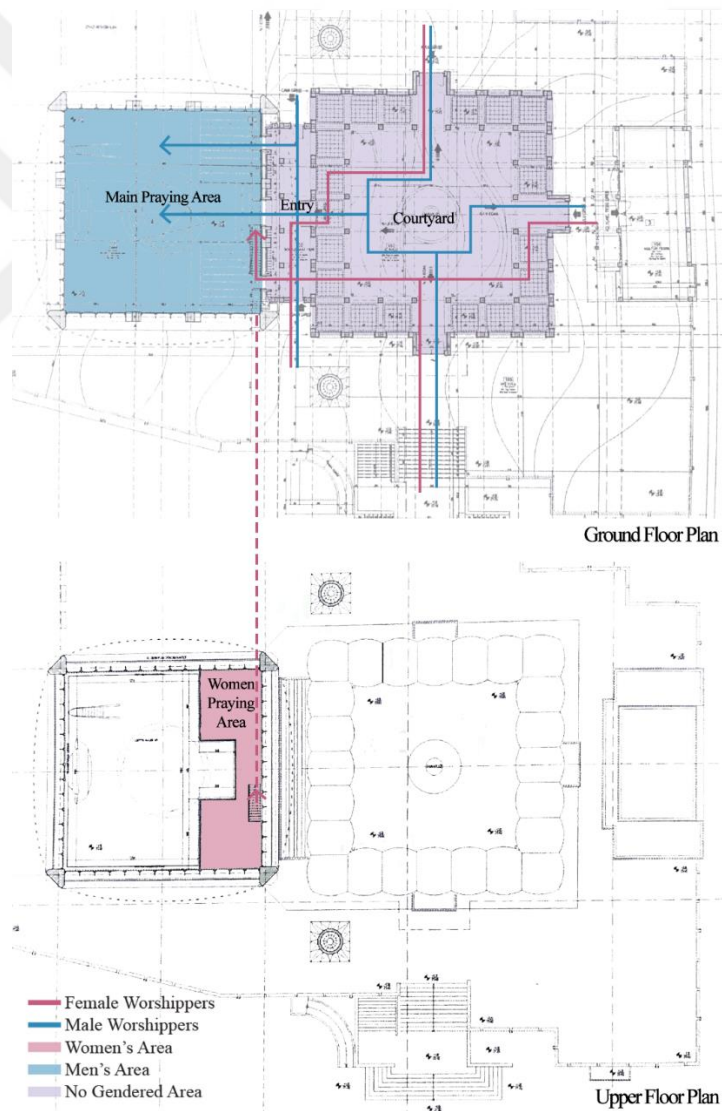


Figure 3.9 Reproduction of Şakirin Mosque Plan by author

Opened in 1996, the Eyüp Yıldız Mosque is notably early compared to others. It features a total space for users beneath wooden beams spanning the opening. The lack of distinguishing elements between male and female users and the common entrance to the main worship area are notable aspects. The mosque does not have an ablution area and it is significantly smaller in scale compared to other mosques.

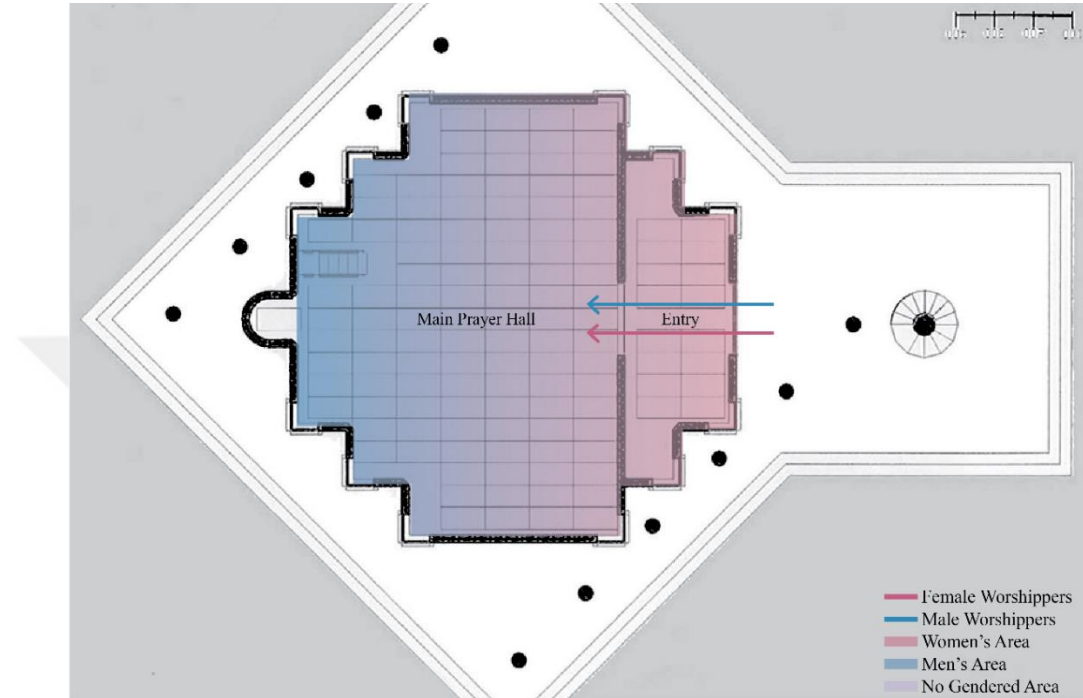


Figure 3.10 Reproduction of Eyüp Yıldız Mosque Plan by author



Figure 3.11 Eyüp Yıldız Mosque View

Even though mosque architectural designs may emphasize aesthetics and functionality, issues related to gender separation and access can remain conservative. This indicates that modern mosque designs should consider not only aesthetics and functionality but also social gender equality and inclusivity. As a result, although mosque practices may appear innovative at a formal level, they can still be quite conservative in terms of usage and gender separation.

3.4.2 An In-Between Space for Secular Life: Masjids in Public Spaces in Turkey

In his work "The Fall of Public Man", Richard Sennett (2013) defines the public sphere as a vital space that exists beyond the confines of family and close friends. Within this public sphere, different and complex social groups naturally converge. This phenomenon is most commonly observed in large cities. (Sennett, 2017, pp. 33–34) Sennett emphasizes that the public sphere should be seen as a place where individuals have the opportunity to establish social relationships in various public spaces. Ertit (2014), on the other hand, argues that for the secularization of a community to occur, the social prestige and influence of religion must relatively diminish. (Ertit, 2014, p. 29) The term "relatively" in this context refers to a comparison with the past. For social change to take place, different social structures must come together and interact within a specific area. Therefore, the public sphere emerges as one of the most suitable spaces for these changes to occur. As a common space where members of society converge, it can be considered an appropriate setting for secularization. In parallel, Göle posits that "Public Islam" blurs the distinctions between the religious and the secular, leading to new forms of synthesis (Göle & Ünal, 2012). According to Göle, secularism must represent not only the West but also pluralism. Islamic movements, gaining visibility through the "Islamic Headscarf" following the period of republican secularism, have led to a profound transformation in secularism. Particularly after the 1980s, the conservative segment in Turkey, bolstered by rising socio-economic levels, began to exert influence in various urban spheres. Göle notes that Muslims, by expressing their religious beliefs and identities within secular, pluralistic European publics, have created a space for dialogue, a phenomenon she terms the "Publicization of Islam." This process underscores the key role that the Westernization movement, which began in Turkey in the 1920s, played in transforming the public sphere (Göle, 2000, p. 71). During this period, Turkish society

and the state developed a new structure and set of relationships, which can be described by the French-derived term 'laïcité.' This term refers to the adoption of a worldly order by abandoning religious practices (Göle, 2000, p. 72). According to Göle's research, this process has affected the daily lives of Muslims, culminating in the construction of a secular public sphere. Muslims have shown a tendency to move away from traditional values and adapt more to Western modernity. The content and function of the public sphere also changed during this time, leading to Muslims experiencing the process of secularization. This process is reflected in the public and everyday practices of individuals, impacting identity and self-perception. The division between religious and secular persists in a constant state of competition across these three domains. As a result, Muslims experience the dual regulation of their public lives by both Islamic and secular norms. According to Göle and Ünal (Göle & Ünal, 2012, p. 23), "The presence of religion in public life is regulated at different levels depending on the political and cultural context of secularism in that country; this can range from an active and aggressive understanding of secularism to one more open to diversity." Depending on whether secularism is aggressive or inclusive, religious practices and typologies manifest at different levels. Due to the dynamic relationship between secular modernity and devout Muslims, as Nilüfer Göle (ibid, p. 64) emphasizes, "Pious Muslims must contend daily with the incompatibilities between their beliefs and secular public life." In their daily lives, Muslims place importance on the time and space requirements necessary to perform ablution and prayer. Spaces such as mosques and prayer rooms, built to meet this necessity, represent the most visible evidence of Muslims' spatial presence within secular life. Prayer rooms located in shopping malls, hospitals, or terminal buildings are sometimes recorded by the Directorate of Religious Affairs. However, it cannot be said that these prayer rooms exert a conservative influence on the areas where they are constructed, unlike mosques. Although it is argued that this effect is due to the legal requirement of being at least 100 meters away from places where alcohol or tobacco is sold, it should not be overlooked that the same restriction applies to educational institutions. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the construction of schools or educational centers conservatizes the surrounding area. Nevertheless, prayer rooms are exempt from this distance requirement. Typically, the distant but harmonious relationship they establish with secular spaces is designed to meet the needs of today's modern Muslims. This is because the prayer room, with its hierarchical entrance, begins to separate itself from the entire secular complex. Wet areas, which are intended to serve

both religious and secular purposes, are used as intermediary spaces. In essence, this replicates the spatial hierarchy found in places of worship: preparation for worship and the main worship area. However, secondary functions associated with mosque spaces cannot be mentioned here, as the space itself has been integrated into the main complex and secular operation. These flexible spaces that have infiltrated secular spaces generally include a *mihrab* and ablution area, but there is no spatial limitation in regulations. Thus, these religious spaces, which have infiltrated secular public spaces, are worthy of examination for a secularizing society in terms of their use. In some of these highly public spaces such as hospitals, terminal buildings, or shopping centers, an imam is appointed by the Directorate of Religious Affairs. However, there is no mechanism for architectural oversight. Moreover, research conducted in Ankara shows a parallel trend in the construction of prayer rooms and mosques. This is because prayer rooms require significantly fewer resources compared to mosques and meet the religious needs of Muslims who wish to practice their religion in an increasingly secular urban environment.

In this context, prayer rooms constructed in public spaces can be understood as spatial manifestations of the secular-religious interaction. The prayer room, an Islamic space, begins to gain recognition within the public sphere. Following the large-scale mosques traditionally found within the urban fabric, prayer rooms represent spaces that are integrated into secular life. This integration is evident in the form of ablution areas for worshippers and prayer spaces where men and women can pray separately. At this juncture, the designer must ensure that the prayer room is designed to harmonize with its surroundings and anticipates the needs of its users. For example, a widespread transportation structure, The Ankara High-Speed Train Station, was constructed in 2016. Situated in a highly central location, the station's upper floor is designated for dining areas, while the ground floor is allocated for station users. The basement level houses both the parking area and the prayer room. In transportation facilities, where the use of directional elements is crucial, the prayer room also benefits from this approach. The separate prayer rooms for men and women, which branch off from a shared corridor, are adequate in terms of physical amenities. The compact layout, which includes an ablution area, restrooms, preparation space, and the prayer room itself, separated from the main circulation area, is a positive aspect of the design. These particular prayer rooms have been selected for their contemporary examples situated in the center of the city.

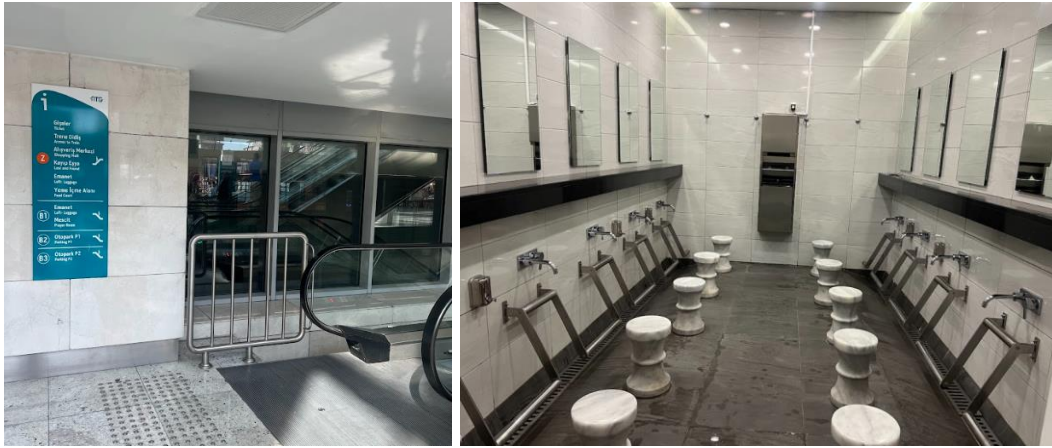


Figure 3.12 Guide Signs (left) and Ablution Room (right) in Ankara High-Speed Train Station (author's collection)

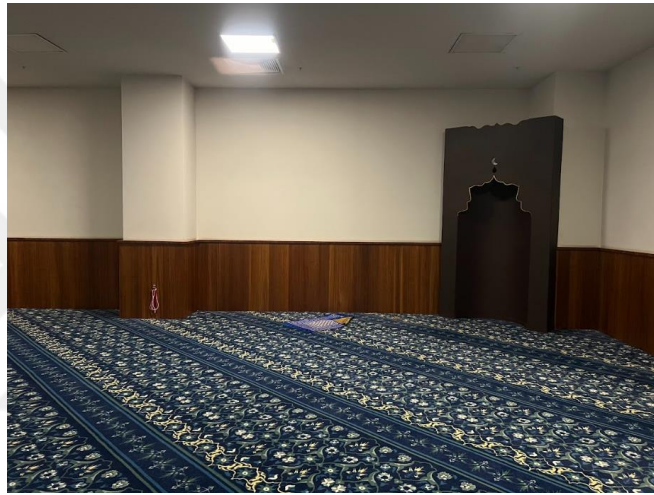


Figure 3.13 Women's Praying Area in Ankara High-Speed Train Station (author collection)

In addition to transportation structures, shopping malls are also one of the structures located in city centers and have intensive public use. For instance, Armada Shopping Mall is a complex where office spaces and shopping spaces are solved together and opened in 2002 in Yenimahalle district of Ankara. There is no directional signage for the masjid area of the shopping centre which contains different blocks. The masjid is located 3 floors below the ground and is accessed from the car park. The masjid and the ablution room are separated from the circulation corridor by a separate entrance.



Figure 3.14 Corridor leading to Entry (left) and Ablution Room (right) of Armada Masjid (author collection)



Figure 3.15 Interior View of Armada Masjid (author collection)

In addition to new construction areas, Kızılay, one of the oldest settlements in Ankara, is one of the regions with intensive commercial functions. In the area where the main functions are designed as trade and offices, all religious structures are in the form of a masjids underground. As mentioned before, masjids designed for religious rituals in secular areas are extremely flexible spaces in terms of form and use. For example, Yüksel Mosque, Kızılay Büyük Çarşı Mosque, Ülküalan Mosque, Sakarya Sami, Fetihye Underground Mosque, Vakıf Mosque are examples of these mosques in Kızılay. Although the names of these masjids located underground are called mosques, they are generally encountered as low-capacity places of worship located in the basements of workplaces.

The mosque is an underground mosque located at the exit of the Kızılay metro to Yüksel Street. The mosque, which is located on the lowest floor with a long corridor under the signboard, has separate service areas for men and women. In the women's *mahfil*, which is obtained by dividing the back part of the mosque with a curtain, there are various prayer items. Due to its central location, the mosque occupied limited area and has a invisible entry for sacred space. For the integration of secular nature of daily habits and religious activities, Yüksel Mosque can be a clear example of intersection between them.



Figure 3.16 Main Entrance (left) and Women's Section (right) of Yüksel Mosque (author collection)

The construction of places where religious practices can be carried out in these areas, which are included in secular life, is a necessity for Islam. However, the fact that the place of worship does not have a specific spatial criterion distinguishes it from other building groups and allows us to reconsider it in a very flexible position. Flexible solutions, especially in urban areas with dense commercial functions, offer us the optimum boundaries of the place of worship. It should not be forgotten that masjid spaces are an alternative waiting area in busy areas of the city or one of the versatile spaces where service spaces are open to the whole city. In this context, masjids, unlike mosques, have the potential to host a much different discussion in the context of gender. It is difficult to create new hierarchies in this space solved in a limited area compared to the scale of the building, but of course they still need to be designed meticulously.

Chapter 4

Contemporary Mosque Design Practice in Turkey: Case of Ankara

This chapter consists of three sub-headings. In the first part, the projections of the recently popular ‘inclusive design’ in architecture and how it can be adapted to the mosque space are explained. A set of criteria was developed to measure the experience of female users of mosques. In creating this set, Eskandari's requirements took into account the new set. Eskandari developed a set of criteria for the evaluation of the American mosque (Eskandari, 2011). These criteria are based on the possibilities that mosque practice in Turkey offers to women users. The aim of this chapter is to discuss how the principles of ‘inclusive design’ that we have been able to discuss on public buildings can be adapted to places of worship. The second chapter analyses mosques built in Ankara after 2013. The chapter is designed to explain the current situation in the light of the official data of the Directorate of Religious Affairs (hereinafter DİB) and to compare it with the circular decisions. Field observation forms for each building are included in the Appendix. The final sub-heading of the chapter discusses the position of international contemporary mosque projects vis-à-vis women's participation. The buildings are categorised into three main categories in terms of their inclusiveness towards women. For each group, specific examples are selected and their use in gender contexts is presented. Interestingly, there may be an indirect relationship between women's participation in the space and its design.

4.1 Inclusive Terms in Mosque Design

As the context of the dialogues established between people, space is the ground of many encounters during the day. However, in addition to this static existence, space is also an area where various hierarchies and new boundaries are created between users. It is essential for the designer to understand what these boundaries represent. Because it

reminds what the obstacles represent for the individual and reminds the individual of his/her new boundaries. Steinfeld underlines that people from different groups do not experience the same space in the same way and adds:

“Negotiated spatial orders define the differences between individuals: Who is in, who is out, who has access to resources, who is denied access, who wins, who loses, who is empowered, and who is neglected? The experience of barriers is universal, but not everyone has the same ability to overcome barriers that may restrict independence, social engagement, and the communication of a positive identity. Therefore, designers, their clients, officials, and others should understand the impact of their decisions, particularly on disadvantaged groups.” (Steinfeld & Maisel, 2012, p. 13)

The New Urban Agenda of UN-Habitat (adopted in 2016) demonstrates a core commitment to inclusivity, with universal design (UD) representing the preferred approach to fostering inclusion (UN 2006 cited in Langdon et al., 2020). Inclusive design was a concept that was just discussed in the 1960s and was desired to be quickly included in the agenda of architecture and urban planning. (Steinfeld & Maisel, 2012) Because, although Modernism, which came before it, emerged as a response to the rapid changes brought about by industrialization, urbanization, and technological advancement in Western society, it was quite primitive in the issue of human-centered design. Flexible designs that can be specific to the individual have created a necessity in society that is increasing daily. Bringing this discussion area to places of worship will also cause different design visions and platforms.

Architecture inherently maintains a holistic relationship with its environment. Spaces designed with the primary goal of meeting the needs of their surroundings and users are evaluated based on numerous criteria related to their efficiency. However, recent studies suggest that spaces should not only be assessed through their physical design elements but should also consider the psychological, emotional, social, and ideological inclusion of individuals (Lim 2018; Langdon et al. 2015; Frye 2013; Hedvall 2013; Nickpour, Jordan, and Dong 2012; Demirkan 2007; Imrie and Hall 2003; Gaver and Martin 2000). This concept, referred to as "psychosocial inclusivity" (Lim et al., 2020), emphasizes that inclusive design should offer individuals equal or fair opportunities for a

better quality of life through design interventions that take into account both psychological and social factors.

In the field, which is relatively underexplored, improving only the physical conditions of worship spaces may inadvertently reinforce segregation among the groups that use these spaces. Özensel (2003), who studies socio-spatial relationships, argues that values are embodied within spaces, and that these values are integral to one's identity. The influence of space on our everyday activities-whether work, worship, or socialization-cannot be denied. Therefore, spaces for worship, which shape religious identity and practice, are fundamental subjects of study. Being visible in a worship space and participating in a congregation, whether verbally or visually, is directly related to a person's sense of belonging. Conversely, invisibility in these spaces reinforces the individual's religious practice and identity. Spaces are reproduced by their users and simultaneously reinforce existing relationships.

Furthermore, for individuals with strong religious sensitivities, the legitimate spaces associated with their religion significantly contribute to the formation of their sense of belonging. Worship spaces are often among the first environments discovered and learned during the early stages of socialization. Religious norms and values play a crucial role in an individual's interaction with society. Given the central role of religion in human and social life, it can be argued that the development of a sense of belonging to religious spaces is a relatively straightforward process (Ayhan, 2021).

Places of worship are one of the public spaces where gender boundaries are most evident. It is important to understand the new hierarchies that these boundaries represent in users. When analysed in this direction, the mosque, as a public space, sets a new boundary between users even before they enter the space by separating the entrances. This boundary is a sign that it will differentiate the experience of the space from the very beginning. The segregation starts from the entrance and continues until the space reserved for women. The use of missing guiding elements makes it difficult for women to find the section reserved for them at this stage. While the masculine structure of the space allows the male user to enter directly without allowing him to search for any space, the opposite is the case for women. Moreover, the segregating intervention is also very visible at the entrance of the spaces. In addition to the male use areas and the flamboyant entrance

solved with an instinctive circulation, the entrance of the spaces reserved for women is exactly the same in scale and form as the other ancillary functions. Especially in mosques built before 2013, the common situation is that there is no special section for women in mosques and if needed, the room reserved for outbuildings of the mosque is reserved for women's use. In mosques where female users are considered at the design stage, such converted unqualified spaces are not encountered. On the contrary, the space is usually located in the cellar or basement where natural light and ventilation are available. In addition, women's quarters should be able to establish a visual relationship with the mihrab in the main worship space. The reason for this is to facilitate the follow-up of worship and to make the individual feel belonging to the community in the space. It is possible to analyse the inclusiveness of space under two main headings: physical inclusiveness and psychosocial inclusiveness. Their definitions are given below and an evaluation set has been created based on women using the mosque space in the context of these principles.

Physical Inclusivity:

These criteria focus on the tangible, structural aspects of the space, such as accessibility, lighting, and spatial arrangement. Physical inclusivity ensures that the space can be navigated and utilized by all users, regardless of their physical abilities or needs. For example, sufficient lighting, accessible entrances, and clear guidance elements are critical for creating an environment where all users can feel comfortable and safe.

Psychosocial Inclusivity:

Psychosocial criteria address the emotional, social, and psychological dimensions of space. These factors influence how individuals feel within the space, their sense of belonging, and their ability to engage with others. For instance, the ability to access the main prayer hall and the inclusion of natural ventilation can significantly impact the user's overall experience, contributing to a sense of comfort and connection within the space.

By considering both physical and psychosocial inclusivity, designers can create environments that not only meet the practical needs of users but also foster a sense of well-being, belonging, and respect for all individuals. The interplay between these two

aspects ultimately shapes the holistic experience of the space, ensuring it serves its intended purpose effectively while also supporting the diverse needs of its users.

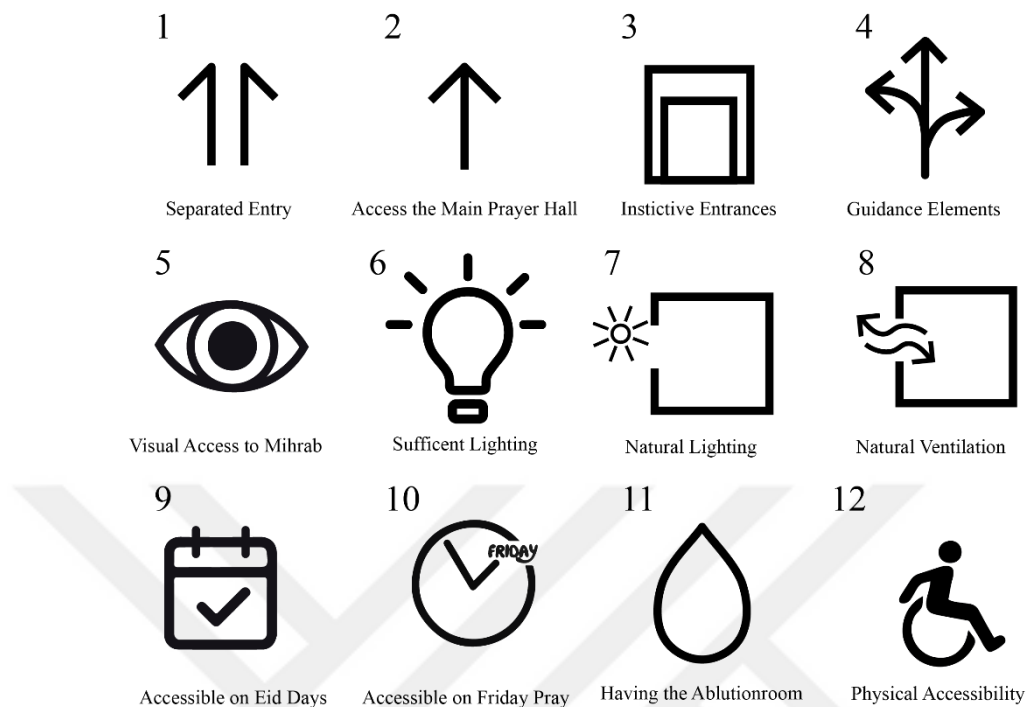


Figure 4.1 Icon Chart for Evaluation created by author

Below are detailed explanations of the selected icons, along with their impact on inclusivity. It is important to note that both groups support each other during the building's usage process and shape the experience offered to its users, albeit at different levels.

¹  **1. Separated Entry:** This concept refers to design decisions where women are excluded from shared use areas. In other words, it describes a design decision where women are directed to the women's gallery without accessing a communal meeting space or the main area of the mosque. This approach is frequently encountered in buildings from periods where the mixing of genders was considered a source of discord. In traditional worship spaces, male users typically experience the sequence of public space, semi-public space, and private space. Spatial hierarchy is important in terms of how spaces are perceived. It is expected that the user first enters a preparation space or the last congregation area before proceeding to the street or other designed public areas. However, entrances segregated for female users are often designed similarly to the entrances of spaces such as minarets, ablution rooms, storage areas, or administrative offices, without considering this spatial hierarchy.

- 2  **2. Access to the Main Prayer Hall:** The dome is one of the primary architectural elements that creates a sense of totality within the main prayer hall. The main prayer hall is generally the most intricately designed part of the building. Regardless of the type of covering, allowing female users to experience the main space conveys inclusivity that acknowledges their individuality and their presence as non-disruptive.
- 3  **3. Instinctive Entrances:** The entrance to a space provides information about its use. Design decisions that marginalize women are frequently found in construction practices. For example, in entrances that are segregated by gender, disproportionate sizes or prayer spaces that are not intuitively accessible to women raise serious questions about inclusivity. This is because the comfort of women in the space is often overlooked during the design phase. In structures where spaces are added post-construction, these additions can deviate from the original design language, negatively impacting the overall spatial experience.
- 4  **4. Guidance Elements:** Insufficient use of directional elements makes it difficult for female users to locate or use the space. The male-dominated structure of the worship space disregards the separation of women and forces them to operate within the male users' domain. An example of this is when male congregants constantly direct female users to their designated areas in worship spaces where usage areas are not clearly defined.
- 5  **5. Having Visual Access to the Mihrab:** It is important for female users to be able to follow the imam during prayer. This is crucial for performing the prayer correctly and for understanding that they are part of the congregation.
- 6  **6. Sufficient Lighting:** Adequate lighting in the women's galleries positively influences the experience of worship at different times of the day.
- 7  **7. Natural Lighting:** The presence of natural lighting in a space is important for the quality of the environment. This condition is often unmet in worship spaces located in basements or annexes of buildings, which were not considered during the design phase.
- 8  **8. Natural Ventilation:** Natural air circulation is extremely important for the quality of the space.

9



Accessible on Eid Days

9. Accessibility on Eid Days: During days and nights when male users dominate the mosque space, women are often not provided with space. This criterion refers to mosques that do not marginalize women's worship and allocate special areas for them on Eid days.

10



Accessible on Friday Prayers

10. Accessibility on Friday Prayers: Most mosques in Turkey do not allow female users during Friday prayers, where sermons shape Muslim public life. This practice undoubtedly reinforces the secondary status of women within the mosque.

11



Having the Ablution Room

11. Having the Ablution Room: Ablution rooms, which are essential preparation spaces for worship, significantly limit the building's usability in their absence. These spaces typically need to be directly connected to the women's gallery during the design phase.

12



Physical Accessibility

12. Physical Accessibility: One of the fundamental elements that should be considered when designing vertical circulation is the accessibility of the space. Accessing women's galleries, which are often located on upper floors, via stairs can be difficult for those with challenging conditions such as old age, disability, or pregnancy. It can also pose dangerous risks for individuals with small children in need of care.

4.2 Policies and Practice: Mosque Architecture after 2012 in Turkey

There has been a growing body of research worldwide on the spaces allocated to women in mosques and the secondary status of Muslim women within these religious environments. Surveys and studies conducted on this subject have highlighted the distanced relationship between women and places of worship. Firstly, with the instruction of the Presidency, it was stated that there was a need to make the activities for enlightening women inside and outside mosques more rational and effective and the mufti offices were asked to carry out studies on this subject and to send the studies to the Centre in the form of reports in 2004. Since 2006, places for women have been regularly recorded and reported as statistical data (Din Hizmetleri Raporu, 2013, p. 81). Instructions on

‘women's utilisation of mosque services’ and ‘guidance and religious services for women’ were included in the 2007 Circular of the Presidency. In 2009, the names of the mosques where women can perform time, Friday and Eid prayers were determined and published on the website of the Presidency under the title ‘Improvement of Mosque Services’ (Aydın Bıçak, 2010)

In line with this decision, the Directorate of the Religious Affairs (hereinafter DİB) has set four main objectives for the improvement of women's spaces in mosques. The first objective is to improve ablution facilities and toilets, to organise various awareness-raising events to support female user participation in mosques, to process data on spatial improvements, and to hold various meetings on ‘Improving Women's Spaces in Mosques’ (Din Hizmetleri Raporu, 2013, p. 82).

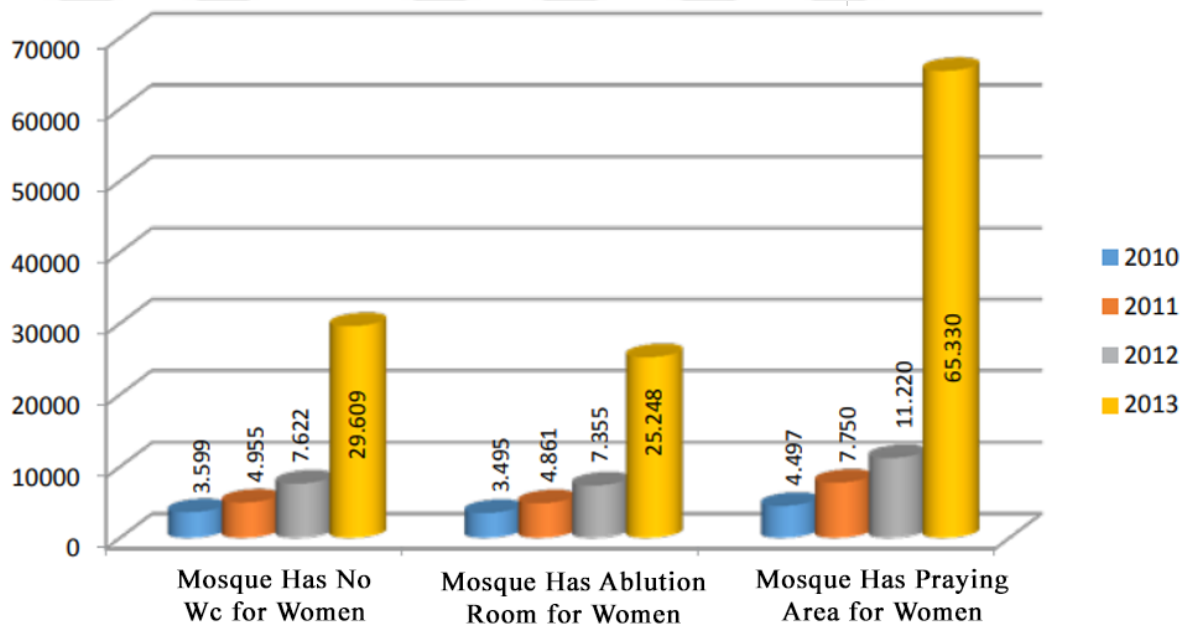


Figure 4.2 Count of Women Spaces in Mosque by DİB

One notable study I encountered for Turkey is the "Project for Beautifying Women's Sections in Mosques: Identification, Provision, Monitoring," initiated by the Diyanet in 2011. In the relevant terminology, this is often referred to as a "women-friendly mosque," a term that implies that mosques without this designation may not be conducive to female worshippers.

The primary goal of the project was to enhance the spaces allocated to women for prayer, as well as the ablution areas and restrooms in over 3,000 mosques in Istanbul. For mosques lacking spaces where women could perform ablution or pray, the project aimed

to create such facilities, ensuring that women would be able to see the mihrab and minbar from the main prayer area. This initiative reflects a broader effort to make mosques more accommodating for women, addressing their specific needs and fostering a more inclusive environment within these religious spaces.

In 2013, the DİB a field study focusing on the spaces allocated to women in mosques. This extensive research involved detailed reporting, including photographing the areas designated for women, filling out necessary forms, and submitting the findings to the Istanbul Mufti's Office. According to the report published in 2013, the findings regarding the spaces where women pray in mosques were as follows:

- 47.5% were separated by curtains, 31.2% by walls, and 21.3% by partitions.
- 54.7% lacked directional signage for women's sections.
- 43.3% had no designated ablution areas for women, and 9.6% had inadequate facilities.
- 37.9% lacked restroom facilities.

Today, mosques predominantly allocate the main entrance and prayer area for male use. Women, who are sometimes barred from mosques, experience a form of segregation that, from the perspective of the sociology of religion, leads to their exclusion from knowledge. This exclusion has been linked to the perpetuation of superstitions and false beliefs, particularly among women and individuals with lower levels of education (Erdemli, 2013, p. 129). According to a field study conducted in Istanbul, most of the women (more than one third) who still come to mosques in Turkey enter mosques with a sense of unfamiliarity and more than half of those who want to come to the mosque do not come to the mosque because they know the problems they will encounter. One of these problems is the low quality of the places for prayer and ablution. Almost all of the female participants in the survey want this to change. Other difficulties encountered include women entering mosques through the same door as men, services that are partially improved during Ramadan being reduced again at other times, sermons and sermons being prepared and presented for men, and lack of female staff (Kılıç & Ağçoban, 2013).

Women who participated in surveys expressed dissatisfaction with the inadequate prayer and ablution facilities, the fact that they have to use the same entrance as men in

some mosques, the failure to convert temporary improvements for special occasions like Taraweeh prayers into permanent changes, and the fact that sermons and khutbahs are often prepared with men in mind. Additionally, as women's education levels increase, the inclusion of women in places of worship and the improvement of conditions are no longer seen as a privilege (Kılıç & Ağaçoban, 2013). In contemporary Turkey, the sections of mosques allocated to women are often poorly organized, with varying standards, and are frequently in secondary, difficult-to-access locations. This has led to a need for more equitable, rather than simply more, mosques. Many mosques close their women's sections during Friday and Eid prayers. According to a field study conducted by the social initiative "Women in Mosques," only 483 of the 3,271 mosques in Istanbul open their doors to women for Friday prayers, which is less than 15% of the total (Kadınlar Camilerde, 2021). Citing the low number of female worshippers as a reason for this exclusion is not meaningful when considering the historical context, where the presence of women in public spaces was often viewed as a source of *fitna* (chaos or moral disorder), leading to spatial restrictions. Earlier sections of this work have explored the progression of male dominance in these contexts in detail.

In mosques, which serve as spaces for gathering, identifying the segregative position represented by women's prayer areas, which are often excluded from the main space, is crucial. Understanding the space involves deciphering the direct relationship between the form that creates the space and its users. Discussions on mosque architecture of the period have consistently focused on the form and/or the representation of the structure. Mosque forms, repeatedly replicated as copies of classical Ottoman architecture, have been consistently reproduced regardless of their location or the number of users. Tanyeli (2017) argues that "every regime inevitably has to produce false sanctities and illusions of sanctity." He emphasizes that the sanctification of history is an indispensable practice in these regimes, with architecture being a powerful tool for creating illusions of sanctity and providing the necessary decor for the sanctified history. The loss of awareness that the replica is, indeed, a replica, and the perception of it as a continuation of history, reflects an anachronistic approach (Tanyeli, 2017, 279-291). Similarly, in his 2012 article "Is It a Minaret or a Factory Chimney?", Kuban criticizes the misinterpretation of the symbolic and aesthetic aspects of mosques due to a lack of historical knowledge. He states,

"In a country where 100,000 mosques have been built in half a century, constructing a new mosque is not a significant event. The sheer scale of this number is a phenomenal political phenomenon unique to Turkey. It is an important process in explaining developments in Turkey... As a historian of architecture, I am troubled by these so-called neoclassical, ugly structures, which, like loaves of bread from an oven, resemble one another and are produced by amateur designers, covering the past like a blanket..." (Kuban, 2012).

Ihsan Bilgin, in response to a statement by the then-President of the Religious Affairs Directorate, Mehmet Görmez, who said, "Architects have been estranged from mosques for 80 years," lamented in his article in *Taraf* newspaper that the state had not involved architects in the matter, attributing the estrangement to the state's failure to follow a participatory process in mosque construction (Bilgin, 2012). The quality of mosques was debated, particularly under the influence of the political atmosphere of the period, but the primary focus was on their ideological implications and their being replicas. Consequently, the mosque construction practices, closely followed by the architectural community, became the subject of debate due to their lack of quality and political symbolism. Almost all discussions of the period revolved around the form of the mosque and its construction without a participatory policy under government control. In subsequent years, more sensational and media-focused developments occurred, such as the announcement by then-Prime Minister Erdoğan that a "giant mosque visible from all over Istanbul" would be built on Çamlıca Hill, coinciding with the 559th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul. The lack of a participatory approach in the design and construction process of this mosque was criticized. (Yılmaz, 2012). The mosque was described as a "political and ideological monument of conquest," and it was commented that it would become a polarizing political symbol.

However, the government's primary focus was on the size and capacity of the mosque to be constructed. In the same year, the statement by the President of the Directorate of Religious Affairs Görmez, claiming that "Our architects, universities, and architecture faculties have been estranged from mosques for 80 years. They failed to create a distinctive mosque architecture for the Republican period..." sparked various reactions within the architectural community. While some architects attributed this situation to the influence of secular architectural practices during the Republican era, the

general sentiment was that the state had not implemented participatory policies in public building projects. The issue was further explored through a compilation of interviews shared on Arkitera, an architecture-focused platform. In response to these criticisms, the DİB organized a "Mosque Design Symposium" in October 2013, inviting people from various sectors. Consequently, after 2011, Turkey became an active stage for debates on mosques, with the DİB also being involved. The primary axis of these discussions revolved around the use of mosques as tools for political propaganda and their construction as poor imitations of Mimar Sinan's mosques, serving the decoration of "historical sanctification."

As a result of these discussions, several recommendations were made:

In mosques lacking facilities such as toilets and/or ablution areas for women, these amenities should be created as soon as possible, in the most convenient and high-quality manner possible. In suitable mosques, women's toilets must be separate from the ablution areas.

- Every district should seek the support of an architect to modernize the women's toilets and ablution areas in mosques.
- Toilets should be designed to include both Western-style and traditional squat toilets, depending on available resources.
- Hygiene materials such as toilet paper in toilet stalls, hooks, liquid soap, paper towels, mirrors, and waste bins in ablution areas should be provided.
- Ramps for the disabled should be installed in both men's and women's toilet areas.
- Baby changing stations should be provided in the toilets.
- Clear and aesthetically pleasing directional signs should be placed in areas designated for women, with uniform signage across all mosques in the district.
- Additionally, it was emphasized in the report that efforts should be made to raise awareness and encourage participation in mosque activities through frequent discussions in various media channels (Avcı Erdemli, 2013).

This study is significant as it represents the first comprehensive research on women's use of mosques and includes extensive fieldwork. However, the fact that the study was not adopted as a policy and was not implemented in other provinces gives the impression that it was a temporary initiative. Indeed, the final project reports were not shared with the public.

In a speech delivered in 2013 at the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, Mehmet Görmez, the President of the DİB at the time, discussed various improvement projects related to mosque spaces that were on the DİB's agenda. He stated:

"As the Directorate of Religious Affairs, we have established a valuable tradition of commemorating the Mosques and Religious Officials Week around a specific theme each year. In this way, we draw attention to a neglected aspect of our society and raise awareness and consciousness. In 2011, we focused on the theme of 'Mosque-Child Encounter.' In 2012, we launched the 'Barrier-Free Mosque, Barrier-Free Worship' campaign. This year, we have chosen the theme of 'Mosque, Women, and Family.' After identifying these shortcomings, we prioritized improving the spaces for women in mosques. To closely monitor the implementation of these improvements, we initiated nationwide efforts to identify mosques where women can perform Eid and Friday prayers, and to improve or establish restroom and ablution facilities in these mosques if they do not already exist. As a result of these efforts, the number of mosques with special arrangements for women increased from around 3,000 to 11,200 by the end of 2012, and the number of mosques with ablution facilities for women reached 12,000. As of today, the total number of mosques with improved women's spaces nationwide has reached 19,260. Praise be to God, we have doubled this number in the first half of this year compared to last year. During this week, we aim to achieve even greater participation across the country in this matter. Our efforts in this area are ongoing and will continue..." (Görmez, 2018).

In the 2019 Circular on Increasing Efficiency in Mosque Services, the DİB stated that they will prepare decent and suitable places for women's worship in mosques and will not allow dark, dim and cold sections to be reserved for women. It was also reiterated that ablution places and WCs should be prepared in a suitable and adequate manner for women's use (DİB, 2019, p.5). These initiatives were supported by women who persistently communicated their complaints to the DİB, leading to the establishment of the "Women in Mosques" social movement in 2017. This movement has been inspirational in assessing and sharing the suitability of mosques in urban areas for female users, organizing various meetings in the main spaces of mosques, and examining and

publicizing the newly organized women's sections. Organisation, by coming out from behind the screens allocated to them and directly transforming the space, they bring an important criticism against the masculine perception of Islam (Parlak, 2020b). As an example of online activism, this initiative has created a digital identity and activism opposing political rhetoric, mapping gendered spaces. (Nas, 2021). In a 2018 interview with BBC Turkish, representatives from the Women in Mosques platform stated that their main objective was to highlight the secondary position of women in the design and operation of mosque spaces (BBC, 2018).

Additionally, recent academic studies examining the relationship between women and worship spaces, as well as support from various media actors, have made this issue more visible. The placement of opaque coverings over sections of the upper galleries, the use of stairs that are nearly impossible for elderly users to navigate, women's entrances that are significantly smaller than the main entrances and lack proper directional signage—all these factors clearly indicate that these spaces were not designed with female users in mind. Women who find space in the mosque when male attendance is low experience an environment that does not treat them equitably. A recent popular practice is the local community's separation of the last congregational area from the main praying hall with fenestration. Regardless of whether the mosque is historical or newly constructed, this exclusionary policy is implemented at the discretion of the mosque administrators. The complete segregation of women from the main space or their exclusion through visual and auditory barriers contradicts the mosque's inclusive policies. This situation reflects a patriarchal mindset that does not view women as integral members of the Ummah and continually sees women as sources of temptation. This spatial differentiation of worship based on gender reveals an unwillingness to accept a permeable structure, seeking instead to render women invisible from the entrance onwards. These unattractive, alienating interventions result in "invisible participants" who cannot access the space to which they are rightfully entitled. In reality, to establish healthy communication, it is necessary to increase, not reduce, points of interaction. The specialized and segregated spatial system in mosques, particularly the galleries, limits women's participation not only in prayer but also in sermons. When considering the participatory and unifying elements of the Prophet's Mosque, the contradiction between women's active participation in today's modern cities and their exclusion from mosque spaces is evident (Babgy, 2016). Babgy argues that without physical barriers and without

visual connection, women's participation in mosques is rendered impossible, and emphasizes that women must feel part of the congregation through participation. Babgy refers to mosques that encourage women's participation as "Women Friendly Mosques."

Although today's mosques retain their physical presence in urban centers, the declining number of users has led to the integration of various functions that positively affect the intensity of space usage. Indeed, with these functions, worship spaces must also meet contemporary needs. Mosques serve various direct purposes, functioning as educational spaces, public spaces, and communication centers. The "Mosque Design and Planning Guide" published by the DIB in 2021 includes regulations regarding the diverse functions within mosques. This guide is significant for its clarity on women's spaces and its imposition of certain physical restrictions, although it remains open to further development. However, the ambiguities in terminology and the lack of any proposals concerning women in the operation of the mosque are noteworthy. The absence of women on the committee that prepared the general guidelines also indicates that the issue is still approached from a predominantly male perspective. The statement, "The spaces allocated for women's worship may be a section divided from the main prayer area of the mosque, or the gallery floor may be allocated for this purpose," is particularly vague and does not specify the boundaries of segregation.

The absence of a specific designation for the *mahfil* as a space reserved for women legitimizes instances where, in cases of large male congregations, the space is closed off to female participants. This practice reinforces the secondary status of women in terms of both worship and spatial positioning, reflecting a departure from the approach outlined in the 2013 report. The guide later emphasizes the importance of establishing a visual connection with the mihrab, but the lack of distinct markers for a women's *mahfil* suggests that the space was not exclusively allocated for women. The architectural constraints detailed in the guide concerning the *mahfil* are as follows:

- Access to the *mahfil* floor should be provided through separate entrances and exits.
- The staircase leading to the *mahfil* floor should be at least 150 cm wide and should not be a spiral or balanced staircase. (For centrally located mosques with high usage, an elevator should be provided for access to the *mahfil* floor. Additionally,

shoe racks and areas for putting on/removing shoes should be proportionally designed on the landing areas of the staircase and elevator based on congregation size.)

- The height of the *mahfil* railing should be at least 110 cm, and the spacing should be designed to ensure safety for children. (There is no specific mention of materials or their qualities.)
- If the *mahfil* floor is designated for women's use, closets for scarves and skirts, as well as a bookshelf, should be provided.
- The *mahfil* floor should be designed with sufficient natural lighting and ventilation through appropriately sized windows or transparent surfaces.
- Spaces designated for women's worship should be designed to establish a visual connection with the mihrab.
- Ablution facilities should, if possible, be located outside the mosque in a separate area that is architecturally consistent with the mosque.
- Ablution facilities should be separated by gender, proportional to the mosque's capacity, and sufficient in number.
- Male and female entrances should be as independent as possible; if this is not feasible, separators should be used.
- In areas designated for women (in centrally located and heavily used mosques), a baby care unit and a breastfeeding room should be provided.
- In multi-purpose halls, seating arrangements should be flexible to accommodate different functions. Additionally, separate sections and corresponding entrances/exits for men and women should be planned. (Separate entrance/exit design is also emphasized for condolence houses.)

The inadequacy of ablution facilities and their direct connection to the women's *mahfil* has been highlighted in various studies, suggesting that the ablution facility should be separate from the main worship area, likely due to the *mahfil* not being exclusively designated for women's use. The guide discusses the integration of various functions, such as Quran courses, children's play areas, family and religious counseling offices, libraries, youth centers, multi-purpose halls, commercial spaces, and condolence houses, in the spatial organization of the mosque. However, the segregation of entrance paths

based on gender for spaces where men and women will regularly interact, such as the multi-purpose hall, creates a contradiction with the inclusive nature of the space itself.

To increase user engagement, various initiatives like the "Let's Go to the Mosque, Kids!" digital platform and the "Let's Meet at Fajr Prayers!" events are organized, encouraging the use of mosque spaces at different times by various age groups and both male and female users. The Quran courses, undoubtedly the most significant function in increasing children's mosque attendance, diversify the use of the mosque with periodically changing user groups and age segments. However, in contrast to past practices, new mosques often allocate basement floors for Quran courses, typically with a separate entrance. In some mosques, while male students remain within the mosque, female students attend lessons in the basement. This early spatial segregation contributes to the perception of mosques as male-dominated spaces. Surveys and research indicate that many women hesitate to use mosques for worship, viewing them as male-dominated environments. Recognizing this phenomenon offers valuable insights into how our sacred spaces can hold more meaningful positions in modern urban contexts. Although gender balance among Quran course staff may not appear problematic numerically, a closer examination of available spaces reveals the issue's clarity. An example of research on this topic can be found in the article "A Gender and Spatial Analysis of Mosques: The Case of Istanbul" published in MADJournal. Various interventions to improve women's use of mosques, initiated since 2014, have slowed down and lost momentum in subsequent years. In addition, in the annex of the circular published in 2019, the DIB added criteria regarding the women's section and use of the mosques built. Accordingly, in addition to the presence of a special place for women, whether the place is suitable for use will also be added to the report. The same applies to the ablution rooms built for women. When considered in this context, the DIB's efforts can be considered positive. (Table 4.2.1)

Table 4.1 Survey form in the circular supplement, Matters to be inspected regarding the interior and outbuildings of the mosque (source: Presidency of Religious Affairs, 2020a cited in Şenel, 2022)

C. Cami İçi ve Müştemilatıyla İlgili Denetlenecek Hususlar		EVET	HAYIR
1. Cami İbadete Açılış Beratı caminin uygun bir yerine asılmış mıdır?		☐	☐
2. Cami içi düzenli ve temiz midir?		☐	☐
3. Cami dış temizliği ve çevre düzenlemesi iyi midir?		☐	☐
4. Cami içerisinde ibadet edenlerin huzur ve hışunu bozacak (telefon, çalar saat, reklam vb.) hususlarla ilgili gerekli tedbirler alınmış mıdır?		☐	☐
5. Kadınlara mahsus ibadet mekânı;	var mıdır?	☐	☐
	kullanıma uygun mudur?	☐	☐
6. Kadınlara mahsus tuvalet ve abdest alma yerleri;	var mıdır?	☐	☐
	kullanıma uygun mudur?	☐	☐
7. Cami engelli erişimine uygun mudur?		☐	☐
8. Camide engellilerin kullanımına uygun tuvalet ve lavabo var mıdır?		☐	☐
9. Camide dini danışmanlık bürosu/cami görevli odası veya bu amaçla kullanılabilir uygun bir mekân bulunmakta mıdır?		☐	☐

Table 4.2 Inspection Form of Women's Space in Mosque (source: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Pendik Müftülüğü, 2018)

PENDİK MÜFTÜLÜĞÜNE BAĞLI CAMİLERDE KADINLARA AİT BÖLÜMLERİN DENETLEMESİ				
CAMİNİN ADI :		GİDİLEN TARİH:		
DENETİM YAPAN GÖREVLİNİN ADI-SOYADI:				imza:
1- Camide kadınlara ait ibadet yapacak yer varmı, varsa uygun mu?				
Var ☐	Yok ☐	Uygun ☐	Uygun Değil ☐	
2- Camide kadınlara ait abdest alacak yer varmı, varsa uygun mu?				
Var ☐	Yok ☐	Uygun ☐	Uygun Değil ☐	
3- Camide kadınlara ait tuvalet varmı, varsa uygun mu?				
Var ☐	Yok ☐	Uygun ☐	Uygun Değil ☐	
4- Kadınlara ait tuvalet ve abdesthanenin anahtarı ulaşılabilir yerde mi?				
Ulaşılabilir ☐	Değil ☐			
5- Camide kadınlara ait mekanlara ulaşmak için yol gösterici levhalar var mı, varsa uygun mu?				
Var ☐	Yok ☐	Uygun ☐	Uygun Değil ☐	
6- Camide kadınlara ait namaz kılma bölümü diğer mekanlardan ne ile ayrılmıştır				
Bez perde ☐	Tahta ☐	Cam ☐	Parmaklık ☐	Hiçbiri ☐
7- Camideki Kadınlar bölümünde uygun olmayan malzeme var mı?				
Atıl Kitap ☐	Eski Halı Kilim ☐	Diğer ☐	Yok ☐	
8- Kadınlar bölümü hakkındaki görüş ve önerileriniz.				

In addition, it is possible to say that studies have diversified at different scales. For example, Pendik Mufti's Office published a form for the inspection of women's sections in 2018. This form, which includes various questions about the quality of the

spaces belonging to women users, is positive in terms of the administrations working on the issue. However, in all these discussions on space, architects were not included in these regulation proposals or consulted. I found this approach to be negative, as it left the development of the issue to local initiatives and increased the inconsistent intervention between spaces.

As a recent work, KADEM (Women and Democracy Association) published a field study entitled ‘Mosques Are All of Us’. In the report, 17 mosques selected by DİB in five provinces determined by KADEM were selected (Gümrükçüoğlu, 2024). A scale format was developed to analyse mosques in terms of women's needs. The scale was designed to observe and analyse mosques in three areas: physical characteristics, access-based characteristics and social characteristics. The questions determined within the scope of the study are as follows:

- Does the spatial size of the women's section meet the needs?
- Can the imam/mihrab be seen from the women's section?
- Are there any foreign objects in the women's section?
- How is the general cleanliness of the prayer area in the women's section?
- How often are the mosque and the women's section cleaned?
- Are the carpets in the women's section clean?
- How is the ventilation and air conditioning in the women's section?
- Is the sound system in the women's section adequate?
- Is there lighting in the women's section?
- Are there special shoe racks for women in the women's section or at the entrance?
- (If applicable) How clean is the women's toilet?
- (If applicable) Are there the materials needed in the women's toilet?
- (If applicable) How is the cleanliness of the ablution place/fountain for women?
- Is there adequate signposting for access to the women's section?
- Is the women's section open at all times?
- Is it easy to access the women's section after entering the mosque?
- Is the women's section sometimes open to men?

- Is the ablution room for women open? Is the ablution room for women accessible?
- Is there adequate access guidance to the women's ablution room?
- Is the women's toilet open? Is the women's toilet accessible?
- Is the guidance for access to the women's toilet adequate?
- Do women use the mosque? At what time do women use the mosque the most?
- Are there any activities related to women in the mosque? How often?
- Is there a library or artefacts available for women in the women's section?
- Do religious officials and/or the mosque community organise activities where children can spend time in the mosque or where people can come to the mosque with their children?
- Are you aware of activities related to women in the mosque? (Open-ended)
- Should there be activities in the mosque? If yes, what kind would you like them to be? (Open-ended)
- What kind of arrangements should be made for you to use the mosque more easily? (Open-ended)
- Is it possible for the congregation to spend time with their children in the mosque? (Open-ended)

The project, which was initiated with the objective of enhancing the usability of mosques for women and guaranteeing that both men and women can engage in worship in an optimal environment, entailed a comprehensive assessment of 17 mosques across five provinces. The scale study enabled the identification of the difficulties, problems and emerging needs encountered in the use of mosques by women, in relation to the physical characteristics, accessibility and efficiency of the facilities. In considering the results of the scale study, it was important to take into account the socio-cultural structure of the region in which the mosque is located, its geographical location within the settlement, and the status of the mosque itself. Based on the analysis of these results, a series of solution suggestions have been developed for project stakeholders with the aim of improving the use areas for women in mosques. These are:

- A guide that the arrangement of the women's space considered the women's needs in mosque need to create and share with practitioners.
- DİB need to create a calender for events or organization about the increase the women's attendance in mosque

- DİB need to organize meetings and workshops for women's usage right of mosque because of the to create public opinion.
- Educators in mosque need to inform about the issue.
- The Mosque associations and mosque officials work collobrate for increasing the mosque usage and DİB should inspect them.
- The campaigns about the awareness of women's usage right of the mosque should popularize with the partnership of DİB.

It is encouraging that the issue is now being addressed not only by the DİB but also by different women's organisations. However, in a discourse on the space, the quality and management of the space is discussed. A women's mahfil is a space that needs to be designed, no matter how limited its use, especially if the main space to which it belongs is meticulously designed. At this point, the organisation of the space, which has been on the agenda of the DİB since the 2010s, found its place on social media with a group of activists in 2017 and KADEM in 2024 (Gümrükçüoğlu, 2024). I would like to state that the issue addressed should be on the agenda of architects before it is too late.

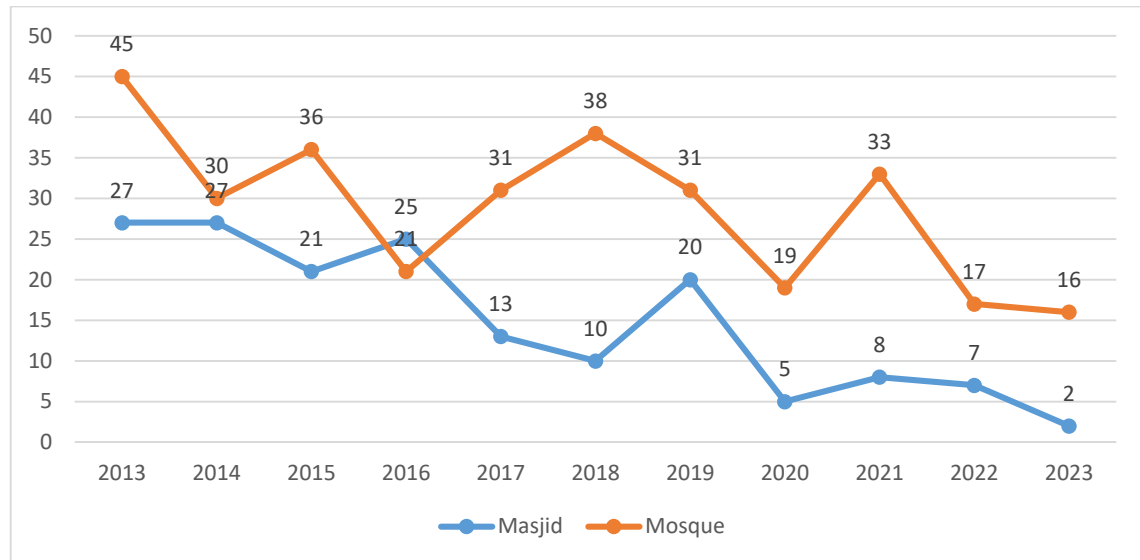
In the previous year, a new publication on the subject of mosque architecture was released. Entitled "Rethinking and Dreaming Mosque Architecture," the book was written by Gün and his team at Istanbul Technical University. The book addresses numerous design issues pertinent to mosque architecture, categorizing them under distinct headings and incorporating a multitude of global case studies. The concluding section of the study addresses the manner in which the women's mahfil is managed within the designated space. In this investigation into the study and enhancement of the conditions pertaining to women's areas, privacy is conceptualised as a malleable concept that can be approached in a variety of ways. The methodology is encouraging and markedly constructive. Given the complex nature of the mosque space, which shares similarities with other public domains, it should be the focus of numerous architectural discourses. (Gün et al., 2023)

4.3 Case Studies in Ankara

Ankara serves as a representative example of the broader trend in Turkey, where secular urban spaces have increasingly adopted religious characteristics. This indicates that the patterns observed in the construction of religious buildings in Ankara align with

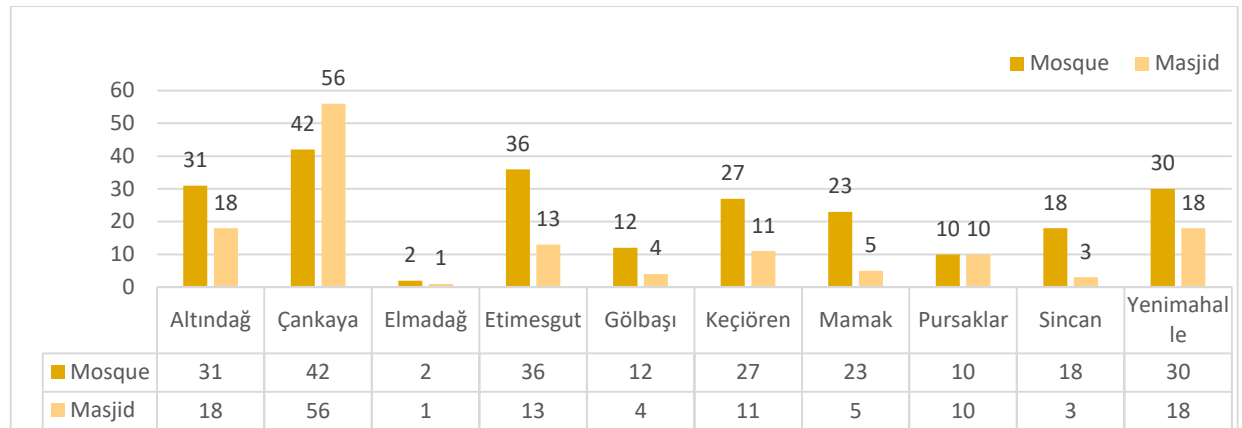
the general trends across Turkey. The data reveals that, with some exceptions, the construction of mosques and masjids has generally declined over the years. However, starting in 2013, there was a significant surge in the construction of religious buildings following a sharp decline. Despite this, the overall trend in religious building construction has been one of decline. The chart below illustrates the annual number of worship places opened in Ankara.

Table 4.3 Number of Worship Place Opened by Year (source Religious Affairs Office)



According to the graph, there has been a notable decrease in the number of mosques opened by the Directorate of Religious Affairs (hereinafter DİB). The sharp declines observed in 2016 and 2021 can be attributed to various factors. The coup attempt on July 15, 2015, and the subsequent significant changes within the institution had a considerable impact on the Ministry's administrative processes. The year 2020, on the other hand, can be interpreted as a result of the global repercussions of the coronavirus pandemic, during which mosques were closed, and Friday prayers were held in open spaces such as parks. Consequently, although there was an increase in mosque construction in 2021 to compensate for the previous year's deficit, the number had reverted to 16 mosques by 2023.

Table 4.3 Places of Worship Built in Ankara Central Districts from 2013



The graph of mosque and masjid construction in the central districts of Ankara is given above. According to the graph, mosque construction is higher than masjid construction in all districts except Çankaya district. Looking at the graph, it can be said that Çankaya district prioritises the construction of masjid due to insufficient space, perhaps due to the residence of a more secular groups in local society. After Çankaya, the districts with the highest number of religious buildings are Etimesgut and Altındağ, Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Mamak, Sincan, Gölbaşı and Pursaklar respectively.

This section of the study involves collaboration with the DİB. An area study has been conducted on mosques built after 2013, with worship areas exceeding 2000 m². The main objective is to compare mosque construction practices and the current spatial experiences of female users in light of the policies published by the Directorate concerning women. The selected buildings for evaluation adhere to the following criteria:

- they must have been constructed after 2013,
- feature a worship area of at least 2000 m²,
- include a designated worship area for women,
- be completed.

The structures are detailed in the list below, including their districts, the year they were opened for worship, their operating hours, and the average congregation sizes for Friday and daily prayers. The detailed examination of these structures is promising. According to the table, some of these buildings align with the traditional concept of "Friday Mosque," often found in industrial areas and operating only during specific times of the day. Another criterion that could enrich the study is the density of female users. Research indicates that women with higher education levels are more flexible in their use

of mosques. Additionally, there is no available information regarding the inclusion of women within the congregations mentioned.

Table 4.4 List of Assessment Mosque by author

<u>Name of the Mosque</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>All Day Pray Service Status</u>	<u>Users of Friday Prayer</u>	<u>Daily Users</u>	<u>Masjid Area</u>
15 Temmuz ve Ömer Halisdemir Martyrs Mosque	Çankaya	2017	Open	500	24	2000 m ²
Abdullah Bin Ali El Attyah Mosque	Gölbaşı	2018	Open	800	12	3000 m ²
Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque	Çankaya	2013	Open	6500	298	3000 m ²
Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque	Çankaya	2016	Open	1000	54	4000 m ²
Başak District Central Mosque	Mamak	2020	Open	2000	114	2100 m ²
Great Ankara Mosque	Keçiören	2019	Open	7000	140	4278 m ²
Çevre Ve Şehircilik Mosque	Çankaya	2022	Open	1000	122	2100 m ²
Etlik Central Mosque	Keçiören	2021	Open	4000	480	3800 m ²
Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque	Çankaya	2019	Open	1350	41	2500 m ²
Hafiz Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque	Çankaya	2021	Open	750	117	4690 m ²
Melike Hatun Mosque	Altındağ	2017	Open	4000	440	4000 m ²
Muradiye Bayram Semiz Mosque	Keçiören	2018	Open	2500	98	2200 m ²
Seğmenler District Rahman Mosque	Gölbaşı	2021	Open	450	13	3558 m ²

Of the thirteen mosques identified, six are located in Çankaya, three in Keçiören, and two in Gölbaşı. One mosque each from other districts was also included in the study. All mosques are open for all prayer times except for Başkent OSB Mosque in Sincan. The daily number of users varies significantly. The number of users generally increases in proportion to the mosque's location. However, the number of users during Friday prayers is independent of the number of users during daily prayer times. In the next part of the study, the several cases evaluated

according to the criteria determined at the beginning of the chapter. All cases will be analyzed in terms of their architectural styles and facilities for women users. Additionally, they will be analyzed for their physical and psychosociological inclusiveness. For mosque case studies examined in general within the scope of the chapter, see the Appendices.

4.3.1 Mosque Cases of Evaluation

15 July and Ömer Halisdemir Martyrs Mosque

The mosque located in the Yenimahalle district, constructed in a traditional style, is a three-story structure. The space, designed with a central dome, incorporates smaller, segmented domes for the gallery and the outer congregational area. The ground floor of the mosque serves as a Quran school, while the galleries overlooking the main prayer hall are designated for female worshippers. Access to the main space, which is situated approximately three meters above the street level, is provided by stairs leading up from the entrance. (Figure 4.2)



Figure 4.3 Entry of 15 July and Ömer Halisdemir Martyrs Mosque (author collection)

Both male and female worshippers enter the mosque through the main entrance, reaching the outer congregational area. Women access the gallery floor from the entrance area, which also functions as the outer congregational area. As a result, it is impossible for female worshippers to use the main prayer hall. The design of the stairs leading to the ablution facilities and the gallery floor does not adhere to accessible design principles. The interior surfaces of the mosque are predominantly adorned with wall paintings.

Ceramics used for column cladding and marble railings are among the other interior details of the mosque. No additional separating elements are used in the gallery, which is enclosed by standard-height railings. The visual connection established between the gallery floor and the mihrab is favorable in terms of integrating female worshippers into the main space. However, due to the insufficient use of directional elements, access to the ablution facilities and the gallery floor is challenging. The mosque's imam noted that women pray on the gallery floor during Friday prayers but are absent during Eid prayers. The ablution facility for women, which does not adhere to accessible design principles, is entered from the side of the mosque and is located in the basement.

Abdullah Bin Ali El Attah Mosque

The mosque commissioned by the advisor of Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad Al Thani, Emir of Qatar, and opened for worship in 2018, is located in the Gölbaşı district, in a sparse residential zone away from the city center. Covering a total area of 3,000 square meters, the mosque's layout and architectural form are distinctly traditional. Vaults surrounding the central dome form the upper covering of the gallery floor. The main entrance accommodates both male and female worshippers simultaneously. However, there are several discrepancies between the design and actual usage of the building. Notably, due to difficulties in heating the structure, the outer congregational area (son cemaat yeri) and the imam's room are reported to be used for worship during the winter months. The exterior and interior of the mosque are extremely simple, with walls left bare except for some wall paintings on the tromp walls. During the regular prayer times, the imam's room is utilized, while in the summer, the main prayer hall is allocated to male worshippers. Additionally, the upper gallery, which lacks accessible design for the disabled, may also be designated for female worshippers using the imam's room for prayer. The use of directional elements is limited, making access to the wet areas challenging. While the gallery on the upper floor is typically reserved for women during daily use, it is allocated to men during Friday prayers. The lighting design is characterized by large fixtures in the main hall and smaller, segmented ones in the gallery floor. The ground floor, clad in wooden paneling, is balanced by the large, simple dome above. Access to the women's ablution area, located on a lower level, is provided by stairs, with directional signs in place. Overall, mosque it reflects formal features of classicist mosque architecture and its design doesn't consider the accessibility.



Figure 4.4 View from Women's Section (author collection)

Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque

Opened in 2013 in Çankaya district, the contemporary mosque has a capacity of 5000 people. It is possible to access the mosque from different elevations. In the courtyard, there is a last congregation place created with suspended tension membrane canopy systems. The porticoes around the courtyard enclose the courtyard and determine a guiding line to the offices that function as 'Diyanet TV'. There is a café, exhibition hall and book sales section under the main worship space. (Figure 4.4)



Figure 4.5 Recreation Areas of Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque (author collection)

The coexistence of social functions and the direct relationship with the place of worship are supported by ablution units. Therefore, the user has the chance to experience other social units during the preparation for worship. The basement floor, which is formed by the entrance under the road level, has been solved by considering natural light and

ventilation. It is positive that the direct relationship with the car park keeps the circulation line short and women can directly access the place of worship after the ablution units. There are six lifts and four stairs connecting all floors of the building. These vertical circulation elements are not separated according to male and female use, but the areas special for women's use are indicated by a large number of directional signs. (Figure 4.4) In the women's *mahfil* on the upper floor, there are shoe and storage cabinets designed for users. No separating screens were used and the gallery railings are low. This situation allows the female participant to establish a visual relationship with the *mihrab*. This unreserved relationship of the *mahfil* with the main worship space of the mosque is positive for women users. There is no special and visually isolated area for women in any part of the mosque. This means that women can use the place of worship without being invisible. Another element that supports this argument is the fact that women can use the central *mahfil* during Friday prayers. The imam of the mosque, who stated that the number of women congregation is small during Friday and time prayers, stated that the entire gallery floor is reserved for women during special day prayers such as Kandil, Bayram and Tarawih. In this sense, it is positive that the gallery floor is divided into three main sections in order to respond to variable needs. For Friday prayers, women use the central part of the *mahfil* and men use the two side *mahfils*. The mosque has a very egalitarian architectural programme with its ablution rooms designed by considering ergonomic needs and indoor/outdoor recreation areas where the genders are together. It has a modern form with vertical façade openings, the relationship established between the functions on different levels and the sloping reinforced concrete slab shaped around the dome. The diversified architectural programme of the mosque can be described as contemporary-inclusive due to the circulation design suitable for disabled access and the way of use and privacy of female users from the design stage.

Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque

The structure is characterized by a form and design consistent with traditional mosque architecture, drawing inspiration from the cubic form. The project employs simple geometric shapes, with the cube representing the mosque, the sphere representing the dome, and the triangle representing the ablution areas. The minaret serves as a structural symbol emerging from the combination of these forms. The project incorporates open, semi-open, and enclosed spaces at various levels. The four-story

building includes a basement level dedicated to an underground parking garage. The main worship area spans three levels: the ground floor houses the lower mosque (social facilities and Qur'an courses), the first floor contains the main prayer area, and the second floor is designated for women. All floors are interconnected by a central staircase and elevator.

Three courtyards have been integrated into the mosque's design. The first courtyard, located to the north of the site, is the upper courtyard, providing access to both the main prayer area and the women's section of the mosque. This courtyard features a star-shaped fountain, seating areas for men and women, and a children's play area. The semi-open courtyard, designed as the forecourt, can be utilized as an additional prayer space during crowded prayer times. The second courtyard, situated on the eastern façade, includes the minaret, ornamental pool, and ablution facilities, with direct access to the lower mosque. The third courtyard, on the western side, provides direct access to the Qur'an courses and serves to separate the flow of those attending classes from those attending prayers. Geometric motif-based sunbreaker panels have been designed on the façade. The mihrab protrudes from the square-shaped structure, indicating the qibla direction from the exterior and marking the imam's position inside. The minaret, while maintaining a form not far removed from the classical pen-shaped minaret design, is interpreted by the architect as a representation of the Arabic letter "Elif."



Figure 4.6 Entry (left) and Recreation Area (right) of Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque (author collection)



Figure 4.7 Women's Space of Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque (author collection)

Başak Central Mosque

The mosque is located in Altındağ district in an area with a dense low-rise residential neighbourhood. A traditional style has been adopted. Half domes around the central dome gradually connect the dome to the square planned volume. There are two minarets and four weight towers in classical pencil form. The building, whose facade is covered with travertine, has three floors and the basement serves as a Quran Course. The ceilings of the porticoes surrounding the courtyard have traditional painting motifs used in the interior. In the project where disabled access is ignored, access to all levels is provided by stairs. The courtyard is analysed in two levels. Accordingly, the first courtyard is a walled area connecting functions such as Quran Course and ablution centre, while the second courtyard is formed with seating units at the entrance of the mosque and surrounded by porticoes. Travertine stone cladding and marble are at the forefront in the interior. The mosque welcomes its users through the entrances to the inner courtyard and does not contain any guiding elements for women (Figure 4.7)



Figure 4.8 Entrance Gates of Başak Central Mosque (author collection)

The ablution room is on a lower level, independent of the mosque space, since common use with the Quran Course is prioritised. Access to the *mahfil* floor is provided by stairs located in the main worship space of the mosque and separated by a wall. Although there is a lift in the project, it is closed for use. Natural ventilation and natural lighting are provided by the windows on the *mahfil* floor. The wall-mounted lighting elements on the *mahfil* floor are also among the details considered during the design phase. However, approximately one and a half metre misted glass panels were placed in front of the marble railings surrounding the *mahfil*. This situation prevents the visual relationship of female users with the mihrab during worship. In many parts of the mosque, place names and entrances are indicated by signboards. However, there is no guidance element related to the *mahfil*. This situation is quite inadequate considering the invisible *mahfil* stairs. Women were recorded to participate in Eid, Friday and tarawih prayers. The masjid, which is located on the basement floor but has natural light and ventilation with the advantage of its sloping terrain, is used in the winter months when the mosque is not heated. (Figure 4.8) Women use the *mahfil* for time prayers. However, in case of need, the masjid in the basement floor is used by women in addition to the women's section.



Figure 4.9 Masjed in Basement Floor of Başak Central Mosque (author collection)

As a result, the mosque does not offer an innovative programme with its traditional style. However, the direct relationship of the ablution room with the women's *mahfil* and the basement masjed, which can be increased in cases where female users are intense, is evaluated positively. It is understood that the visual relationship of the *mahfil* with the mihrab changed during the usage phase of the building. In this context, although the mosque was built recently, it imitated the usage scheme of a traditional mosque and did not produce an inclusive discourse for women users.

Great Ankara Mosque

The mosque and its additional spaces were built on an area of 125 thousand square metres in Kuzezykent on the Esenboğa Airport Road and has a closed area of approximately 110 thousand square metres. The mosque, which is the third largest place of worship in Ankara after Kocatepe and Melike Hatun Mosques, is built on two floors and the lower floor is covered with tiles, and there is a large worship area under the central dome. There are approximately fifty shops in two arastas within the complex. In addition, baths for men and women, an imarethane (soup kitchen), a two-storey bedesten (covered bazaar) with about 60 shops, and a section where traditional handicrafts will be made and

exhibited are among the other areas within the complex. The library, which has a wide range of resources, is also in the architectural programme of the complex. (Figure 4.9)



Figure 4.10 General View of The Great Ankara Mosque (source: AA, 2019)

In the complex area, there is a hasbahçe, tea-coffee pavilion and Ottoman-Turkish cuisine sections overlooking the valley where Kuzeykent is located, an ornamental pool and many sections for citizens to relax. In the project, access between floors is provided by lifts and escalators and there is a five-storey underground car park. The cultural centre at the entrance of the complex hosts many social activities. The main purpose of the congress centre is to host international seminars, conferences and meetings. In addition, there is also a ‘Watch Tower’ in the complex area, which was inspired by the minaret of the Samarra Mosque in Samarra, Iraq. In the mosque, which has a high number of foreign users, the directional elements are used very effectively and the name of each place is written on it. (Figure 4.10)



Figure 4.11 Guidance Elements of Women Spaces in Great Ankara Mosque (author collection)

In addition to the entire social and gender-neutral programme of the complex, the *mahfil* clearly defines the spatial use of the users. A place is allocated for women on the ground floor for the time prayers. Women *mahfils* are made available to women on special days and nights such as Eid prayers, Tarawih, and Candlemas, where female participation is high. Women take part in Friday prayers and time prayers in the compartment on the ground floor. (Figure 4.10)

However, women users' access to the main space of the mosque is very limited. The women's section functions as a large room that is visually independent from the mosque, has no visual relationship with the mihrab, and there is no direct access to the women's section from the ablution room. However, the circulation is quite conceivable and there is an independent entrance to the women's section just beyond the ablution room floor descended by escalators. It was stated that women actively participated in the Friday and Eid prayers of the mosque. The main reason for this was stated to be female users from different cultures.

In conclusion, the mosque has many positive features due to its capacity and its location in a complex with a rich architectural programme. The effective use of directional elements, clear solution of circulations, recreation areas designed for men and women give the impression that the design is very inclusive for women users. The women's section on the ground floor does not establish a visual relationship with the mihrab, but establishes a permeable relationship with the mosque space. In addition to its

traditional form, the way the side functions were added to the project and the solution was found successful.

Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation Mosque

Built on the parcel where the administration building of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation and Climate Change is located, the mosque is located in a large green area. Access to the service spaces of the mosque is provided from a volume in the garden. In the basement of the mosque, there are two large masjids built to provide additional places of worship for men and women. The effective use of circulation and guiding elements stems from various design decisions that were considered during the design phase of the mosque. The independent volume in the garden provides an alternative access to the mosque. From the ablution rooms in the basement, it is possible to access the flat foot masjids and directly to the *mahfil* inside the mosque with the lift. In this respect, the mosque offers more functional solutions to its users beyond its traditional form. Marble details stand out in the mosque, whose interior is designed quite simply. The marble used in the upper floor *mahfil* railings is of standard height and has a hollow structure. In this respect, it does not seem to be a problem for the *mahfil* floor to establish a visual relationship with the mihrab or for the female user to be visible.



Figure 4.12 Guidance elements of Ministry of Environment Urbanisation Mosque (author collection)

Women and men enter the mosque through separate entrances. The abundance of directional elements clearly defines the space and circulation designed for female users.

The ramps at the entrance of the mosque and the lifts inside make the building accessible. As a result, the Mosque of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation constructs spatial relations from a more contemporary and functional place behind its traditional form. Therefore, the assessment that the mosque is inclusive is appropriate.



Figure 4.13 Women's Section of The Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation Mosque (author collection)

Etlik Central Mosque

Located in the Keçiören district of Ankara, the mosque is located on a busy commercial axis. Vertical band windows are used on the side facades of the mosque, which continues the axis with various commercial functions on the ground level. This situation causes the mosque mass to be perceived differently from different angles. Facing a sloping road, the building has entrances to the mosque from various levels. The main worship space of the mosque, which has ablution units in the basement floor, is also accessible from the road level with a staircase. The mosque, which is located at the corner point of the parcel, does not have a garden or courtyard; instead, the platform seating areas in front of it are separated from the road level by the elevation difference. Although the mosque has a contemporary style from the outside, it has a traditional form as an interior. This traditional trace can be explained by the motifs found in the wall paintings and the central reinforced concrete dome. Women and men enter the mosque through the main door and reach the second and third floor *mahfil* with the lifts designed for women in the last congregation section. (Figure 4.14)



Figure 4.14 Etlik Central Mosque Guidance Elements (left) and Elevator for Women Users (right) (author collection)

The mosque consists of a two-storey basement, the main place of worship and a three-storey *mahfil*. The first floor *mahfil* is reserved for men, but the upper two floors are used by women. In addition, the lifts provide direct access to the *mahfil* from the women's ablution rooms on the first floor minus the first floor. In this respect, the circulation solution is functional and inclusive. The *mahfil* on the second floor is reserved for the use of women on special occasions to the extent that the number of female users increases. This flexible use of the *mahfil* is positive. In addition, the wooden railings used on the *mahfil* floors are low in height and hollow in order to provide a visual relationship with the mihrab. Many writings and signboards regarding the use of the building are located in the space. However, the lighting elements used on the *mahfil* floors are insufficient and do not make the user feel included in the main space of the mosque. (Figure 4.15)

As a result, Etlik Mosque shows a meaningful harmony with its contemporary form and façade design in its context. The fact that female users are considered while designing the circulation of the space and having a reserved place in all conditions makes the mosque inclusive. The accessible design of the mosque and the visual relationship of the *mahfil* with the mihrab are also positive features of the mosque.



Figure 4.15 Etlik Central Mosque Women's *Mahfil* (author collection)

Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque

The mosque is located in the Çankaya district of Ankara. Built in an area with multi-storey residential blocks, the mosque is located on a busy commercial axis. Although the mosque is reminiscent of classical mosques with a central reinforced concrete dome, it is differentiated by its facade layout and sloping reinforced concrete walls. This form, which creates the perception of a gradual total dome, is also felt in the interior.

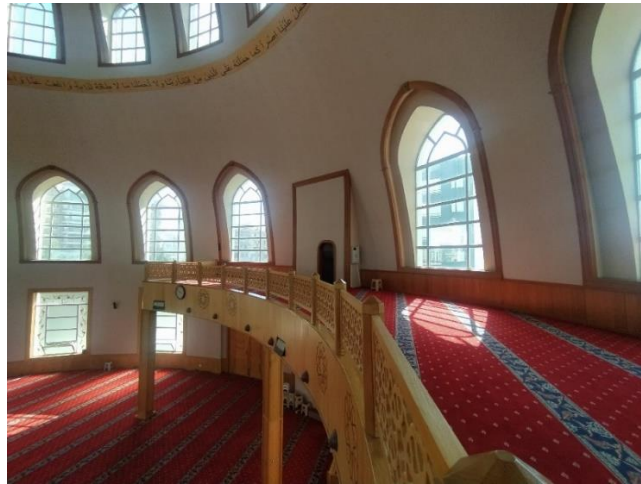


Figure 4.16 Interior of Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque Interior (author collection)

In order to strengthen the sloping effect of the walls, the arches of the openings on the facade are separated from the facade. In the mosque, the lower floor of which is used as a Quran Course, it is stated that women generally use the masjid in the basement. In addition, the *mahfil* floor follows the sloping line of the walls and is in the form of an arc.

The basic circulation of the mosque is solved with a staircase. This shows that the mosque is not accessible. There is a single door at the entrance to the mosque, which has no last congregation place. The lifts going down to the *mahfil* floor or the basement floor are also placed in small corridors opening to the main space of the mosque. The women's ablution rooms in the basement are equipped with a toilet charge and designed independently from the building. The minaret staircase of the mosque and the staircase accessing the *mahfil* are common. The imam of the mosque stated that women generally do not participate in time prayers, and that women who come for Friday prayers are placed at the back of the main space when they are few in number.



Figure 4.17 Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque Paid Toilet (author collection)

Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Cami

It is located in a dense low-rise residential neighbourhood in the district of Ankara. Unlike other mosques, the architectural programme of the mosque also includes a bazaar and a guesthouse. Additional functions in the basement of the mosque allow each floor to have access to natural light in the mosque located on a sloping terrain. It sits on a prismatic volume with a central dome and rounded corners. The interior of the building, whose exterior is extremely simple, shares the same language. Only the traditional wall paintings on the dome are left blank on the interior walls. The *Mahfil* floor is 'U' shaped and fully transparent glass balustrades are used. The imam of the mosque stated that the *mahfil* floor, where no distinctive visual element is used, is opened upon request when female users come. He added that they usually pray in the closed area on the ground floor, which is surrounded by fenestration systems and overlooks the main worship space. When male and female users enter the main entrance of the mosque, they pass to an

intermediate space connecting the *mahfil* stairs and the imam's room. However, women also use the main space of the mosque from time to time. The ablution centre is located in the basement of the mosque. In addition to the programme of the mosque, shower areas were also designed to serve the guest house. However, this area, which is locked during the day, is only opened upon request at prayer times.



Figure 4.18 Ground Floor Women Praying Area in Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque (author collection)

As a result, it cannot be said that the design process of the project, which ignores disabled access, is inclusive for women users. Another reason for this may be the tension between the design and use of the mosque. However, it is deficient in terms of orientation elements and the circulation fiction is unclear.

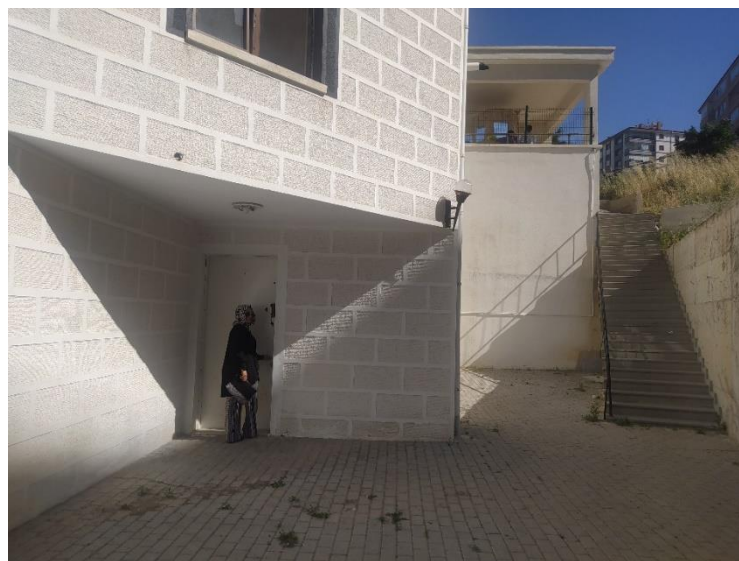


Figure 4.19 Entry of Women's Ablution Room Entry of Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque (author collection)

Melike Hatun Mosque

The mosque, located in a central area of Ankara at Ulus Erbakan Square, was constructed in a traditional style and opened to the public in 2017. The architectural program of the mosque, a congress hall, a foyer, and a parking area. The mosque is entirely constructed from concrete material. All façades of the structure are clad in artificial stone and Marmara marble, with marble also being used for the columns, gallery railings, mihrab, and minbar. The mosque is surrounded by a large courtyard. The courtyard does not feature a portico design, but is rather designed as an open courtyard. The courtyard, slightly elevated from the road level, is on the same plane as the surrounding landscape. The traditional practice of placing a fountain or pool in the center of the courtyard has not been adopted here. Instead, two identical pools have been installed at the same plane as the last porticos of the forecourt.

Inside, the prayer hall is surrounded on the north, east, and west walls by an upper gallery in a U-shape. In the center of the prayer hall, there is a reflection of the fountain pool design seen in the Bursa Great Mosque (1396-1400) from the early Ottoman period. This section, enclosed by a wooden lattice and designated as the muezzin's gallery, contains a rectangular ornamental pool without a fountain, emphasizing the gallery as a distinct unit within the space. There are two doors on the east and west façades and a grand entrance on the north façade for entry into the prayer hall. The main entrance is designed in traditional proportions. Independent of the main doors of the mosque, there is a separate entrance for women on the east side of the forecourt. In the project, where directional elements are used effectively, the ablution area is located in the basement and accessed through a glass structure separate from the mosque. It is impossible for women to use the main prayer area. The central part of the U-shaped gallery, which faces the mihrab, is designated for women, with wooden screens added in addition to the marble railings. (Figure 4.20) This feature, which wooden perforated screen does not offer a comfortable view the visual connection with the mihrab, is not present in the side sections of the gallery, which are used by the male congregation. The mosque has an active female congregation, particularly during special occasions, prayer times, and Friday prayers.



Figure 4.20 Women's *Mahfil* Separation Element in Melike Hatun Mosque (author collection)

In conclusion, while the mosque replicates the form of Classical period mosques, contemporary influences can be observed in the functional solutions. Features such as the screens that block the visual connection with the mihrab and the inaccessibility of the main prayer area for women contribute to the mosque's exclusive characteristics but accessibility considered for all places in mosque.

Muradiye Bayram Semiz Mosque

Located in the Keçiören district of Ankara, the mosque is located in the north-west of the city in an area where construction is sparse. The mosque, which was built in a traditional Turkish style with three floors, has a Quran course on the ground floor. The mosque, whose entire facade is covered with white travertine stone, is quite simple from the exterior. The interior is decorated with traditional patterns predominantly in blue and gold colours. Women and men enter the mosque through the same entrance and women pass to the women's section of the mosque with guidance notes in the last congregation place. Since access to the upper floor is only by stairs, after the construction of the mosque, a part of the last congregation area was reserved for women with opaque screens. The imam of the mosque stated that the upper floor *mahfil* is always reserved for women and that the female congregation is high. (Figure 4.21) The women's ablution room of the mosque is open on all days except Sundays. Stating that 3500 seats are reserved for the male congregation and 1500 seats for the female congregation, the mosque officials stated

that the Diyanet organises family gatherings on certain days of the week and that conversations for families are held in the main space of the mosque.

The women's *mahfil* is surrounded by marble balustrades and allows visual contact with the mihrab. It has natural light and ventilation. The women's ablution room on the ground floor is accessible, but access to the *mahfil* is from outside the mosque. Access to the main space of the mosque is provided only by stairs. Directional elements are used but not aesthetic.

As a result, it is possible to see various improvements in the mosque for the inclusion of female participants in worship, regardless of the design decision. The design is not accessible and has a traditional architectural language. (Figure 4.22) However, the activities undertaken to diversify the public use of the mosque are evaluated positively.



Figure 4.21 Women's Space Entry (right) and Inside (left) of Muradiye Mosque (author collection)

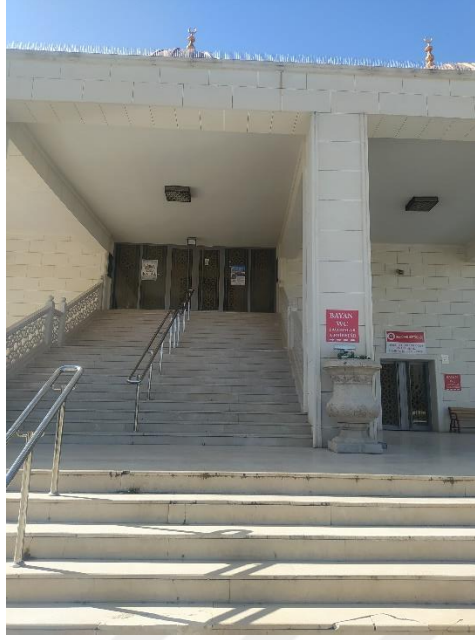


Figure 4.22 Entry of Muradiye Mosque (author collection)

Seğmenler District Rahman Mosque

The mosque was built in Gölbaşı district of Ankara, far away from the settlements. It was reported that women rarely attend the mosque, where various construction works are ongoing. Built in a traditional style, there is a fountain and toilet for men in the mosque garden. In the basement, there are service spaces designed for women and a Quran Course. Vertical circulation in the mosque, where accessibility was not considered at the design stage, is provided by stairs. Women and men enter the main space of the mosque, through the same entrance. To the west of the last congregation place, there are various writings directing to the women's *mahfil*. In the interior, wooden coverings and simple wall paintings stand out. The mosque officials state that women rarely use the mosque and that special days are one of the rare occasions when the female congregation has high attendance. The wooden railings used in the women's *mahfil* of the mosque allow a visual relationship with the mihrab. (Figure 4.22)



Figure 4.23 Entry (left) and Women's Space (right) of Seğmenler Mosque (author collection)

4.3.2 Assessment of the Today's Mosque Design and Daily Use in Ankara

In the field study conducted, mosques built in Ankara after 2012 were examined. The selected projects were expected to demonstrate a relationship between architectural language and the inclusivity of the space. Indeed, the period after 2012 marked a phase in Turkey where numerous discourses on mosque architecture were generated across various platforms. The inclusion of women in mosque spaces has also been a recurring topic of discussion. However, the inclusive worship spaces envisioned by the DİB were not widely realized in practice. Out of the thirteen mosques reviewed, only three adopted a search for contemporary forms. The remaining mosques are stylistic reinterpretations of Classical Ottoman architecture in different scales and contexts. Despite the use of a traditional architectural language, traces of innovation can be found in architectural programs and functional solutions. In there, the users need can be diverse in even in neighbourhood. But some fieldwork that conducted on the gender inclusion, users approved the quality of halls but disapproved of their being in the same place (Ozaloglu & Gurel, 2011).

The religious approach of the region where the mosque is located plays a significant role in the mosque's usage practices. For instance, unlike other mosques, Muradiye Mosque has an active female congregation that participates even in daily prayers. In response, the congregation has made the mosque more accessible for elderly women who

struggle to reach the upper-floor gallery by partitioning the last prayer area with a screen. This reorganization of circulations, which was overlooked during the design phase, was later adjusted according to user demands. However, closer examination of mosques where women participate in communal prayers reveals a strong connection between mosque usage and the character of the neighborhood. Mosques built away from residential areas often face challenges in terms of congregation participation. In contrast, mosques located in city centers or densely populated residential areas prioritize accessibility between service areas and the main prayer space. This functional approach enhances the mosque's accessibility and utility.

For example, the Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque, Etlik Central Mosque, and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Mosque are innovative in that they have designed separate circulation systems between the women's gallery and the ablution facilities. The Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque and Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque are notable examples of mosques that employ a contemporary design language. They resolve different functions on separate levels, independent from the main prayer hall. As a result, they provide new solutions to spatial practices for female worshippers.

Considering that service areas in mosques built before 2013 were not designed with women in mind, it is possible to observe several improvements. The involvement of female actors in the construction process of contemporary mosques has undoubtedly contributed to these developments. However, the space must treat all users equitably. For instance, a mosque with accessible women's ablution facilities but an upper-floor prayer area for women that lacks an elevator contradicts its own principles and should be improved.

At the beginning of this section, icons representing the principles of inclusivity in mosque design were produced, and these are collectively presented in the appendix of this thesis (Table 4.5). Accordingly, most mosques allow women to enter through the main entrance. In four examples, directional elements were aesthetically and effectively integrated into the design to guide circulation, particularly in the last prayer area. In other examples, written instructions were posted by mosque staff to avoid confusion during use, highlighting an issue that the DİB should address in future guidelines.

Additionally, the study found that all mosques, regardless of whether they feature galleries or partitions, have women's spaces that benefit from natural light and ventilation. The railings are modified based on user requests, and all allow for a visual connection with the mihrab in the design phase. Screens, curtains, or partitions added to these spaces are added according to user feedback during the mosque's use. Mosques with inclusive design principles witness increased usage, particularly during special occasions. In areas with a high concentration of foreign participants, it has been observed that women actively participate in Friday and Eid prayers.

4.4 New Discussion Opportunities: Innovative Examples from the World

Unlike other secular spaces, the mosque is a space whose use is directly linked to sect and culture. For this reason, its use is quite diverse. Even in close geographies, they have a differentiated user mass and intensity. Mosques are places where the hierarchy between the sexes is reproduced in religious literature. Islamic Feminism is based on the acceptance that the scenario of a society in which women are participants is compatible with Islam and that the removal of women as a source of 'sedition' is an interpretation of the culture of patriarchy. While the disapproval of young women going to the mosque is unanimously accepted by many sects, older women going to the mosque is viewed much more favourably than younger women.

Today's mosque building practice can be quite diversified among the Muslim societies. Mosques can be used in a wide variety within the belief boundaries of the country in which they are located. The aim of this part of the thesis is to analyse the designs of contemporary places of worship built in different parts of the world. The position of women has always been of great importance in places of worship where the boundaries of privacy are sometimes protected and sometimes reproduced in different languages. The participation of women in public life and their visibility in social life, which were discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis, is a globalised phenomenon. Accordingly, this situation, which was experienced much earlier in Europe and America, was followed by Eastern and Asian countries. It is possible to observe similar distinctions

or similar innovative patterns in the buildings constructed accordingly. Of course, this proposition does not ignore the dynamics and the unique transformation process of the society in which the building is located. In this direction, various examples of mosques that have appeared in the architectural media have been analysed and their approaches to female users have been discussed. Accordingly, the inclusiveness of contemporary architectural practice can be analysed under three main headings. These are:

1. Equality & Unity & Women Friendly Mosque (Where different genders worship in the same space without any separating architectural elements)
2. Pathriarchy Mosque (Where different genders are segregated and worshipped in the same space)
3. Exclusive Mosque / Women's Mosque (Where different genders worship in completely separate spaces or where women are not included in the worship space)

The point taken into consideration while making this grouping is the fulfilment of the physical needs of women users and the way they use the space.

Unity & Equality & Women Friendly Mosque

The primary tenet of mosques belonging to this category is the provision of an inclusive environment that affords all individuals, regardless of gender, an equal and fair experience within the space. However, the aforementioned notions indicate disparate attitudes on the basis of their usage. As with the Unity Church, these places are primarily intended to accommodate the various denominations within the same religion. In the Islamic tradition, the concept of the Muslim minority group is interpreted in the context of individuals who adhere to Islam but reside in a non-Muslim country or who have recently embraced the Islamic faith. The primary objective is to facilitate the integration of new individuals into the religious community and to illustrate the tolerant and inclusive nature of the religion. To illustrate, the Unity Mosque, which forms part of this group, strives to welcome individuals of all genders and sexual orientations into its place of worship. In other words, the concept of "LGBTQ+friendly" mosques, a relatively novel phenomenon, eschews the traditional norms of segregation and the closure of women during worship. Women are permitted to preach and serve as imams, just as men are. This

signifies that the space is devoted to worship as a unified entity, with no distinction in the manner of usage. Unity Mosque is a collective of mosques across various countries, including the USA, Canada, and Germany. It was established by individuals who challenge numerous tenets of traditional Islamic thought, asserting that it is patriarchal in nature.

One illustrative example of this group is the Unity Mosque in Toronto. In 2009, Imam El-Farouk Khaki inaugurated the Unity Mosque in Toronto. This was the first mosque to adopt the concept of an "LGBTQ+ friendly" space of worship. Khaki also established a congregation comprising individuals from diverse backgrounds, who were able to worship together without any spatial segregation. The Unity Mosque has a gay imam and encourages lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer individuals to participate in mosque worship (NBC News, 2019). Approximately a decade later, the Ibn Rushd-Goethe Mosque was established in Berlin. This new form of mosque was created in response to similar discussions and represents a departure from traditional forms of worship, allowing individuals to make their identities visible. Such places of worship, which utilise only the main space and do not designate any specific area between individuals, are also observed in the USA. Despite the growing prominence of discussions on the visibility of LGBTQ+ individuals in the public sphere on a global scale, the mosque space remains largely absent from this debate. However, this observation highlights a crucial aspect pertaining to the representation of concepts. LGBTQ+ individuals, who are proponents of the fluidity of gender identity, emphasise the necessity of establishing an alternative mosque that reflects evolving understandings of gender and sexuality in various regions of Europe and America (Figure 4.23). In Germany, for instance, there are more diverse discussions around the world on the inclusivity of mosque space, and it is anticipated that Turkey will be part of future debates. The primary tenet of this cohort of mosques, which were constructed as mosques in Europe or serve as exemplars in Indonesia, is that female users are integrated into the design and implementation process from the outset, with the same entitlements as male users and the same spatial organisation. From an architectural perspective, these mosques adhere to the same structural principles as traditional mosques. Women and men utilise the same circulation routes and spaces.



Figure 4.24 Seyran Ateş (standing on the right) delivers Friday prayer sermon during the opening of the Ibn-Rushd-Goethe Mosque

The concepts of equality or women-friendly mosques have developed various liberalization in terms of the functioning of the space and they do not provide any context regarding sexual orientation.

While the functioning of the mosque is based on traditional Islamic practices, the women's space does not adopt traditional space design or designs that differentiate circulation. It constructs the spaces used by male and female users with a partial privacy with more permeable materials instead of opaque separating elements. Generally, this is achieved through the qualified solution of the spaces reserved for mixed-gender use and the direct connection of these spaces to the places of worship.

For example, Al-Irsyad Mosque in Padang province of Indonesia rises on a square plan without a dome. In addition, stacked stones are used on the main façade to create a tectonic effect in the mosque, and Islamic writing/ calligraphy is placed on the façade as a graphic element and a reminder of prayer. The mass is surrounded by water and has entrances from two directions. The women's/men's service spaces, which are solved independently from the mass, are positioned to face the main entrance of the mosque. It does not contain any women's *mahfile* or a special area reserved for women. The main worship space, which is solved under a single volume, is used by all users, men and

women. It is possible to see these and similar solutions in most of the newly built mosques in Indonesia. Nur-ul Yaqin Mosque, Honeycomb Mosque, Al Huda Nusantara, Al-Muttaqin Grand Mosque are some of these examples.

For example Nur-ul Yaqin Mosque is an inclusive example. The mosque consists of two separate buildings. The prayer hall is on its own and has three different entrances: one for the imam who leads the prayers, and the other for each male and female worshipper. After the entry, women and men enter the same space for worship. The service rooms are located in the building opposite. The mosque is mainly made of concrete and brick, with a touch of blue terrazzo on the floor. The architects kept the Islamic decoration modest and minimalist by laser engraving the names of Allah on the stainless steel ventilation holes surrounding the upper part of the building. The water element surrounds the mosque and gives the impression that it is floating even on the sea. It tries to give the user a sense of infinity with the sea, which it establishes a visual relationship with during prayers, and in doing so, it offers the same experience for both male and female users of the mosque.



Figure 4.25 Nur-ul Yaqin Mosque General View



Figure 4.26 Interior image of Nur-ul Yaqin Mosque

Also, designing an inclusive mosque is not related with the scale. For example, Al Huda Nusantara and Honeycomb Mosque is a neighbourhood-scale mosque. These mosque welcome men and women users from the same gate and draw the same pathway to get praying area. This pathway collect people in an atrium (sometimes it can be a semi-open place or courtyard) and after guide them to main praying area. This perception can help to prevent the gender based segregation in the main praying space. Because separating man and women from the beginning of the sacred space strength the gender based hierarchy and their spatial experiences differentiation.

Honeycomb Mosque is also shows an innovative plan scheme in terms of the relation between the women ablution room and women's space in mosque. The ablution room located behind the mahfil and it gives a secondary position and make the preparation room more private. Also the direct relation shows a functional solution for women, especially who wear hijabs (Figure 4.27).

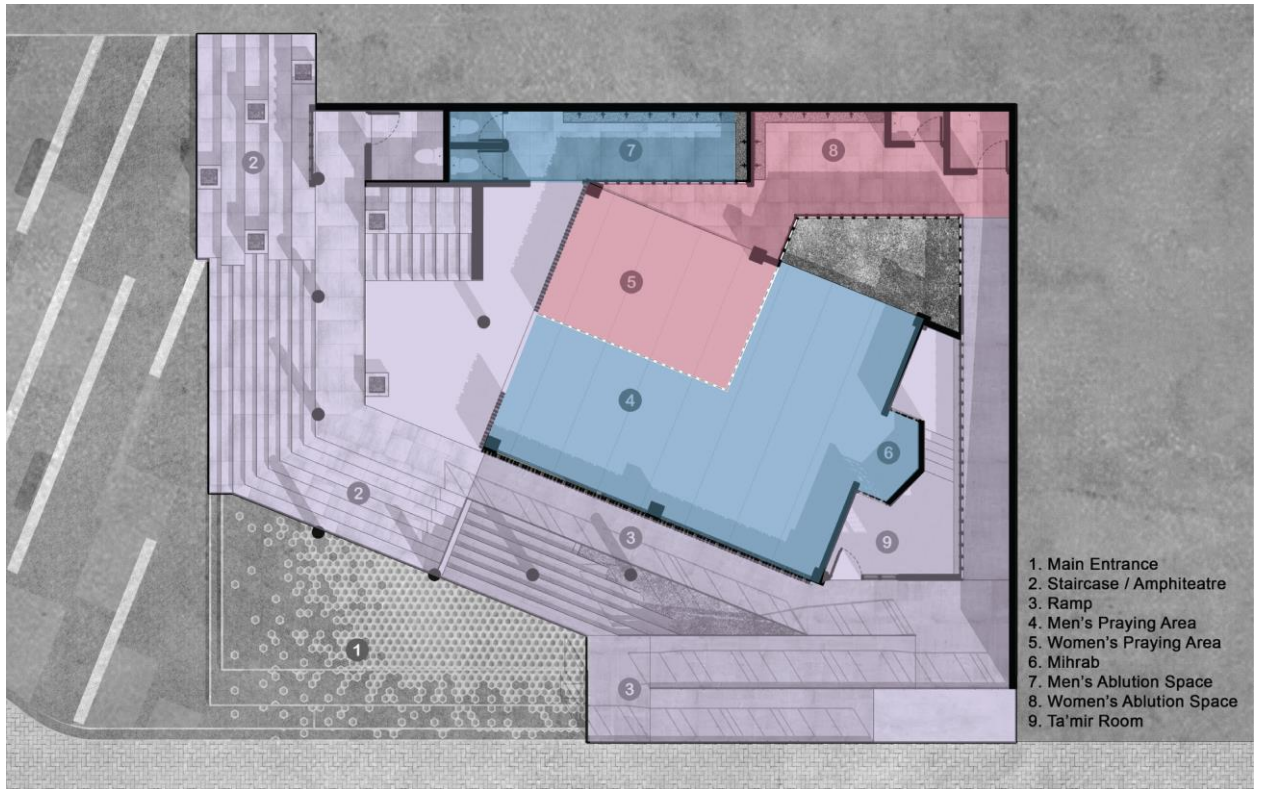


Figure 4.27 Reproduction of Honeycomb Mosque Plan

Unlike the Indonesian examples, examples that genderise the place of worship but do so without removing women from the main worship space are also included in this group. For example, The Mamluki Lancet Mosque in Kuwait positions the women's prayer space behind the worship space with hollow panels within a total main volume. The architectural form of the mosque is defined by five masses that gradually rotate and transform as they rise towards the central half dome, using the space between the Qibla-oriented lower mass and the upper mass aligned to the site to let in light. As a repetition of the openings used on the façade, the space defines a permeable boundary with arches of various sizes, and it can leave that boundary flexible with wooden sliding panels on one side of the allocated area. (Figure 4.23)



Figure 4.28 Interior view of the Mamluki Lancet Mosque (source: Archdaily, 2023)

The priorities of buildings can also be extremely variable according to the construction policies of the countries in which they are built. For example, in the Cambridge Central Mosque in Cambridge, United Kingdom in 2019, the construction of the building with sustainable materials was also very effective in the design decision of the building. The mosque stands out with its environmentally friendly systems that store rainwater and provide some of the building's electricity from solar energy. Using natural materials such as wood and marble, the mosque has a zero carbon footprint. The mosque, which has fountains and vaulted prayer areas in the outer garden, makes various references to Islamic history in addition to its contemporary form. Stating that the female users of the mosque are extremely important for them, the design team separates the ground floor for the users with movable mashrabiye screens. The screens are designed at different heights in order to appeal to women with different understandings of privacy, and are designed to be movable in order to adapt to the changing number of users.



Figure 4.29 Mashrabiya Screen in The Cambridge Central Mosque



Figure 4.30 Reproduction of the Cambridge Central Mosque

The hierarchy of spaces at the entrance to the place of worship is the garden, the porticoed area, the atrium and the main place of worship, respectively. From the plan scheme of the mosque, it is seen that the space includes many public spaces before the worship (Gün et al., 2023). This allows the mosque to be reinterpreted as a gathering place (Figure 4.29).

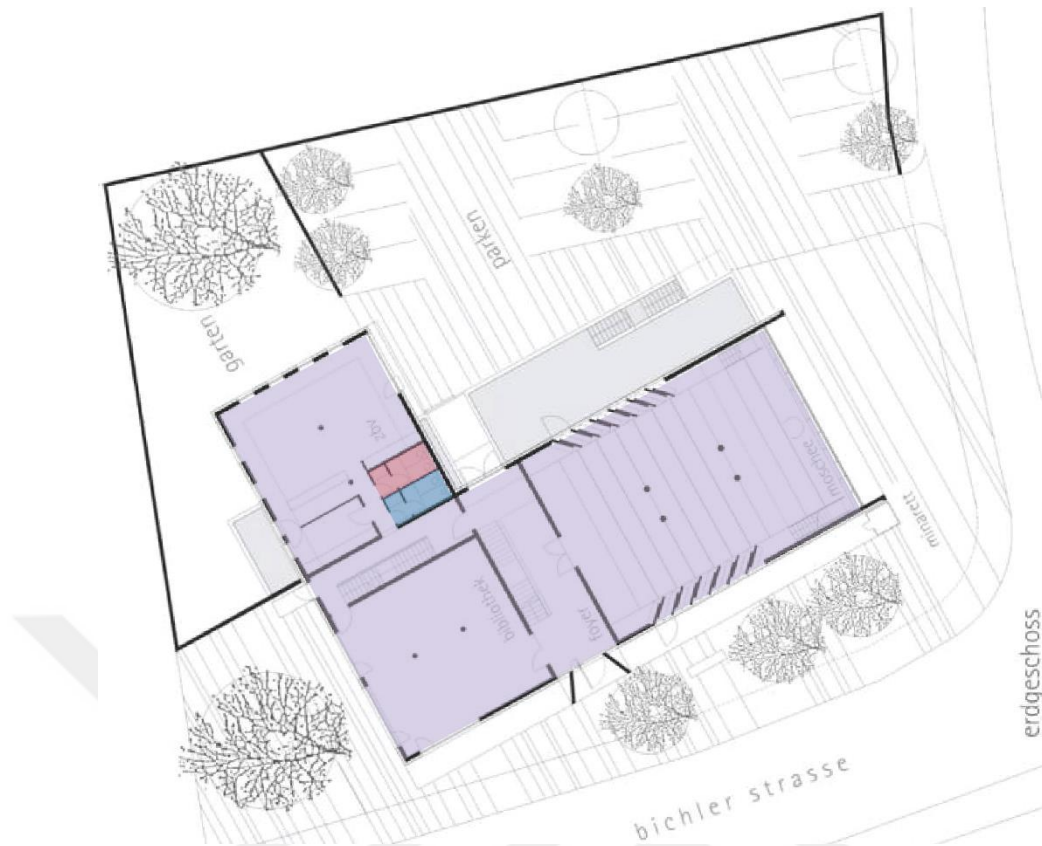


Figure 4.31 Reproduction of Islamic Forum Penzberg Plan

Islamic Forum Penzberg is another inclusive mosque design example for this study. The mosque located in south of Munich and got the “Mies Award” in 2009. Designers solved the main praying area where connect the library and services with a corridor. As a result of that, service places look like located in outside of the praying space. Merging the main praying area with the library as a space more public and non-gendered can increase the praying area tolerance for users, respectively. Although, the mosque has no ablution room for both gender. This can be the main negative critic for the mosque.

In conclusion, the objective of this group of mosques is to facilitate the integration of diverse individuals into the mosque space, taking into account their specific needs and requests based on their gender. In order to provide a sense of comfort and belonging for all individuals, regardless of their gender or disability, an inclusive space must be designed.

Pathtiarchy Mosque

This group of mosques where men and women do not mix in the order of ranks or where the women's *mahfil* is visually separated. The mosques in this group are spaces where the mosque space, which is usually designed and used in a male-orientated manner, has been transformed over time in line with the needs of the increasing female congregation. Traditional mosque spaces that have been revised in response to the increasing female population in public use can also be included in this group. In a study published by Eskandari in 2011, in which he criticised 32 mosques in the United States, he made various analyses based on the qualities of the spaces used by female participants in the masjid.

In fact, this type of mosque is the most traditional method historically. In the first chapters of this thesis, examples can be found in the Umayyad period where women were separated from the main worship space of the mosque with separate or *mahfil-like* spatial organisations. The mosque examples in this group are solutions that include women users in the main worship space, but do not include women in the preparation spaces for worship and public spaces on the circulation axis before worship. For example, the Al Warqa'a Mosque, which was built in Dubai in 2016 and has a contemporary design language, does not include the preparatory spaces of the mosque with its circulation designed for women. Men pass from the garden in the front yard of the mosque to a section with a portico and then to the main worship space. Women, on the other hand, go upstairs through an independent entrance in the north of the mosque and reach the *mahfil* section from there. The short circulation between the women's ablution area and the prayer area is positive, but the fact that women cannot access public spaces can be considered as a discriminatory behaviour (Figure 4.32).



Figure 4.32 Interior of Al-Warqa Mosque (The element that appears in a prismatic form is the women's gallery)

Al Warqa'a Mosque is one of the contemporary mosques that the men and women user's circulation path does not intersect, just as Mosque of Mohamed Abdulkhaliq Gargash Mosque, in Dubai. The mosque places its public spaces, and its elaborately designed open and semi-open space organisations to the east of the mosque and leaves them exclusively for the use of men. In this respect, it can be easily said that the mosque has followed a highly discriminatory policy at the entrance. Because the design does not open the area, which is designed with pools and a mesh top cover, where light and shadow plays are well organised, to the access of female users. From the outside, the mass resembles two prisms and connects these two spaces with a mesh top cover. One of the masses forms the men's service space and the other forms the main worship space on the ground level.



Figure 4.33 Plan of Al Warqa'a Mosque

For example, the Basuna Mosque in Egypt is a contemporary mosque where brickwork is interpreted in a contemporary way with historical references. Inside, women have *mahfil* reached from outside by stairs. In the *mahfil*, women have almost no visual relation between the main praying area. (Figure 4.34) The Abijo Mosque in Nigeria, the Puncbowl Mosque in Australia, the Islamic Religious and Cultural Centre in Slovenia, the Al Gharra Mosque in Saudi Arabia, the Masjid Jami' Al-Hurriyah in Indonesia and the Cuma Mosque in Qatar are examples of this group. The circulation route design is segregated by gender, with no gender-mixed spaces in these mosques. In essence, the patriarchal mosque follows the traditional plan scheme and produces traditional user relations. In consideration of the locations of the provided examples, it can be posited that the prevailing scheme is the solution we refer to as "patriarchy," wherein female users are positioned in a secondary plan. It is therefore of interest to note that while social acceptance can be inferred for the mosques in the Arab country above, it is also evident in countries such as Australia and Slovenia. This demonstrates that geography is not the sole parameter influencing the design and use of space. However, in many European and Indonesian mosques which I argued as in inclusive design, the handling of this issue is more courageous.

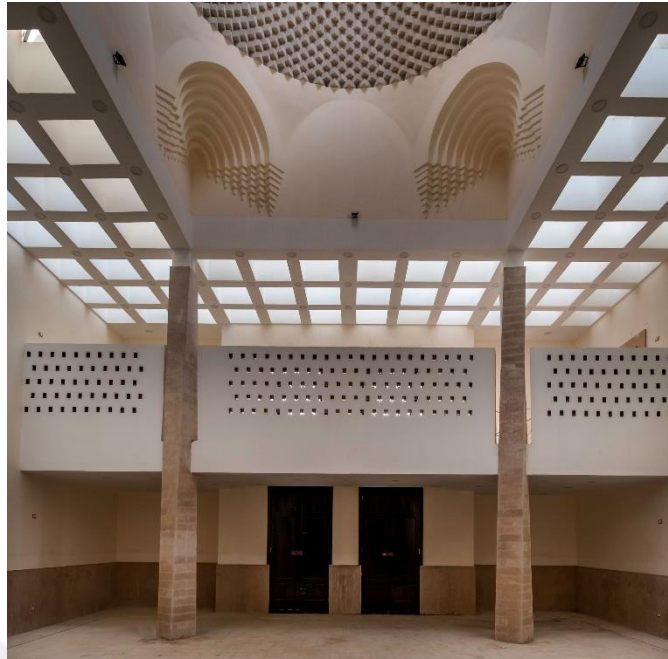


Figure 4.34 Interior image of Basuna Mosque

The Puncbowl Mosque stands out as an interesting example with its interior that gives the perception of a dome with gradually decreasing prismatic surfaces and the way it receives light for the privacy of the women's gallery. The mosque is designed with two courtyards. The second courtyard can be opened to the mosque for large religious festivals and events. The design extends the physical connection between the courtyards, allowing the entire campus to be used for religious education and other community activities outside of school hours. Female worshippers proceed to the left of the entrance courtyard, beneath the minaret, and enter the women's ablution room. They then ascend the minaret to gain access to the prayer galleries on the first and second floors of the mosque. These prayer galleries extend beneath the wooden-covered dome and oculus to the main prayer area below, thus situating female worshippers, in the architect's own words, 'in the heart of the mosque'.



Figure 4.35 Interior image of Puncbowl Mosque

In the spatial system of the mosque, the mahfil is a specialised area that limits women's participation in the congregation. This is evidenced by the fact that mosques do not allow women to participate in prayers or sermons. In light of the participatory and unifying aspects of the Prophet's Masjid, she highlights the incongruence between women's active involvement in contemporary urban settings and the spatial constraints of masjid environments. (Babgy, 2016) Despite the assertion that women's involvement in the mosque would be impractical without substantial barriers and limited visibility, Babgy posits that women can nevertheless feel integrated into the congregation through active participation in the assembly. She proposes the designation of mosques that facilitate women's involvement as "women-friendly mosques."

A review of contemporary examples in this group reveals that gender relations remain largely traditional. These spaces perpetuate the hierarchies and norms that are accepted at the societal level between the sexes. While it is encouraging to reinterpret mahram relations between men and women with innovative solutions, it is imperative that all mosque building actors, particularly designers, consider the implications of social segregation.

Exclusive Mosque / Women's Mosque

The final group consists of mosques that initially adopted contemporary design principles but do not permit women to use the mosque spaces. Many areas, from ancillary functions like ablution facilities to the main prayer hall, are exclusively allocated to men.

The structures discussed in this section aim to prevent interactions between men and women during the use of the space, stemming from the notion that a woman's presence could be seen as a source of potential temptation ("*fitnah*"). Consequently, in these mosques, men's and women's prayer spaces are entirely separated and independently constructed. A notable contemporary example of this type is the Mayor Mohammad Hanif Mosque, built in Bangladesh in 2018. The mosque's volume, designed with exposed concrete mushroom columns, has an extremely minimalist exterior. The composition, marked by modern architectural elements, prominently features concrete and brick textures. The project comprises two masses connected by a bridge, with the relatively smaller mass designated for women's prayers and recreational areas. After using the ablution facilities on the ground floor, female worshippers ascend to the second floor for prayer (Figure 4.36). However, this second floor, which also includes recreational areas, has a separate entrance and is connected via the bridge to the gallery used by men in the other mass.

The third category of mosques is typified by a design that is common throughout the Middle East. The design and utilisation of the mosque do not take into account the active female user. In a space that is structured according to patriarchal principles, the male user is accorded the primary status with regard to the utilisation of the mosque and the designated area for worship. Female users are precluded from accessing the imam or the main worship space.

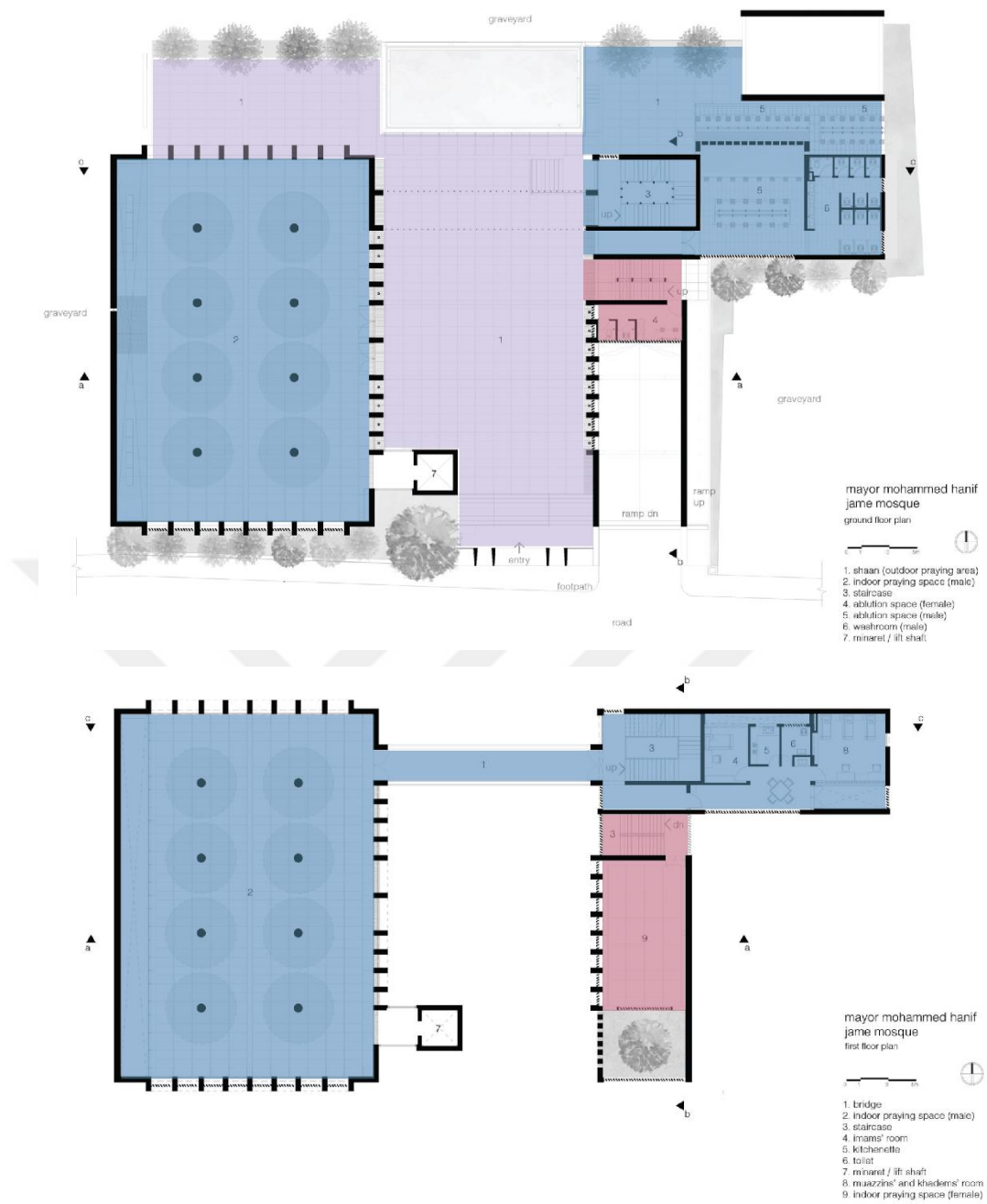


Figure 4.36 Reproduction of Mayor Mohammed Hanif Mosque Plans



Figure 4.37 Women's Praying Area in Mayor Mohammed Hanif Mosque

The 21st century has seen a plethora of discussions surrounding the necessity of inclusivity in spatial design. In this context, new debates and new organisations have been established with the objective of improving the inclusiveness of mosques. Women have been vocal about the fact that they are not considered the primary users and are relegated to a secondary position. Initially, this resulted in the formation of social organisations, which in turn led to the spatialisation of these issues and the setting of an example. In contrast with the prevailing assumption, this has resulted in a more extensive and heterogeneous range of openings. In contrast to the masculine places of worship that had been the norm until then, women were willing to listen to sermons on issues that directly concerned them and even to preach themselves. In these spaces where men were excluded, the primary objective was to establish women as the primary users of the mosque in question. In this context, the organisation of the space was no longer a source of concern in relation to privacy. The subjects addressed in the mosque and the content of the sermons were now closely aligned with the realities of women's daily lives. In this way, it permitted women to engage in worship without being perceived as a sexually attractive entity or subjected to segregation on the grounds of this potential. To illustrate, in 2015 the 'Women's Mosque of America' was established in Los Angeles, where a space previously utilised as a synagogue was transformed into a 'multi-faith centre'. (Figure 4.38) The mosque is the inaugural women-only and women-led mosque, founded on the

principles of coexistence and interfaith dialogue. The mosque's Friday sermons are delivered by women, with the intention of establishing it as a 'community centre' for Muslim women in the region. This was a prominent function of the mosque in its early days. Information about donations, Friday sermons and events is disseminated by the mosque through its website and various social platforms (BBC, 2015).



Figure 4.38 View of Women Mosque of America (left) and Praying Women in Women Mosque of America in the USA (right)

Similarly, the 'Women's Mosque of Canada', established in Toronto in 2019, serves as an alternative gathering place for Muslim women, offering regular weekly bulletins, Friday prayers and sermons. At the time of its establishment, it was the inaugural women's mosque in Canada. Similar to its counterpart in Los Angeles, it is a place of worship utilized and managed by women without any sectarian discrimination. The community's stated objectives are to raise awareness among its users about legal rights and freedoms, polygamy, gender equality and various social justice issues. It continues to be active in this regard.

Sherin Khankan is the founder and imam of the Maryam Mosque, which was officially established in Copenhagen in 2016. She asserts that her primary objective is to

challenge the prevailing patriarchal structures within religious institutions and to serve as an inspiration to other women. (The Guardian, 2016) The primary objective of Maryam Mosque, the inaugural Scandinavian women's mosque, is to combat Islamophobia and the patriarchal structures that pervade Islamic society.



Figure 4.39 Sherin Khankan (standing on the right), the founder and imam of the Maryam Mosque, was preaching to women prayers

In light of these discussions, it is worth noting that the term 'women-friendly' or 'inclusive', which describes the differentiation in the way mosques treat their users, requires a conceptual examination. “It is important to note that the term 'women-friendly' does not inherently imply that mosques are suitable for women. Rather, it categorizes mosques as 'women-friendly' or 'women-unfriendly'. It is noteworthy that the provision of ablution rooms and children's playrooms for women is perceived as a sufficient means to ensure that a place of worship is suitable for women (Tayılga & Demirarslan, 2020; Atılga, 2014). Although this concept, which is read through a single gender, gained visibility in Turkey with the 'Women Friendly Cities' project launched with the support of the European Union in 2006, it lost its visibility in the following years. Various examples from abroad have led to a change in the concept to 'Equitable / Fair / Inclusive'. The term 'inclusive' is used to include ethnic, religious, gender and sexual orientation groups with different physical disabilities. “The term 'inclusive' is often used in contemporary social contexts to describe a society that seeks to accommodate individuals with different physical disabilities, with the inclusion of ethnic, religious, gender and sexual orientation groups in the design and use of facilities being one strategy employed (Herring, 2010).

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Future Prospects

5.1 Conclusions

The masculine identity of places of worship and the question of their inclusivity for female users have emerged as key areas of debate in recent times. The masculine character of the mosque can be traced back to the formative years of Islam, when the public presence of women was perceived as a potential source of social unrest. This perspective has led to the assumption that women are secondary users in places of worship, and that their unrestricted access to public spaces is a matter of contention. This study examines the design issue of women's space in contemporary mosques. In this process, the initial point of reference was the Prophet's Mosque and the principles that govern its usage. Following an examination of the evolution of space, it became evident that the segregation of women's areas was based on patriarchal social dynamics. The existing relationship between women and mosques is a complex phenomenon influenced by a multitude of factors, including societal norms, socio-economic circumstances, and educational background. Understanding this relationship is crucial for effectively organizing new spatial arrangements within mosques. If contemporary mosques adhere to the same architectural plan schemes as traditional mosques, which were shaped by patriarchal norms, they will perpetuate the same non-functional solutions for women. This can also be interpreted as a means of legitimising the masculine sacred.

The objective of the study was to examine the potential for integrating inclusive design principles into mosque spaces to enhance the experience of women. It is a challenging task to identify a definitive answer, given the multitude of social structures and users involved. The study focuses on Turkey and presents several illustrative examples from that country. At the outset of the research, it is necessary to establish whether there is a direct correlation between the perception of design and the allocation of space within a mosque for women. It is hoped that innovative and inclusive solutions

exist, but they are scarce. It can be concluded that there is no correlation between the design language of mosques and the implementation of inclusive principles. The research presented numerous examples from Turkey, which demonstrated that modern and contemporary mosques often perpetuate the secondary status of women in mosque space, and that many of these spaces lack accessibility for individuals with disabilities. This research highlights the need for greater consideration of mosque spaces as inclusive public spaces. This thesis makes two significant contributions to existing literature. The initial point of contention is the incorporation of mosque or masjid spaces into a discourse on egalitarian space design, a relatively novel concept within the existing literature. The second point is that it assesses this through an architectural lens and discusses a range of contemporary case studies from around the globe in the context of space creation. As is widely recognized, equitable design strives to create spaces that are inclusive of historically marginalized groups and honor the diversity of identities, including but not limited to considerations of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, nationality, and abilities. In this regard, it would be beneficial to examine the current usage of our buildings, with a particular focus on places of worship and the varying experiences they offer in terms of gender. The repetitive architectural program and imitated circulation schemes characteristic of places of worship render them unable to respond to the needs and desires of the present era. Furthermore, it reproduces the relationship between the users of the space and the transfer of the architectural style of the period in which it was imitated. For instance, during the late Ottoman period, it was deemed unconventional for men and women to be in the same space in places of worship. Consequently, men and women entered mosques through separate entrances. However, in the context of contemporary secular life, the visibility of women and men in shared spaces can be regarded as an accepted norm, in alignment with the fatwas issued by the Presidency of Religious Affairs (hereinafter DİB). It is evident that the policy of secular life, which is designed to be inclusive of all genders, is evident in daily life.

The objective of this research is to initiate a new discourse on the mosque space, with a particular focus on the issue of gender segregation in Turkey. The DİB addressed this issue as a participant problem and proposed numerous improvements to mosque spaces. The analysis yielded a plethora of arguments pertaining to the contemporary mosque debate in Turkey. A review of mosques constructed in the province of Ankara after 2012 reveals that only three of the 13 mosques in Ankara have functional and

inclusive solutions for the use of space by female users. This is due to the fact that the use of neighborhood mosques can vary significantly and is directly related to the local population.

Nevertheless, in the context of contemporary secular life, it can be observed that interactions between women and men, whether direct or indirect, are increasingly regarded as an accepted norm in accordance with the fatwas issued by the DİB. This is particularly evident when examining the DİB's own functioning. Indeed, the policy of secular life, which is designed to be inclusive of all genders, is evident in everyday life. Nevertheless, the issue of visibility is a controversial one within the context of the mosque. In secular societies, where other public spaces are accessible without restriction, the manner in which places of worship are utilized is becoming increasingly flexible. This is also the case with the DİB, which plays an important role in the construction and operation of mosques. Such events as seminars, conferences, and group meetings, which are organized by the DİB, serve as illustrative examples of this phenomenon. Consequently, the coexistence of the sexes and the dialogues that occur in parallel are no longer perceived as a potential source of discord. One of the significant discussions prompted by the thesis is the potential of the architectural style emulated by the building to reinstate the gender hierarchy. For instance, in the Ottoman mosques that were emulated in the design of worship spaces, it can still be observed that women are provided with a small entrance from the side façade of the mosque. These and similar examples demonstrate a disregard for the dynamics of today's society's dialogue between the sexes. Furthermore, in today's society where women are free to use mosques, the architectural scheme imitated is highly impractical.

Contemporary mosque architecture, on the other hand, has initiated new explorations at the level of form finding but has not yet produced a new discourse on behalf of female users due to the architectural scheme it employs. The present study encompasses an analysis of numerous contemporary mosque architectural projects. The aforementioned projects are architectural works that are described as contemporary in the architectural media with respect to their energy consumption, architectural style, design program, and intended use. With regard to the question of whether there is a relationship between contemporary and egalitarian buildings, it can be stated that this discussion is still in its infancy in Turkey. In Turkey, contemporary mosque architecture has typically

been represented in the architectural media in terms of its political implications or formal characteristics. Nevertheless, in numerous instances from abroad, the sensitivities of individuals belonging to disparate religious groups are also taken into account, thereby providing differentiated experiences for users.

However, the critique of the space as an egalitarian public space for women is a relatively novel phenomenon within the realms of both architectural theory and practice. In order to address the aforementioned design problem, it is imperative that architects and authorities collaborate in a harmonious manner. This solution can address two main issues: it can enhance the quality of sacred space and ensure that sacred spaces are designed inclusively, in accordance with the relevant standards. Following an examination of the evolution of inclusivity in mosque spaces in Turkey, a data set was created in Chapter 4 to facilitate an understanding of how a sacred space can be inclusive. The established criteria were utilised for the assessment of the existing mosque's circumstances. It can be concluded that the form of the mosque or its contemporary language is not a sufficient indicator of inclusivity or women-friendliness. This is a significant finding of the study, demonstrating a direct correlation between the mosque's style and its inclusive portrayal. At the conclusion of the chapter, an analysis was conducted of various mosque designs from around the world, which were then categorised according to their behaviour towards different genders.

In light of these findings, it is recommended that practitioners view the mosque space as a public domain where individuals are afforded equal access and experience regardless of gender. The criticism raised in this study underscores the necessity for a comprehensive and meticulously devised set of criteria and a well-defined agenda for practitioners and authorities to ensure the inclusivity of sacred spaces. It is essential to extend the scope of context by incorporating the perspectives of social scientists and architects to facilitate sustainable and effective improvements. Furthermore, inclusive design can be enhanced more through the architectural media, thereby encouraging the creation of vibrant and healthy urban spaces.

5.2 Societal Impact and Contribution to Global Sustainability

This thesis is aligned with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are integrated into Abdullah Gül University's research, educational and community outreach initiatives. The overarching objective is to ensure the social good of all. The fifth goal, "Gender Equality," is aimed at the eradication of all forms of discrimination against women and girls on a global scale. It is of the utmost importance to eradicate all forms of violence against women and girls, including sexual and other forms of exploitation, whether in the public or private sphere. The initial objective is to "eliminate by 2030 the myriad root causes of discrimination that continue to impede women's rights in both the private and public spheres." In this context, an analysis of the approach of mosque spaces to women users is important, given the significance of these spaces as public places. The establishment of inclusive spaces where women are considered primary actors has the potential to facilitate transformative change and improvement in the social order, as well as to foster the development of healthy and equal communication between the sexes. This thesis has frequently addressed the relationship between women's rights in their societies and their visibility in public spaces. Consequently, the restriction or prohibition of women's use of public space is evaluated in the context of limiting women's freedom of expression. Spatial discrimination, with its deep patriarchal roots, represents one of the most effective instruments against women's emancipation. Furthermore, this thesis is closely related to the eleventh goal, Sustainable Cities and Communities, as sustainable urbanisation and favourable living conditions can also provide healthy and suitable domestic environments for all women. Some of the targets of this goal are as follows: "By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums" and "Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage". Furthermore, the United Nations has set the goal of providing universal access to safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and public spaces, with a particular focus on ensuring the inclusion of women, children, older persons, and persons with disabilities by the year 2030 (UN Goal 11, 2022). In this regard, this thesis provides a material basis for the formation of mosque space and the emergence and evolution of women's spaces in public space.

In this context, the thesis addresses the topic of mosques, which represent a significant group of architectural heritage in Turkey. Furthermore, it presents the cultural and historical value of these buildings in the context of women's usage. These efforts indicate the possibility of accessing functional and healthy living environments by the majority of society. With regard to the United Nations' goals, this thesis presents new solutions and the historical background of this indicator in Turkey.

5.3 Future Prospects

During the course of my research, I encountered numerous limitations. In examining the mosque's plan and its usage, it proved particularly challenging to ascertain the extent of women's daily usage and the limitations they face. This may also indicate that mosques are traditionally spaces that are associated with masculinity. This research demonstrates that contemporary mosques must adapt their architectural programmes in accordance with inclusive principles. However, it also prompts the question of how inclusivity can be operationalised in mosques, given their geographical and social context.

To gain a deeper insight into the implications of these discussions, future studies could employ surveys and observations to ascertain the habits and needs of users. Such studies could examine the interactions of different groups, including women, youth, and people with disabilities, with mosque spaces. Additionally, exploring how cultural, religious, and socio-economic factors shape these interactions could provide valuable insights. Understanding the diverse experiences of mosque users will help architects and planners design more inclusive spaces that accommodate the needs of all members of the community, ensuring that mosques are welcoming and accessible to everyone.

FIGURE CREDITS

Figure 1.1 Sub-Questions for Research by author.....	5
Figure 2.1 Al-Shanqīṭī, G. M. A. (1991). <i>Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Ma'ālim Dār al-Rasūl al-Amīn</i> . Jeddah, Dār al-Qiblah lil Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyyah	16
Figure 2.2 Al-Shanqīṭī, G. M. A. (1991). <i>Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Ma'ālim Dār al-Rasūl al-Amīn</i> . Jeddah, Dār al-Qiblah lil Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyyah	16
Figure 2.3 Al-Shihri, M.H. (2001). <i>Imārat al-Masjid al-Nabawī: Mundhū Inshā'ihī Ḥattā Nihāyat al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī</i> . Cairo, Dār al-Qāhirah lil Kitāb.....	17
Figure 2.4 Ayyad, E. S. (2013). 'The House of The prophet' or 'The Mosque of The Prophet'? <i>Journal of Islamic Studies</i> , 24(3), 273–334.	17
Figure 2.5 An Annotated Version of Akkouche's Reconstruction Plan by author.....	23
Figure 2.6 An Annotated Version of Akkouche's Reconstruction Plan by author.....	24
Figure 2.7 Reproduction of the Prophet's Mosque Usage During the Caliph Umar Period by author	29
Figure 2.8 Reproduction of The Prophet Mosque Usage During the Caliph Uthman by author	32
Figure 2.9 Bloom, J. M. (2020). <i>Architecture of the Islamic West: North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula 700-1800</i> . Yale University Press.	34
Figure 2.10 Hillenbrand, R. (2000). <i>Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning</i> . Edinburgh University Press.	35
Figure 2.11 Dodds, J. D. (Ed.). (1992). <i>al-Andalus: The art of Islamic Spain</i> . Exhibition Al-Andalus - The Art of Islamic Spain, New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art.....	36
Figure 2.12 Hillenbrand, R. (2000). <i>Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning</i> . Edinburgh University Press	40
Figure 2.13 Nebi Bozkurt, Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşci, "Mescid-i Nebevî", Tdv İslâm Ansiklopedisi, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mescid-i-nebevi (23.10.2024).	44
Figure 2.14 "Süleymaniye Külliyesi plan çizimi, 1/200 - Plan of Süleymaniye Complex, 1/200", Salt Research, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/70567	55
Figure 2.15 Uysal, N. and Tüzün, S. (2012) <i>Bugünün bilgileriyle Kemal'in Türkiye'si: La Turquie Kamaliste</i> , İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu.....	60
Figure 2.16 Akçura, G. (2010), Arşivden: İstanbul Eğlence Hayatı ve Caz, <i>Babylon Dergisi</i> , 6 (Kış Sayısı), https://bantmag.com/arsivden-istanbul-eglence-hayati-ve-caz/	62
Figure 2.17 The making of public space: Physicalisation of secularisation, Taksim Gezi Park. Photograph taken by Henri Prost, IFA/AA Archive, Fonds Prost.	63
Figure 2.18 Kınalıada Mosque plan and view	67
Figure 2.19 Herek, D. (2020). Mekân Kimliği ve Onu Modelleyen Işığın Şiiri: Etimesgut Camii	1965-1966. Arkitera. İstanbul.

- <https://www.arkitera.com/haber/mekan-kimligi-ve-onu-modelleyen-isigin-siiri-etimesgut-camii-1965-1966/> 68
- Figure 2.20 Çinici Mimarlık (1999) TBMM Mosque View. Çinici. Ankara
<https://www.cinicimimarlik.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/032-1.jpg>..... 68
- Figure 2.21 Çinici Mimarlık (1999) TBMM Mosque View. Çinici. Ankara
<https://www.cinicimimarlik.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/032-16.jpg>.69
- Figure 2.22 Çinici Mimarlık (1999) TBMM Mosque View. Çinici. Ankara
<https://www.cinicimimarlik.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/8.jpg>..... 69
- Figure 2.23 İltu, S., & Topçuoğlu, N. (1976). Kocatepe Camii Muamması. *Mimarlık Dergisi*, 65–73 70
- Figure 3.1 Türkiye Hukuk. 28 Şubat Niçin Postmodern Bir Darbe?.
<https://www.turkiyehukuk.org/nicin-28-subat-postmodern-bir-darbe/> (Son Erişim: 23.10.2024) 87
- Figure 3.2 Yeni Akit. (11.10.2021). 28 Şubat'ın en dik duruşunun yıldönümü! 'El ele eylemi!'.
(<https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/28-subatin-en-dik-durusunun-yildonumu-el-ele-eylemi-1583753.html>)..... 88
- Figure 3.3 Şenel. (2022). *Claiming Mosque Space: Women's Agency In Mosque Architecture In Contemporary Turkey* [Master's Thesis]. Bilkent University.....92
- Figure 3.4 Merdim, E. (2017) Sancaklar Camii. Arkitera. İstanbul
<https://www.arkitera.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/03.jpg> 93
- Figure 3.5 Merdim, E. (2017) Sancaklar Camii. Arkitera. İstanbul
(<https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/sancaklar-camisi/2049>)..... 93
- Figure 3.6 Gerçek, E. and Kazmaoğlu A.(2010). Interior of the Yeşil Vadi Mosque. Arkitera. İstanbul.
https://galeri3.arkitera.com/var/albums/Arkiv.com.tr/Proje/Adnan-Kazmaoglu/Ye%C5%9Filvadi-Camisi/0023_EnginGercek_ArasKazmaoglu.jpg. 94
- Figure 3.7 Gerçek, E. and Kazmaoğlu A.(2010). Interior of the Yeşil Vadi Mosque. Arkitera. İstanbul.
https://galeri3.arkitera.com/var/albums/Arkiv.com.tr/Proje/Adnan-Kazmaoglu/Ye%C5%9Filvadi-Camisi/0023_EnginGercek_ArasKazmaoglu.jpg..... 95
- Figure 3.8 Cambaz, M. (2009). Interior Design of Şakirin Mosque,
https://www.mustafacambaz.com/details.php?image_id=18743 (Son Erişim: 23.10.2024) 96
- Figure 3.9 Küçükerman, Ö. (2011). *The Şakirin Mosque within the legacy of the Karacaahmet Cemetery İstanbul*, Semiha Şakir Vakfı Yayınları 96
- Figure 3.10 Çağdaş Türkiye Mimarlığı (2020, 1 May) *Eyüp Yıldız Camisi / Çelik Erengeçgin / 1996 / Bursa Bursa'nın Nilüfer semtinde mevcut bir lokanta ve benzincinin yanında inşa edilen cami Çelik Erengeçgin tarafından tasarlandı. 1996 yılında kullanıma açılan cami klasik cami şemasının dışına çıkıyor.* [Image Attached] [Tweet]. Twitter.
https://twitter.com/mimarliktarihi_/status/1256188082568781824.....97

Figure 3.11 Çağdaş Türkiye Mimarlığı (2020, 1 May) Eyüp Yıldız Camisi / Çelik Erengezin / 1996 / Bursa Bursa'nın Nilüfer semtinde mevcut bir lokanta ve benzincinin yanında inşa edilen cami Çelik Erengezin tarafından tasarlandı. 1996 yılında kullanıma açılan cami klasik cami şemasının dışına çıkıyor. [Image Attached] [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/mimarliktarihi_/status/1256188082568781824	97
Figure 3.12 Guide Elements and Ablution Room in Ankara High-Speed Train Station Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	101
Figure 3.13 Women's Praying Area in Ankara High-Speed Train Station Photo taken by author (23.06.2024).....	101
Figure 3.14 Armada Masjid Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	102
Figure 3.15 Armada Mosque Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	102
Figure 3.16 Yüksel Mosque Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	103
Figure 4.1 Icon Chart for Evaluation created by author	108
Figure 4.2 Count of Women Spaces in Mosque by DİB	111
Figure 4.3 Entry of 15 July and Ömer Halisdemir Martyrs Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024).....	129
Figure 4.4 View from Women's Section in Abdullah Bin Ali El Attah Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024).....	131
Figure 4.5 Recreation Areas of Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024).....	131
Figure 4.6 Entry and Recreation Area of Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024).....	133
Figure 4.7 Women's Space of Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024).....	134
Figure 4.8 Entrance Gates of Başak Central Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024)	135
Figure 4.9 Masjid in Basement Floor of Başak Central Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024)	136
Figure 4.10 General View of Great Ankara Mosque Photo taken by author (22.06.2024)	137
Figure 4.11 Guidance Elements of Women Spaces in Great Ankara Mosqr Photo taken by author (22.06.2024).....	138
Figure 4.12 Guidance Elements of Ministry of Environment Urbanisation Mosque Photo taken by author (23.06.2024).....	139
Figure 4.13 Women's Section of The Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation Mosque Photo taken by author (23.06.2024).....	140
Figure 4.14 Etlik Central Mosque Women's Mahfil Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	141
Figure 4.15 Etlik Central Mosque Guidance Elements and Elevator for Women User Photo taken by author (23.06.2024).....	142
Figure 4.16 Interior of Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque Interior Photo taken by author (23.06.2024).....	142

Figure 4.17 Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque Paid Toilet Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	143
Figure 4.18 Ground Floor Women Praying Area in Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	144
Figure 4.19 Entry of Women's Ablution Room Entry of Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque Photo taken by author (23.06.2024)	144
Figure 4.20 Women's Mahfil Separation Element in Melike Hatun Mosque Photo taken by author	146
Figure 4.21 Women's Space in Muradiye Mosque Photo taken by author	147
Figure 4.22 Entry of Muradiye Mosque Photo taken by author	148
Figure 4.23 Entry and Women's Space of Seğmenler Mosque Photo taken by author	149
Figure 4.24 Gallup, S. (2017). <i>Liberal Berlin mosque to stay open despite fatwa from Egypt</i> Guardian, Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/25/ibn-rushd-goethe-mosque-berlin-seyran-ates-egypt-fatwa-burqa-niqab	154
Figure 4.25 Kristanto, D.D. (2023). Nurul Yaqin Mosque / Dave Orlando + Fandy Gunawan. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/1002788/nurul-yaqin-mosque-dave-orlando-plus-fandy-gunawan	155
Figure 4.26 Kristanto, D.D. (2023). Nurul Yaqin Mosque / Dave Orlando + Fandy Gunawan. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/1002788/nurul-yaqin-mosque-dave-orlando-plus-fandy-gunawan	156
Figure 4.27 Hasan M. (2020). Honeycomb Mosque / Andyrahman Architect. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/941347/honeycomb-mosque-andy-rahman-not-ready	157
Figure 4.28 Ashkanani, M et al. (2023) The Mamluki Lancet Mosque / Babnimnim Design Studio. Arkitera. https://www.archdaily.com/1013306/the-mamluki-lancet-mosque-babnimnim-design-studio	158
Figure 4.29 Cambridge Central Mosque Website, United Kingdom. https://cambridgecentralmosque.org/general-events/	159
Figure 4.30 Cambridge Central Mosque Website, United Kingdom. https://cambridgecentralmosque.org/general-events/	159
Figure 4.31 Islamic Forum Penzberg (2009), EUmiesaward, Penzberg https://miesarch.com/work/2037	160
Figure 4.32 Hotta, S. (2016). Al Warqa'a Mosque/waiwai. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/941347/honeycomb-mosque-andy-rahman-not-ready	162
Figure 4.33 Hotta, S. (2016). Al Warqa'a Mosque/waiwai. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/941347/honeycomb-mosque-andy-rahman-not-ready	163
Figure 4.34 Arafa, E. and Murri, T. (2019). Basuna Mosque / Dar Arafa Architecture. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/915616/basuna-mosque-dar-arafa-architecture	164
Figure 4.35 Pintos, P. (2017) Punchbowl Mosque / Candalepas Associates . Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/914578/punchbowl-mosque-candalepas-associates	165

Figure 4.36 Kelly, M. and Scott, W (2018). Mayor Mohammad Hanif Jame Mosque / Shatotto. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/931605/mayor-mohammad-hanif-jame-mosque-shatotto	167
Figure 4.37 Kelly, M. and Scott, W (2018). Mayor Mohammad Hanif Jame Mosque / Shatotto. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/931605/mayor-mohammad-hanif-jame-mosque-shatotto	168
Figure 4.38 Fathizadeh, F. (2015). Women sharing reflections after the Friday sermon and prayer. Flickr. https://www.flickr.com/photos/pluralismproject/21349778514/in/album-72157657186344713	169
Figure 4.39 Aprilia , A. (2018) Masjid Mariam, Masjid Pertama di Dunia yang Dikelola oleh Perempuan. Okezone Travel. https://travel.okezone.com/read/2018/08/23/406/1940376/masjid-mariam-masjid-pertama-di-dunia-yang-dikelola-oleh-perempuan (22.10.2024).....	170

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, N. (1942). Women and the State in Early Islam. *Source: Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 1(3), 341–368.
- Abbott, N. (1986). *The Two Queens of Baghdad: Mother and Wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd* (Republ). Al Saqi Books.
- Ahmad, L., & Ali, K. (2021). *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. Yale University Press.
- Ahmed, L. (1992). *Women and Gender in Islam*. Yale University Press; JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt32bg61>
- Akcaoğlu, A. (2022). *Zarif ve Dinen Makbûl* (5th ed.). İletişim Yayınları.
- Akşit, E. (2008). *Women, the Modern State and Religious Space in Turkey*.
- Akşit, E. E. (2005). *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (1. baskı). İletişim Yayınları.
- Aksu, A. (2001). Emevîler Döneminde Kadının Durumu. *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 5(1), 263–280.
- Aktaş, C. (1989). *Tanzimattan Günümüze Kılık Kıyafet ve İktidar* (1st ed., Vol. 2). Nehir Yayınları.
- Aktaş, C. (1997). Kadının Toplumsallaşması ve Fitne. *İslâmî Araştırmalar (Dergi)*, 10(3), Article 1-2–3.
- Aktaş, C. (2019). *Bacıdan Bayana* (8th ed.). İz Yayıncılık.
- Al-Hibri, A. (1982). Women and Islam. In *Women's studies international forum* (Oxford Pergamon Press, Vol. 5).
- Alkan, A., & Şentürk, L. (2009). *Cins Cins Mekân*. Varlık Yayınları.
- Altun, A. (1988). Orta Asya Türk Sanatı İle Anadolu'da Selçuklu ve Beylikler Mimarisini. In *Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan: Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri* (Vol. 1, pp. 33–44). Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Arsel, İ. (2019). *Şeriat ve Kadın*. Kaynak yayınları.
- Ateş, S. (2017). *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Yüce Meali*. Hayat Yayıncılık.
- Aydın Bıçak, C. (2010). *Kadın ve Aileye Yönelik Çalışmalar 2007-2009*. Din Hizmetleri Dairesi Başkanlığı.
- Ayhan, D. (2021). *Mekânsal Aidiyet: Mekânın Aidiyet Oluşturma Niteliği* [Doktora Tezi, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü]. <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12395/51010>
- Ayyad, E. S. (2013). 'The House of The prophet' or 'The Mosque of The Prophet'? *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 24(3), 273–334. JSTOR.
- Barbarosoğlu, F. (2000). *Kamusal Alanda Başörtülüler*. Profil Kitap.
- Batuman, B. (2018). Appropriating the Masculine Sacred: Islamism, Gender, and Mosque Architecture In Contemporary Turkey. *The Routledge Companion to Modernity, Space and Gender*, 270–287. <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781315180472>
- Batuman, B., & Tokel, Ş. (2019). *Milletin Mimarisini: Yeni İslamcı Ulus İnşasının Kent ve Mekân Siyaseti* (1st ed.). Metis Yayınları.
- Belyaev, E. A. (1971). Arabs, Islam and the Arab Caliphate in the Early Middle Ages. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2(1), 86–87. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743800000891>

- Benli, F. (2011). *1964-2011 Türkiye’de Ve Dünyada Başörtüsü Yasağı Kronolojisi*. Mazlumder,. <https://www.mazlumder.org/fotograf/yayinresimleri/dokuman/turkiyede-dunyada-basortusu-yasagi-kronolojisi.pdf>
- Berkday, F. (1996). *Tektanrılı Dinler Karşısında Kadın: Hristiyanlık’ta ve İslamiyet’te Kadının Statüsüne Karşılaştırmalı Bir Yaklaşım* (1. Basım). Metis Yayınları.
- Bloom, J. M. (2020). *Architecture of the Islamic West: North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula 700-1800*. Yale University Press.
- Bondi, L. (2005). Gender and the Reality of Cities: Embodied Identities, Social Relations and Performativities. *University of Edinburgh*. <http://hdl.handle.net/1842/822>
- Bozdoğan, S., & Birkan, T. (2002). *Modernizm ve ulusun inşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’si’nde mimari kültür* (1. Basım). Metis Yayınları.
- Bozkurt, N., & Küçükaşçı, M. S. (2004). Mescid-i Nebvî. In *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mescid-i-nebevi>
- Buhari, E. A. M. b. İ. (256 C.E.). *Sahîh* (1–I–VIII). Çağrı Yayınları.
- Caetani, L. (1905). *Annali dell’Islam* (Vol. 4). Milano, Hoepli. <https://archive.org/details/annalidellislam04caetuoft/page/n17/mode/2up>
- Çaha, Ö. (1996). *Sivil kadın: Türkiye’de sivil toplum ve kadın* (1. basım). Vadi Yayınları.
- Çakır, S. (2021). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (6th ed.). Metis Yayınları.
- Çam, N. (1999). *İslâm’da sanat: Sanatta İslâm* (3rd ed.). Akçağ.
- Çami Gör. (2019). [Blog]. <https://www.tumblr.com/camigor>
- Çarkoğlu, A., & Toprak, B. (2006). *Değişen Türkiye’de din, toplum ve siyaset*. TESEV Yayınları.
- Caswell, F. M. (2011). *Slave Girls of Baghdad The Qiyân In The Early Abbasid Era*. I. B. Tauris.
- Çınar, A. (2005). *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Cook, M. A. (2010). *The New Cambridge History of Islam*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, D. (2014). *Everyday Utopias: The Conceptual Life of Promising Spaces*. Duke University Press.
- Creswell, K. A. c. (1979). *Early Muslim Architecture* (Vol. 1). Hacker Press.
- Demir, Z. (1997). *Modern ve Postmodern Feminizm*. İz Yayıncılık.
- Demircan, A. (2015). Hz. Ali’nin İktidar Yıllarında İslâm Toplumunda Siyaset. *Anemon Muş Alparslan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 1(2), 173–190.
- Din Hizmetleri Raporu*. (2013). Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı.
- Dodds, J. D. (Ed.). (1992). *al-Andalus: The art of Islamic Spain*. Exhibition Al-Andalus - The Art of Islamic Spain, New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Donovan, J. (2019). *Feminist Teori* (12th ed.). İletişim Yayınları.
- Duman, D. (1997). *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye’de İslamcılık* (1st ed.). Dokuz Eylül Yayınları.
- Ebû Dâvud, S. b. el-Eş’as es-Sicistânî. (2000). *Sünen-i Ebî Davud* (1–I–V). Çağrı Yayınları.
- Edib, H. (1923). *Memoirs of Halide Edib*. John Murray.
- El-Cheikh, N. M. (2015). *Women, Islam, and Abbasid Identity*. Harvard University Press.
- Emiroğlu, A. (2022). 1960-1980 Dönemin Literatürüne Göre Türkiye’de Kadın Hakları Konusundaki Gelişmeler. *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi*, 9(3), 912–929.

- Ercan, H. (2018). *Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Kentlerinde Kent Meydanı ve Millet Bahçeleri* [Yüksek Lisans, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü]. <https://gcris.pau.edu.tr/handle/11499/27515>
- Erdemli, K. A. (2013). Camilerin Kadınlar Bölümünü Güzelleştirme (3T) Projesi. In H. Tokay, S. Coşkun, B. B. Cantimur, & M. Kaptı (Eds.), *Cami Mimarisinde Kadınların Yeri ve İstanbul Müftülüğü Camilerin Kadınlar Bölümünü Güzelleştirme Projesi* (pp. 113–128). (<https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/handle/1/391>)
- Ertit, V. (2014). Birbirinin Yerine Kullanılan İki Farklı Kavram: Sekülerleşme ve Laiklik. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 9(1), 103–124. <https://doi.org/10.17550/aid.01254>
- Esposito, J. L. (Ed.). (1999). *The Oxford History of Islam*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780195107999.001.0001>
- Fisher, G. (2015). *Arabs and Empires Before Islam* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Gettleman, M. E., & Schaar, S. (Eds.). (2003). *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*. Grove Press.
- Göle, N. (1998). The Gendered Nature of the Public Sphere. *Public Culture*, 10(1), 61–81. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-10-1-61>
- Göle, N. (Ed.). (2000). *İslam'ın Yeni Kamusal Yüzleri: İslam ve Kamusal Alan Üzerine Bir Atölye Çalışması*. Metis Yayınları.
- Göle, N., & Ünal, E. (2012). *Seküler ve Dinsel: Aşınan Sınırlar*. Metis.
- Goody, J. (1990). *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive: Systems of Marriage and the Family in the Pre-Industrial Societies of Eurasia* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511621703>
- Gordon, M., & Hain, K. A. (Eds.). (2017). *Concubines and Courtesans: Women and Slavery in Islamic History*. Oxford University Press.
- Gosh, H. A. (2008). Dilemmas of Islamic and Secular Feminists and Feminisms. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 9(3). <https://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1321&context=jiws>
- Grabar, O. (1975). The Visual Arts. In R. N. Frye (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 4: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs* (Vol. 4, pp. 329–363). Cambridge University Press; Cambridge Core. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521200936.010>
- Grady, C. (2018, July 20). *The Waves of Feminism, and Why People Keep Fighting Over Them, Explained* [News]. Vox Media. <https://www.vox.com/2018/3/20/16955588/feminism-waves-explained-first-second-third-fourth>
- Greer, C. H. (1994). *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities*. Routledge.
- Güçlü, Y. (Ed.). (2023). *Mecelle-i Ahkâm-ı Adliyye* (3rd ed.). Seçkin Yayıncılık.
- Gümrükçüoğlu, S. O. (2024). *Camiler Hepimizin Projesi Sonuç Raporu* (Araştırma Raporu 46403). Kadın ve Demokrasi Derneği and Force & Brothers Danışmanlık Anonim Şirketi. https://kadem.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/camiler_hepimizin_raporu_dijital.pdf
- Gün, A., Küçük, A. S., Çavuş, A., Ergül, B., Aydın, E., Durmuş, H., Geleri, R. Y., & Bağcı, Y. (2023). *Cami Mimarlığını Yeniden Düşünmek ve Düşlemek*. ITU Press.
- Günaydın, A. U. (2007). *Tanzimat Romanında Kamusal Alan ve Serbest Zaman Etkinlikleri* [Yüksek Lisans]. İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Üniversitesi.
- Gündüz, A. (2012). Historical Process And The Importance Of Women In The Turkish Society And The States. *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 5(5), 129–148. https://doi.org/10.9761/jasss_146

- Gündüz Küskü, S. (2021). Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti'nde Kadınlar ve Mimari: Sultan Eşleri. In *Antik dönem'den Osmanlı'ya Anadolu sanatında kadın* (1. baskı). İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Hamadeh, S. (2008). *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in The Eighteenth Century*. University of Washington Press.
- Herring, E. (2010). Design for Inclusivity: A Practical Guide to Accessible, Innovative and User-Centred Design. *Design and Culture*, 2(1), 107–109. <https://doi.org/10.2752/175470710X12593419555685>
- Hillenbrand, R. (2000). *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*. Edinburgh Univ. Press.
- Hitti, P. K. (1970). *History of The Arabs*. Macmillan Education UK. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-15402-9>
- Hooks, B., Aydın, E., Kurt, B., Özgün, Ş., & Yıldırım, A. (2012). *Feminizm Herkes İçindir: Tutkulu Politika*. Boğaziçi Gösteri Sanatları Topluluğu.
- Hopkins, K. (1980). Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt. *Cambridge University Press*, 22(3), 303–354.
- İltuş, S., & Topçuoğlu, N. (1976). Kocatepe Camii Muamması. *Mimarlık Dergisi*, 65–73.
- İzbudak, V. Ç. (2017). *Mesnevi: Vol. I–VI*. Doğan Egmont Yayıncılık.
- İşık, Z. (2018). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kamusal Alanda Cinsiyet ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kimliğiyle Kadın (1839-1900): Çorum Şer'iyye Mahkemesi Örneği. *Bilig*, 85, 25–56.
- Jāhiz. (1895). *Kitab al-bayān wa al-tabayīn* (al-Tab'ah 1). al-Maṭba'ah al-'ilmīyah; WorldCat.
- Jawziyya, I. Q. A. (1982). *Akhbar al nisa*. <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=GCTdHAAACAAJ>
- Jeffreys, S. (2012). *Man's Dominion: Religion and The Eclipse of Women's Rights in World Politics*. Routledge.
- Kandiyoti, D. (2022). *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler*. Metis Yayınları.
- Katz, M. H. (2014). *Women in the Mosque: A History of Legal Thought and Social Practice*. Columbia University Press.
- Khuri, F. (2001). *The Body in Islamic Culture*. Saqi Books.
- Khūrī, F. I. (2000). *The body in Islamic culture*. Saqi.
- Kılıç, A. F., & Ağçoban, S. (2013). Kadın ve Çocuklara Verilen Hizmetler Açısından Camiler. *Diyanet İlmi Dergi*, 49(4), 61–77.
- Kloppenborg, J. S., & Wilson, S. G. (Eds.). (2011). *Voluntary Associations in The Graeco-Roman World*. Routledge.
- Kuban, D. (1974). *Muslim Religious Architecture*. Brill Press.
- Kuban, D. (1995). *Türk ve İslam Sanatı Üzerine Denemeler* (2nd ed.). Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Kuban, D., Mill, A., & Emden, C. (2010). *Ottoman Architecture*. Antique Collectors' Club.
- Kuran, A. (1968). The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture. *Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies*.
- Langdon, P., Lazar, J., Heylighen, A., & Dong, H. (Eds.). (2020). *Designing for Inclusion: Inclusive Design: Looking Towards The Future*. Cambridge Workshop on Universal Access and Assistive Technology, Cham. Springer.
- Lefebvre, H. (2014). *Mekanın Üretimi* (I. Ergüden, Trans.; 2nd ed.). Sel Yayıncılık.
- Lerner, G. (1987). *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford University Press.

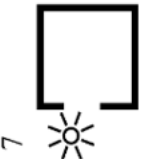
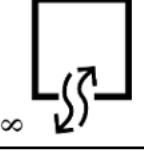
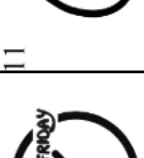
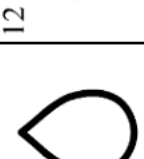
- Levy, R. (1959). The Social Structure of Islam. *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7(1-4), 180-181.
- Madelung, W. (1996). *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. Cambridge University Press.
- Malik, R., & Rohilla, S.-H. K. (2018). From Activism to Domestication of Muslim Women under Umayyad. *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, 32(2), 167-179.
- Mernissi, F. (1995). *Peçenin Ötesi: İslam Toplumunda Kadın-Erkek Dinamikleri*. Yayınevi Yayıncılık.
- Mete, Ö. S. (2013). Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, Modern Architectures in History: Turkey. London: Reaktion Books, 2012. 344 pages. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 49, 188-192. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0896634600002120>
- Millett, K. (2000). *Sexual politics*. University of Illinois Press.
- Montagu, L. M. W. (1996). *Lady Montagu Türkiye Mektupları 1717-1718*. Tercüman Yayınları.
- Müslim, E.-A. M. A. ed-Dâli. (2013). *Sahih-i Muslim ve Tercemesi* (M. Sofuoğlu, Trans.). İrfan Yayıncılık.
- O’Kane, B., & Hillebrand, R. (2021). The Mosque. In *Studies in Arab Architecture* (pp. 434-440). Edinburgh University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctv27zdjtp.18>
- Okutan, M. Ç. (2004). Müfrit Dinciler ile Müfrit Devrimciler’in Orta Yolu: Türk Muhafazakârlığında 1950’ler. *Liberal Düşünce Dergisi*, 34, 5-12.
- Öney, G. (2021). Selçuklu’dan Osmanlı’ya Seramiklerde Kadın. In *Antik Dönem’den Osmanlı’ya Anadolu Sanatında Kadın* (1. baskı). İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Ozaloglu, S., & Gurel, M. O. (2011). Designing Mosques For Secular Congregations: Transformations of The Mosque As A Social Space in Turkey. . . *Journal of Architectural Planning Research*, 28(4), 336-358.
- Özensel, E. (2003). Sosyolojik Bir Olgu Olarak Değer. *Değerler Eğitimi Dergisi*, 1(3), 217-240.
- Parlak, D. (2020a). *Laikleşme Sürecinde Camiler: Geç Osmanlı’dan Erken Cumhuriyet’e* (1. baskı). İletişim.
- Parlak, D. (2020b). Paravanın Arkasından Çıkıp Mekânı Dönüştürmek: Kadınlar Camilerde. In *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Feminizm* (1. Baskı, Vol. 10). İletişim Yayınları.
- Parmaksız, P. M. Y. (2016). Paternalism, Modernization, and the Gender Regime in Turkey. *Aspasia*, 10(1), 40-62. <https://doi.org/10.3167/asp.2016.100104>
- Payne, G. K. (1997). *Urban Land Tenure and Property Rights in Developing Countries: A Review*. Intermediate Technology Publications: Overseas Development Administration.
- Ramazanoğlu, C. (1998). *Feminizm ve Ezilmenin Çelişkileri*. Hiperlink Yayınları.
- Richardson, K. (2009). Singing Slave Girls (Qiyân) Of The ‘Abbasid Court In The Ninth And Tenth Centuries. In G. Campbell, S. Miers, & J. C. Miller (Eds.), *Children in Slavery Through The Ages* (1st ed., pp. 105-118). Ohio University Press; JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1j7x8dd.9>
- Roznai, Y., & Yolcu, S. (2012). An Unconstitutional Constitutional Amendment-The Turkish Perspective: A Comment On The Turkish Constitutional Court’s Headscarf Decision. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 10(1), 175-207. <https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/mos007>

- Şahin Aynur, H. (2019). Ayetler Işığında Cahiliyeden İslam'a Kız Çocuğu/Kadın Haklarının Tahvili. *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, 19(2), 479–518. <https://doi.org/10.33415/daad.575458>
- Şahin, M. C. (2012). Demokrat Parti Dönemi Türkiye'sinde Din, Siyaset ve Eğitim İlişkileri. *Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi*, 6(12), 31–54.
- Sancar, S. (2022). *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti* (6th ed.). İletişim Yayınları.
- Sarıçam, I. (2013). *Hız. Ömer* (5th ed.). Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı.
- Savaş, R. (2017). *İslam'ın İlk Asrında Kadın* (1st ed.). Siyer Yayınları.
- Schimmel, A. (2001). *As through a veil: Mystical poetry in Islam*. Oneworld.
- Segal, J. B. (1984). Arabs in Syriac Literature before the Rise of Islam. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 4, 89–124.
- Şenel. (2022). *Claiming Mosque Space: Women's Agency In Mosque Architecture In Contemporary Turkey* [Master's Thesis]. Bilkent University.
- Sennett, R. (2017). *The Fall of Public Man: With A New Epilogue*. W.W. Norton & Company.
- Sevim, Ayşe. (2005). *Feminizm*. İnsan Yayınları.
- Shah, N. A. (2006). *Women, the Koran and International Human Rights Law: The Experience of Pakistan*. M. Nijhoff.
- Sirri, L. (2021). *Islamic Feminism; Discourses on Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Islam*. Routledge.
- Steinfeld, E., & Maisel, J. (2012). *Universal Design: Creating Inclusive Environments*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Taşar, E. S. (2015). *Aslında Neyi Konuşuyoruz: Türkiye'de Cami Tartışmalarına (2009-2013) Yönelik Bir Söylem Analizi* [Yüksek Lisans]. Mardin Artuklu University.
- Tekeli, Ş. (1981). Women in Turkish politics. In *Women in Turkish society* (pp. 293–310). Brill.
- Toprak, Z. (2015). *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908—1935)* (1. basım). Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Watt, W. M. (1986). *Hız. Muhammed Mekke'de*. Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyet Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Watt, W. M., & Kalkan, S. (2016). *Hız. Muhammed Medine'de*. İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Kur'an Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları.
- Yararel Doğan, B., & B. Asar, T. (2019). Endüstri Devrimi ile Başlayan Yeni Dönem Yaratıcılık Düşüncesi ve Tasarımda Cinsiyet Kimliği. *International Journal of Social And Humanities Sciences*, 3(2), 51–60.
- Yılmaz, Z. (2015). *Dişil Dindarlık: İslâmcı Kadın Hareketinin Dönüşümü* (1. baskı). İletişim Yayınları.
- Yörük, A. (2009). *Feminizm/ler*. Sosyoloji Notları.
- Zeynep Hanım. (2001). *Zeynep Hanım: Özgürlük Peşinde Bir Osmanlı Kadını* (G. Ellison, Ed.). Büke Yayınları.
- Zihnioğlu, Y., & Bora, E. (with Sökmen, M. G.). (2016). *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği* (3rd ed.). Metis yayınları.
- Zwemer, S. M. (1937). Women in The Aiyam al-'Arab: A Study of Female Life During Warfare in Pre-Islamic Arabia. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, 69(1), 121–122. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00096222>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Assesment Chart of Mosque Cases by author

Case Number	Mosque Name	1 Separated Entrance ↑↑	2 Access the Main Prayer Hall ↑	3 Instictive Entrances □	4 Guidance Elements ↗↖	5 Visual Access to Mihrab 👁
1	15 Temmuz Ve Ömer Halisdemir Martyrs M. Mosque	✓	✓	-	-	✓
2	Abdullah Bin Ali El Attyah Mosque	-	✓	✓	-	✓
3	Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
4	Alacaatlı Uluyol Mosque	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
5	Başak District Central Mosque	-	✓	✓	-	-
6	Büyük Ankara Mosque	✓	-	✓	✓	-
7	Çevre Ve Şehircilik Mosque	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
8	Etilik Central Mosque	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
9	Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque	-	✓	-	✓	✓
10	Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque	-	✓	-	-	-
11	Melike Hatun Mosque	✓	✓	-	✓	-
12	Muradiye Bayram Semiz Mosque	✓	-	✓	-	✓
13	Seğmenler District Rahman Mosque	✓	✓	-	-	✓

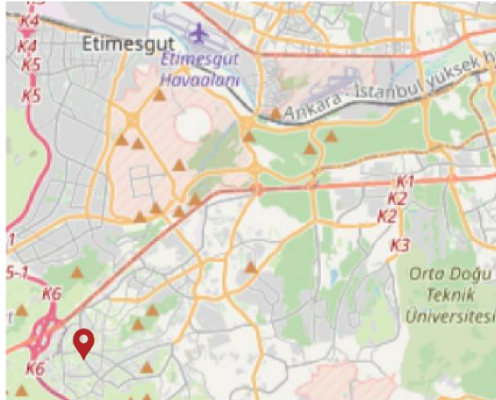
6		Sufficient Lighting	7		Natural Lighting	8		Natural Ventilation	9		Accessible on Eid Days	10		Accessible on Friday Pray	11		Having the Ablutionroom	12		Physical Accessibility
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-			
-		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-			
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓										✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									-		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		
-		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-									✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									-		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									-		
✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓		

APPENDIX 2: Selected Mosque Cases Assesment Chart

1. 15 July and Ömer Halisdemir Martyrs Mosque

Yenimahalle / Ankara

2017



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

The mosque located in the Yenimahalle district, constructed in a traditional style, is a three-story structure. The space, designed with a central dome, incorporates smaller, segmented domes for the gallery and the outer congregational area. The ground floor of the mosque serves as a Quran school, while the galleries overlooking the main prayer hall are designated for female worshippers. Access to the main space, which is situated approximately three meters above the street level, is provided by stairs leading up from the entrance. Both male and female worshippers enter the mosque through the main entrance. Women access the gallery floor from the entrance area, which also functions as the outer congregational area. The design of the stairs leading to the ablution facilities and the gallery floor does not adhere to accessible design principles. The visual connection established between the gallery floor and the mihrab is favorable in terms of integrating female worshippers into the main space. However, due to the insufficient use of directional elements, access to the ablution facilities and the gallery floor is challenging. The mosque's imam noted that women pray on the gallery floor during Friday prayers but are absent during Eid prayers. The ablution facility for women, which does not adhere to accessible design principles, is entered from the side of the mosque and is located in the basement.

1	↑↑	2	↑	5	👁️
6	💡	7	☀️	8	🔄
10	🕒	11	💧		

2. Abdullah Bin Ali El Attah Mosque

Gölbaşı/Ankara

2018



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



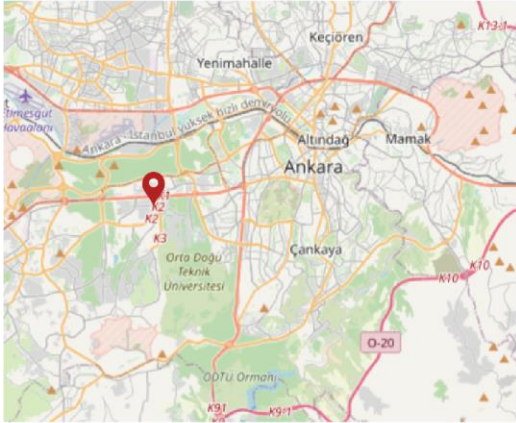
Women's Ablution Room

The mosque commissioned by the advisor of Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad Al Thani, Emir of Qatar, and opened for worship in 2018, is located in the Gölbaşı district, in a sparse housing texture away from the city center. Covering a total area of 3,000 square meters, the mosque's layout and architectural form are distinctly traditional. Vaults surrounding the central dome form the upper covering of the gallery floor. The main entrance accommodates both male and female worshippers simultaneously. However, there are several discrepancies between the design and actual usage of the building. Notably, due to difficulties in heating the structure, the outer congregational area (son cemaat yeri) and the imam's room are reported to be used for worship during the winter months. The exterior and interior of the mosque are extremely simple, with walls left bare except for some wall paintings on the tromp walls. During the regular prayer times, the imam's room is utilized, while in the summer, the main prayer hall is allocated to male worshippers. Additionally, the upper gallery, which lacks accessible design for the disabled, may also be designated for female worshippers using the imam's room for prayer. The use of directional elements is limited,

2	↑	3	□	5	👁
7	☀	8	↻	9	📅
10	🕒	11	💧		

3. Ahmet Hamdi Akseki Mosque Çankaya/Ankara

2013



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

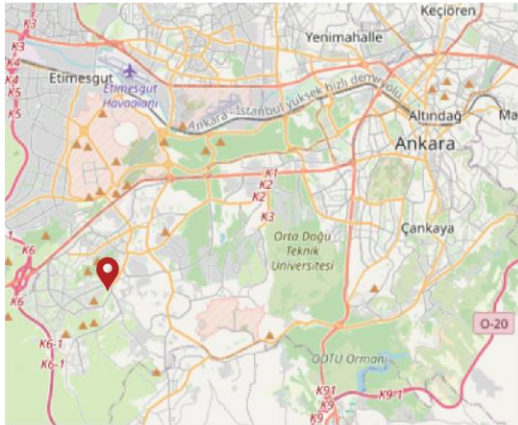
In Akseki Mosque, the guidance is sufficient and women users were considered in the design process. Women and men use the same entrances and they will separate inside. Women's mahfil has visual access to the mihrab and the main area of the mosque. The mosque has various functions inside. The basement floor and ground floor serve as a recreation area which has an exhibition area, a book and gift shop, and a cafe. The mosque's imam has noted that the number of female congregants during Friday and regular prayers is relatively low. However, on special occasions such as Kandil, Bayram, and Tarawih prayers, the entire gallery level is designated for women. In this context, the division of the gallery into three main sections is considered positive, as it accommodates varying needs. The mosque features a highly equitable architectural program, including ablution facilities designed with ergonomic considerations and open/closed recreational areas where both genders can coexist. The mosque's diversified architectural program, circulation design suitable for disabled access, and consideration of women's usage and privacy from the design stage onwards, make it a contemporary and inclusive space.

2	↑	3	□	4	↔
5	👁	6	💡	7	☀
8	↺	9	📅	10	🕒
11	💧	12	♿		

4. Alacaath Uluyol Mosque

Yenimahalle/Ankara

2013



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

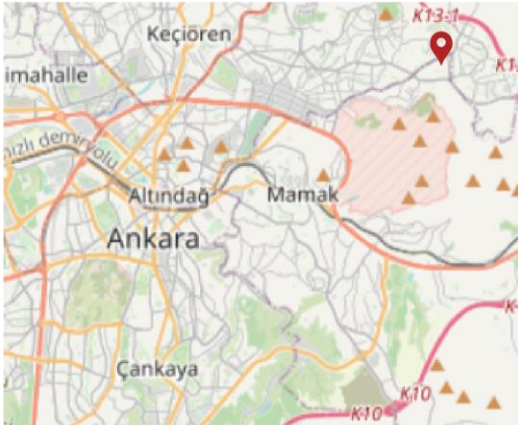
The structure is characterized by a form and design consistent with traditional mosque architecture, drawing inspiration from the cubic form. The project employs simple geometric shapes, with the cube representing the mosque, the sphere representing the dome, and the triangle representing the ablution areas. The four-story building includes a basement level dedicated to an underground parking garage. The main worship area spans three levels: the ground floor houses the lower mosque (social facilities and Qur'an courses), the first floor contains the main prayer area, and the second floor is designated for women. All floors are interconnected by a central staircase and elevator. The first courtyard, located to the north of the site, is the upper courtyard, providing access to both the main prayer area and the women's section of the mosque. This courtyard features a star-shaped fountain, seating areas for men and women, and a children's play area. The semi-open courtyard, designed as the forecourt, can be utilized as an additional prayer space during busy periods.

2	↑	3	□	4	↕
5	👁	6	💡	7	☀
8	↺	9	📅	10	🕒
11	💧	12	♿		

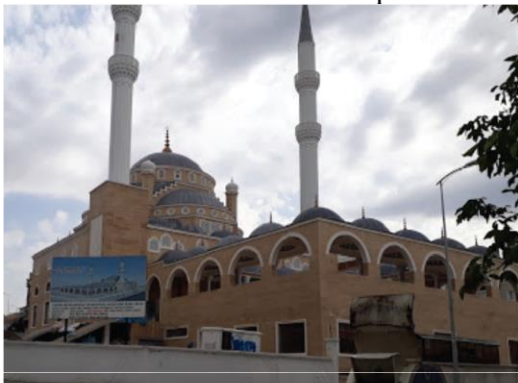
5. Başak District Central Mosque

Altındağ/Ankara

2020



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

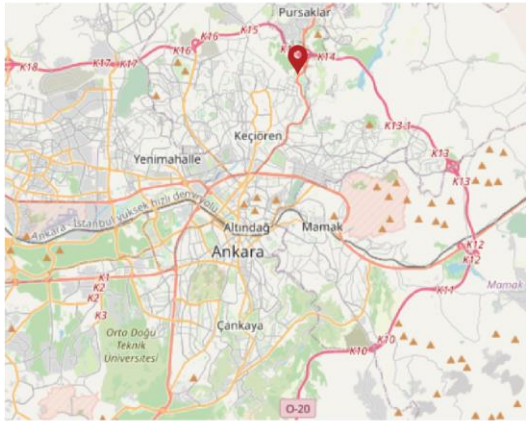
The mosque is located in Altındağ district in an area with a dense low-rise residential neighbourhood. A traditional style has been adopted. The mosque has three floors and the basement serves as a Quran Course. The mosque welcomes its users through the entrances to the inner courtyard and does not contain any guiding elements for women. Access to the mahfil floor is provided by stairs located in the main worship space of the mosque and separated by a wall. Although there is a lift in the project, it is closed for use. Natural ventilation and natural lighting are provided by the windows on the mahfil floor. The wall-mounted lighting elements on the mahfil floor are also among the details considered during the design phase. However, approximately one and a half metre misted glass panels were placed in front of the marble railings surrounding the mahfil. There is no guidance element related to the mahfil. Women were recorded to participate in Eid, Friday and tarawih prayers. The masjid, which is located on the basement floor but has natural light and ventilation with the advantage of its sloping terrain, is used in the winter months when the mosque is not heated. Women use the mahfil for time prayers. However, in case of need, the masjid in the basement floor is used by women in addition to the mahfid. As a result, the mosque does not offer an innovative programme with its traditional style.

2	↑	3	□	6	💡
7	☀️	8	↻	9	📅
10	🕒	11	💧		

6. Grant Ankara Mosque

Keçiören/Ankara

2019



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

The mosque and its complex was built on an area of 125 thousand square metres in Kuzeýkent on the Esenboğa Airport road and has a closed area of approximately 110 thousand square metres. The mosque, which is the third largest place of worship in Ankara after Kocatepe and Melike Hatun, is built on two floors and the lower floor is covered with tiles, and there is a large worship area under the central dome. The library, which has a wide range of resources, is also in the architectural programme of the complex. The mosque has many positive features due to its capacity and its location in a complex with a rich architectural programme. The effective use of directional elements, clear solution of circulations, recreation areas designed for men and women give the impression that the design is very inclusive for women users. The women's section on the ground floor does not establish a visual relationship with the mihrab, but establishes a permeable relationship with the mosque space. In addition to its traditional form, the way the side functions were added to the project and the solution was found successful.

1		3		4	
6		7		8	
9		10		11	
12					

Çankaya/Ankara

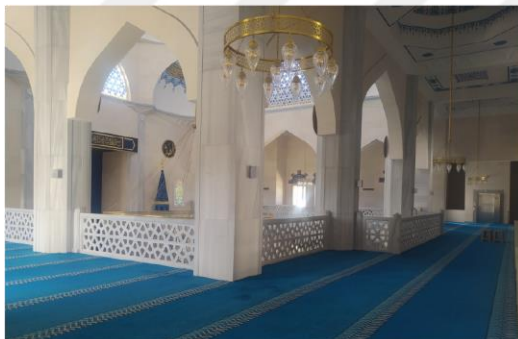
2022



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque

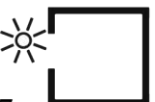


Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

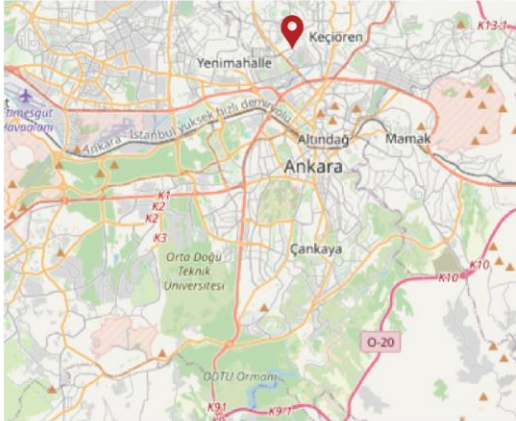
Built on the parcel where the administration building of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation and Climate Change is located, the mosque is located in a large green area. In the basement of the mosque, there are two large masjids built to provide additional places of worship for men and women. The effective use of circulation and guiding elements stems from various design decisions that were considered during the design phase of the mosque. The independent volume in the garden provides an alternative access to the mosque. From the ablution rooms in the basement, it is possible to access the flat foot masjids and directly to the mahfil inside the mosque with the lift. In this respect, the mosque offers more functional solutions to its users beyond its traditional form. It doesn't seem to be a problem for the mahfil floor to establish a visual relationship with the mihrab or for the female user to be visible. Women and men enter the mosque through separate entrances. The abundance of directional elements clearly defines the space and circulation designed for female users. constructs spatial relations from a more contemporary and functional place behind its traditional form. The assessment that the mosque is inclusive is appropriate.

1		2		3	
4		5		6	
7		8		9	
11		12			

8. Etlik Central Mosque

Keçiören/Ankara

2021



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

The mosque consists of a two-storey basement, the main place of worship and a three-storey mahfil. The first floor mahfil is reserved for men, but the upper two floors are used by women. The lifts provide direct access to the mahfil from the women's ablution rooms on the first floor minus the first floor. In this respect, the circulation solution is functional and inclusive. The mahfil on the second floor is reserved for the use of women on special occasions to the extent that the number of female users increases. This flexible use of the mahfil is positive. Also, the wooden railings used on the mahfil floors are low in height and hollow in order to provide a visual relationship with the mihrab. Many writings and signboards regarding the use of the building are located in the space. However, the lighting elements used on the mahfil floors are insufficient and do not make the user feel included in the main space of the mosque. So, the Mosque shows a meaningful harmony with its contemporary form and façade design in its context. The fact that female users are considered while designing the circulation of the space and having a reserved place in all conditions makes the mosque inclusive. The accessible design of the mosque and the visual relationship of the mahfil with the mihrab are also positive features of the mosque.

1	↑↑	3	□	4	↕
5	👁	7	☀	8	↻
9	📅	10	🕒	11	💧
12	♿				

9. Hacı Ahmet Ulusoy Mosque

Çankaya/Ankara

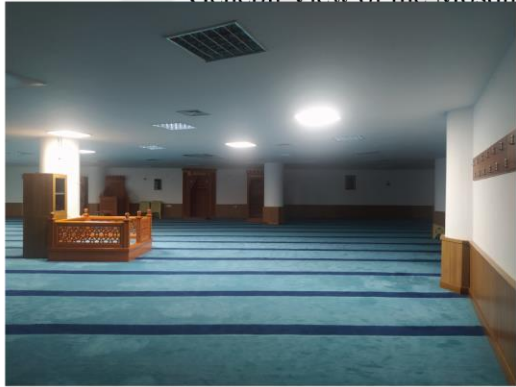
2019



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

The mosque is located in the Çankaya district of Ankara. Built in an area with multi-storey residential blocks, the mosque is located on a busy commercial axis. Although the mosque is reminiscent of classical mosques with a central reinforced concrete dome, it is differentiated by its facade layout and sloping reinforced concrete walls. This form, which creates the perception of a gradual total dome, is also felt in the interior. In order to strengthen the sloping effect of the walls, the arches of the openings on the facade are separated from the facade. In the mosque, the lower floor of which is used as a Quran Course, it is stated that women generally use the masjid in the basement. In addition, the mahfil floor follows the sloping line of the walls and is in the form of an arc. There is a single door at the entrance to the mosque, which has no last congregation place. The lifts going down to the mahfil floor or the basement floor are also placed in small corridors opening to the main space of the mosque. The women's ablution rooms in the basement are equipped with a toilet charge and designed independently from the building. The minaret staircase of the mosque and the staircase accessing the mahfil are common. Women generally do not participate in time prayers, and that women who come for Friday prayers are placed at the back of the main space when they are few in number.

2	↑	4	↖ ↗	5	👁
6	💡	7	☀	8	↺ ↻
9	📅	11	💧	12	♿

10. Hafız Ahmet Beyazıt Mosque

Çankaya/Ankara

2021



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women's Ablution Room

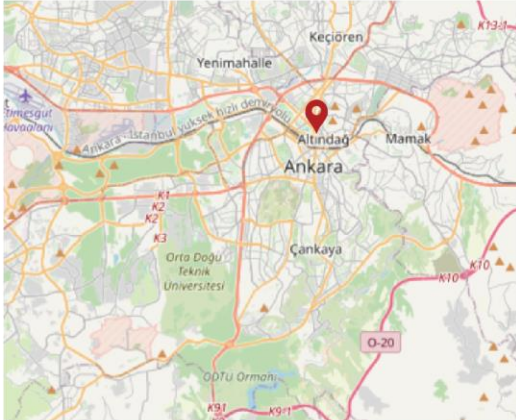
It is located in a dense low-rise residential neighbourhood in the district of Ankara. Unlike other mosques, the architectural programme of the mosque also includes a bazaar and a guesthouse. Additional functions in the basement of the mosque allow each floor to have access to natural light in the mosque located on a sloping terrain. It sits on a prismatic volume with a central dome and rounded corners. The interior of the building, whose exterior is extremely simple, shares the same language. Only the traditional wall paintings on the dome are left blank on the interior walls. The Mahfil floor is 'U' shaped and fully transparent glass balustrades are used. The imam of the mosque stated that the mahfil floor, where no distinctive visual element is used, is opened upon request when female users come. Women usually pray in the closed area on the ground floor, which is surrounded by fenestration systems and overlooks the main worship space. When male and female users enter the main entrance of the mosque, they pass to an intermediate space connecting the mahfil stairs and the imam's room. However, women also use the main space of the mosque from time to time. The ablution place is located in the basement of the mosque. However, this area, which is locked during the day, is only opened upon request at prayer times.

2	↑	6	💡	7	☀️
8	↺	10	🕒	11	💧
12	♿️				

11. Melike Hatun Mosque

Altındağ/Ankara

2017



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque

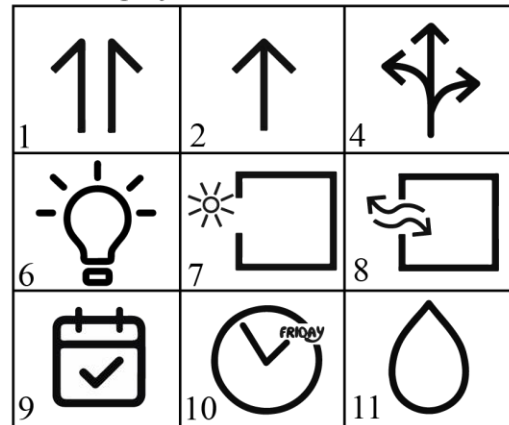


Women's Mahfil

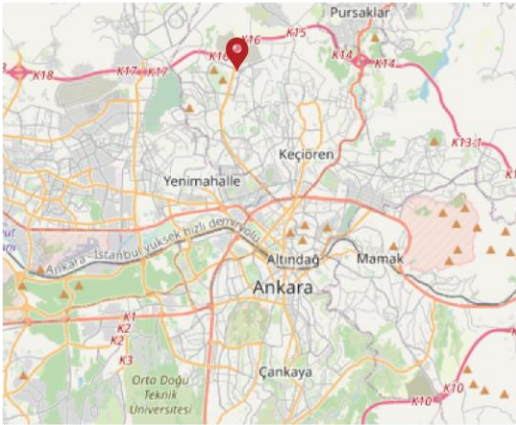


Women's Ablution Room

The mosque, located in a central area of Ankara at Ulus Erbakan Square, was constructed in a traditional style and opened to the public in 2017. The architectural program of the mosque, built in a traditional style, includes a congress hall, a foyer, and a parking area. The mosque is entirely constructed from concrete material. All façades of the structure are clad in artificial stone and Marmara marble, with marble also being used for the columns, gallery railings, mihrab, and minbar. The mosque is surrounded by a large courtyard. The courtyard does not feature a portico design, but is rather designed as an open courtyard. The courtyard, slightly elevated from the road level, is on the same plane as the surrounding landscape. The traditional practice of placing a fountain or pool in the center of the courtyard has not been adopted here. Instead, two identical pools have been installed at the same plane as the last porticos of the forecourt. In conclusion, while the mosque replicates the form of Classical period mosques, contemporary influences can be observed in the functional solutions. Features such as the screens that block the visual connection with the mihrab and the inaccessibility of the main prayer area for women contribute



12. Muradiye Bayram Semiz Mosque Keçiören/Ankara 2018



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil



Women Ablution Room

Located in the Keçiören district of Ankara, the mosque is located in the north-west of the city in an area where construction is sparse. The mosque, which was built in a traditional Turkish style with three floors, has a Quran course on the ground floor. The mosque, whose entire facade is covered with white travertine stone. The women's ablution room of the mosque is open on all days except Sundays. Diyanet organises family gatherings on certain days of the week and that conversations for families are held in the main space of the mosque. The women's mahfil is surrounded by marble balustrades and allows visual contact with the mihrab. It has natural light and ventilation. The women's ablution room on the ground floor is accessible, but access to the mahfil is from outside the mosque. Access to the main space of the mosque is provided only by stairs. Directional elements are used but not aesthetic. As a result, it is possible to see various improvements in the mosque for the inclusion of female participants in worship, regardless of the design decision. The design is not accessible and has a traditional architectural language. (Figure 4.22) However, the activities undertaken to diversify the public use of the mosque are evaluated positively.

2	↑↑	3	□	5	👁
6	💡	7	☀	8	↻
9	📅	10	🕒	11	💧

13. Seğmenler District Rahman Mosque Gölbaşı/Ankara

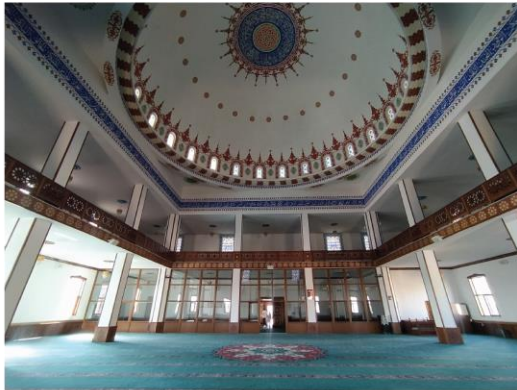
2021



Mosque Location



General View of the Mosque



Women's Mahfil

The mosque was built in Gölbaşı district of Ankara, far away from the settlements. It was reported that women rarely attend the mosque, where various construction works are ongoing. Built in a traditional style, there is a fountain and toilet for men in the mosque garden. In the basement, there are service spaces designed for women and a Quran Course. Vertical circulation in the mosque, where accessibility was not considered at the design stage, is provided by stairs. Women and men enter the main space of the mosque, through the same entrance. To the west of the last congregation place, there are various writings directing to the women's mahfil. In the interior, wooden coverings and simple wall paintings stand out. The mosque officials state that women rarely use the mosque and that special days are one of the rare occasions when the female congregation has high attendance. The wooden railings used in the women's mahfil of the mosque allow a visual relationship with the mihrab.

1	↑↑	2	↑	5	👁️
6	💡	7	☀️	8	🔄
9	📅				

CURRICULUM VITAE

2017 – 2021	B.Sc., Architecture, Erciyes University, Kayseri, TÜRKİYE
2021 – 2022	Int., Architecture, Bologna University, Bologna, ITALY
2022 – 2024	Msc., Architecture, Abdullah Gul University, Kayseri, TÜRKİYE

