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SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMPARATIVE WOMEN FRIENDLY POLICIES: MARDİN, İZMİR AND SAMSUN METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES

MASTER'S THESIS

BENGÜ ÖZTAN KÖRÜN

M.A., Department of Political Science

JANUARY 2022

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THESIS SUPERVISOR
ASSIST. PROF. DR. SEVAL YAMAN

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASAM : Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants

GAD: Gender and Development

GICP: The Gender Inclusive Cities Program

GUO: The Global Urban Observatory

ILO: International Labour Organization

JDP: Justice and Development Party

KA-DER: Kadın Adayları Destekleme Derneği – Association for Supporting the Women Candidates

KOSGEB: Small and Medium Industry Development Organization

LEAP: Local Equality Action Plan

PDP: People's Democratic Party

RPP: Republican People's Party

SPO: the State Planning Organization

UN-Habitat: The United Nations Commission on Human Settlements

UN: United Nations

UNDP: Unitedn Nations:Development Programme

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

UNJP: United Nations Joint Program

WAD: Women and Development

WICI: Women in Cities İnternational

WID: Women in Development

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ÖZET

KARLŞILAŞTIRMALI KADIN DOSTU POLİTİKALAR: MARDİN, İZMİR VE SAMSUN BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYELERİ

Bengü Öztan Körün

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi Anabilim Dalı

Danışman: Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Seval Yaman

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Bu tez çalışmasında Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından desteklenen Kadın Dostu Şehirler ideali çerçevesinde şekillenen Yerel Eşitlik Eylem Planı'ndaki 7 alanda farklı siyasi partiler ve bölgelerdeki belediyelerin faaliyetlerinin ve bu faaliyetlerinin Kadın Dostu Şehirler ideali ile ne ölçüde örtüştüğünün değerlendirilmesi yapılmıştır. Bu kapsamda, belediyeler tarafından kadınlara yönelik yürütülen hizmetlerin bu tematik alanlara uygunluğu araştırılmıştır. Ayrıca bu hizmetlerin içeriği toplumsal cinsiyetin anaakımlaştırılması yaklaşımına göre değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda kamusal alan ve özel alan tartışması toplumsal cinsiyet kavramı üzerinden bir değerlendirilmesi yapılmış, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ana akımlaştırma strateji hakkında güncel kavram tartışmalarına yer verilmiştir. Ayrıca Birleşmiş Milletlerin kadın politikalarına yönelik yaklaşımları tarihsel süreç dahil edilerek verilmiş ve bu kavramların daha iyi anlaşılması için feminist teoriler tartışılmıştır.Kadınların yerel yönetim mekanizmalarına ulaşmada, katılım sağlamada ve yararlanma konusundaki problemlerin çözülmesi; toplumda ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi alanlarda eşitliğin sağlanması, farkındalığın arttırılması ve kadının durumunun iyileştirilmesi adına toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlayacak politikalar uygulanmaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği stratejisi olan toplumsal cinsiyetin ana akımlaştırılması, tüm ana plan ve politikalara toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlayacak perspektifin getirilmesini ve bu doğrultuda dönüştürücü değişimleri ifade eder. Ana akımlaştırmayla kadının toplumdaki

geri kalmışlığını ortadan kaldırmak, yerel mekanizmalara kısıtlı ulaşımını azaltmak, katılımını ve yararlanımını arttırmak ve kadının güçlenmesini sağlamak amaçlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda belediyeler özelinde oluşturulan Kadın Dostu Kent programı, yönetişim, güvenlik, ulaşım, ekonomik güvenlik, eğitim, toplumsal hayat ve sağlık gibi birçok konuda eşitliği sağlamak, mevcut mağduriyeti gidermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Amaçlı örneklem yönteminin ölçüt örneklem metoduyla oluşturulan örneklemde İzmir, Mardin ve Samsun belediyelere odaklanılarak bu belediyelerin 2015-2020 yılları arasındaki faaliyet raporları incelenmiş ve nitel içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca belediyelerin faaliyetleri Tüm çalışmaların faaliyet raporlarında yer aldığı varsayılmıştır. Belediyelerin hizmetlerinin Yerel Eşitlik Eylem Planlarında yer alan yedi tematik alana uygunluğu tartışılmıştır. Ekonomi, sağlık ve bilinçlendirme alanlarında verilen eğitimlerin içerikleri incelenerek bu hizmetlerin içeriğinin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği yaklaşımına uygun olup olmadığı incelenmiştir. Ayrıca bu büyükşehir belediyelerinin çalışmaları ve eğitimleri karşılaştırma yapılarak değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, belediyelerin kadınlara yönelik hizmet ve projelerin belirlenen tematik alanlara uygun olduğu görülmüştür. Ekonomi, sağlık ve bilinçlendirme alanlarında verilen eğitimlerin içerikleri incelendiğince toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin ana akımlaştırması amacıyla ilgili eşitlik ile ilgili perspektiflerin üçünü de barındırdığı görülmüştür. Ayrıca, hizmetlerin çeşitliliğinin bölgelere, vatandaşın ihtiyaç ve talebine, siyasi partilerin kadınlara yönelik söylemlerine, belediye başkanlarının vizyonlarına göre değiştiği gözlenmiştir. Son olarak, belediyelerin kadın dostu kent idealine ulaşmaları için öneriler getirilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: kadın dostu kentler, toplumsal cinsiyetin ana akımlaştırılması, kadın politikaları, yerel yönetimler

ABSTRACT

COMPARATIVE WOMEN FRIENDLY POLICIES: MARDİN, İZMİR
AND SAMSUN METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES

Bengü Öztan Körün

M.A., Department of Political Science

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Seval Yaman

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In this thesis, the activities of municipalities in different regions and represented by different political parties within the framework of 7 areas in the Local Equality Action Plan, which was shaped within the framework of the ideal of Women Friendly Cities supported by the United Nations, were evaluated and it was discussed to what extent these activities overlap with the ideal of Women Friendly Cities. In this context, the suitability of the services provided by municipalities towards women in these thematic areas was investigated. In addition, the contents of the trainings given in the fields of economy, health and awareness raising were examined to understand whether the content of these services complies with the gender mainstreaming approach. In this context, an evaluation of the public sphere and private sphere debate over the concept of gender has been made, and current conceptual discussions about gender equality and gender equality mainstreaming strategy have been included. In addition, the approaches of the UN to women's policies are given by including the historical process and feminist theories are discussed for a better understanding of these concepts.

Policies that will ensure gender equality are implemented to solve the problems of women in accessing, participating, and benefiting from local government mechanisms; to ensure equality in the society in economic, social, cultural, and political, to increase awareness and to improve the situation of women. Gender mainstreaming, which is a

gender equality strategy, means bringing a perspective that will ensure gender equality to all major plans and policies and transforming changes in this direction. Gender mainstreaming aims to eliminate the backwardness of women in society, to reduce their limited access to local mechanisms, to increase their participation and utilization, and to empower women. In this context, the Women-Friendly City program, created for municipalities, purposes to provide equality in many issues such as governance, security, transportation, economic security, education, social life, and health, and to eliminate existing grievances.

The sample of the research created by the criterion sampling method of the purposive sampling method. The activity reports of these municipalities between the years 2015-2020 were examined by focusing on the municipalities of İzmir, Mardin and Samsun, and the qualitative content analysis method was used. In addition, the activities of the municipalities it is assumed that all studies are included in the activity reports. The suitability of municipalities' services to the seven thematic areas included in the Local Equality Action Plans was discussed. The contents of the trainings given in the fields of economy, health and awareness were examined and it was examined whether the content of these services was suitable for the gender equality approach. In addition, the studies and trainings of these metropolitan municipalities were evaluated by comparison. As a result, it has been seen that the services and projects of the municipalities for women are suitable for the determined thematic areas. When the contents of the trainings given in the fields of economy, health and awareness are examined, it is seen that all three perspectives about equality are included to gender mainstream. In addition, it has been observed that the diversity of services varies according to the regions, the needs and demands of the citizens, the discourses of the political parties towards women, and the visions of the mayors. Finally, suggestions were made for municipalities to achieve the ideal of a women friendly city.

Key Words: women friendly cities, gender mainstreaming, woman policies, local government

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Compared to the central government, local governments are a form of organization that should be more intertwined with the people and can be efficient and effective with the direct participation of the people. Local governments are obliged to ensure that their citizens live and work in safe, healthy, orderly, sheltered, and planned environments. In addition, they have to ensure that citizens benefit from health, education, socio-cultural etc. services equally, that people can easily access these services and use the city comfortably. It is also very important for the well-being of democracy to ensure that every citizen participates in local government and politics, is represented, and can benefit from services and opportunities equally, without any discrimination. However, due to various reasons such as age, sex, gender, ethnicity, language, and religion, people's experience of urban life, access to public services and participation in management processes are not at the same level. The fact that citizens, who are sharing the same city, cannot have the same conditions and opportunities in various areas causes inequality. When these emerging social inequalities are considered based on gender, it can be said that women are secondary to men, have problems in accessing services or cannot reach them at all.

Since cities are both social and ideological spaces, they contain the cultural and gender norms of the society and create community-based identities for itself (Lefebvre, 2019). The gender-based division of labor experienced in social life also appears in the cities. Gender-based division of labor shows which gender undertakes the social work and this division is effective in the distribution of products (goods, services, income) resulting from the design and organization of the work undertaken (Alkan, 2005: p.42). While women are associated with household responsibilities, they are defined through the family and have been undertake the non-economic responsibilities of the household as well as motherhood and wifehood duties. In addition, their communication in the private sphere is limited to home and neighbor relations (Greed, 1994). Men were able to enter the public sphere with economic power and were exempted from all domestic work. While work was seen as an activity performed by men in the public sphere and eventually earned wages, women's labor was ignored. Domestic labor of women was seen as

reproduction, while men's labor was seen as production. This means that the labor of a woman is seen as worthless compared to the labor of a man. This situation caused women to be associated with the private sphere and to exclude from the public space. Therefore, it has become easier for women to be excluded from the public sphere and imprisoned in the private sphere (Bora, 2004, p.531). Gender-based division of labor enabled men to participate directly or indirectly in local administrations and local politics hereby they can benefit from easily services. However, since women are in the private sphere, they do not directly access local government units and services. Instead, they have made areas such as neighborhoods, streets, parks, and marketplaces as an extension of their private space to the public space over time because of that spatial mobility of women is limited to their surroundings. They have been able to access urban services, units and mechanisms of local governments only through these roads. Since the 1980s, feminist studies' detailed handling of the relationship between women and the city has revealed the following truth that the general users of the goods and services produced by local governments are women and/or these goods and services are offered to families through women. Thus, the "invisible presence" of women in local governments has been the subject of academic and politic discussion.

Examining the invisible existence of women in the city and starting to propose solutions have brought up rebuilding local governments to include women, examining women's demands, and eliminating the existing gender inequality the agenda. To eliminate inequality and strengthen the situation of women, it is necessary to adopt and develop gender equality policies by local governments.

Gender equality means that individuals can benefit from equal rights, opportunities, and approaches in all areas of life, regardless of sex. When looking at the theory, research and projects related to gender equality, it is seen that the practices mostly focus on women. The reason for this can be considered as the fact that women have remained in a secondary position throughout history, imprisoned in the private sphere and economically disadvantaged. This has led to the parallel and inward progress of gender equality and women's policies. Gender equality policies include change, even "transformation" (Rees, 1998) in policies, programs and projects for everyone in every field. One of the studies carried out to ensure this transformation is the mainstreaming strategy. Gender mainstreaming aims to consider gender equalities at all stages of policy

planning, decision-making and implementation in all departments and to provide a gender perspective to all general institutional structures to achieve the goal. The relation between gender equality and gender mainstreaming is that gender equality is the main goal, while gender mainstreaming is a strategy used to promote and achieve equality (UN, 2002).

Gender mainstreaming involves a change in both the administration and the society to increase the visibility of women in the city and to have a voice in many issues such as education, health, security, housing, transportation, representation, participation in decision-making mechanisms, employment and so on. To ensure this change, international organizations, universities, non-governmental organizations and countries carry out various projects. One of the projects carried out is women friendly cities. Women friendly cities are cities that improve and empower women, have qualities suitable for women's lives, and have appropriate policies and approaches that try to solve problems of women in the city. In this context, women friendly cities support employment opportunities, provide access to quality and comprehensive urban services, provide preventive and protective services on violence against women, ensure the participation of women in the planning and decision-making processes of local governments, and support the equalization of urban life in all areas. A municipality that aims to be a woman friendly city should aim to work protecting and empowering women and girls in the context of different issues such as decision-making processes, security, education, health, violence, employment, awareness, and mindset change. The order of priority of these issues may vary according to the current problem areas of the countries as well as according to the cities. At this point, it is very important for municipalities to carry out field studies in order to understand the problems faced by their citizens and to improve the quality of the services they provide. In this way, it can more easily analyze the problems faced by its citizens and the reasons behind the problems and offer more qualified solutions.

In Turkey, giving importance to women's policies in cities based on local governments and putting the work done in this context into action began to take place in the second half of the 2000s. The first comprehensive study in local government focusing on municipalities to empower women and girls is the "Women Friendly Cities Program" initiated by the United Nations Joint Program (UNJP). Also, the partners of the Project were United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Ministry of the Interior of Republic of Turkey, KA-DER (Kadın Adayları Destekleme Derneği – Association for Supporting

the Women Candidates), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), Sabancı Foundation and Sabancı University. This program is a multi-partner project involving international organizations, government, civil society, and university. The main aims are to develop an environment for women friendly cities can be formed by including gender equality in local government and to set the implementation of gender mainstreaming all processes of scope of municipalities.

Women Friendly Cities Program in Turkey is consisted of two phases. Although first phase was designed as a two-year project, then the program was extended twice. In the first phase, the provinces where the program was conducted were Nevşehir, İzmir, Kars, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon and Van. In the second phase, these cities were added as follows: Adıyaman, Antalya, Bursa, Gaziantep, Malatya, Mardin, Samsun, İzmir, Kars, Nevşehir, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon. Even if the program was finished in 2014, each city has committed to continue their intention to be a women friendly city. However, it is not an easy process for municipalities to maintain the strategy. for this reason, in this study, the annual reports published on the websites of the metropolitan cities of Izmir, Mardin and Samsun, after the end of the project, will be examined. Therefore, the activities of municipalities will be evaluated within the framework of 7 areas in the Local Equality Action Plan and discussed to what extent these activities overlap with the ideal of Women Friendly Cities. In addition, the content of these services will be evaluated according to the gender mainstreaming approach.

1.1. RESEARCH METHOD

1.1.1. Purpose and Questions of the Research

In this thesis, the activities of municipalities in different regions which are represented by different political parties within the framework of 7 areas in the Local Equality Action Plan, which was shaped within the framework of the ideal of Women Friendly Cities supported by the United Nations, will be evaluated and it will be discussed to what extent these activities overlap with the ideal of Women Friendly Cities. In this context, the suitability of the services provided by municipalities towards women in these thematic areas will be investigated. In addition, the contents of the trainings given in the

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fields of economy, health and awareness raising will be examined in order to understand whether the content of these services complies with the gender mainstreaming approach.

1.1.2. Method

In this thesis, qualitative method was used. Qualitative research is a comprehensive approach that includes a wide variety of research models, different paradigmatic approaches and various research designs used in social studies (Beuving & De Vries, 2015). Qualitative research is a method that adopts an interpretative approach to examine the research problem, based on an interdisciplinary holistic perspective.

In this study, document analysis, which is a qualitative research method, was used. Document analysis includes the collection, review, query, and analysis of various documents as the primary source of research data. In document analysis, the content of written documents is meticulously and systematically analyzed. Document analysis is used to examine and evaluate all documents, both printed and electronic materials. Like other methods used in qualitative research, document analysis requires the examination and interpretation of data to make sense of it, to form an understanding about the subject, and to develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Documents contain recorded texts and images without the intervention of a researcher. In this thesis, this analysis method was used because the activity reports on the official websites of the municipalities were examined.

Also, in the study, the data, which are collected via examining of the annual report shared by the 3 metropolitan municipalities between 2015-2020 on their official websites, were analyzed by using the content analysis method, which is one of the qualitative research methods. Findings was made over seven thematic areas in the local equality action plan. The "Gender Mainstreaming in Local Governments" study prepared by the UN (2018) was used to understand the place of municipalities' services for women in which area the services will be evaluated. Moreover, a case comparison was made to evaluate the services of these metropolitan municipalities. In addition, the contents of the trainings given in the fields of economy, health and awareness raising will be examined to understand whether the content of these services complies with the gender mainstreaming approach.

1.2. RESEARCH TOOLS

After the end date of the "Women Friendly Cities Program 2" in 2014, the annual report plans published on the official websites of the municipalities included in this program were examined. The activities of these municipalities to ensure gender equality were determined and these activities were evaluated within the framework of the thematic plan included in the local equality action plan. This thematic plan consists of seven topics:(I) participation to local decision-making mechanism, (II) urban services, (III) violence against women, (IV) economic empowerment and professional life, (V) education and health services, (VI) migration and poverty, and (VII) awareness raising.

1.2.1. Population and Sample of the Research

Purposive sampling method, one of the sample selection methods, was used in qualitative research. Purposive sampling, which is a non-probability sampling approach, allows in-depth research by selecting information-rich situations and depends on the purpose of the research. It is preferred when it is desired to work in one or more special cases that meet certain criteria or have certain characteristics (Patton, 2002). The purpose of purposive sampling is to select situations with rich information that will illuminate the problems studied in the research. Patton (2002) classified purposive sampling methods as *"outlier/abnormal case sampling, maximum variation sampling, homogeneous (similar) sampling, typical case sampling, criterion sampling, critical case sampling, snowball, or chain sampling"*. Among these methods, the criterion sampling method was applied. In the criterion sampling method, all cases that meet a predetermined set of criteria can be studied. (Patton, 2002). These criteria or criteria can be created by the researcher, or a pre-prepared criteria list can be considered.

The universe of the research is 12 cities in Turkey that have implemented this Program. The cities to be examined within the scope of this research were selected according to the following criteria:

- being a metropolitan city in the selected date range,
- geographical location
- the parties of the mayors who served on the specified dates.

Van is out of scope as it left the program voluntarily. Kars, Trabzon and Nevşehir could not be included as they did not have the metropolitan status on the selected dates. Among the remaining 8 provinces (Antalya, Bursa, Gaziantep, İzmir Malatya, Mardin, Samsun, Şanlıurfa), İzmir, Mardin and Samsun were selected by considering the other two criteria.

The municipalities within the scope of the research have been included in the Program in different years. For this reason, the end date of the Program has been taken into consideration and the focus has been on the years 2015-2020. 18 documents, including activity reports published by municipalities at specified intervals, were examined. However, in the sample, municipalities were insufficient in creating a local equality action plan and publishing it. While Samsun Metropolitan Municipality created two local equality action plans, the local equality action plans of İzmir and Mardin could not be reached. Since the local equality action plans could not be accessed online, information on the subject was requested from the relevant directorate of the municipalities. In addition, the 2021 activity report of the Mardin Metropolitan Municipality could not be examined because it is not available on its website. For these reasons, a standard number of documents could not be examined for these municipalities

1.2.2. Limitation of the Research

In this research, it is assumed that all the works carried out by the municipalities to ensure gender equality are included in the annual report. Therefore, the most fundamental limitation of this research is the information contained in the annual reports.

In addition, the most important limitation encountered while examining the annual reports during the research is that the systematics of these annual reports and the terminology used in these reports are quite different from each other. For example, while activities within the scope of ensuring gender equality in some municipalities are given under a separate heading in the report, in some municipalities they are evaluated within the scope of social activities in general. In addition, the same situation was encountered in different activity reports of the same municipality. For this reason, not all data could be obtained from some of the municipalities.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALIZING OF THE STUDY

Understanding the theory and perspective used in research is one of the important tools used in understanding and evaluating the events, facts and situations that are the subject of that study. Which perspective is used and how it is used during and after the policy making process, facilitates the identification and analysis of problems and solution proposals. For this reason, in this thesis, understanding the theory, perspective and approach with which services are carried out while evaluating the services carried out by the municipalities and talking about the content and change of the mentioned concepts will make it more meaningful to examine the policies created within the scope of the gender mainstreaming strategy. From this point of view, information about the theoretical framework of the study will be given in this section.

In this section, firstly, feminist theories will be discussed. With the use of the concept of gender as an established and holistic approach in political science, feminist approaches have diversified thanks to the different interpretations brought to the discussions. Ontological differences in feminist approaches have also contributed to the diversification of policies. For this reason, the contents and differences of feminist theories will be mentioned. In the next section, the main concept of the thesis will be gender mainstreaming. To better understand the concept of gender mainstreaming, it is necessary to mention the debates on women's politics in the literature. For this reason, under the title of gender mainstreaming, First, information about the concept of gender will be given. Afterwards, the dichotomy of public space and private space will be discussed over the concept of gender. This evaluation includes discussions that will shed light on the relationship of women with local governments. Afterwards, approaches in the gender equality and women's policies will be examined by including feminist debates. Also, the change in the policies of the UN towards women will be discussed. Considering that the UN has a vital role in the reforms related to gender equality in Turkey and in the implementation of the Women Friendly Cities Project in Turkey, it is important to mention the change in the UN's policies regarding women over the years. In addition, different approaches in women's politics provide an important perspective on the

relationship between women and the policy-making process. Finally, the concept of gender mainstreaming, which has been the subject of much debate since the 2000s, will be discussed within the discussions in the literature.

2.1. TYPES OF FEMINISM

"Feminism is a point of view that recognizes women's rights and acts to transform these rights into practice" (Eray, 2018: p. 169). It aims to improve current position of women and men and to empower women by having equal rights in political, social, legal, educational, and economic etc. matters (Offen, 1988, p. 123). Feminist discourse has diversified by being fed by feminist movements and different ideologies. On the basis of this diversification lies ontological differences. Although there are ontological differences, feminism has basic concepts such as gender, gender equality and patriarchy. How these concepts are defined and explained through the male-female relationship shows which feminist ideology is being talked about. *"In general, although there are dozens of feminist ideologies, it can be said that four feminist ideologies constitute the main tradition of feminist thought"* (Eray, 2018, p. 172). These are liberal feminism, socialist feminism, radical feminism, and cultural feminism.

2.1.1. Liberal Feminism

Based on the principle that men and women are equal, liberal feminism claims that men also have the disadvantages that women have, and that this is due to traditional expectations. For this reason, it argues that the equal opportunity is to be provided in order to eliminate the existing economic and social inequality. It is also emphasized that the most effective way to eliminate the existing inequality is education. Women and men should be able to enjoy the same educational conditions and opportunities. In addition, especially in the first period of liberal feminism campaigned an intense struggle for the recognition of political rights of women to achieve equality. Recognition of equal political rights focused on obtaining the right to vote, called the "suffragette movement". In addition, it was also stated that considering the distinction between private and public spaces, women should leave the private space and be included in the public space, and that women's employment should be provided with the principle of "equal pay for equal work" in the economy.

2.1.2. Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism has its origins in Marxism and has emerged mainly by feminists who criticize Marxist feminism and radical feminism. Socialist feminists criticize that radical feminism focuses only on the problem of patriarchy, while Marxist feminism focuses on the class problem and put the gender problem in the background. Also, these criticisms have enabled socialist feminism to form a link between Marxist and radical feminism. Although there are methodological commonalities between Marxist feminism and socialist feminism, they have different feminist ideological stances.

Socialist feminism drew attention to the inadequacy of Marxist feminism explaining patriarchy to include only class relations and saw the cause of oppression and exploitation of women in patriarchal societies not in the gender-based division of labor but in the relationship of domination. The basis of socialist feminist thought is the claim that the origins of culture and society are based on material and economic conditions (Eray, 2018, p. 175). The reason for the oppression of women is the inability to gain economic independence, and the capitalist system has a great role in this. Another aspect that distinguishes socialist feminism from Marxist feminism is the view that women have a dual class status. While Marxist feminism positions women in the proletariat-bourgeoisie dichotomy, socialist feminism treats women as a separate status and claims that there are class differences among women.

While liberal feminism deals with the problem of inequality between men and women only in the public sphere, socialist feminism argues that it was a problem of both public and private spheres. Because women have a double burden because they continue their labor not only in the public sphere but also in the private sphere by doing domestic labor. Socialist feminism's handling of this dichotomy separately is one of its contributions to the feminist literature.

In summary, socialist feminism's critique of capitalism and patriarchy, namely dual system analysis, contributed greatly to feminist debates. Also, it did not seek equality between men and women in human nature. Although it has roots in Marxist ideology, it fed itself with its criticisms of Marxist feminism and other types of feminism; conceptually strengthened.

2.1.3. Cultural Feminism

Cultural feminism is a feminist ideology that is heavily debated in the late 20th and 21st centuries. However, it was born in the Age of Enlightenment and based on Margaret Fuller's "Woman in the Nineteenth Century". Cultural feminism, unlike liberal feminism, has claimed that the nature of men and women is different rather than the same, and has established the search for rights over difference. Women are more peaceful and cooperative by nature, while men have a warlike and destructive side. Therefore, cultural feminism claims that society will change radically by replacing these peaceful and reconciling aspects of women with the destructive aspects of men.

Cultural feminism also claims that men and women have their own unique abilities such as intuitive and intellectual abilities. Accordingly, these abilities of women were hindered by men in various ways, and this situation imprisoned women in a private area and prevented them from revealing their talents. Therefore, cultural feminism argues that there is male domination and oppression not only in the public sphere but also in the private sphere. So, this male-centeredness should change in the private as well as in the public sphere. These discussions of private and public space have been so deeply debated that the professionalization of housework and the expropriation of private space have often been discussed. In addition, it stated that the culture of womanhood should be more active in the public sphere, claiming that this would reduce social conflicts, stop international wars, and be more respectful towards nature.

Contrary to liberal feminism, cultural feminism has argued that women should be independent in terms of family, religion and economy, by taking matters related to the private sphere into the agenda. It states that equality in administration and politics is not enough, as liberal feminism claims, and that rights should be gained in other areas as well. The main goal here is not just political and legal changes, but a cultural transformation of society (Donovan, 2010).

2.1.4. Radical Feminism

Radical feminism claims that there is a difference between men and women because of material conditions namely biology rather than the nature of human. The reason why women live and are oppressed in a male-dominated order is not in the economy but in biology, and women's reproductive ability is the reason for the gender-

based division of labor on which the patriarchal order and gender discrimination are built. It also argues that women are oppressed by men and that the basis of the contradiction between men and women derives from the concept of family. It bases this on the concept of patriarchal ideology. The family is an institution where the patriarchal order is learned and reproduced. Therefore, radical feminists reject the institution of the family.

Radical feminism has been shaped by the power analysis that there are different responsibilities of men and women through gender roles and men's will to put pressure on women. Women and men are directly linked by a power relationship. Only with the destruction of this power relationship, women can regain their independence.

One of the most important contributions of radical feminism to feminist literature is the slogan "the personal is political". This slogan has gained such validity that it has been accepted by other types of feminism besides liberal feminism. Accordingly, the political is not limited to the public sphere; it is also related to the private sphere. For this reason, all kinds of problems related to women should be included in the agenda of politics without making any distinction between public and private spheres.

2.2. GENDER MAINSTREAMING

2.2.1. The Concept of Gender

As discussed in the past, gender and gender issues are one of the topics that are still being discussed and will continue to be discussed in the future. Concepts such as feminine / masculine, femininity / masculinity have been discussed and the basis of this initial distinction has been questioned and how it has survived through reproduction. Judith Butler (2014) argues that gender is in fact a normative structure from the very beginning. She states that this is what Foucault means by the idea of a "regulatory ideal" and gender is not only a norm, but also a reflection of the regulatory practice that produces the body (p.7).

Butler (2014) argues that gender is an ideal that has to be materialized by domination strategies and a productive domination. The concepts put forward by the existence of heteronormative bilateral sex relationship were shaped by a dualist method. Those who approached gender with a materialistic perspective saw it as a discursive formation and described it as an instrument of cultural threshold. The difference between

sex and gender is supported in this perspective by the distinction between nature and culture. While sex was expressed as a reflection of nature, culture was seen as a reflection of gender.

The social culture in which the individual lives; it determines the characteristics of a woman and a man that establishes expectations about how to behave and how to act, that is, the social structure of men and women (Üner, 2008: p.6). In other words, people are born with female or male sex, but grown up by learning to be a girl or boy within the framework of roles expected by the gender of the society. For example, after birth, girls are usually dressed in pink clothes, while boys prefer blue. Scott claims that "*gender is the constituent element of social relations based on comprehensible differences between sexes and is the essential way to make gender power relations evident*" (Scott, 2007: p.38). In other words, in according to Scott, gender includes cultural elements and normative concepts. These normative structures are invariant and reproduced by social institutions and power. On the other hand, Ann Oakley determines sex as a biological distinction while gender as a social inequality between feminity and masculinity. In other words, Oakley saw gender as a cultural element above biological gender. R. W. Connell says that gender-related social relationships are linked to it, even if it is not determined from biological difference. He argued that the division of humans into masculine and feminine based on reproduction is an organized practice (Connell, 1998, p.190).

Masculinity and femininity, both in the conscious and subconscious of the individual and society, are loaded with meanings beyond the biological reality they are the source of. For this reason, gender can be defined in different ways in different cultures; the categories of masculinity and femininity and the obligations attributed to both groups may be different. In other words, gender is a concept that is determined socially and culturally and therefore its content may vary according to place and time. Most importantly, gender is not a causal consequence of the concept of sex, nor is a concept that does not change. Nevertheless, it is not possible to confine gender to narrow space in the context of sex because it is intertwined with other identities such as ethnicity, class, religion and so on. Perhaps, its non-invariance makes gender debates a hot topic. Therefore, there are various approaches to the concept of gender.

For someone who views this situation from the perspective of biological theory, which is one of the gender theories, women are held responsible for domestic affairs as a

result of reproductive ability, while men struggle with the external environment in gender-based duality in society. In other words, what determines the place of women and men in society is biological, is by nature. When women are associated with the domestic affairs and child-care, men take a protective role because of struggling with the dangers. So, these responsibilities provided a passive position to women while a dominant and an active position for men.

The social role theory argued that behaviors in social and political spheres stem from men's and women's assuming different social roles. Men and women do not have psychological tendencies and gender roles which are based on innate and differentiated. Different socialization experiences are responsible for the occurrence of gender differences in social behaviors (Güldü and Ersoy-Kart, 2009, p.102). Be surrounded with social networks people from the moment they are born, affects their behaviors, views, and roles. People are more influenced by actors such as family and society rather than cultural factors. In other words, both sexes assume different social roles and these roles are acquired later. As a result, the gender codes that exist in the society are in constant transmission.

According to social learning theory, people's gender-related behaviors are acquired later by learning, and on the basis of observation. "*Therefore, the social environment is in which we learn to be men and women is the most important resource*" (Keskin and Ulusan, 2016, p.56). In the socialization process, people are open to take someone as a model and have off, and also operant conditioning. In addition, with the addition of the reward and punishment system, these values lead to legitimization of and continuation of the behaviors which are accepted and / or not accepted by the society. As can be seen from the limited theoretical approaches discussed, whether biological, cultural or sociological theories, both men and women are treated as opposed and linked; the place of men and women in society is shaped from various perspectives.

The fact that the concept of gender is both nowhere and everywhere, has leads to a spontaneous struggle for rights on the ground of inequalities in all spheres. Basically, gender equality means that women and men should not be discriminated against, because of their sex, in exploiting opportunities, allocating and using resources, accessing and benefiting from services. According to World Development Report 2012, "*Gender refers to the social, behavioral, and cultural attributes, expectations, and norms associated with*

being a woman or a man. Gender equality refers to how these aspects determine how women and men relate to each other and to the resulting differences in power between them" (p.4). In case, gender mainstreaming aims at achieving social transformation by placing gender equality in the practices of all institutions.

Understanding of gender concept is crucial to evaluate gender equality, gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming and, also for proper application. In addition, there is a sex-based and gender-based approach to inequalities in public sphere private areas. The dichotomies of the private sphere and public sphere has been constituted from gender and gender roles. It should be mentioned this dichotomy to understand gender policies in the local government and municipalities. Moreover, considering how gender is approached, or tackled it get easier to analyze the policies. For this reason, in that section, the concept of gender and gender equality are basically mentioned. In other section, the public and private sphere will be read from gender concept by way of considering historical changes. Later, aims and targets wanted to be reached by gender equality policies will be evaluated. And then, it will be discussed what it is concept of gender mainstreaming, how it came about and how it is different from other gender equality policies as a transformative gender strategy.

2.2.2. Public/Private Sphere in the Concept of Gender

Since humanity began to live as a community, people have been studied through certain dichotomies; societies and people have been discussed by categorizing these dualities. One of these categorizations is the distinction of men and women, which is basically shaped over the sexes of individuals. On the basis of most of this categorization, the existence of two separate sex, male and female, was accepted and individuals were placed into specific categories based on their sex.

As mentioned above, there are various views and approaches about gender. There is no doubt that the issue of man and woman is discussed through duality and male-dominated values assumed a dominant role in the formation of this duality. Masculine thinking is an undeniable fact, and both society and social sciences have penetrated every subject. There is a hierarchical structure in the nature of masculine thinking. In other word, in this way of thinking, a species has superiority, sovereignty and rule, while the other species is controlled, oppressed, and handled in a secondary position. In addition to

its hierarchical status, masculine thinking includes several dichotomies: mind / emotions, rational / irrational, and subject / object. The first of these values is attributed to men and the second is associated with women. Also, in the light of all these, it is claimed that "*the gender regime determines where women and men stand in private and / or public spheres, to what extent he/she participate in social life and how they are represented in a society*" (Ökten, 2009, p.302).

Public sphere - private sphere concepts being handled by various ways as well as is evaluated and discussed depending on the social events taking place over time and therefore played a central role in the construction of society. Since the concept of public sphere and private sphere have an important place in the discussions of democracy and even a central point. Since ancient Greece, considering that it has a long history, the public and the private have been handled against and in relation to each other and occupied an important place. In other word, *"(...) 'public' and 'private' are categories of relationship posed as opposite and mutually exclusive terms"* (Davidoff, 2003, p.12). In the same direction, political meanings have been imposed on these fields. Although the public-private sphere has been debated since ancient Greek philosophy, as mentioned, it is clear that it has been influenced and changed by social events and historical conjuncture. In that vein, in this section, the discussions about between the public sphere - private sphere and their changes over time in the context of gender will be revealed. Also, how they are defined over time and discussed by thinkers and periods will be mentioned. Women's conditions and roles in social life will be brought to the forefront by discussing the areas through gender.

From a historical perspective, the dichotomies of the private sphere and public sphere has been observed to date back to the Ancient Greek period and existing social distinction between man and woman has been become a part of this dichotomies. For Aristoteles (2014), There are three prominent lifestyles: the life of pleasure, the life of politics and the life of contemplation. The works of body and of home life are related to the private sphere and are belonged to the life pleasure. A person who is purified from the private sphere turns to the political life sphere, namely the polis. For this reason, it is possible to say that private sphere demonstrates the pre-political life. In Aristoteles's thinking, the public sphere is identified with the polis. The subjects of the public sphere are free "citizens" and polis is the "citizen"s freedom zone. In addition, it is seen as a

form of community aiming for the best that should be. But, in this Hellenistic public model, the definition of "citizen" belonged to a certain of number individuals rather than all member of the society and these individuals were called as a "citizen" because of the role in the polis life. As Aristoteles (2013) stated that *"one who has the power to participate in deliberative or judicial office is called a citizen" (p.91). "The preconditions of being citizens are to have slaves, to be in family management, to own property (in the sense of place) and not to be foreign (born in the city-state)"* (Onat, 2013, p.16). As it is seen, women, slaves, foreigners and children are excluded from the public spheres/polis. They are objects of the politics rather than the subjects. They have a just some roles in the formation of polis. Because people with private living spaces, such as slaves and women, are not eligible to enter the public sphere (Arendt, 1994, pp. 51-52). The reasons of this ineligibility are based on other binaries such as rational/irrational, rationality/sensuality, and competition/love. The first ones are associated with polis, while the second are associated with oikos (private sphere). In a word, polis is the place of rational, rationality and competition while there is no place for them in oikos. Women, slaves, foreigners and children were referred to with second characteristics and they were not seen as competent. So, they were excluded from the public sphere and seen as a member of the private sphere. In oikos, people live together under the guidance of needs and desires. In addition, oikos is defined by necessity, oppression and absence of freedom and area of non-political activities. Other characteristics of oikos is that it represents a life spent in confidentiality. The confidentiality is not acceptable because it has a depriving means and the word means that it lacks human abilities for the supporters of mentioned thinking. In that vein, the life of men accepted as a citizen was considered in a category superior to ordinary life. In this point, the ordinary life is living space of women, slaves, foreigners, and children. It is clearly understood that women are seen as subaltern of men if this inequality is considered by gender because this situation makes men to be seen as superior from others.

In Roman society, common belief about women is that women are weak, loose, ineligible, and inefficient. From this point of the belief, it is supported that women should be under the tutelage of their fathers or husbands. In addition to male dominant social structure of Rome, works were divided into women's and men's; women were excluded from the tasks expressed as male-specific work such as public works. Because the

distinction between private sphere and public sphere in Ancient Greek is also ongoing in Rome and even the public sphere is the same as the political sphere. *"The distinction between public and private continues in ancient Rome as the distinction between res publica and res private. As in ancient Greece, there is no difference between the political sphere and the public sphere either at the factual or intellectual level"* (Köker, 1990: 45, akt: Odabaş, 2018, p.2053).

With the feudal period, public interests have been replaced by individual interests. On the contrary, also in the feudal production system, there is no possible for special interest in itself due to the fact that each landowner is a member of a community and collective organization structure. These conditions could not open a room for private interest. It was not possible to consider public sphere separate from private sphere. In addition, *"Private and public spaces are intertwined due to the enrichment of the peasants as landowners, lack of division of power in the feudal order and the division of power among institutions"* (Odabaş, 2018, p.2053). Therefore, the distinction between these two areas were not clear at those times. In this intertwined relation, power was belonged to men. With the strengthening of the central kingdoms and the dominance of religious thought, the conditions of women declined further. In addition, the woman was imprisoned in the household and declared as the "devil" or "witch". For instance, healer women were called witches and burned. In fact, this disappearance of women from every area resulted with the absence or scarcity of women in the scientific and technological advances in the future. But, at that point, it is necessary to remember that because the period is quite a long, it is impossible to wait stable and linear conditions. Before strengthening of centralization and religion institutions, women of noble families had, nevertheless limited, power when compared to other women. Moreover, since the castles and mansions in which they live could also be called as public spaces, they could be included in public life, even from the edge of the coast. In addition, therefore Christianity respects individual life as well as daily life, private sphere was important. In other words, there is no specific superiority over any other sphere, as in the Ancient Greek. For this reason, the distinction between public and private was blurred.

The dichotomy of the public sphere and the private sphere, in the modern sense, has been formed through the Enlightenment period. In other word, the separation between the private sphere and the public sphere was addressed sharply; boundaries were clearly

drawn at those times. And the Enlightenment thinkers have a tendency to identify men with the public sphere and women with the private sphere. Before considering public sphere and private sphere' distinction in the context of gender, thinker's view about the distinction should be addressed.

When coming the Enlightenment Age, it is inevitably necessary to mention about some thinkers who are early liberal and social contractarian theorists: John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and J.J Rousseau. Before them, Machiavelli started to discuss a different polarity. In according to Acar-Savran (2002), the polarity can be called first establishment of public/private spheres in its modern form (p.264). Since Machiavelli formulated public sphere with power in opposition to private sphere governed by moral principle. Jean Bethke Elshtain's in "Moral Woman and Immoral Woman" (1974), with including Weber, noted that *"Machiavelli and Weber, as well as Aristotle, associated the private sphere with women who, because of their identification with it and morality, were effectively deemed unfit for political life"* (Ackelsberg and Shanley, 2018, p.217). In other words, this also points to a distinction between morality and politics. Thus, the moral and private sphere, which has no weight in politics, is on the one hand, and the public sphere of the Prince on the other, with all its coldness, accountability and ruthlessness (Acar-Savran, 2002, p.264). In addition, for Machiavelli, the reasons of the subordination and not involved in politics are feelings of women. John Locke, as Machiavelli, created two different orders of values; the private sphere and the public sphere are formed according to different logic and as opposed to each other. In describing the state of nature, Locke sought to describe a situation in which peace, coexistence and freedom prevailed. Describing people in such an ideal situation, Locke stated that in time, some failures started to occur in the natural situation and therefore entered the process of transition to political society. In Lockean social contract theory, even if it is not clear, there is a binary distinction. *"The first is the agreement between people, which leads to the unification of people in society. With this contract, people form society. The second step is the agreement between people and the government, where people transfer their natural rights to the public. The purpose of both contracts is to protect life, freedom and property"* (Yükselbaba, 2008, p.236). The social contract depends on consent of majority. Locke separated the spheres of state and religion, also, he defined religious beliefs within the framework of private sphere. In Locke's understanding of state of nature, all people have

natural rights and there is no inequality and/or hierarchy between people, ontologically. But, some distinctions, such as master/slave, parent/children, husband/wife, were reduced to the private sphere on the grounds that they do not have political character. In addition, due to political inequalities and cultural differences between individuals, they who are children, women and slaves had a place in private sphere. It is clearly that "equal" people do not participate equally in the social contract. In other words, the public sphere includes men as free individuals. For this reason, Carole Pateman criticized Locke's social contract theory as a between "brotherhood/fraternity" and she added that "*Locke's 'individual' is masculine*" (Pateman, 1988, p.21).

Thomas Hobbes, as Locke, described people in the nature of state as an equal but Hobbes does not give a positive meaning to this equal environment, on the contrary, it is indicator of chaos and instability because of the human nature*: homo homini lupus*. To conclude this chaos and instability, an absolute power should be. Hobbes, as Locke, argued that the sole basis for depriving a person of his or her freedom could be their own consent by way of social contract. Hobbes reveals that there is no natural or biologically based foundation to women oppression (Boucher, 2003, p.26). It is a distinctiveness of Hobbes when comparing with the social contractarian theorists. For instance, Locke supported that the reasons of the subordination of women by men is "nature"*,* while Hobbes states that she is not involved in politics because she transfers her rights to a husband by contract. So, both of them, Hobbes and Locke link the roles of men and women in the public sphere to the agreement between the two. J. J. Rousseau stated that people are free and equal in the state of nature in a positive sense, but Rousseau argued that an environment of inequality arose as a result of changes and transformations in human nature. The existence of a social contract was essential to ensure security in the absence of equality and freedom. For Rousseau, "*the distinction between men and women in public and private spaces as a fundamental feature of social order*" (Günindi Ersöz, 2015, p.85). Because, in this social order, woman is associated with the body while man is associated with the mind. What makes man suitable for the public sphere is his "reasoning" ability. Because of this role of woman in the reproductive process, woman is located in the private space. The conditions of sexes are an important part of natural hierarchy which is claimed to be necessary for social order. If woman try to enter the public sphere, it causes to destroy this social order. In addition, *"For Rousseau, such*

differentiation and gender inequality (in the context of an overall insistence on human equality) was justified on the ground that family stability depended on gender-differentiated roles and behavior, and family stability was essential to social stability" (Ackelsberg and Shanley, 2018, p.216). The distinction of John Stuart Mill about between public sphere and private sphere is action based, in terms quality. If the result of the individual's action concerns the public, it is considered as public action. The actions that bind the individual to the consequences are of a special nature, so they are outside the sphere of intervention of the state. Besides, on the contrary to Locke, Mill supported that "women should be active in political life" because of that Mill believed that *"the sexual equality in the family is a precondition for a fully democratic political life"* (Ackelsberg and Shanley, 2018, p. 216-217).

Basically, the separation of public and private spaces corresponds to two distinctions: the area of the state / the area of society and home area / non-home area in the liberalism discourse. If there are two different, they have separate rules, power, and order. According to these two definitions, the impact area of the public and private sphere has shaped. At the late 19th century, the criticism of capitalism by Karl Marx and industrial capitalism had been affected the public sphere and its context. With the Marxists criticism, the content of public sphere has also expanded with the economy.

According to Arendt (1994), politics was occupied by economy along with modernity. A new field emerging: the social sphere. Arendt associates the appearance of the public and private sphere with the emergence of the city-state, while associating the emergence of the social sphere with modernity. The social sphere has changed the features of private and public areas; it is almost intertwined and therefore the social sphere becomes negative. The private sphere is pre-politics, it is built on survival and protection, and imperative and oppression prevail. However, the public sphere is a common work of people. There are main activities for both public and private and these activities has some provisions and pound of flesh. The social sphere effected and changed the balance.

When Arendt had focused on boundaries of public and private sphere, she is based on the ancient Greek, and she takes an Aristotelian emphasis while defining public space. In other words, she departs from *polis* and *oikos* of the ancient Greek in historical path. There are three powers characterizing the human condition (*vita activa*) for Arendt: labor, work, and action. "Labor" shape to household and private because it corresponds to

cyclical biological process; repetitive and far away from the creativity. Nevertheless, "work" ensures the possibility to reveal creative aspect of human. "Action", which includes both speech and action, is the way to distinguish ourselves from others as unique and immutable asserts. Action finds meaning and is revealed in human plurality.

Arendt states that there are some response and pound of flesh to act together in public space. In this system Arendt claims that everything is clear, and the purpose is *vita activa*. There are no groundings in the public sphere such as race, ethnicity, gender and religion. Because these expressions are seen as superiority or founding qualities and they are not included in politics with the idea that they will be contrary to the purpose. As seen, what needs to be done to achieve this has not been criticized. Hegemony and power relations were considered legitimate for the purpose. Arendt cannot be said to exclude women from the public sphere. But, in Arendt's inspired Ancient Greek society areas were gendered. The fact that she did not have a problem with this situation or that she remained "silent" caused her to be criticized by feminists.

With the modern times, the public sphere has been reshaped depending on the changing society and mind structure. It is not possible to pass without mentioning Jürgen Habermas because Habermas opened the public space to re-discuss. Habermas is a historical reading of the concepts of public and private spheres. The public realm through historical materialism states that it transformed following the phases of the police, feudal, bourgeois, and social state.

With the concept of public space, Habermas means an area in social life where something like the public can be created, accessible to everyone / all citizens. Moreover, Habermas claims that the public sphere will be guaranteed only if the economic and social conditions provide equal opportunities for all. However, it is a different matter of attention that women do not have equal opportunities in these matters. With the emergence of regional and national states and modernization, the public sphere has changed; liberal public space and public spaces in the social welfare state have emerged. The public sphere has been transformed.

The public that Habermas studies and idealizes is the bourgeois public. Fraser (1990) asserts that the public space approach, which was idealized by Habermas in the 17th century and after, was built on exclusion (p. 113). When referring to the bourgeoisie society, it also refers to men and excludes women. Because, while the bourgeoisie

creating a universal class and forming its essentials, they were men in the public sphere and spaces. In other words, the public sphere was already being re-created by excluding women. In addition, Benhabib (1999) claims that Habermas's theory neglects, normative and politically, the difference between sexes and gender. Thus, when Habermas has historically examined the public and private spheres, it has separated the periods and fields. All the qualities expressing the public sphere are embedded in male acts; it is outside the woman's self. At this point, the divided spaces had been sexed and jobs and emotions are separated by according to sex. According to Fraser (2004), Habermas's revisionist historiography functions as the exclusion and conflict of certain areas and sections.

Richard Sennett handles the dichotomy from a different perspective. For him, the public sphere and the private sphere are both evolving phenomena formed over time. Sennett claims that public and private space are not constant situations. In fact, Sennett says that people started to discover and make sense of their social environment from childhood. So, people discover this distinction from childhood and act accordingly. Sennett's thesis does not contain statements such as bourgeois public or opposing public. In the neoliberal order, Sennett mentions that the public space has disappeared due to the collapse of the public / public person in line with new production relations and politics. Sennett describes the transformation of public space through architecture, roads, streets, urban design. These are evidence of how it transforms individuals, how it collapses public people, and the extinction of public space.

Consequently, women were away from the "public" for various reasons such as gender-based division of labor. Nevertheless, the structure of the public sphere that excludes women, made it easier to be imprisoned of women in the private sphere (Bora, 2004, p.531). Also, men and women can have different the public and private sphere. Especially, with the blurred boundaries between the public and private spheres with modernity, it showed that there is a public and private area where both men and women participate in different ways

2.2.3. Gender Equality and Women Policies

All around the world, without doubt, there are gender inequalities in social, economic, political, and legal fields. These inequalities can occur between male and female, as well as between the same sex. So, to achieve equality between humans in the economic, social, cultural, political and legal fields, in the society, it is necessary to change the perception of gender and reduce social and cultural codes on the sexes. To ensure more equal situation, gender equality policies aim to improvement and changing in all around. Looking at the gender issue from the bilateral relationship between men and women, gender equality implies that women and men have equal rights and opportunities both in the public and private spheres, and their equal participation in both and also examine intersected with other inequalities such as race, ethnicity, education level and age (Meier and Lombardo, 2013; Verloo and Lombardo, 2007; Booth and Bennett, 2002; Walby, 2005a; Daly, 2005; Bayes, 2012).

Gender equality means that individuals can benefited from equal rights, opportunities, and approaches in all areas of life, regardless of sexes. According to International Labour Organization (ILO), *"Gender equality implies that all men and women are free to develop their personal abilities and make life choices without the limitations set by stereotypes or prejudices about gender roles or the characteristics of men and women"* (ILO, 2007, pp.91-92). In addition, it should not be forgotten that women and men carry different needs, priorities and expectations and face different limitations in life. When these differences are ignored due to sexes, it causes inequality.

Gender inequalities are not at the same level in every society and are not fed from the same source in every society. Also, there is no clear pattern of differences and inequalities between men and women. In other words, gender inequalities can vary according to sectors, regions and countries. However, United Nation has tried to categorize the areas in which gender difference and inequalities occur. These areas are as follows: inequalities in political power, differences in legal status and entitlements, inequalities within households, gender division of labor within the economy, violence against the women, inequalities in the domestic/unpaid sector and discriminatory attitudes (UN, 2002, pp.5-7). Nevertheless, it can be stated that its measurement is also relatively difficult because it can take shape and coincide with different social categories in these areas. As comprehensive studies worldwide to measure gender equality / inequality, the

following can be shown: Gender-Related Development Index, Gender Inequality Index, Gender Empowerment Measure, Gender Development Index, EU Gender Equality Index, Global Gender Gap Index, Gender Equity Index and etc.

When focusing on theories, research and projects about the gender equality it is seen that these works mostly are taken women in the center; there is a women-friendly perspective (Walby, 2005a; Daly, 2005; True and Mintrom, 2001; Booth and Bennett, 2002). The reason for this can be evaluated that the woman remained in the secondary position throughout history, being imprisoned in the private sphere and being disadvantaged in terms of equal rights and equal opportunities when comparing with the men. Therefore, it is not surprising that the state of women and girls primarily come to mind in gender equality issues. This situation enabled gender equality and women's policies to progress in parallel and inward. The gender equality policies comprise change, even "transformation" (Rees, 1998) in policies, programs, projects in all fields for both women and man. It has aimed to solve gender inequalities, yet hidden ones. Thus, gender equality policies have programs and studies for women, but they are more extensive. Again, as it can be understood from the word, women's policies include the policies that concern the woman; understand, identify, develop, and improve the situation of the woman in all fields. So, these policies are currently concerned with the position of the woman; the center is woman's situation. Since the woman is the focus, the policies examine how to strengthen and empowerment the woman in the current situation and how to improve their position. The current transformation takes place in a longer-term plan. In gender equality policies, the concept of gender is not only handled within the framework of the dualism of men and women; It focuses on the relationship, differences and similarities among men and women within themselves as well as the relationship between men and women (Meier and Lombardo, 2013; Verloo and Lombardo, 2007; True and Mintrom, 2001). It also deals with the situation of other genders.

While examining women policies, it encounters various labels in the literature due to the different approaches to the subject. Examples of the labels encountered are "gender policies", "gender equality policies," "gender sensitive policies," "women friendly policies," "women policies," "sex equality policies," "feminist policies" and "women-men equality policies." Even if there are diverse approaches, there is a consensus about that these policies have existed thanks to the demands of women's movements and

feminism into incorporation with the governments and political agenda to promote gender equality and to reduce gender-based inequalities. Because with increasing research about women and their position in the society, in order to "*understand and improve the situation of women by eliminating gender inequities and injustices*" (Bayes, 2012, p.11) were started in every field in local, national, and international levels. Although the mentioned concepts address the issues of improving the situation of women, ensuring equality in all areas and empowering women, they are defined under different names or approaches. In this research, the usage areas and differences of the labels will not be emphasized. As selected the project is organized within the scope of gender mainstreaming, the concept of gender equality policies will be used in s a general framework. The woman is in the center because the aim of the research is that while focuses on the relationship, differences and similarities among men and women within themselves as well as the relationship between men and women, evaluates the policies within the scope of the project.

Looking at the approaches and policies regarding gender equality, in general, there are dominated three different perspectives: "equal treatment," "positive action" and "mainstreaming." (Rees 1998) Mary Daly deals with "equal opportunities," "positive action" and "mainstreaming" (Daly, 2005, p.437) while Booth and Bennett (2002) use equal treatment, women's perspective and gender perspective. Also, Walby (2005a) mentioned these perspectives as a "sameness," "difference" and "transformation"; Squires (2005) mentioned as a "inclusion", "reversal" and "displacement" in parallel typology. First one is an understanding of equality created on the assumption that men and women are the same and it focuses on *guaranteeing* the same right, opportunities and treatment for women as men in the public (Booth and Bennett, 2002). Also, this approach underlines that the individual citizens are formal equal and asserts that equal treatment would improve the discrimination faced by women in a legal system designed for men. However, this approach has several disadvantages. It can lead to evaluating women's needs, demands and problems from a single perspective and acting accordingly. This may in some cases cause women to be treated like men. The differences are ignored between men and women, as well as between same sex. In addition, at the point of gender equality policies, it may lead to the idea that man is accepted as the norm, and it is necessary to act on it. From discussion about these disadvantages, another perspective which is the

acceptance of women and men separately, emphasis on the difference between them (Walby, 2005; Daly, 2005; Booth and Bennett, 2002).

"Difference" approach is based on the idea that women are different from men and all citizens cannot always use equally rights due to existed inequalities in the society. For this reason, this approach is on balancing the unequal starting points of women and men (Verloo, 2005). Moreover, according to this view, since women and men are different from each other, the contributions of women and men in society will be different, but the contributions should be evaluated equally. And this approach acknowledges that there may be special treatments, regulations or arrangements which is based on the argument that women have different needs. However, there are stated that this approach would not be sufficient and would also have some drawbacks. Because in this approach, the gender and sex can be used synonymously, and this may cause men to be seen as excluding and/or less interested in politics. In addition, it confines women to a general categorization. Also, it can lead to ignoring the fact that every woman has different needs and they are exposed to more than one discrimination in the societies.

The third approach, in case, assumes that the reason why women and men are in different positions is a result of current gender relations and interactions (Walby, 2005; Daly, 2005; Booth and Bennett, 2002). Therefore, it is based on the logic of transformation of these relations and the asymmetric power relations behind them. However, there is something to consider at this point. When looking from gender mainstreaming policies, it cannot be always transformative in practice or all three can be found in one study at the same time. Daly (2005) emphasized that "the three models are not separable in practice but are intertwined with and build on one another" (p.437). In other words, these three models are like *"three-legged stools"* (Squires, 2005; Booth and Bennet, 2002; Rees, 1998). In this thesis, for understanding of policies in the municipalities in the context of gender mainstreaming, the three approaches will be benefited from.

Undoubtedly, the demands expressed by the women's movement on the basis of different strategies and criticisms were effective in the development of different approaches about gender equality. These criticisms and strategies have led to the development of gender equality approaches. At this point, it will be beneficial to briefly talk about women's movements and feminism waves. Women's movements and

feminism waves have worked on the inequality and began to question the position of women. Even if there is a conflict about processes of feminism, in general, the processes are discussed through three waves. These are I. II. and III. feminist waves. These waves developed from the 19th century to the 21st century. In this context it can be said that the discussion about them is fairly new history. Without doubt, during the period, women were influenced by different understandings, discussion topics, theories, and ideologies. And this influence directly or indirectly affected the movements of women in line with their demands or aims in the context of their rights. The first feminist waves started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It was built on the demands of Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights Women. In general terms, these demands consisted of fundamental rights according to the conditions of the period such as women's voting, equal opportunities in education, and women's property rights. The important declarations published during the same period, as the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of Human Rights (1789), pushed feminist groups to make a series of demands in the social and political spheres. In this period, the demands of women's right to life and freedom, the right to vote, the right to take part in management, the right to equal opportunity in education were included in the research. One of the most important results of the first wave feminism was to resist the patriarchal social structure and to be entitled in both political representation and participation. The second wave of feminism, which started with the 1960s, argued that norms in society were shaped according to patriarchal norms rather than sexes. During this period, the most known slogan came from Simone de Beauvoir: "one is not born, but rather becomes a woman". In addition, in this period, women also criticized the unequal role of patriarchal structures in the family or domestic sphere and the definition of the private sphere. Also, another motto was "personal is politics". Third wave of feminism is actually a reaction to the practices of second waves of feminism and to errors in perceptions. This reaction was generally criticized feminism to only upper, middle-class white women. For this reason, third wave of feminism aims to spread women's movement on large field and to empowerment all women.

General outlines of women's movements and feminism waves are given. But these outlines remain incapable to understand the current situation and development. It is also necessary to know how there are transitions between them. Especially, there had been

some criticism by the second wave of feminism about the demands in the first wave. And, they have developed criticism of the institution and culture where equal rights are established in theory. Thus, it has led to a more radical discussion of gender inequality. Because first wave of feminism and women's movements were acted with the demand for equality, and it was emphasized that women and men must have equal rights. But there was a discrepancy between concrete outputs and expected which developed in the axis of this equality ideal. In other words, excitement created by the idea of equality turned disappointment in the practice. Even though women won the struggle on legal rights, the desired results were not reached in many areas of the public sphere from politics to the economy, to education, and the hegemony of men continued. This has brought new questions. In the new approach, the questioning of the institutions, family and culture and criticism of the patriarchal system were focused, as well as the difference between the two sexes were asked. In theoretical criticism, besides equality about rights, debates also highlighted the difference in action level. It has been understood with third wave feminism that cannot be possible mentioned as a single woman and her need, nor can be pursued only through approaches of difference or equality. Moreover, it was supported to accept that essentialist approaches about women should be avoided, and that each woman could have different needs and problems. The important thing is to find a common solution to these different needs and problems as much as possible. In that way, the transformation of gender relations, the third approach, has become the subject of debate.

Examining the main purposes of achieving gender equality, it would be necessary to underline once again that there are various criteria besides sexes, such as race, religion or class, taken into consideration. In addition to observing by considering various criteria, there should be paid attention to the wishes of existing dominant groups. In other words, *"In promoting greater equality, whether by class, race or gender, the most politically feasible strategy is to achieve this goal without lowering the standard of living of the dominant (i.e. male) group"* (UNDP, 2013, p.163). Thus, on the one hand, an awareness of equality is created for everyone, and on the other hand, possible criticism is prevented. Further, because the desire to eliminate inequality does not mean to decrease the standards of the dominant group and increase the other's or *"transferring opportunities from men to women"* (UNICEF and UN Women, 2013, p.35).

To achieve gender equality, a change, renewal and transformation must take place in every branch. At this point, one of the most important actors is undoubtedly the state. In addition to being an important actor in resolving gender inequality, states are an important resource, stakeholder, collaborator and guide. Basically, it can implement strategies and policies through laws or incentives to establish gender equality. In their study, Veur et al. (2014) highlighted the importance of strategies and policies to ensure gender equality, as well as creating awareness-raising activities, gender quotas, and activities to settle this gender equality idea in all units. Nevertheless, gender equality is seen as one of the conditions for sustainable development. It is also considered as one of the basic elements of the development of democracy in terms of enforcing the participation of citizens in public life, playing a more active role in non-governmental organizations and evaluating the performance of state institutions (Berktay, 2004, p.15).

Different approaches about gender equality raise questions about which approach would be more appropriate, which one should be applied in practice, and what method the state would use (Walby, 2005; Daly, 2005). Undoubtedly, all three approaches have their own strategies and visions. However, it should not be thought that these approaches are completely separate and independent from each other. They are intertwined. As a result, policies, documents, and outputs progress and change as a cumulative. For this reason, it is not a coincidence or a mistake to encounter two or three approaches simultaneously in the same explanations, policies, and documents. Just as these approaches and thoughts progress and evolve over time, policies can change. In addition, for Booth and Bennett (2002), these approaches are a strategy and process rather than a target.

It is also useful to explain each approach through policies. There is an emphasis on the sameness between women and men in policies acting with the perspective of equality (Walby, 2005). For example, the employment rate and wages are followed to be equal treatment. In the approach based on the differences of men and women, there are policies focusing more on women and their possible activities. At this point, the best examples can be a series of activities including policies on child and elderly care for women, vocational courses for the traditional roles of women. In the third perspective, there is a variety in the subject of changing the traditional roles of women in the home, changes in the roles of women and men, and employment areas. So, it aims to transform

gender roles. In this context, policies and activities include factors such as changing the role and responsibility of women and men within the family, equal responsibility in the field of business. However, it is a thought-provoking point how these policies and activities can or will transform the state and labor markets because gender roles are not just a field that changes, develops or continues through state or external intervention. It is also influenced by cultural factors, personal judgments, social environment and family structure.

As mentioned, studies on gender equality show variability and intimacy. For this reason, all three perspectives can be included in the issues addressed by an institution, state and individuals. From this point of view, the gender-related approach in the "Women Friendly Cities Program" will be evaluated in this study.

2.2.3.1. United Nations and Its Women Policies

The position of women in development policies started to come to the fore with the emergence of the concept of gender equality. Basically, development policies are policies aimed at eliminating social and economic inequality and express social transformation. At this transformation point, participation and sustainability are at the forefront. Until the 1970s, women were first ignored in development policy texts, and then evaluated within human rights. Although it was criticized because it was discussed on the basis of the concept of human rights in equality and development policies at that time, the equality of women and men is actually a human rights issue. As a result of the historical development of the discussions that women should be included in development policies, three basic development approaches have emerged to improve the social, economic and cultural conditions of women. The first one was the "Women in Development (WID)" approach. This approach was followed by "Women and Development (WAD)" and then "Gender and Development (GAD)". The GAD approach involves the concept of gender mainstreaming. This section will help to understand approaches and gender mainstreaming, as the services of municipalities that are committed to being a women friendly city are looked, and UN has an important role in the reform of women's policies in Turkey.

According to the modernization theory, egalitarianism, urbanization, individualization and democratization should be enabled in a cooperation to achieve

"modern" societies. Discussion on the equality between men and women emerged as an economic concept arising from the necessity of women labor in the market. So men and women are equal since every individual is assumed to be equal in the market. It was thought that the completion of the modernization process would automatically ensure equality. The first approach, WID, claims that women's roles and visibility will increase if they are integrated into development programs rather than excluded from the public sphere and labor markets. In this way, individuals will be more prosperous, equal and empowered. The primary focus at WID is economic development. WID was concerned with women's maximum access to the modern sector, with the participation of women in the modern sector in equal numbers with men. Secondly, it advocated the equal participation of women in education, employment, and other areas of society. This approach avoided questioning the reasons for the subordination and oppression of women and investigating how and to what extent women benefit from development strategies. Instead, it focused on how to concentrate on women's development strategies.

With the emerging of different perspective in the feminist literature and the second women movement in the whole world, the WAD approach emerged to fill the void created by WID-related policies. Particularly Marxist and socialist feminist claimed that the role of capitalist economic relations was not mentioned and inequality between women's classes was not observed as well as class conflict. According to them, the aim should not integrate women into development policies, but to examine their relationship with development as two separate subjects. Therefore, the relationship between economic development and women began to be questioned and the unpaid and voluntary labor of women, in other words their labor in the private field, was tried to be made visible (Serdaroğlu and Yavuz, 2008, p. 135).

The third approach is Gender and Development. It can be said that this approach has a more holistic approach because it examines women's lives from more diverse points of view. In addition, GAD approach focuses on the social construction of gender and the assignment of certain roles, responsibilities and expectations to women and men. Also, the focus is on the roles and needs of both men and women, not just women as an isolated and homogeneous group. Moreover, studies are also carried out on the causes of the problems of these roles. It also aims to transform the distinction between public and

private spheres, as well as examining gender roles and their transformations. İn sum, GAD is strategy which aimed at bottom-up process rather than top down (Parisi, 2000).

These three approaches have been shaped around international organizations and especially the UN. Looking at the UN and its policies, the WID approach is based on the liberal feminism. It argues that if women are integrated into development programs, these programs will increase women's role as producers and will bring economic development and social development with them. As in liberal feminist thought, it is assumed that the inequality in the social position of women will be eliminated through education. Because education is one of the ways to improve the status of women and the UN realized this and started to look for ways to improve women's status, especially education. The UN saw the inability of women to participate in development as a waste of human resources (MClean, 2000) and started to carry out studies to include women, with the argument that it would accelerate the development processes of women. It was requested to prevent women from being discriminated against because of their gender, to ensure equal participation in production and to benefit equally in development. In this process, the WAD approach was shaped because of the criticisms made to WID.

In the WAD approach, traces of Marxist feminism and socialist feminism are seen, as the subordination of women is claimed because of private property and capitalism, because of the criticisms against WID. It is argued that this approach cannot benefit equally from development policies because men and women cannot be found in the same social class. Production processes have been reinterpreted over the concepts of production and labor, and discussions of the patriarchal system have been made. In addition, it was discussed how to integrate women into development and how to establish a relationship between development and women. In the GAD approach, it has been argued that gender relations are multidimensional, and it has been claimed that there are many inequalities between men and women. It has been argued that this understanding, not only in the field of economy, but also in the field of social inequality, policies should be produced, and awareness-raising studies should be carried out. It has been seen in the studies carried out by UN that policies should be produced by not only the public sphere.

When these three approaches to development and women's relations are examined, it is seen that they are fed by various feminist views. However, when the women's policies of UN are examined, it can be said that it basically progressed from

liberal feminism and was shaped by it. In particular, liberal feminism's emphasis on equality of opportunity and its advocacy of change in both economic and social fields through education is observed in UN's women's policies. The traces of liberal feminism can be quite seen even though it is fed by other feminism theories Since UN shapes its policies towards women on the axis of current debates.

2.2.4. Gender Mainstreaming

Mentioning the term of gender equality is important and meaningful to define and discuss what gender mainstreaming is. The two of terms are related and connected to each. Basically, this relationship can be explained as follows that while gender equality is the main goal, gender mainstreaming is the strategy to promote and reach gender equality (UN, 2002). For this reason, to reach the goal, gender mainstreaming aims to take "gender" on all stages of policy planning, decision-making, and implementation in all departments and to provide a "gender perspective" to all general institutional structures. But it is not easy to understand, apply and analyze the concept of gender mainstreaming. Because it carries various tensions. There are various ongoing discussions about what gender equality is, how gender mainstreaming ensures, what gender equality promote in practice. So, the purpose of this section is to examine aims of the mainstreaming and to discuss this tension. Nevertheless, understanding of the gender mainstreaming will ensure some help to evaluate the Women Friendly Cities Program in this context.

There is no consensus or definite description about gender mainstreaming. But it is well known that while gender mainstreaming is a strategy, gender equality is the main goal. To reach the main goal, there are some global patterns about inequality between sexes. At the following patterns, the problems faced by women are statistically more visible, observable and in the foreground in comparison with men. These can be given as examples about the patterns: violence, representation in decision-making, differences in economic opportunities, economic level/poverty, people trafficked, the sex trade (UN, 2002, p.1). So, reaching equality between men and women, it is necessary to make changes in all fields. In addition to changing in every field, there should be changes in people, thoughts, and behaviors. Also, interventions have been formed "*to promote gender equality can target either women alone, both women and men, or men alone*"

(ILO, 2007, p.93). Moreover, this should not mean that it hinders or does not support initiatives which is focuses only women. Unlike, "*It complements and providing the strategic framework in which they operate*" (UNDP, 2006, p.2). After the broad definitions of gender mainstreaming, the first use of this concept and discussions in the literature will be discussed.

At the first time, gender mainstreaming was introduced in 1995 at "the Fourth World Conference on Women" as a recommendation of the UN for a new gender equality policy and governance approach. At the conference, UN Platform for Action recommended that governments and other actors should promote gender mainstreaming perspective in all policies and programs (UN, 1995, p.27). "*It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated*" (ECOSOC, 1997, p.2). The strategy aims to analyze problems and formulate policies, taking into account gender differences and inequalities and also to develop policies to narrow gender gaps and ensure greater equality between men and women (UN, 2002: pp.1-2). Nevertheless, according to Council of Europe (2014) "*gender mainstreaming is the (re)organisation, improvement, development, and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policymaking*" (p.13). There is no consensus or definite description about gender mainstreaming. But it is well known that while gender mainstreaming is a strategy, gender equality is the main goal. To reach the main goal, there are some global patterns about inequality between sexes. At the following patterns, the problems faced by women are statistically more visible, observable and in the foreground in comparison with men. These can be given as examples about the patterns: violence, representation in decision-making, differences in economic opportunities, economic level/poverty, people trafficked, the sex trade (UN, 2002, p.1). So, reaching equality between men and women, it is necessary to make changes in all fields. In addition to changing in every field, there should be changes in thoughts and behaviors of people. Also, interventions have been formed "*to promote gender equality can target either women alone, both women and men, or men alone*" (ILO, 2007, p.93). Moreover, this should not mean that it hinders or does

not support initiatives which is focuses only women. Unlike, "*It complements and providing the strategic framework in which they operate*" (UNDP, 2006, p.2).

Gender mainstreaming wants to reduce gender gaps that cause disadvantages for women as a primary goal. But, in the process leading to gender mainstreaming, it was understood that the inequality relationship between men and women could not be solved only by women. In addition, with the women's movement, it was observed that bringing women into certain institutions and/or businesses is not enough to solve the problem. It was supposed to what is needed is a more sustainable environment. Because, these initiatives were so limited, and it was not seen broad participation or impact. This situation paved the way for a deeper thought of transformation. Thus, the initiatives, which are desired or realized, had been started to reconsider and discuss how to put them into practice.

Applying of gender mainstreaming in general framework implies that:

• *"awareness-raising and capacity-building activities*

• *at the planning, taking into account implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages, the effects of policies and programs on women and men*

• *adequate allocation of human and financial resources*

• *active participation of both women and men in decision-making in all areas and at all levels*

• *adequate monitoring tools and mechanisms to enable ongoing assessment of how and to what extent gender is being effectively mainstreamed*" (ILO, 2007, p.93)

As it is seen that gender mainstreaming evaluates gender inequality at a more structural level. This approach searches into existing gender biases and examines their causes. Thus, it focuses on seeking a solution by revealing the factors in the re-production of gender inequality. In addition, it focuses on creating a change and seeking potential transformation in existing policies and administrative systems. Briefly, gender mainstreaming aims "*to institutionalize equality by embedding gender-sensitive practices and norms in the structures, processes, and environment of public policy*" (Daly, 2005, p. 435).

As mentioned, previous section, gender equality policies such as equal opportunities, positive action, aim the inclusion of the women in the existing system or

developing and implementing women-specific policies. But gender mainstreaming includes acting with a gender perspective in all mainstream policy processes. In other words, *"Gender mainstreaming includes attempts to inform all public policies that are not specifically on gender, such as for example transport or agriculture policies, so that they counter gender bias in society and policies and produce gender equal policies"* (Lombardo, 2013, pp. 112-113). The definitions, especially from international NGOs, expressed provide a general framework about the content of gender mainstreaming.

In the next section, the tensions in the gender mainstreaming issue will be addressed by including thoughts and debates in the literature. Thus, it will be provided to understand why there are different implementations and approaches.

2.2.4.1. Discussion in the Gender Mainstreaming

Generally, there is a consensus *potential* about transformative quality of the mainstreaming. According to this consensus, gender mainstreaming is a transformative gender equality strategy and is considered as the newest and modern gender equality approach (Bacchi ve Eveline, 2003, p.98; Daly, 2005, p.433; Squires, 2005, p.367; Verloo, 2005, p.347; Benschop ve Verloo, 2006, p.22; Beveridge et al, 2000, p.386). But the main matter of the debate about gender mainstreaming, or in some research mainstreaming the gender equality, is applying, progressing, and remaining this potential. Mentioning by Walby (2005a, p.321), *"it is both a new form of gendered political and policy practice and a new gendered strategy for theory development"* in comparison with other gender equality policies. Hence, there are various approaches and implementation in the world. Moreover, although gender mainstreaming is global initiatives when remember the first announcement, these initiatives are promoted in domestic values rather than globally. Thus, each country has its own institutional structure, political atmosphere, culture, and quality of inequalities. Also, for some scholars, because of that gender mainstreaming is constructed, there are differences on how it is practiced and understood in the context of gender equality policies (Daly, 2005: 439).

Walby (2005a: p.321) discusses tensions in the gender mainstreaming examining through feminist theory and practice and she claims at the least six groups in the analysis of gender mainstreaming. First one is about the tensions between altering or gathering two contested concepts: gender equality and mainstreaming. Although, there are various

works or attempt to gather these two concepts, these two concepts are problematic in themselves by their very nature (Walby, 2005a, pp.322-325). For instance, United Nations Development Program (2006) examined implementation and continuation of gender mainstreaming concept in their works. UNDP had reached some conclusions. On the one hand, there is a tendency to associate the gender with women issue. On the other hand, gender directly symbolized women, even match to. But, as discussed above, the main goal of gender mainstreaming is reaching gender equality regardless of sexes and gender-based roles/relations; aims development for human rights and justice. Another contested concept is mainstreaming and its domain. When talking about mainstreaming, its meaning can indicate that a new policy is adopted, or an agreement is reached on an existing policy. The ways about existing policy can be reorientation or transformation. Also, another question is about starting point and priorities. What is expressed by mainstreaming, as before, is the inclusion of gender equality in the main plans and programs. In this point, how will the changes and interactions in social economic and political areas be? How will the starting point affect the output/result? So, all these debates, questions and various approaches make the concept itself, gender mainstreaming, contested.

Secondly, it is about whether the vision of gender equality policies is draws on notions of "sameness," "difference," or "transformation" (Walby, 2005a, pp.321). This analysis will not be mentioned deeply because of that these three major types about the gender equality policies were discussed in detail in the previous section.

Third criticization considers tensions between the vision of gender equality and its strategy to reach there. In other words, considering that the three major types about the vision of gender equality policies can be existed either separately or simultaneously, it is hard to denominate strategy or policies. As discussed in previous section, while Rees (1998) used equal treatment, positive action and mainstreaming, Booth and Bennett (2002) preferred to use equal treatment, women's perspective and gender perspective. The reason for the difference in naming is that the model of Rees (1998) includes elements of vision and strategy at the same time while Booth and Bennett (2002) interpreted the models as a strategy and separated elements of vision and strategy. In Booth and Bennett's interpretation, these three are complementary strategies to reach the gender equality rather than alternative to each other.

Fourth one focuses on other inequalities and theirs position in the mainstreaming. People faces with multiple various forms of discrimination, social inequality in their life. The content of inequality broadens from day to day such as inclusive of sexual orientation, age, dressing style. In that point, gender mainstreaming must consider these multiple inequalities and is affected both theory and practice point (Hankivsky 2005; Squires 2005; Woodward 2003). In other words, these different inequalities lead to re-create the scope of gender equality and targets of gender mainstreaming (Walby 2004; Woodward, 2005). As known, studies on intersection of inequalities, intersectionality increased since the mid-90s. With the understanding that the problems faced by women in the society were not only due to patriarchy, hierarchy, or gender, but also there are different dynamics, it started to focus on these differences and their intersection. With the emergence and discussion of "new" inequalities, the necessity of changes in the issue of equality and the strategy, which is prepared to ensure equality, has been exposed (Woodmark, 2005; Squires 2005).

Fifth one is about the relationship between expertise and democracy as a form of governance and in this point, the place of gender mainstreaming. On the one hand, gender mainstreaming is seen as a technical process, on the other hand, it is considered primarily political process. the expert bureaucratic model focuses on evidence-based knowledge in policy making with involving experts and specialists while the participatory democratic model focuses on participation, inclusion and empowering the disadvantaged groups with involving individuals and organizations. First one is about the integration, other one Is about the agenda setting. The reason for making this distinction is about the implementation of gender mainstreaming created by these approaches rather than the processes. In other words, it is discussed who will form the main lines of the concept of gender mainstreaming (expertise/specialists/bureaucrats or political actors/organizations, a range of individuals) and how the practices will be implemented. The prominent question here is: should such a distinction be made to gender mainstreaming? In other words, should these two approaches be polarized, or should they act together?

Sixth is about progressing of gender mainstreaming via transnational institutions and their implications. Sixth is about progressing of gender mainstreaming via transnational institutions and their implications. Since gender mainstreaming was first disseminated through international organizations, it has a structure that goes beyond the

borders of the country about various global human rights. So, it also has multilateral forms of governance and discourses, such as transnational policies. Considering that countries have various norms and differences, the issue of inequality and differences leads to wide debates. When inequalities, differences and variables are not handled by these transnational countries as a separate field of study, problems and differences may arise in the effects of the gender mainstreaming.

Hankivsky (2005) concentrates a more theoretical discussions and focusing on the relation between gender mainstreaming and feminist theory. She asserts that there is disconnection between gender mainstreaming and feminist theoretical groundings. According to her, before the gender mainstreaming, there was an effort of the state for increasing equality. The key matter at this point was how gender mainstreaming will contribute to the state together with the feminist theory. She claims that contemporary developments in feminist theory are not reflected on gender mainstreaming and/or strategies or tools of public policies. Therefore, she asserts that contemporary feminist theory and practice should be developed together, and the developments should be reflected to gender mainstreaming. So, gender will be institutionalized by (re)defining it.

CHAPTER 3: LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES IN TURKEY

Compared to the central government, local governments have an important place due to their active, productive, and fast structure in the delivery of goods and services in the public sector to the citizens, as well as being more active in communicating the needs, problems and demands of the society to the administrative level and their proximity to the public in service (Keleş, 2009; Citci, 1989). . These features of local mechanism enable the citizens to respond to their needs, demands and problems more easily when compared to the central government. In order to understand women's policies in Turkey in the context of related program, first of all, it is necessary to understand the relationship between local governments and women. For this reason, in this section, the relationship between women and local governments will be discussed, and then information will be given about what kind of women's policy is carried out both locally and in general.

3.1. THE STATE OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Local governments aim for their citizens to live and work in safe, healthy, orderly, sheltered, and planned environments and also to ensure that health, education, socio-cultural services are benefited equally, and that people can walk around the streets comfortably and safely (Tokman and Kendirci, 2006, p.11). In addition, it is very important for the citizens to take part in the decision-making processes and in the implementation and even supervision of these decisions for local governments to work efficiently.

The rapid increase in the rate of urbanization triggered the inadequacy of the infrastructure and slums, causing unemployment and poverty to change dimensions. In addition, this situation affected the quality and quantity of local governments; It has led to problems such as disruption, inadequacy, or inability to access services. The parallelism between the rate of urbanization and the rate of increase in population has created fragilities and sensitivities; that made the lives of disadvantaged groups even more difficult. *"People in disadvantaged groups in cities need to overcome relatively difficult*

obstacles to develop their competencies, make choices, receive protection and support, and demand their rights, especially in political, economic and social fields" (Cindoğlu-Şahin, 2019, p.9). Examples of these groups are women, the elderly, children, immigrants, the disabled and minorities. These groups can also differentiate among themselves, and intersectional factors such as economic situation and education level can also create inequalities among disadvantaged groups. Women, who are among the disadvantaged groups, face discrimination due to their gender, as well as experience difficulties and inequality due to factors such as age, gender, class, ethnicity, education level, religion, language, and race. The inequalities experienced can vary from national to local, from cities to villages and towns. The environment, socio-cultural codes and places in which people live are effective in the emergence of their needs, deprivations, and problems.

Although Molyneux (1985) claims that women have certain common interests due to their gender and that these interests are a priority for women, she states that differences should be emphasized in dealing with women's problems (pp. 230-232). In other words, although women have a *"homogeneous female interest independent of all variables"* (Sumbas, 2013, p.33), their different, specific, and variable structures should not be forgotten. Women's interests are divided into practical gender interests and strategic gender interests in the literature (Molyneux, 1985; Wedel, 2001) and these interests are formed within the scope of needs. (Sumbas, 2013; Alkan, 2015). Women's efforts to live with discrimination in the sexual division of labor they encounter in their daily lives and to meet their daily needs are included as practical gender needs (Sumbas, 2013; Alkan, 2015, Molyneux, 1985; Wedel, 2001). The sexual division of labor brings along the perception that all the burden of domestic labor such as shopping, cooking, and cleaning are largely the responsibility of women, as well as the care of children/children in the family, if any. Strategic gender needs include redefining gender norms and relations, criticizing patriarchy and transformation (Sumbas, 2013; Alkan, 2015, Molyneux, 1985; Wedel, 2001). In this regard, the important point is to prioritize the strategic needs of women while producing services and policies that will eliminate gender inequality. While doing this, it should not be forgotten that the strategic needs of women should be researched, examined, and determined as they are unexplored areas. In this sense, before creating local policies targeting women, public research should be conducted to identify problems and analyze the situation, and the ideas of the target audience should be learned.

Gender equality policies to be implemented to eliminate the inequalities experienced by women in local government aim to empower women and improve their position, as well as to eliminate their existing disadvantages. Local governments are closer to citizens because local governments are involved in the daily life and experience of citizens both directly and indirectly. It can be said that women are the most important beneficiaries of the services provided by local governments due to the relationship between women and the city. Any problems that may occur in related places and services directly affect women. In addition to this, any disruption in the works that fall within the responsibility and duty area of women will also fall within the scope of the local government. Ecevit (2000) states that when women who engage in activities outside the home are left out, the public space to which women belong is limited to the neighborhoods and districts surrounding their homes. In other words, it can be said that areas such as neighborhoods, streets, parks, and marketplaces, which are within the limitation of women's spatial mobility, are an extension of women's private space to public space. In fact, this situation supports the idea that there is no sharp distinction between the public and private spheres, which has been discussed before, and that these spaces are blurred. At this point, considering that women are the general users of the goods and services produced by local governments and/or these goods and services are offered to families through women, the services that local governments offer or cannot provide are of vital importance for women. For example, Chant (1987) states that the workload of women is higher in areas where basic urban services, which called *shanty town*, are absent or lacking. In regions where services such as water, sewerage, cleaning, and roads are insufficient or lacking, women feel more practical gender need problems while maintaining the household. The increase in cleaning load in places where there is an unpaved road, the problem of water to drink and use in places where there is water shortage, and the inability to use technological tools in places where there are power cuts can be given as examples. In addition, equal and fair representation of women in local politics in terms of representation and participation and their participation in local government will facilitate women's life in the city by increasing their use of local public services. It should not be forgotten that local governments are an important element in terms of ensuring democracy together with the value of participation and autonomy as well as the value of influence (Çitçi, 1989).

As is seen, local governments are very significant actors in determining, examining, and implementing women's problems. In addition, the effective implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy at the local level will increase women's participation, representation, and access to services in local government and politics; as well as it will improve and strengthen the welfare of society and the country.

3.2. SERVICES IN MUNICIPALITIES TO ENSURE GENDER EQUALITY

According to the Turkish Constitution, local governments are public legal entities elected by the voters, the foundation principles of which are specified by law and the decision bodies are also specified in the law, to meet the local and common needs of the people of the province, municipality, or village. Local governments that carry out local public services are self-government units that are indispensable for a democratic social order and whose decision-making bodies are formed by elections.

The duties and powers of local governments are determined by laws. In terms of municipalities, the Municipalities Law No. 5393 and the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 are the basic regulations that include duties and authorities. Municipalities have been established to fulfil the local and common needs of the residents who are in their jurisdiction and duties and to protect their interests. The local governments are subject to the administrative tutelage control of the central government.

Municipalities develop various policies and services to ensure gender equality. These policies and services are carried out with the support and contributions of the central administration, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. Gender equality policies, which are carried out by putting women at the center, are not made only for women. As discussed in previous chapters, it is not just for women; is for all citizens. However, women's needs, and problems are prioritized because women are in a disadvantaged position in the society. Therefore, the policies are aimed at eliminating gender inequality. It would be useful to talk about the activities and services of municipalities to understand the work carried out by municipalities to ensure gender equality. In this context, the projects and services carried out by the municipalities can be grouped as education, health, political participation, combating violence against women, women's employment, urban services, and gender-sensitive budgeting. There is a strong

bond between these areas. It should not be forgotten that the lack and / or absence of one will also affect the others.

Considering the services for education, municipalities established centers for the education of girls and women such as Community Centers and Family Counseling Centers. The Community Center aims to enable individuals, groups, families, and society to cope with problems and to make individuals participatory, productive, and self-sufficient. In this context, it tries to carry out preventive-protective, educational-improving, guidance and rehabilitative studies and in an easily accessible way. It presents these studies in cooperation and coordination with public institutions and organizations, local governments, universities, non-governmental organizations, and volunteer (İçişleri Bakanlığı Araştırma ve Etütler Merkezi, 2008, p.59). Family Counseling Centers are centers that provide their services to solve the problems of individuals and increase their capacity for the strengthening of the family. Moreover, the municipalities conduct personnel support programs. The purpose of personal support programs is to contribute to the awareness and personal development of women to cope with the problems they encounter. In addition, there are also literacy courses for women, and courses for girls preparing for high school and university. Municipalities carry out practices that encourage and facilitate the sending of girls to school and continuing their education life.

Although the delivering and ensuring of health services are among the duties of the central government, local governments also have many duties and responsibilities. Local governments are both supporters and executives. In this context, the municipalities conduct various services on health screening of gynecological diseases, mobile health services and maternal-child health. The health screening of gynecological diseases includes health screening services of women about dysfunctions, cardiovascular diseases, infectious diseases, and gynecological diseases. Mobile health services aim to ensure that services are provided quickly and effectively for women who cannot access the health services offered in institutions due to age, disability, distance, etc., and to carry out awareness-raising activities. There are also services for women's health, maternal health, and child health. Projects are carried out to raise awareness on this issue, and informative and therapeutic services are also provided on issues such as family planning, sexually transmitted diseases, breast cancer, cervical cancer etc.

The "Agenda 21" action plan, which was adopted at the United Nations Earth Summit in 1992, has an important position in the participation and representation of women in decision-making mechanisms at the national and local level. The purpose of the "Local Agenda 21", which was prepared for local governments, is an action plan to establish mechanisms that will contribute to the development of a participatory and democratic understanding of local governance. "City Councils" and "Women's Assembly" were established and continue their activities in this context. In Article 76 of the Municipal Law No. 5393, the purpose of city councils is stated as follows: "*The city council tries to develop the city vision and citizenship awareness in urban life, to protect the rights and laws of the city, to implement the principles of the principles of sustainable development, environmental awareness, social cooperation and solidarity, transparency, accountability, participation and decentralization.*" As can be understood from the article of the law, the main purpose of the City Councils is to create and increase the concept of participation. In the City Council Regulation published in 2006, it was stated that women and other disadvantaged groups should increase their activities in social life and take an active role in local decision-making mechanisms. Women's Assemblies were established within the City Councils to facilitate women's inclusion of their perspectives and problems in decision-making mechanisms, strategic plans, and policies.

Women's Shelters and Women's Counseling Centers are at the forefront of services carried out by municipalities regarding violence against women. Women's Shelters are institutions that provide a safe and non-violent environment for women who have experienced violence, offer them a new living space, and ensure their safety. In addition, they provide various services for women to regain their self-confidence and help them for their next life. Women's Counseling Centers are a mechanism in the provincial-district directorates of the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, municipalities, NGOs, and women's organizations. In this mechanism, legal and psychological support services are provided according to the current state of women who are subjected to violence. In addition, these centers are primary centers that decide whether women who have been subjected to violence can stay in shelters. Another study is the "ALO 183 Call Center", which was first created by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services. This call center provides services for the prevention of negligence, abuse and violence or custom and honor killings as a precautionary measure and considering the urgency of the

situation, notifying the emergency response team responsible and/or law enforcement officers of the province. Efforts are being made to make these call centers operational in municipalities gradually.

There are various reasons for the low participation of women in the labor force. Examples of these are urbanization, migration, education level and household duties. The economic empowerment of women and supporting their participation in business life will also affect women's mobility in other areas such as social, cultural, and political. Local governments are also working to increase women's participation in business life and to eliminate gender-based discrimination in business life. In this context, various vocational courses are given by the municipalities. Although these courses were initially criticized for having content (knitting, sewing, embroidery, etc.) reflecting the traditional roles of women in society, their contents were later developed. The number of trainings, skills and capacity building programs related to women's business life has been increased; it has also included employment guaranteed vocational training through İŞKUR. In addition, courses including handicrafts such as sewing, embroidery and household products were continued, and studies were carried out to evaluate these handicraft products. Another service for employment and working life is about childcare. Due to the sexual division of labor within the household, the care of children is seen as the responsibility of women. For this reason, this responsibility placed on women in childcare prevents or makes it difficult for women to produce goods and services and to participate in the workforce. In this regard, municipalities carry out projects such as kindergarten and pre-school education services to allow women to take time to participate in the workforce. Also, free or low-paid and qualified "neighborhood kindergartens" were established. The point that should be underlined here is that it should not be forgotten that these services cover not only women in the workforce, but also women who are not in the workforce. Another study carried out in this regard is home care services. Home care service is a service offered to citizens who need help in this regard and do not meet their daily needs. This service includes subjects such as personal and home cleaning, care, food and shopping. It is an important service that facilitates the care of elderly, sick or disabled family members. Considering that the care of these people is under the responsibility of women, it also paves the way for women's participation in the workforce.

One of the areas that prevent women's access to urban life is the disruptions, deficiencies and/or inequalities in urban services. The zoning plan, infrastructure, environment, transportation, security, culture, arts, and sports areas in cities were built with a male-centered perspective. These are the issues that prevent women's access to urban services and excluded from social life. Examples of the services implemented by municipalities in this regard are the securitization of public transportation, the design of sports fields with including women, the increased number of and effective use of streetlights, the presence of voice information system at traffic lights and bus stops, informative notes written by Braille alphabet, public transportation vehicles arranged for disabled individuals, hobby gardens, street theaters and concerts.

Another issue that should be mentioned under this heading is gender-sensitive budgeting. For municipalities to implement all the services and programs mentioned and to ensure sustainability, the budget must also be sensitive to gender equality. Gender-sensitive budgeting is a fiscal policy approach used to resolve gender inequality and promote development. This approach encourages more effective use of resources to achieve gender equality and human development. In addition, it ensures greater participation of women in economic decision-making mechanisms and budget processes.

In addition to the above-mentioned mechanisms, there are also units such as the Gender Equality Unit, the Women's Solidarity Center, and the Women-Men Equality Commissions, which are more limited in number. These units were emerged with the support of local governments in highlighting their role in gender inequality. The reflection of gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming strategy, which has started to increase since the 2000s, is rather slow in municipalities. It should not be forgotten that programs such as "Women Friendly City" and "European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life" have a great contribution in improving the content and increasing the sustainability of the services provided by municipalities.

CHAPTER 4: WOMEN FRIENDLY CITIES

In this section, first of all, what the concept of a women friendly city means will be explained by giving conceptual and historical developments. Also, the contribution of NGOs will be applied in the formation and development of this concept, and the programs carried out to become a women friendly city from around the world will be mentioned.

4.1. THE CONCEPT OF WOMEN FRIENDLY CITIES

When making a comparison between men and women, women are excluded from public space and/or subordinated. There is no doubt that there are several reasons for women's situation in the society and public spaces. But, with the increasing on the discussion about public and private sphere in the context of gender, it has started to examine women and urban/city relation. In addition, it has to pay sufficient attention to urbanization process and its effects, irrepressible and uncontrollable growth of cities.

Because of the social norms and patriarchy, the life of the woman is limited in the household and in her immediate surroundings and she lacks spatial mobility. For this reason, women are away from the urban area where life continues and where life flows. Thus, women remain dependent on the private sphere. In this case, it affects the representation and participation rates of women in the city. In addition, urban planning has traditionally been done by men and often the needs of women are not considered. However, local decisions in the areas of housing, security, transportation, education, and health directly affect women and make their lives difficult. But unfortunately, women cannot attend local decisions as easily as men.

Another problem is, can be said that, about democracy issue. Although women form half of the urban population, they are not fully and equally represented in local decision-making processes. Women's demand for equal representation in decision-making is a constitutional right, an indispensable element of democracy and sustainable development. For this reason, it is significant to remind that women, like men, are partners in local government processes.

Nowadays, this perspective has started to change approximately since 1980s with increasing awareness of relation between women and cities. The city is reconstructed to include women, women's demands, and urban spaces are started to be shaped according to women's problems and needs. There is no doubt that local policies and practices have key role and great importance in solving the problems which are experienced by women in the local area. Considering developments in education, health, transportation, and technology affect social roles, family relations and participation decisions, women benefit less from political, social, economic, and urban gains than men (Kaypak, 2014, p.345). It is not only inequality but also injustice that people, who sharing the same city, do not have the same conditions and opportunities in various fields (education, employment, wages, participation, and representation, etc.) with each other because of gender (Özsoy and Sipahi, 2016). *"It should not prevent the citizens from benefiting from economic, socio-cultural, religious, age-based and gender-based, racial differences and physical disability or physically barriers, sexual orientation from urban environment at the same level"* (Baykan, 2015, p.1). In that point, the importance of local governments comes to the fore. Cities, which improve women's situation, try to solve their problems, and have appropriate policies and approaches, are considered as women friendly because they have suitable qualities for women's lives.

There is no specific definition of women's cities that are fully agreed by everyone. Women friendly cities are cities that provide access to health, education, and social services for women; support employment opportunities; facilities access to quality and comprehensive urban services (transportation, housing, security, etc.); create a mechanism to guarantee women rights when happening a violence against women and provide the participation of local governments in the planning and decision-making processes and supporting equalization of urban life in all areas (Tekinbaş and Göker, 2015, p.11). According to Nevin Şenol, Women friendly cities should increase women's participation in decision-making processes and mechanisms; develop strategies to ensure equality between women and men and implement these strategies with appropriate tools; develop specific policies to improve the daily lives of women (Şenol, 2010). According to UN Women, a safe city for women and girls should be:

- *"A city where women and girls can enjoy public spaces and public life without fear of being assaulted.*

- *A city where violence is not exercised against women and girls in either the home or the street.*
- *A city where women and girls are not discriminated against and where their economic, social, political, and cultural rights are guaranteed.*
- *A city where women and girls participate in making decisions that affect the community in which they live.*
- *A city where the state guarantees the human rights of all people without excluding women and girls.*
- *A city where the state and local government take actions to provide attention, prevention, and punishment for violence against women and girls.*
- *A city where the state and local government guarantee women's and girls' access to justice"* (UN Women, 2011, p.4).

The basic condition for the existence of a women friendly city is to analyze the infrastructural, social, and spatial needs of women and girls accurately and to design specific urban services for women by evaluating these needs and to provide all services in terms of gender equality (Şener and Demirbilek, 2014, p.8). A women friendly city has to provide public space and public life to women and girls without any fear of being assaulted. It must prevent to violence against women and girls either in home or the street. It has to avert all forms of discrimination, such as economic, social, political and cultural, against women and girls; it has to guarantee it. The guaranteeing is not limited with the city, the state also should protect the human rights of all people without separating any one because of the sexes. In addition, since women and girls are also natural actors in local governance, the city has to empowerment women and girls to participate in making decisions. Both state and the city develop gender equality perspective and has to apply the perspective in all processes. to sum up, a women friendly city has to place gender equality perspective to protect and empowerment women and girls in the context of violence, decision-making processes of municipalities, security, education, health, self-actualization and employment.

In the light of all this, the Women Friendly Cities Program is a part of UNJP on the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights of Women and Girls and launched by under the leadership of the United Nations Gender Equality Working Group, was implemented and signed in 2005 between UN agencies. The UNJP's practitioner is the UNFPA on behalf of the UN. The Joint Program is defined as a partnership between the UN, government, local governments, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, and the public

4.2. VARIOUS STUDIES ABOUT WOMEN FRIENDLY CITIES

In this section, the several programs realized abroad within the scope of the women friendly city will be explained. Thus, in addition to comparing the program in Turkey with other programs, it will make it easier to understand that these programs are carried out within the framework of the needs, demands and problems of the people in the region.

4.2.1. UN-HABITAT "The Urban Indicators Program"

The United Nations Commission on Human Settlements (UN-Habitat) is program of the United Nations which works for better urban future. With the increasing problems in the cities such as unprecedented demographic, economic, social, environmental, and spatial challenges, it is understood that urbanization has become global topic. The foundations of UN-Habitat were laid in 1976 with Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (Habitat I). UN-Habitat was founded in 1978 because of the decision taken at the Vancouver Declaration. After then, in 1996, there made a conference in İstanbul, Turkey to discuss liveability of cities and settlements. According to Habitat II, the aims of the conference *are "to endorse the universal goals of ensuring adequate shelter for all and making human settlements safer, healthier and more liveable, equitable, sustainable and productive"* (UN Habitat, 1996, p.7), to assess twenty years since Habitat I in Vancouver and to determine new goals for the new millennium. the conference focused on increasing the power of local governments and participation and the power of urbanization in the context of globalization and global growth.

There was a part in the Habitat II agenda which includes commitment to ensure equality between the gender. According to the commitment, member states should

"promote full accessibility for people with disabilities, as well as gender equality in policies, programs and projects for shelter and sustainable human settlements development" (UN Habitat, 1996, p.8) and were committed to "*a political, economic, environmental, ethical and spiritual vision of human settlements based on the principles of equality, solidarity, partnership, human dignity, respect and cooperation*" (UN Habitat, 1996, p.17).

The Global Urban Observatory (GUO), which is a database, was created to prepare the national reports published within the scope of HABITAT II Istanbul Conference. GUO is *"a mechanism to monitor global progress in the implementation of Habitat Agenda"* (UN Habitat, 2002, p.2)

HABITAT III took place in 2016 in the capital of Ecuador, Kito. The New Urban Agenda was adopted. The aims of the new agenda are "*to end poverty and hunger in all its forms and dimensions; reduce inequalities; promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth; achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls in order to fully harness their vital contribution to sustainable development; improve human health and wellbeing; foster resilience; and protect the environment*" (UN-Habitat, 2017, p.3). In other worlds, In the New Urban Agenda, when urbanization is evaluated, the effects of the urbanization process on economic growth and development are taken into consideration and gender equality, empowerment of women and girls are considered vital elements of sustainable development. These contextual women were given the right to participation and effective participation; provided equal work and equal pay; it is aimed to have cities where all kinds of discrimination, violence and harassment against women and girls are prevented in private and public spaces

4.2.2. Gender Inclusive Cities Program

Organizing urban planning and safety cities for women has been started in Canada, England and Australia through predisposing the streets, parks, roads and public spaces to women since 1980s and then spread all around the world. The Gender Inclusive Cities Program (GICP) is funded by the United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women (UN Trust Fund) to stop violence against women. The program is coordinated by Women in Cities İnternational (WICI) and is a 3-year program covering the years 2009-2011. The program has three aims are that

- *"to identify and map the geography of public gender exclusion and its interaction with other marginalised identities such as race, religion, and economic status,*
- *to identify the activities, tools and public policies that act as enablers of or barriers to greater gender inclusion and equality,*
- *to identify and pilot good practices related to gender inclusion"* (Women in Cities International, 2010, p.10).

This program has been implemented in Argentina, India, Tanzania, and Russia. The reasons of the sample are geographic distribution, size, social and economic circumstances, and levels of violence.

WICI is grow out of works on women's safety in urban, participation issue of women, and to empower women within the city and city government which are by Canadian cities in the 1990s. WICI was founded 2002 and it examines gender equality perspective and the participation of women in the cities. The principles of the organizations are equitable urban development, inclusion and meaningful participation, security and safety for substantive citizenship, accountability and integrity, reflexivity, and respect, sharing knowledge and sustainability. The main goals of the WICI are;

- *"To develop an international exchange network on (a) women's participation in urban development and on (b) the inclusion of gender in municipal politics*
- *To facilitate the sharing of expertise, training, and good practices*
- *To encourage exchange between different actors (women's groups, nongovernmental organisations, cities and municipalities, academic institutions, private sector institutions, the media, international bodies, etc.)*
- *To promote exchange between local authorities on issues of gender equality and women's and girls' participation in urban development*
- *To advise local governments, and national and international bodies working in the fields of gender equality and urban development"* (Women in Cities International, 2010, p.10).

4.2.3. UN Women Safe Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls

Women and girls are not face with the various violence and/or harassment in private sphere, but also in public spaces. The public spaces can be streets, public transportation, parks, in and around the schools, public toilets and so on. These dangerousness cause to directly or indirectly, consciously, or unconsciously exclusion of women from the public. For this reason, creating and sustaining safe cities is relevant with the safe public spaces.

UN Women started a new global program is that "Safe Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls" in 2010 in partnership with UN-Habitat, leading women's organizations, and local and local partners (Bhatla and others, 2013, p.3). The main goal is to prevent sexual harassment and violence in the public spaces. One of the five pilot cities across the world is New Delhi, India.

"UN Women's Global Flagship Initiative "Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces" builds on its "Safe Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls" Global Program launched in November 2010, to prevent and respond to sexual violence against women and girls (SVAWG) in public spaces" (UN Women, 2019, p.1) if a city wishes to participate in this program, it must commit to make initiatives in various fields such as locally relevant and owned solutions identified, comprehensive laws & policies, safety and economic viability in public spaces, and transformative social and gender norms (UN Women, 2019).

CHAPTER 5: WOMEN FRIENDLY CITIES IN TURKEY

In this section, the aims, targets and contents of the Women Frriendly Cities Program implemented in Turkey will be discussed. Then, within the scope of this program, the Local Equality Action Plan, which was created for municipalities to be a guiding light, will be mentioned. Then, the information obtained as a result of the analysis of the annual reports will be shared and discussed in the discussion section.

5.1. THE WOMEN FRIENDLY CITIES PROGRAM IN TURKEY

The cities which want to be a women-friendly should claim to increase women's participation in decision-making processes and mechanisms, promise to provide solutions to the problems of women in urban areas; develop strategies for achieving equality between women and men and implement these strategies with appropriate tools; develop special policies to improve the daily lives of women. In Turkey, especially after the 1980s because of neo-liberal policies, the inequality in urban areas has become more visible and several works have been raised to eliminate the inequalities. In other words, especially with 2000s, there have been started to make various policies to enhance women situation in all fields of live in Turkey, in parallel with world countries.

Changes in laws and constitutional requirements, projects created through the efforts of both national and international actors are vital developments for achieving gender equality in Turkey. Based on these objectives, Women Friendly Cities Program was launched in Turkey in 2006. UNFPA and the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Turkey signed a protocol to put into practices the project. The official opening of the program was held on 7 March 2006. On April 24, KA-DER (Kadın Adayları Destekleme Derneği – Association for Supporting the Women Candidates) signed an agreement with UNFPA. Thus, KA-DER was included in the program for one year and activities for local women's organizations. On 19 June 2006, Sabancı Foundation and Sabancı University

participated in the program on 19 June 2006. It is the first phase of the project and designed as a two-year project. With this two-year project, UNJP aims that:

- *"to create an environment suitable for the realization of equality at national and local level,*
- *to improve the capacities of local governments and non-governmental organizations,*
- *to develop local service models for the needs of women and girls*
- *to inform the public about the rights of women and girls"* (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Araştırma ve Etütler Merkezi, 2008, p.83).

The project in Turkey includes two phases. Although first phase was designed as a two-year project, then the program was extended twice. In the first phase, the provinces where the program was conducted were Nevşehir, İzmir, Kars, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon and Van. The second phase of the Women Friendly Cities Project, the starting date of which is April 2011, is called "Women Friendly Cities 2". -In the second phase of the program, women-friendly cities were added as follows: Adıyaman, Antalya, Bursa, Gaziantep, Malatya, Mardin, Samsun, İzmir, Kars, Nevşehir, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon.

The cities included in the program were determined according to the willingness and capacity of local governments and the needs expressed during the preparatory visits. In addition, participants have been selected to demonstrate how services can be developed and diversified, how resources can be multiplied, and the lives of women and girls improved, with an approach that prioritizes coordinated and cross-sectoral collaboration. It is aimed to ensure the participation of more women in political decision-making mechanisms by providing capacity-building training to local governments in determining the situation and needs of women in the cities within the scope of the program, women's rights, preparing projects and using resources. Within the scope of the program, workshops were held with NGOs and local government organizations in the provinces within the scope of the program to bring the gender equality perspective to the fore at every stage of local services, and gender capacity building trainings were given to these organizations.

Map 1: The cities in the Program

Source: http://www.kadindostukentler.com/proje.php

First Phase 2006-2010

The project was first planned to be implemented in İzmir, Kars, Nevşehir, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon and Van. The determining factors in the selection of the provinces are the State Planning Organization (SPO) indicators, the willingness of local governments, the locations in which other UN projects are ongoing and budgetary facilities. (BMOP Bülteni, 2007, p. 8) In addition, "*these cities were chosen to demonstrate how to develop and diversify services, increase resources, and improve the lives of women and girls by adopting a participatory, coordinated and intersectoral approach*" (Şenol, 2010, p. 24).

The main aim of UNJP in this project is the preparation and implementation of Local Equality Action Plans (LEAPs.) LEAPs, which have a specific objective of implementing and monitoring gender equality, are a thematical plans. In the shaping of the thematic plans, it cannot be just single public institutions as a planner, but also should be various stakeholders such as universities, civil society organizations, and the private sector. For this reason, it is seen various participants to form the LEAPs, like governorships, municipalities, women and other non-governmental organizations, universities, and the private sector. For instance, in the strengthening of capacities in the cities, some women organization took a responsibility to develop a local perspective on gender equality through training and workshop with UNJP. For this reason, it is

appropriate to claim *that "UNJP implemented at the local level in Turkey and is the first project to be included in all relevant partners"* (Şenol, 2010, p. 24).

The another aims of the LEAPs is to place gender equality perspective in local government and local politics. To ensure this environment, it is necessary to determine some principles, which can increase women participation in local decision-making, service models and effective coordination. Moreover, Women's Right Commission or Equality Commission for Women and Men were established in these cities to make studies for women.

Within the scope of the project, a "Women's Rights Commission" was established in Trabzon in 2007 in Provincial General Assembly; in Kars Municipality, "Gender Equality Commission" was established in the Municipal Assembly. In İzmir, the "Gender Equality Commission" was also established within the metropolitan municipality. In addition, in the following years, Shelter Houses were established in various districts of İzmir. In Nevşehir, Şanlıurfa and Van provinces, "Women's Rights" or "Women and Men Equality Commissions" were established in both Provincial Assemblies and Municipal Assemblies. Moreover, various studies have been carried out to include women in employment in city centers on a provincial basis. For example, Van Municipality has created a handicraft bazaar for women. In addition, transportation systems have been improved so that women can reach city centers and important areas such as hospitals.

Second Phase 2011-2014

After the success of the first phase, many cities applied the project with the intention to be a women-friendly city. Candidates' provinces were listed based on capacity and need (Kadın Dostu Kentler, 2013, p.1). As a result the sorted, 7 new provinces, Adıyaman, Antalya, Bursa, Gaziantep, Malatya, Mardin, and Samsun, are included in the Joint Program. Moreover, from the first phase, İzmir, Nevşehir, Kars, Şanlıurfa and Trabzon maintained the project in the second phase. Thus, phase 2 is carried out in 12 provinces.

LEAPs were prepared with the contribution of local stakeholders, as in the first phase. Provincial Women's Rights Coordination Committees, which will be managed by deputy governors, are aimed to be established. The task of Provincial Women's Rights Coordination Committees is to manage, to implement, to coordinate and to monitor the

LEAPs. In addition to the first phase, in the Women Friendly Cities Program 2, a grant program was launched to increase coordination between each of the participants. The aims of the grant program were as follows:

- *"Raising awareness about Local Equality Action Plans (LEAP) and strengthening local ownership of LEAPs,*
- *Supporting LEAP applications*
- *Strengthening the capacities of local NGOs working on the subject in project management,*
- *To increase cooperation between NGOs and local public institutions"* (Kadın Dostu Kentler, 2013, p.5).

5.2. LOCAL EQUALITY ACTION PLAN

LEAPs are plans created to facilitate women's urban life and to enable them to use the city more functionally and aim to place the gender equality perspective in local government and local politics. *"In order to achieve this goal, LEAPs must include principles that facilitate women's daily lives that increase women's participation to local mechanisms and service models to ensure that these principles are put into practice as well as institutional components to coordinate such efforts"* (Şenol vd, 2010, p. 25), The basic principles of the plans created for this purpose are as follows:

- Adopting gender sensitive approach and policies
- Supporting participation and partnership
- Ensuring gender mainstreaming
- Relying on holistic approach and ensuring inter-management cooperation
- Adopting good governance understanding in service delivery
- Developing solutions with a process-oriented approach
- Observing the principle of sustainability
- Ensuring monitoring, audit, and transparency

Also, other institutions such as universities, private sector and civil society were also involved in these plans as stakeholders, and a comprehensive "thematic plan" was tried to be created. These plans were created under the following headings:

- Participation to local decision-making mechanism,

- Urban services,

- Violence against women,

- Economic empowerment and professional life

- Education and health services

- Migration and poverty

- Awareness raising (Şenol vd, 2010).

In order to understand the local equality action plan more deeply, it is useful to explain and exemplify each topic. Participation in local decision-making mechanisms is a significant point for local governance, especially because of taking concrete decisions about urban life and determining application areas. As it is known, there are differences in the experiences of women and men in urban life. Considering these differences, it is essential for women to be more involved and visible at the local level, in terms of ensuring gender equality. It can be given as examples of policy and practice regarding participation in local decision-making mechanisms that establishment of women's councils, establishment of gender equality units in governorship and municipalities, participation of local women's organizations in the preparation and implementation processes of strategic plans, and the empowerment of women to increase women's participation in local politics (UNDP, 2018, p.4).

Urban services are related to the quality and context of services offered to citizens. It is important how cities are used and how and how often the services provided are utilized. There are differences in terms of needs and access to services and benefiting from services by women and men. It should not be forgotten that urban life is a space for women to leave the private space, which is seen as a "safe" space, and to blend into the public space. For this reason, it is necessary to make an improvement in women's use of urban services such as care, knowledge acquisition, social and cultural services, transportation, etc. In this regard, field research can be conducted on the needs and demands of women for urban services, and services can be developed and/or improved by considering the data generated as a result of these research. In addition, citizens should be regularly informed about urban services. Other examples of urban services can be carrying out activities to increase the mobility of women in the city, better lighting the roads, parks, and buses; preparing a gender-sensitive local budget and launching a

training campaign about equality between women and men to raise awareness (UNDP, 2018, pp.3-4).

Laws on violence against women are enacted at the national level, and these laws are improved and developed by considering the current problems and deficiency. However, it is necessary to support it with various mechanisms at the local level by way of developing protective and preventive services. Examples of what local governments can do in this regard are raising awareness about violence, increasing the number of shelters, establishing a separate women's unit in police stations for women who have been subjected to violence, and providing training for each officer who will serve women who have been subjected to violence (UNDP, 2018, p.5).

Economic empowerment and professional life focus on increasing women's participation in economic life and eliminating the difficulties encountered in working life. Considering gender norms, women participate less in employment; they can earn less and work more informally compared with men. By focusing on this issue, it is desired not only to empower women, but also to create a positive impact on the country's economy. Examples of policies and implementations to be made in this area can be given as follows: providing employment-guaranteed training course, increasing the number of skills and capacity building programs, highlighting gender equality in recruitment, avoiding the reproduction of gender norms by going beyond gender norms in the recruitment process, ensuring that women benefit from social security systems, finance Supporting women's participation in business life with credit resources (UNDP, 2018, pp.5-6).

The reason why health services are included in the local equality action plan is that women have less access to these services than men for various reasons. Some of these reasons are the distance of the place providing service and/or transportation difficulties, illiteracy, and the presence of people who are responsible for their care (children, elderly, disabled, etc.) (UNDP, 2018, p.6). When it comes to education, due to social norms, the education of girls is seen less important than the education of boys and dropping out of school is more common in girls. In addition, girls have less education level than boys due to socio-economic reasons. Although national mechanisms are working on mentioned issues, local governments have a greater task in these matters, greater share of responsibility. One of the most basic things to be done for women and girls to benefit from these services is to strengthen the city registration system and complete the

registration of these people. In addition, it should be ensured that girls' education and accommodation opportunities are provided, and their compulsory education is completed. Moreover, other examples could be that providing reproductive health and family planning trainings to women, establishing of puberty education centers, menopause clinics, marriage counseling centers.

Another topic is Migration and Poverty. Cities are more affected by the increase in migration and poverty may increase accordingly. Undoubtedly, it is the local governments that are most affected by the particularly high numbers of immigrants. There is no doubt that *"Immigrant population puts pressure on local governments, and among the migrating population, women and children are most affected by the negativities experienced"(*UNDP, 2018, p.7). This population has difficulties especially in knowledge acquisition, security, and social integration. When the problem of not knowing Turkish is added, it becomes seriously difficult to reach the services. Therefore, the policies and practices that can be done in this area can be exemplified as follows: to carry out informative studies about the city for this population, to organize trainings for learning the mother tongue, to organize programs for these people to be included in both social and business life, and to research the problems faced by these people and to work on this.

Finally, mindset change and awareness raising will be explained and exemplified. For all the above-mentioned policies and practices to work well, it is necessary to raise awareness about gender equality. If this mindset change does not occur and awareness is not raised on this issue, the effectiveness of all efforts will be low, and the intended change and transformation cannot be achieved. It is not possible to talk about sustainability in the long term if change and transformation are not provided. Conducting gender equality training activities for women and men by all local units via experts; organizing seminars, training about women's rights, mobbing, equality between genders for employees in local government mechanisms (including municipalities, governorship etc.), informative brochures and posters on all these can be given as examples of policy and practice in this area.

As mentioned above, it is possible to carry out various studies in these areas. According to the report titled "Gender Mainstreaming in Local Governments" prepared by UNDP, other studies that can be done in these areas are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Examples related seven thematic areas

Thematic Areas	Examples
Political Participation to Local Decision-Making Mechanism	- Participation of local women's organizations in local councils and specialized commissions - Increasing the number of women's councils - Increasing women's participation in local politics - Given in-service training for women working in local administrations to strengthen
Urban Services	- Improvement of the city's registration system to collect gender-disaggregated data. - Establishing kindergarten and day care center for child and nursing home for the elderly; improving existing ones - Increasing the number of women's centers - Reducing the ticket prices of public transport vehicles to reach hospitals - 155 emergency buttons for women at public transport stops - Giving trainings about human rights and women rights for drivers of public transport vehicles - Preparing signpost readable and understandable by everyone - Providing urban services for disabled, elderly and women who take care of the disabled and elderly - Adopting a gender-sensitive plan and project approach in the construction of urban planning, mass housing and urban transformation projects,
Violence Against Women	- Emergency hotline for women who have been subjected to violence - Emergency action unit for women who have been subjected to violence - Opening of women's counseling centers, way stations and women's shelters

	- Establishment of a coordination unit or board that will monitor and supervise activities aimed at preventing violence and protecting women who have been subjected to violence
Economic Empowerment and Professional Life	- Supporting women's participation in working life by increasing opportunities such as nursing home, kindergarten - Avoiding the created job opportunities from producing traditional gender roles and eliminating the male/female job distinction - Preparation of informative brochures on available financial/credit resources - Carrying out studies to evaluate the handicraft products of women. - Ensuring micro credits that seek to empower women.
Migration and Poverty	- Ensuring surveys concerning problems faced in migration receiving poor neighborhoods of cities, focusing especially on women's problems, and developing special solutions. - Strengthening services provided by UNHCR, Security Forces and Social Solidarity Fund addressing refugee women and children. - Ensuring urban orientation and informatory training for migrant women and girls including information on where to address for services. - Allocating a certain housing quota to women living in these areas (prioritizing single parents and/or women with disabilities) in TOKİ (Housing Estates Administration) housing estates.
Education and Health Services	- Informing of people about the harms of forced and early marriage and consanguineous marriage - Restructuring reproductive health and family planning services and carrying out studies to increase their effectiveness - Training of staff providing services to women on women's rights - Increasing the number of personnel providing services for women

	- Providing free health services to disabled women and children
	- Quantity and quality of preventive health services improving
Awareness Raising and Mindset Change	- Facilitating agencies to provide training seminars to their staff and their families on domestic violence, violence against women, etc., and to fathers on such subjects as child development and women's rights.
	- Inclusion of women's rights into school curricula, and having experts instruct women's rights as part of the human rights courses until the necessary changes are made in the curricula.
	- Provision of trainings for the staff working in local governments, governor's offices, and especially in municipalities, on gender equality perspective and policies, and how the legislations by the local governments can be used for the benefit of women.
	- Monitoring of the local and national media by the gender equality units, cooperating with women's NGOs to provide regular written feedback to the Higher Board of Radio and Television (RTÜK), and establishment of a media monitoring group among women's NGOs.
	- Organization of regular meetings by the municipalities with all of the women's NGOs for exchange of information and recommendations.

To monitor these plans, each city established LEAPCOMs (Local Equality Action Plan Coordination/Supervision Committees) and later these committees thereby expanding job descriptions were transformed into provincial women's rights coordination committees. The responsibilities of the committees are to develop, implement and monitor policies by identifying the needs related to service delivery at the provincial level. It is also responsible for ensuring an open and continuous dialogue between the local public administration and women's organizations. Besides the committees, other local equality mechanisms are "Equality Units" in local executive institutions and "Equality Specialization Commissions" in local assemblies. Theirs aims are to strengthen the local organization of public institutions, to make service provision more effective in terms of gender equality, and to establish gender equality policy practices in service providers.

## 5.3. FINDINGS

5.3.1. İzmir

İzmir is located in the Aegean region of Turkey and is the third most populous city in terms of population. In the 2014 local elections, Aziz Kocaoğlu, the candidate of the Republican People's Party (RPP), was elected with a rate of 49.6%. In the local elections of 31 March 2019, Tunç Soyer, the candidate of the Republican People's Party, became the mayor of the metropolitan municipality with a rate of 58.10%.

When looking the units of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the Women's Studies Branch Directorate had established for women and gender equality. Among its duties and responsibilities are working to provide women with the right to an equal life in the city, combating gender inequality and violence against women, raising awareness of gender and sexual orientation equality throughout the province, providing shelter services to women and children who have been exposed to violence or are at risk of being exposed to violence. The Women's Studies Branch is located within the Social Projects Department. In addition, the European Charter of Equality between Women and Men in Local Life, prepared by Izmir, European Council of Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), was accepted.

Participation of local decision-making mechanisms is very important, especially in terms of making concrete decisions about urban life and determining application areas.

İzmir has 30 district municipalities. The mayors of only four of these districts are women. These district municipalities are Karaburun, Kiraz, Selçuk and Balçova. Only 10.5% of the headmen in Izmir are women. Considering the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Council members, 147 (83.5%) are male, while 29 (16.5%) are female. There is a Gender Equality Commission in the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Council. Looking at the status of equality units, there are equality units in İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, as well as equality units in Karşıyaka, Karabağlar, Konak, Menemen and Buca. In addition, there is a Women's Assembly in the Izmir City Council. In Graph 1, the sex ratio of the personnel working in İzmir Metropolitan Municipality by years is given.

Graphic 1: Employment rate by sex in İzmir Metropolitan Municipality
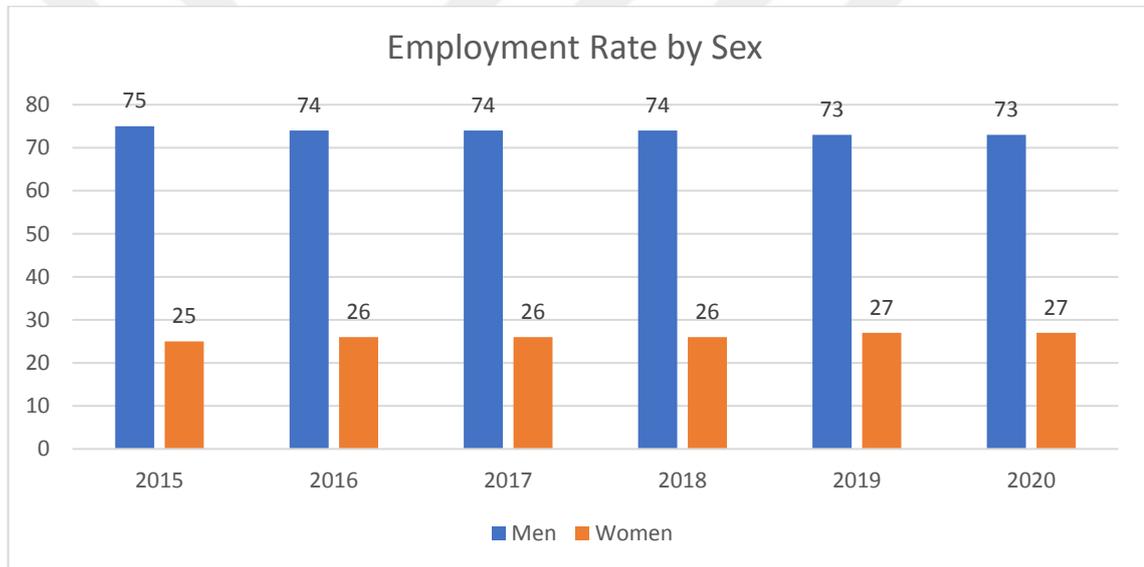
When looking the other studies carried out on participation in local decision-making mechanisms, one of these activities is the Local Politics Academy, which was held in 2015. This academy was launched to encourage women to be candidates in elections and to increase the number of women in local governments. In 2015, women muhtar's were met and their opinions on women's work were sought. In 2016, interviews were held on women's self-positioning in urban life. While no service related to this topic could be found in the 2017-2018 annual reports, studies in this area continued in 2019. For the first time in 2019, on December 5, enfranchisement of woman was celebrated, and various events were organized in this context, and this organized also in 2020. In 2020, as part of the recognition of this right, an online live broadcast was made on

İzmirTube. In addition, a cooperation protocol was signed with various women's NGOs in 2019.

it is necessary for women to participate more in the workforce and employment, and their work life should be regulated. One of the studies carried out in this context is the "Leader Women Project". In this project, trainings were given on how to remove the obstacles faced by women, how to create leadership potential and leadership behaviors in 2015, 2016 and 2018. In addition, the Worker Women's Academy project was carried out in 2015, 2016 and 2018. This project is designed to provide solutions to the problems women face in their home and working life and to provide trainings for women to protect themselves. In 2015, panels on women's organizations, private employment agencies and women's labor, international women's organizations and women in business and the European Union were organized. In 2016, art exhibitions were held to promote women's handicraft products. Another project for women is the One Breath Health Project. The aim of the project is to meet the qualified health personnel needs of the Izmir region in the field of health. In addition, studies are carried out within the scope of development in agriculture in coordination with district municipalities. In the Weave Your Future with Silk Project, studies were carried out to teach women about silk productions produced by Ödemiş Women's Cooperative under a design concept and to support women's professionalization. Another project for women is the One Breath Health Project. The aim of the project is to meet the qualified health personnel needs of the Izmir region. In addition, studies are carried out within the scope of development in agriculture in coordination with district municipalities. In the Weave Your Future with Silk Project, studies were carried out to teach women about silk productions produced by Ödemiş Women's Cooperative under a design concept and to support women's professionalization. In 2017, together with Urla Municipality, women producers were encouraged to grow strawberries for women to grow second crops or income-generating products, and informative trainings were given. In addition, consultation meetings were organized to strengthen and expand women's cooperatives. In 2018, activities were carried out on beekeeping and ovine breeding within the scope of supporting and carrying out income generating activities for rural areas. In 2016, art exhibitions were held to promote women's handicraft products. Another project for women is the One Breath Health Project. The aim of the project is to meet the qualified health personnel needs of

the Izmir region in the field of health. In addition, studies are carried out within the scope of development in agriculture in coordination with district municipalities. In the Weave Your Future with Silk Project, studies were carried out to teach women about silk productions produced by Ödemiş Women's Cooperative under a design concept and to support women's professionalization. In 2017, together with Urla Municipality, women producers were encouraged to grow strawberries for women to grow second crops or income-generating products, and informative trainings were given. In addition, consultation meetings were held to strengthen and expand women's cooperatives. In 2018, activities were carried out on beekeeping and ovine breeding within the scope of supporting and carrying out income generating activities for rural areas. In the annual report of 2019, there was no project or services that could be evaluated under this heading.

Another issue that should be included in this heading is the Vocational Factory, which was established in 2014 and continues to work. The vocational factory opens courses for the benefit of those who want to acquire a profession, the long-term unemployed, women/young/disabled unemployed, disadvantaged groups, and those who want to advance in their profession and change their profession. These course centers offer courses in a wide variety of fields and prepare them for working life such as accounting and finance, graphic design, patient and elderly services, insurance services, etc. There is also diction, needle lace, hand embroidery, foreign languages, cooking, pastry courses and art workshops, scented stone, candle, soap making. At this point, there is a point that should be emphasized, these courses are not only for women, but they are also for all citizens. Men can also easily benefit from these courses.

The third title is related to the services provided within the scope of combating violence against women. Within the scope of combating violence against women, centers were established under the name of women's counseling center, women's solidarity centers and neighborhood centers. In 2018, the work to build a women's counseling center in Hatay was started and it became operational in 2019. In 2019, efforts to open a counseling center in Çiğli district began. In these centers, psychological and legal counseling services are provided to women who have been subjected to violence, and temporary accommodation problems are resolved when necessary. Also, referrals are made from these centers to shelters. According to the 2016 annual report, there are 10 women's shelters in İzmir. No numbers were given in the subsequent annual reports. In

addition, written and visual materials are prepared every year describing violence against women as a crime and informing victims of violence. Within the scope of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, 25 November, the activities were included, except for the 2017 and 2018 annual reports. For the first time in 2020, a video study was made within the scope of today. In addition, training activities on dating violence and safe relationships were also carried out in 2020.

One of the studies to be evaluated within the scope of urban services is Hemşehri İletişim Merkezi. The aim of the center is to establish direct and easy communication between the municipality and the citizens. In the 2015 annual report, the creation of a database of women was mentioned. Although it is counted among the strengths of the municipality in this annual report, sustainability could not be ensured, and it was not mentioned in other reports. Agora Social Life Center was established in 2017. It was established in the Agora region with the aim of facilitating the access of the residents of the region to urban services through psycho-social support and strengthening group activities, educational activities, social and cultural activities for different target groups. Trainings on gender equality and gender equality were given to public personnel. It has been tried to spread this training especially for the drivers of public transport vehicles. Studies were carried out for disabled, elderly women and women who take care of the disabled, and women's centers were organized for the disabled. In addition, in 2020, the work of the ANAHTAR Women's Studies Holistic Service Center was started and the promotional video was published. In addition, services such as kindergartens, nursing homes, day care centers, kindergartens, study training centers and fairy tale houses are given and mentioned in all activity reports. Gender-sensitive budgeting training was provided only in the 2020.

The most basic education carried out between 2015-2020 within the scope of education and health services is the Women's Health Education Program. Within the scope of this training program, mammography, smear test, first aid training, healthy mother-women training, hygiene training, awareness on organ donation is provided. Men's Health Education Program was also given in 2015, 2016 and 2019. Also, informative brochures, booklets and written materials were created on these subjects. Moreover, there were course about guitar, baglama, violin, painting, marbling, and child development. Health screenings services were done for women and activities related to

dental health were also organized. Awareness seminars on breast cancer were also launched. A reading campaign was carried out to increase female literacy. A workshop on empowering girls was held in 2019. According to the 2020 annual report, reading, poetry and literature workshops were organized to encourage reading. In addition, ballet, dance, piano, percussion training was given, and a Turkish art music choir and a neighborhood orchestra were established.

Within the scope of migration and poverty, information on social assistance is mostly included and it includes aids such as heating, food, for the poor and needy. Also, city and gulf tours were organized especially for women and children who could not reach the important landmarks of the city due to impossibilities. There were also trips for women to get to know the landmarks of city. In 2016, within the scope of empowering women, a project was carried out to reduce the social marginality of vulnerable women living in slums and to increase their income opportunities. In 2019, trainings on good parenting and children's rights were held with the Refugee Solidarity Association and refugee women's groups. Until 2019, the concept of migration and refugee was not encountered in any way. In 2020, a protocol was signed with Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) and the Migration and Integration Commission was established.

Intensive studies are carried out in the field of mindset change and awareness. In this context, the studies carried out regularly from 2015 to 2020 are as follows: body language and gender-sensitive psych support trainings, family communication, behavioral disorders in children and solutions, gender sensitive child raising, adolescence period and its characteristics, empowerment, and awareness trainings. Gender inequality awareness training was also given to public administrators. In 2016, trainings on parenting skills, prejudices and discrimination were added to these studies. In 2018, anger control training, coping with stress training and effective communication training were added. Gathering with women, interviews and panels were held on gender topics. In addition, the Women's Human Rights Education Program is one of the studies that progress uninterruptedly. One of the projects carried out between 2015-2018 is the Women in Natural Disasters Project and a Different Voice Women's Theater. A Different Voice Women's Theater is a work that was established to develop women's self-expression and sense of confidence, as well as to make the voice of the disabled in society

heard and to have a say in women's problems, and presents plays prepared throughout the year. The Natural Disasters Women Project is carried out to raise awareness of women, who are the most affected by the disaster, about the preparations before the disaster, what to do during the disaster and what can be done after the disaster, and to form and develop the core of the Izmir Women's Search and Rescue Team. In 2019, awareness trainings were held for Romani women, and trainings were given on mastering parenting, motherhood, accepting the child, and prejudices. The Equal Opportunity for Romani Girls and Women project was carried out in 2020, to aimed creating a strategy plan for the prevention of child marriages in the Romani community. In addition, the year, awareness studies were carried out for the Istanbul Convention and information was shared about the wrongly known truths about this contract. Collaborations with non-governmental organizations have been developed to ensure gender equality in the 2020 annual report. The expression of defending gender among the principles of the municipality was included in the 2020 annual report for the first time.

5.3.2. Samsun

Samsun is the sixteenth most populous city in terms of population, located in the Central Black Sea Region of the Karanide Region of Turkey. In the 2014 local elections, Yusuf Ziya Yılmaz, the candidate of the Justice and Development Party (JDP), was elected with a rate of 54.83%. In the local elections of March 31, 2019, Mustafa Demir, the candidate of the JDP, became the mayor of the metropolitan municipality with a rate of 47.37%.

Looking at the units of the Samsun Metropolitan Municipality, the Women, Family and Community Services Branch Directorate was established for women and gender equality. The Women, Family and Community Services Branch Office is located within the Social Services Department. However, until 2019, there is no department or branch office established regarding services for women and/or gender equality. The studies are carried out under other departments. The Department of Women, Family and Social Services was established for the first time in 2019. However, it was later changed into a branch manager in 2020. The change is seen that women are not considered as an individual but are evaluated within the family and society.

The sufficient data could not be reached within the scope of gender inequality and services for women in the activity reports prepared by Samsun Metropolitan Municipality. Data on this subject is very limited and details are not available. Considering the participation of local decision-making mechanisms, there are 17 districts in Samsun and only the mayor of Ladik District Municipality is a woman. Only 19 of 1252 mukhtars are women (1.5%). In Graph 2, the sex ratio of the personnel working in Samsun Metropolitan Municipality by years is given.

Graphic 2:Employment rate by sex in Samsun Metropolitan Municipalities
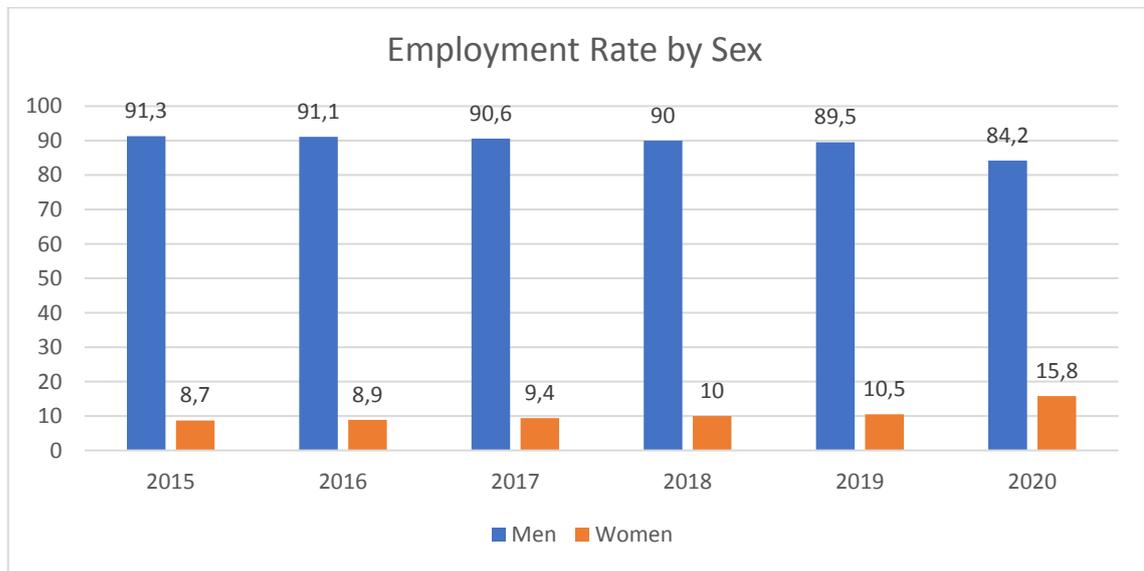
According to the reports, there are 17 Local Equality Units, including Samsun Metropolitan Municipality and Samsun Governorship, but detailed information was not given. Looking at other activities, the Women Leaders Academy project was carried out in 2016. In addition, an event was organized with disabled women and NGO managers in the same year and the problems of the disabled were discussed. In 2018, a protocol was signed between Üsküdar University and the municipality to develop entrepreneurship activities related to women.

Under the heading of economic empowerment and working life, a Handicraft workshop was opened in 2015 for housewives to make economic gains to facilitate the contribution of rural women to the home economy. In 2017, the Cut Flowers Project was launched and is planned to increase employment of women farmers in rural areas. In the same year, financial support was provided to women to spread new breeds in ovine

breeding. In 2016 and 2017, financial support was provided for the establishment of greenhouses for female farmers. In 2017, hand-woven rugs and carpets produced by women from Samsun are exhibited and sold at gift shops. In 2017, entrepreneurship training for women was started and the Women's Entrepreneurship Base was established. People were informed about cooperatives, branding and patent and get consultancy services about these issues. In 2019, the project "Samsun Branding of Local Products " was prepared at the Women's Entrepreneurship Base and this project was continued in 2020. The overall objective of the project is to contribute to raising their living standards of women who le are out of employment in rural areas and to facilitate the participation of women producers in employment. In addition, the Project for Diversification and Dissemination of Sustainable Agriculture Activities was initiated in 2019. The aim of this project is to provide competitive power by developing marketing opportunities by applying positive discrimination for women.

Information on services within the scope of combating violence against women was only available in the 2019 annual report. Within the scope of making the city safer for women, negotiations were held with Samsun ŞÖNİM to arrange the public transportation system in a way that the number of stops will increase after dark or allow passengers to be get off/on between stops.

The only sustainable work within the scope of Urban Services is for nursing home services. The contents of services for the elderly living in nursing homes is mentioned in the reports. Also, neighborhood culture houses and living center centers were opened and their numbers were increased. In the Information and Culture Houses, it is aimed to carry out studies for mothers to get away from the mediocrity of life, to gain the skills that will contribute to the family budget by getting professional knowledge, to enable them with a social environment, and to become a conscious parent. In addition, in 2018, the "Fancy Women's Cycling Tour" event was organized to encourage healthy and ecological living in 2019, after 22:00 o clock, women passengers were allowed to get on and off at any point they wished.

Within the scope of education services, literacy courses were opened upon the demands of women and women benefited from this course. Within the scope of the Awareness for Women with Disabilities program, which was launched in 2017 within the scope of health services, information trainings on cancer were given to women with

disabilities and free screenings were conducted. This program continued in 2018 and 2020.

Within the scope of the activities carried out on the theme of migration and poverty, providing in-kind and cash aids just are mentioned. In the 2019 and 2020 annual reports, aids such as furniture, goods, medical supplies, heating and food were counted as in-kind aids, and it was stated that people with low incomes such as the elderly, the disabled, families of martyrs and veterans, and refugees could benefit from this service.

Within the scope of awareness and mindset change, needs analysis forms were created with psychologists and psychiatrists, and anger control trainings were provided upon request. In addition, various trainings were given (Handicrafts, Jewelry Design, Felt Accessories Making, Ribbon Embroidery, Wire Break, Needle Lace, Dimensional Embroidery, Gold Work, Punch Embroidery, Needle Knitting, Hairpin, Shuttle Lace, Brazilian Embroidery, Handmade Chinese Needlework, Turkish Work, Calculation, Antep Work, Pilates, Quilling). To protect, strengthen and develop the Turkish family structure and values; Centers were established for the education and awareness of women, activities were organized for women's participation in social life and individual development, and family training was provided.

5.3.3. Mardin

Mardin is the twenty-sixth most populous city in terms of population, located in the Southeastern region of Turkey. Ahmet Türk, who was an independent candidate in the 2014 local elections, was elected with a rate of 52.1%. Although Ahmet Türk had to enter the elections as an independent candidate due to some legal problems, he is a member of the Peace and Democracy Party[1]. In January 2016, a lawsuit was filed on grounds of being a member of an armed terrorist organization, making propaganda for an armed terrorist organization, and violating the law on meeting and demonstration marches. As a result, on 17 November 2016, he dismissed from the mayor's office and a trustee was appointed instead of him. In the local elections of March 31, 2019, the
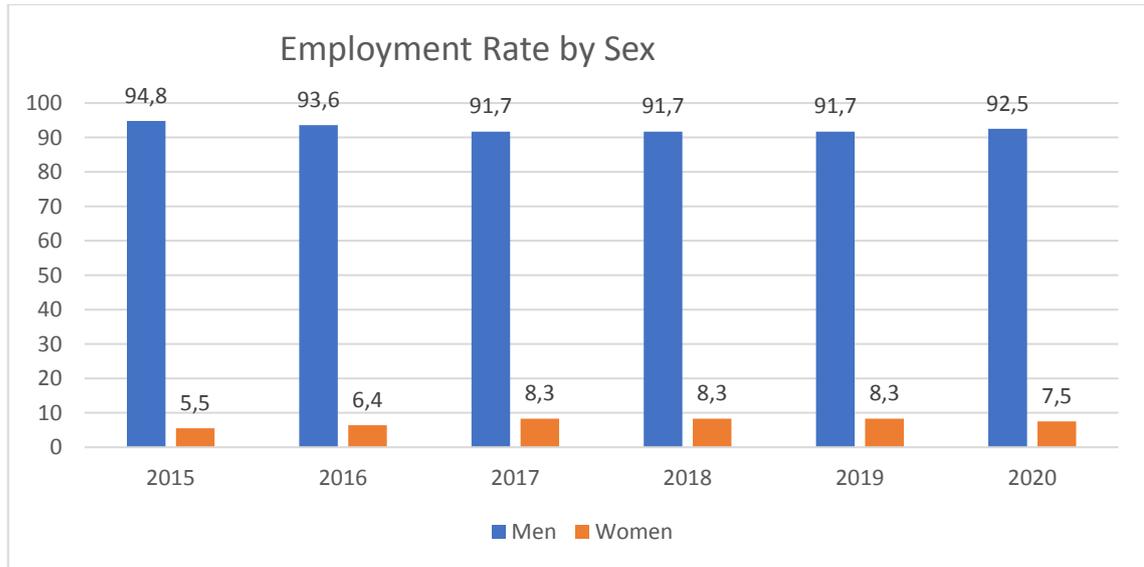
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[1] Members of the Peace and Democracy Party switched to the PDP, whose preparations were completed shortly after the elections. The reason for Ahmet Türk's being an independent candidate stems from this change within the party. The PDP was founded with the claim that it adopts a new organizational model that includes different viewpoints and opens up alternative understandings.

candidate of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), Ahmet Türk, became the mayor with a rate of 56.24%. However, shortly after he was elected mayor and received his mandate, on August 19, Ahmet Türk was dismissed by the decision of the Ministry of Interior and a trustee was appointed in his place again.

Looking at the 2015 and 2016 annual reports, there is the Department of Women's Policies. Under this department, there are the Women and Family Branch, the Combating Violence Against Women, and the Women's Economy Empowerment Branch. After 2017, the name of the department was changed, and it became the Department of Women and Youth Services. In 2020, a change was made again, and it became the Department of Women and Family Services. Under this department are the Family Services Branch, the Combating Violence Against Women Branch, and the Women's Economy Strengthening Branch. These name changes affect the view of women and the quality of services for women. While the woman was first thought of as an individual, then it was dealt with together with the youth and then it was started to be evaluated through the family. Expressing women as a member of society, not as a member of the family, is important for equality in language and expression, which is one of the most important points in ensuring gender equality (Erdinç, 2017: p.145). Considering the existence of trustees during these dates, it would not be wrong to claim that the name was changed as a reflection of the government's changing policies and approaches towards women. No information was found regarding equality units and/or commissions for district municipalities. However, in the 2015 annual report, it was stated that there was a Gender Equality Commission and a Women's Commission. Mardin is among the municipalities that have accepted the European Charter of Equality between Women and Men in Local Life prepared by the European Council of Municipalities and Regions (CEMR).

Considering the participation of local decision-making mechanisms, there are 10 district municipalities in Mardin. While the Justice and Development Party won five of them, the People Democratic Party won the other 5 district mayorships. The five mayors won by PDP are women, but with the decision of the Ministry of Interior, these five women mayors were dismissed, and a trustee was appointed instead of them. All appointed trustees are men. While only 1.4% of 701 mukhtars are female, 98.6% are male mukhtars. In Graph 3, the sex ratio of the personnel working in the Mardin Metropolitan Municipality by years is given.

Graphic 3: Employment rate by sex in Mardin Metropolitan Municipality

Employment Rate by Sex

Year	Men	Women
2015	94,8	5,5
2016	93,6	6,4
2017	91,7	8,3
2018	91,7	8,3
2019	91,7	8,3
2020	92,5	7,5

■ Men ■ Women

In 2015, meetings were held with the women's branches of various groups and foundations and many women's non-governmental organizations. In addition, a survey study was conducted, and a report was prepared to determine the status of women in social and economic life, to analyze and to propose solutions. In 2016, activities were carried out to support women's organizations in the city center neighborhoods and districts. According to the 2017 report, consultancy services were provided for the home-based working women to become cooperative. International Mardin Women's Symposium was held in 2018. The aim of the symposium is to obtain opinions through a participatory process to establish local equality mechanisms regarding service design and delivery that will increase women's quality of life. In 2018, meetings were held with district municipalities to spread solutions and practices that will facilitate the lives of women, especially women with disabilities.

In 2019, the Girls Meeting Project was conducted. This project aims to understand the problems of girls coming from different villages, to produce solutions and to ensure their socialization. To increase the number of women employees in the municipal employment policy in 2015, 2017 and 2018, positive discrimination was made in personnel recruitment. To come together with women to determine their needs and problems, and to convey their wishes and complaints to the necessary units, the Women's Place, Women's Side Project was carried out in 2017, 2018 and 2019. In addition, in 2017 and 2018, women came together on various platforms such as theater and discussion

meetings to share their problems with each other. To carry out women's studies at the international level, women representatives of various organizations were invited, between the years 2017 and 2019. Gender equality training was provided to municipal council members and all their employees in 2017 and 2018. Between 2018-2020, the spouses of all mukhtars in the central and rural areas came together. A meeting was held with the wives of the mukhtars, considering that their spouses have an important role in learning the problems of the neighborhoods of the mukhtars, especially the problems experienced by women. This is the only activity in this field for women in 2020 in terms of the participation of local decision-making mechanisms. National and International Women's Art Festivals were organized in 2018 and 2019.

Considering the services for economic empowerment and working life, it is seen that courses are given for women in cooperation with Small and Medium Industry Development Organization (KOSGEB). In this project, which was launched between 2017 and 2019, it was aimed to increase the number of women who want to be entrepreneurs and business owners. In addition, consultancy services were provided to the trainees. Various trainings are provided within the scope of Mardin Vocational Courses such as ceramics, ebru, sewing, pastry, cookery, rug weaving, hairdressing and skin care, knitting doll making, soap, jewelry design. As a result of these trainings received in vocational training courses, various activities were carried out to sell the products. To ensure the employment of female trainees who received certificates in these units, interviews were held with companies operating in the relevant business line between 2017 and 2018 and employment was provided. In 2017, the Women's Labor Sales Center was opened. Negotiations were held with the official institutions in the city center to market the products more easily. Women's Labor markets were established, and booths were opened in various fairs and events. From 2017 to 2019, with the Learn-Win, Produce-Win Project, provincial areas were provided to women by providing them with the opportunity to go out to social areas, to go to festivals and trips. In 2018, studies were carried out to bring local products to the fore and sell the products. In addition, ecological women's labor markets were set up. In 2016, guidance studies were carried out to determine the number of women working as seasonal workers and to save these women from seasonal migration.

Within the scope of elimination of violence against women, trainings were given to the employees working in the related-units and to women who have been subjected to violence. In 2015, a training titled The Right of Women's Self-Defense was organized within the framework of the events. Counseling centers established within the scope of combating violence against women were promoted and psychological, legal and social support was provided to women in these centers. In addition, informative training materials, video works, posters, brochure stickers, booklets and film screenings were made in this context. In 2015, Mardin Metropolitan Municipality was declared a pilot municipality in the project titled Femicide Can Be Prevented. However, there is no explanation regarding this in the subsequent annual reports. The number of Women's Counseling Centers has been increased and a separate Alo Şiddet Hattı has been established. A women's information desk was created, and multilingual services were provided considering the multicultural nature of Mardin. In 2018, awareness-raising meetings were held for the prevention of domestic violence; In order to prevent prostitution, forced marriage at a young age, trafficking in women and substance abuse, detection, prevention and information studies have been carried out. No studies on this subject were only found in 2020.

Within the scope of urban services, Urban and Women's Workshops were opened in 2015, Arin Women's Center and Nahrin Women's Center were opened. In addition, Jineology Workshop was opened to create a common discussion space on women's science. Zoning plans were evaluated in terms of gender equality, and a report was prepared to make parks, playgrounds, and education centers gender sensitive. For women to benefit from city services more intensively, free transportation, certain hours and number of flights or discounted bus applications were made. In addition, the number of stops in the neighborhoods and the reliability of the stop points were investigated and, where necessary, security studies and studies to increase the number of stops were made. Also, the pavement and pedestrian passageways in squares, boulevards, streets, and streets were inspected to see if they facilitate and support women's participation in social life. In 2018 and 2019, the necessary lighting arrangements were controlled in all areas of the city so that women could walk around safely 24 hours a day. In addition, meetings were held with the relevant units for insufficient street lighting.

Nursery and day care centers, children's clubs, playgrounds and gardens, libraries, toy libraries, guidance and development units for primary and secondary school children were opened and developed   for the children of working mothers and fathers. In 2016, a survey was conducted to shed light on the activities of the Women's Center and to get suggestions from women about the activities to be carried out at the center. Gender equality training was given to the municipality employees. In 2016 and 2017, small stations were built in various parts of the city to meet the needs of women for baby care, breastfeeding and WC. Budgeting sensitive to women was not included in the annual report only in 2015 and 2020.

Within the scope of health services, training seminars were given on the risks, definitions and precautions of women's health, breast cancer and cervical cancer. In addition, seminars were also organized on diseases such as obesity, diabetes and hypertension, hygiene and reproductive health in women, breast cancer, mother and child health. Moreover, trainings were also provided for women on basic health information, infectious diseases, birth and postpartum care, contraception methods, rape and incest. informative brochures and booklets prepared on these diseases. While these trainings were given regularly until 2020, only awareness studies on breast cancer awareness and the importance of early diagnosis were carried out in 2020. The Welcome Baby Project was conducted in 2017, 2018 and 2019. In this project, newborn babies and their mothers were visited in the obstetrics service of the hospital and gifts were presented. In addition, in 2017 and 2018, Erkan Tanı, Yaşam Tanı projext, aims to raise awareness about women' diseases and to provide early diagnosis opportunities especially for women in rural areas, launched. Walks for Health and Love were organized between 2017 and 2019 to encourage women to engage in physical activity and to ensure their socialization. In 2018 and 2019, the Women Give Blood, Give Life project to encourage women to donate blood conducted. Within the scope of education services, it is aimed to increase the number of literate women. In addition, interviews were held with parents about the importance of girls' education, and it was desired to encourage parent to support girls' education.

Considering the studies about migration and poverty, there are social aids on heating, accommodation, and food. Different services were offered only in 2016 and 2018.In 2016, supportive activities were organized, and meetings were held in order to improve the lives of families who were victims of war or had to migrate to the city, and

to ensure their participation in social life. However, there is no indication of what kind of activity is carried out in this context and what its content is. In 2018, Girls Meet Project was launched to enable girls who live in the center and districts of Mardin and who cannot participate in any social activities in the place where they live, participate in activities such as sightseeing, cinema-theatre. Also, in this year's report, it was stated that Syrian families were provided with personal care assistance. Although it is stated in the threats section of the SWOT analysis in the annual reports that urban services cannot be provided adequately due to intense migration, it is surprising that the studies are quite limited.

For awareness and mindset change, trainings on gender, women's history, social media addiction, family communication, mobbing, anger control, adolescence and protecting the child from abuse and gender equality perspective were given, and written materials were distributed in this context. The Human Rights Education Program for Women consisted of constitutional rights, reproductive rights, civil rights, women and sexuality. In addition, it was stated that informative and awareness-raising studies were carried out in 2015 to change the masculine language. In 2018, within the scope of the Barrier-Free Life Project, sign language training was given to the personnel working in public institutions and organizations. In 2019 and 2020, women were informed within the scope of the zero-waste project. Family and Being a Family event was held in 2020. Trainings were held to raise awareness of keeping the bonds between parents and children strong on the family side, and to raise awareness within the family about fighting addiction while dealing with the subject of values. In addition, erbane, chess, Kurdish, creative drama and sports courses were given in various centers, and a library was developed with book donation events.

5.4. DISCUSSION

The annual reports are prepared by the municipalities in order to present their works and services to the public during a year. As mentioned in the limitations of the research, all the activities discussed in this study were carried out according to the ones included in the annual reports and according to the selected thematic areas. The studies carried out by the municipalities within the scope of the concept of gender mainstreamig in their annual reports were examined and these studies were placed in the relevant fields by making use of Table 1.

Political Participation to Local Decision-Making Mechanism

      Participation in local decision-making mechanisms is a significant point for local governance, especially because of taking concrete decisions about urban life and determining application areas. From this point of view, studies should be carried out for more active participation and role of women. One of the issues that the municipality can increase this participation within its own body is the ratio of female and male employees. While an average of 26% of the employees in İzmir are women, it is 10.5% in Samsun and 7.4% in Mardin. During the dates determined in İzmir, low increases were observed in the rate of female employees. Although the number of female employees has increased, the number of female employees in total employees has not changed much. In Samsun, the increase was more visible, but it is not known whether the municipality has any incentives for women's employment. In Mardin, on the other hand, the ratio of women varied from increasing to decreasing. Although Mardin accepts to apply affirmative action in the personnel recruitment in the municipality, The ratio of female employees to total employees is quite low.

Table 2: Comparison of the studies in political participation by three municipalities

Political Participation to Local Decision-Making Mechanism	
İZMİR	- Local Politics Academy for women to increase participation of women in local governments - Meetings with women's mukhtars - Interviews on women's self-positioning in urban life - Signing a cooperation protocol with various women's NGOs - Increasing the number of women's units
SAMSUN	- Women Leaders Academy - Meetings with mukhtar and their family - Meeting with disabled women and NGOs - Making cooperation with university - Increasing the number of women's units
MARDİN	- Meetings with women's branches of various groups and foundations, many women's NGOS, district municipalities and women - Supporting of women's organizations in the city center neighborhoods and districts

	- Meetings for providing the home-based working women to become cooperative
	- Obtaining women's opinions through a participatory process about improving of local equality mechanisms
	- Positive discrimination policies in personnel recruitment of municipality to increase the number of women employees
	- Gender equality training for municipal council members and all their employees
	- Increasing the number of women's units

It has been observed that studies are carried out in all three provinces in order to increase women's participation in politics. While it is understood that projects and trainings were given in this context in the municipalities of İzmir and Samsun, it was realized through meetings and panels in Mardin. In addition, studies have been carried out on the participation and cooperation of other actors in local government mechanisms. At this point, it is understood that coordinated studies are carried out with district municipalities and their women's units, as well as various non-governmental institutions and organizations in Mardin. In Samsun, on the other hand, this situation was quite limited. Meetings with headmen in Izmir and Samsun can be considered as a reflection of the importance attributed to headmen during the AKP rule. However, it is noteworthy that a meeting was held with all the muhtars and their families in Samsun, while meetings were held with female mukhtars about meeting the needs and demands of women in İzmir. The organization of meetings with the headman and the headmen's wives in Samsun can be interpreted as a reflection of the AKP's conservative approach to the family, as well as the idea of positioning women within the family.

In all three provinces, studies have been carried out to establish and increase the number of units related to women in various units of local governments. While detailed information on this was given in İzmir, this information was not given in Mardin and Samsun. In addition, it is seen that only in the municipality of Mardin, studies are carried out for the institution to ensure women's employment and informative activities are carried out for the people working in the institution.

Economic Empowerment and Professional Life

Economic empowerment and professional life focus on increasing women's participation in economic life and eliminating the difficulties encountered in working life. In addition, studies on economic empowerment makes it easier for women to leave the private sphere and take part in the public sphere.

Table 3:Comparison of the studies in economic empowerment and professional life by three municipalities

Economic Empowerment and Professional Life	
İZMİR	- Strengthening the position of women in business life
	- Studies on providing solutions to the problems faced by working women in their home and working life
	- Panels about cooperation with local and international women's NGOs; private employment agencies and women in business life
	- Displaying and also promoting the selling of handicraft products
	- Developing cooperation with women's cooperatives, district municipalities and other actors for development in agriculture
	- Supporting and conducting income generating activities for rural areas
	- Consultation meetings for the dissemination and strengthening of women's cooperatives
	- Vocational Factory: to give vocational courses for everyone to gain a new job
SAMSUN	- Opening of centers for promoting the selling of handicraft products
	- Employment of women farmers in rural areas
	- Support to women related to small cattle breeding and greenhouse cultivation
	- Applied entrepreneurship training (such as cooperatives, branding and patents)
	- Developing marketing opportunities where affirmative action against women
MARDİN	- Vocational Factory

	- Trainings on entrepreneurs to increase number of women business owners
	- Cooperating with
	- Establishment of centers to sell handicraft products and local products
	- Developing cooperation with actors in economy

Looking at Table 3, it is seen that women are supported as actors for rural development in İzmir and Samsun. Supportive activities were carried out in various fields for women to work in rural areas. Providing trainings on entrepreneurship in all three provinces is the work that paves the way for women to enter business life not only as employees but also as business owners. Guiding training has been given in this regard. With the participation of other actors such as KOSGEB and cooperatives, supporting women in business life is not limited to education, but also collaborations have been developed to put what has been learned into practice. From this point of view, it can be said that these services are in line with the UN's GAD approach.

It is seen that various vocational training is given in all three provinces. The content of these trainings is quite extensive. In Samsun, courses are given in accordance with handicrafts, local products and women's gender norms. (Handicrafts, Jewelry Design, Making Felt Accessories, Ribbon Embroidery, Wire Break, Needle Lace, Dimensional Embroidery, Gold Work, Punch Embroidery, Needle Knitting, Hairpin, Shuttle Lace, Brazilian Embroidery, Handmade Chinese Needlework, Turkish Work, Calculation, Antep Job,) This situation is not much different in Mardin. The content of the trainings in Mardin is as follows: home textile products preparation, needle and crochet knitting, other handicrafts, machine embroidery, sewing, embroidery, hairdressing, rug weaving. In İzmir, the picture is very different. Vocational courses in almost every field are given within the municipality.

Another issue that should be evaluated under this title is the provision of space by municipalities for the marketing of local and handicraft products. It can be said that the sale of these products and the creation of markets for them ensure that women who cannot go out into the public sphere for various reasons integrate into the public sphere in different ways.

Violence Against Women

It is important that local mechanisms, as well as national ones, take an active role in combating violence against women. National mechanisms are pioneers in the prevention of violence against women in cities and the protection and empowerment of women who have been subjected to violence. In this regard, local mechanisms are working both around national policies and regionally. However, there are limited things to be done on such a sensitive issue.

Table 4: *Comparison of the studies in violence against women by three municipalities*

Violence Against Women	
İZMİR	- Establishment of centers such as women's counseling center, women's solidarity centers and neighborhood centers - Providing psychological and legal counseling services to women who are subjected to violence - Resolving accommodation problems temporarily - İnforming people about violence as a crime and victims of violence via preparing written and visual materials - Giving training about dating violence and safe relationships
SAMSUN	- Establishment of centers for women who subjected to violence - Cooperation with other institutions related the prevention of violence
MARDİN	- Training for public personnel and women who are subjected to violence - Trainings on self defense - Establishment of centers such as women's counseling center, women's solidarity and women's information desk - Providing psychological and legal counseling services to women who are subjected to violence - İnforming people about violence as a crime and victims of violence via preparing written and visual materials - Establishment of separate telephone line - Multilingual services

Looking at Table 4, it is seen that municipalities carry out psychological and legal counseling services, protection and empowerment activities for women who have been subjected to violence. In addition, establishing and increasing the number of centers that will provide these services is another effort made in this regard. Undoubtedly, these studies are important, but studies should be carried out to prevent violence and to change society in this regard. Izmir and Mardin municipalities inform people about violence as a crime and victims of violence via preparing written and visual materials. In addition, unlike other provinces, İzmir also provided training on dating violence and safe relationship. Mardin, gave a training on self-defense. Considering that violence is not committed only by one known to people, it can be said that it is a very important study. Another important work carried out by Mardin in this regard is the presenting these multilingually. Considering the multinational structure of Mardin, the multilingual of services enables these services to reach more women. Moreover, it can be said that Mardin municipality's training for public personnel will have a significant impact on the quality of the service provided.

Urban Services

One of the most important issues within the scope of women's policies and gender equality policies is to work towards the needs and problems of the city and women in the city. In order to carry out these studies, various field studies should be carried out on the problems of women and services should be provided by taking into account their wishes and demands.

Table 5: Comparison of the studies in urban services by three municipalities

Urban services	
İZMİR	- Establishment communication center to direct and easy communication with the municipality
	- Preparing a database related with women
	- Establishment of centers to ensure educational, social and cultural activities
	- Trainings on gender equality and women-men equality for public personnel and drivers of public transport

	- Carrying out studies for disabled, elderly women and women who take care of the disabled
	- Being disseminate of nursing homes, day care centers, kindergartens, study training centers and fairy tale houses
	- Gender sensitive budgeting training
SAMSUN	- Improving and developing the facilities of nursing homes
	- Arranging public transportation systems to make the city safer, increasing the number of stops
MARDİN	- Establishment of various centers
	- Evaluation of zoning plans in terms of gender equality
	- Applying free transportation, limited hours or discounted in the public transportation
	- İncreasing the number of bus stations in the neighborhood
	- Controlling the pavement and pedestrian passageways in squares, boulevards, streets
	- Checking street lighting for walking safely 24 hours
	- Being disseminate of nursery, day care centers, children's clubs, playgrounds and gardens, libraries, toy libraries, guidance and development units for primary and secondary school children
	- Gender sensitive budgeting training

Looking at the Table 5, field studies carried out in this context were seen in Mardin Metropolitan Municipality and Samsun Municipality. While there are very few in Samsun Municipality, Mardin Municipality has done more intensive studies on this issue. Making the city safer is under the heading of urban services. For this reason, studies on inspection and control are important in increasing the quality of the service. It is seen that studies have been carried out in Samsun and Mardin municipalities on this subject. It has been observed that studies are carried out for transportation systems in all three municipalities. Differences made by Mardin in this regard, there are controlling the pavement and pedestrian passageways and checking street lighting. The difference of İzmir municipality is giving trainings on gender equality and women-men equality for public personnel and drivers of public transport. In all three provinces, studies have been carried out to enable the dependents to move more comfortably in their social and business lives. The centers are opened, and their number is increased.

Education and Health Services

The reason why health services are important that women have less access to these services than men for various reasons. Some of these reasons are the distance of the place providing service and/or transportation difficulties, illiteracy, and the presence of people who are responsible for their care (children, elderly, disabled, etc.) Studies on transportation are evaluated under the title of urban services. Accordingly, the criteria evaluated under this title are whether informative studies are carried out and what is the content of the trainings. Also, due to social norms, the education of girls has less education level. For this reason, women have had problems in literacy and education from past to present.

Table 6: Comparison of the studies in education and health services by three municipalities

Education and Health Services	
İZMİR	- Women's Health Education Program - Men's Health Education program - Health screenings - Awareness seminars on breast cancer - Literacy campaign - Giving dance, piano, ballet, and percussion training to empower girls on art - Preparing informative written and visual materials - Running workshops on reading, poetry and literature
SAMSUN	- Literacy campaign - Trainings on cancer for disabled women - Health screenings - Trainings on health - Preparing informative written and visual materials
MARDİN	- Trainings on women, mother and child's health; women's diseases - Preparing informative written and visual materials - Preparing walks for encouraging of women to engage in physical activity - Health screenings

	- Literacy campaign		
	- Meetings with parents to talk the importance of girl's education		

Considering the theme of education and health services, it is seen that there is a continuity in literacy courses, trainings on health, preparing informative written and visual materials and health screenings in all three provinces.

Table 7: Contents of the trainings given within the scope of health services

CITIES	İZMİR	MARDİN	SAMSUN
	Hygiene education	Breast Cancer awareness	First aid training
	Organ Donation training	Cervical cancer awareness	Cancer awareness
	breast cancer awareness	Hygiene and reproductive health	
TRAININGS	Dental health	Diabetes, obesity etc chronic diseases	
	Basic First Aid	Birth control methods	
	Healthy mother woman	Birth and postpartum care	
	Blood donation	Mouth and dental health	

The point that should be evaluated in terms of comparison in this title is related to the contents of the trainings. Since the contents of health-related education varies. Considering the content of health-related trainings, it is seen that the municipality of Samsun is very limited in this regard. When we look at the municipalities of İzmir and Mardin, there are different trainings as well as similar. For example, studies on birth control methods and birth and postpartum care in Mardin may reflect the need in this regard

Migration and poverty

Considering that local governments have a direct and tighter relationship with the citizens, local governments can be seen as a more prominent actor on migration and poverty. Therefore, it wouldn't be wrong to say that cities are more affected by the increase in migration and poverty may increase accordingly.

Table 8: Comparison of the studies in migration and poverty by three municipalities

Migration and poverty	
İZMİR	- Social assistance such as heating, and food - Organizing of city and gulf tours for women and child - Preparing trips for knowing landmarks of city - Studies for reduce the social marginality of vulnerable women living in slums and to increase their income opportunities - Trainings on good parenting and children's rights for refugee women's groups - Developing cooperating with ASAM - Establishment of Migration and Integration Commission
SAMSUN	- Social assistance, including cash and in-kind aids such as furniture, medical supplies, heating and food for needy people (elderly, the disabled, families of martyrs and veterans, and refugees)
MARDİN	- Social assistance such as heating, and food - Studies for girls who cannot participate in any social activities to increase social mobility - Personal care assistance for Syrian people

Within the scope of thematic areas, the least served area in all three municipalities belongs to the theme of migration and poverty. In this theme, social aid issues were generally discussed, and in-kind and cash aids were evaluated. In addition, within the scope of this thematic area, excursion tours were organized for women and girls who could not reach the important landmarks of the city due to impossibilities and only had information about the neighborhood they lived in. For the first time, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality organized studies for women refugees in 2019 and established a Migration

and Integration Commission by signing a protocol with ASAM in 2020. Mardin Metropolitan Municipality organized studies to improve the life of families who were victims of war or had to migrate to the city, in the immigrant settlements where they lived, and carried out support activities to ensure the participation of families in social life. There is not information about the services provided in Samsun Metropolitan Municipality, except for social aids. Considering that there is a massive migration since 2014 in Turkey, the lack of studies in this area is quite remarkable. In addition, the worsening of the economic situation in Turkey may have led to an increase in social assistance and discussion on social aids to come the fore more. In addition, the increase in layoffs with the onset of the COVID-19 epidemic may have also affected this situation.

Awareness Raising and Mindset Change

One of the main goals of gender mainstreaming is to achieve a social transformation on gender equality. Since all the above-mentioned policies and practices to apply well and to approach the ideal of being a women friendly city, it is necessary to raise awareness about gender equality. If this mindset change does not occur and awareness is not raised on this issue, the effectiveness of all efforts will be low, and the intended change and transformation cannot be achieved.

Table 9: Comparison of the studies in awareness and mindset change by three municipalities

Awareness Raising and Mindset Change	
İZMİR	- Trainings on gender inequality awareness for public administrator and citizens
	- the Women's Human Rights Education Program
	- Preparing a strategy plan about prevention of child marriages in the Romani community and
	- Awareness trainings on mastering parenting, motherhood, accepting the child, and prejudices
	- Carrying out awareness studies for the Istanbul Convention
	- Collaborations with NGOs
	- Preparing informative written and visual materials

SAMSUN	- Survey and fieldwork for understanding needs of women
	- Studies to protect, strengthen and develop the Turkish family structure and values
	- Preparing informative written and visual materials
	- Establishment of centers for the education and awareness of women
	- Trainings on individual development and family and good parenting
MARDİN	- Trainings on gender inequality awareness
	- Preparing informative written and visual materials
	- Change studies of masculine language for change in language
	- Trainings on sign language for public personnel
	- Collaborations with NGOs

Looking at the services provided under the title of awareness and mindset change, trainings and informative written materials come to the fore. It is understood that the studies for the Romani people in İzmir emerged as a result of a regional need. It can be said that carrying out needs-oriented studies and carrying out studies to prevent early marriages is a project that can improve both the situation of the Romani people and the situation of Romani women. Also, it is important that there are institutions that provide training on awareness raising and mindset change, for these trainings to become widespread in cities and to reach these trainings more easily. It can also enable women to integrate into social and economic life more easily. The content of the trainings on awareness raising and mindset change, while giving clues about the approach of municipalities to women. Looking at the services provided under the title of awareness and mindset change, trainings and informative written materials come to the fore. It is understood that the studies for the Romani people in İzmir emerged as a result of a regional need. It can be said that carrying out needs-oriented studies and carrying out studies to prevent early marriages is a project that can improve both the situation of the Romani people and the situation of Romani women. It is important that there are institutions that provide training on awareness raising and mindset change, for these trainings to become widespread in cities and to reach these trainings more easily. It can also enable women to integrate into social and economic life more easily. Although one of the main goals of gender mainstreaming approaches is to provide gender equality by a social transformation and to change cultural norms, different approaches can be seen in

the studies carried out. In addition, evaluation of the content of these trainings can give clues about the approach of municipalities about the position of women in society

Table 10:Contents of the trainings given within the scope of Awareness and Mindset Change

CITIES	İZMİR	MARDİN	SAMSUN
TRAININGS	Communication within the family,	Constitutional and Civil Rights	Anger management
	behavioral disorders in children	Fertility right	Protecting the Turkish family structure and values
	Gender and child	Women's History	Empathy
	Adolescent Period	Women and sexuality	Family Education
	Anger management	Gender	Child Psychology
	Parenting Skills	Family communication	
	Prejudice and Discrimination	Mobbing	
	Gender sensitive psycho support	Anger management	
	Body language	Adolescence period	
	Mother-woman education	Child protection	
	Effective communication	Incest	
	Coping with Stress	Harassment, rape	
	Social gender equality	Prostitution	
	Dating Abuse and safe relationships	Forced marriage at a young age	
	Women's Human Rights	Women's Trafficking	
	Constitutional and Civil Rights	Substance Abuse	
	Child Abuse		

When looking at the trainings in Samsun, Samsun Metropolitan Municipality defines the woman through the family, not as an individual. It should also be noted that Samsun Metropolitan Municipality abstained from opening a separate branch office or an office for women and gender equality for a long time. At this point, one can look at JDP's women's policies and discourses. Even though JDP has realized many important achievements regarding women's rights, it approaches with a conservative perspective and reference to Islam in its policies and discourses towards women, sees the family as the natural focus of women, and focuses on women through domestic responsibilities and traditional women's roles (mother, wife) (Coşar & Yeğinoğlu, 2011; Günindi Ersöz, 2015; Unal, 2015; Parmaksız & Öztan, 2021).

There is the same change about naming of unit in Mardin as in Samsun. When the Women's Policies Department changes as the Women's and Youth Services Department in 2017, there was a trustee appointed instead of the elected mayor. In 2020, it became the Department of Women and Family Services with a change again. There is parallelism the political agenda between the name change of the department. When the Women's Policies Department changes as the Women's and Youth Services Department in 2017, there was a trustee appointed instead of the elected mayor. In 2020, it became the Department of Women and Family Services with a change again. It can be said that there is parallelism the political agenda between the name change of the department. Because while these changes are taking place, there is a trustee instead of the elected mayor at the head of the municipality.

When looking at the content of the trainings in İzmir, it is seen that informative studies are carried out on gender equality. However, in these studies, it can be said that instead of making women the subject, the trainings on women's relations with other people are more intense. such as relationship between woman and child, woman and lover, woman, and rights. Looking at the women's discourse of the RPP, it can be said that it draws a profile of working, professional and educated women. There is an emphasis on women's self-development in both business and social life, hence education. The winds of change have been blowing in RPP in the last 15 years. It made various opening on men and women relation, gender equality and LGBT+'s issues. However, it is not possible to take it in a holistic way and cost it to the party. There are differences of opinion and approaches both in application and discourse. This situation can be seen when looking at

the services in the research in a historical way. It can be said that there is a difference between the approach of gender equality during the previous mayor Aziz Kocaoğlu and the approach of the current mayor Tunç Soyer.

Looking at the studies in Mardin, it can be said that there is a multifaceted perspective on women such a woman's relationship with her own body, her business life, and her ability to cope with difficulties because she is a woman. Looking at the policies of PDP regarding women, it can be said that it is against gender inequality, gender-based division of labor, private space public space dichotomy, and advocates gender parity. In addition, it does not only attribute the reason for the subordination of women to men and the patriarchal order, but also to the exploitative class. Therefore, it can be interpreted that there are traces of socialist feminism in PDP's women's policies.

Considering the research questions of this thesis, it has been observed that the services provided by the municipalities for women are suitable for the specified thematic areas. The studies carried out and these thematic areas were placed and evaluated. Considering the intensity of the studies in the fields, it can be said that the studies on awareness and mentality change, education and health services and economic empowerment are more diverse and continuous. The least number of studies were conducted in the field of migration and poverty. It is thought-provoking that the studies in this field are limited to social aid and some projects. In addition, the shaping of studies on training is another issue that should be noted. As mentioned before, the one of the important arguments of liberal feminism to ensure equality is the issue of education. Considering that liberal feminism is the basis of the women's policies of UN and that there are traces of liberal feminism in the GAD approach, it is noteworthy that the trainings come to the fore. Especially when looking at vocational courses, the desire of women to be included in development may be more meaningful.

Gender mainstreaming policies are not just based on empowerment and transformation, as mentioned earlier. It can also include two other perspectives with women (sameness and difference). These three models are like "three-legged stools". Accordingly, all three can be seen at the same time in services for women. The reason for this is that the policies and targeted transformation progress step by step according to the demands and characteristics of the region. In addition, it can be said that one of the

reasons for this is the reflection of women's policies of political parties on the services of the municipality. The most obvious example was seen in Samsun municipality.

In addition to the diversity of political parties, the vision of the mayors also affects the services for women. While two reports on the local equality action plan were reached during the period of Yusuf Ziya Yılmaz, the previous mayor of Samsun Metropolitan Municipality, there is no new action plan in the new period and no news about it has been reached. Looking at the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, a local equality action plan was not prepared during the period of the previous mayor Aziz Kocaoğlu and any work was done on this issue. However, the current mayor, Tunç Soyer, announced to the press that they started the meetings to prepare for the local equality action plan and stated that they would fulfill the requirements of being a woman-friendly city.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Local governments are a form of organization that should be more intertwined with the people and can be efficient and effective with the direct participation of the people. Local governments are obliged to ensure that their citizens live and work in safe, healthy, orderly, sheltered, and planned environments. In addition, they have to ensure that citizens benefit from health, education, socio-cultural etc. services equally, that people can easily access these services and use the city comfortably. Solving the problems of women in accessing, participating, and benefiting from local government mechanisms; Policies that will ensure gender equality are implemented in order to ensure equality in the society in economic, social, cultural and political fields, to increase awareness and to improve the situation of women. Gender mainstreaming, which is a gender equality strategy, means bringing a perspective that will ensure gender equality to all main plans and policies and transforming changes in this direction. With gender mainstreaming, it is aimed to eliminate the backwardness of women in society, to reduce their limited access to local mechanisms, to increase their participation and utilization, and to empower women. In this context, the Women-Friendly City program, created specifically for municipalities, aims to provide equality in many issues such as governance, security, transportation, economic security, education, social life and health, and to eliminate existing grievances. The first part was about explaining the conceptuzaling of the study. Since all ontological differences in feminist approaches have also contributed to the diversification of policies, the main feminist theories influencing policies are mentioned. the main concept of the thesis is gender mainstreaming. Then, to better understand the concept of gender mainstreaming, the debates on women's politics in the literature were mentioned via explaining of the dichotomy of public and private sphere, approaches on gender equality, the women policies of UN, and the concept of gender mainstreaming.

The state of women in local governments in Turkey was evaluated by giving examples from the works carried out in all municipalities. Then, the concept of women friendly cities, the Women Friendly City Program implemented in Turkey and local equality action plans are mentioned and evaluated. In the sample created by the criterion

sampling method of the purposive sampling method, İzmir, Mardin and Samsun Metropolitan Municipalities were analyzed according to research questions. The activity reports of these municipalities between the years 2015 and 2020 were examined by the content analysis method. The services of municipalities for women were classified over seven thematic areas and their services were compared. In addition, these services are gender mainstreaming. In addition, the contents of the trainings given in the fields of economy, health and awareness raising were examined to understand whether the content of these services complies with the gender mainstreaming approach.

Looking the research questions of this thesis, it has been observed that the services provided by the municipalities for women are suitable for the specified thematic areas. The studies carried out and these thematic areas were placed and evaluated. Considering the intensity of the studies in the fields, it can be said that the studies on awareness and mentality change, education and health services and economic empowerment are more diverse and continuous. The least number of studies were conducted in the field of migration and poverty. It is thought-provoking that the studies in this field are limited to social aid and some projects. In addition, the shaping of studies on training is another issue that should be noted. As mentioned before, the most important argument of liberal feminism to ensure equality is the issue of education. Considering that liberal feminism is the basis of the United Nations' women's policies and that there are traces of liberal feminism in the GAD approach, it is noteworthy that the trainings come to the fore. Especially when looking at vocational courses, the effort to include women in development may be clearer.

In general, it has been observed that a new project or study is less. One of the reasons for this may be the lack or inadequacy of gender-sensitive budgeting. Other reasons can be local elections and COVID-19 pandemic.

When its services are analyzed through the gender mainstreaming approach, it is seen that it includes three different approaches (sameness, difference, and mainstreaming). This confirms the idea that there are differences in practicing of gender mainstreaming discussed in the literature. At the same time, it confirms that the argument that these three approaches are "three-legged stools". It has been observed that the approaches of services can vary according to the demands and needs of the people, the women's discourse of political parties, and the visions of mayors.

Suggestions for municipalities to achieve the ideal of a women friendly city are as follows:

- Should encourage women to participate local government mechanism and increase their work on this issue

- Can benefit from various applications to increase political participation (such as quota application)

- Should prepare gender sensitive budgeting

- Should prepare local equality action plan

- Should prepare adequate monitoring tools and mechanisms to evaluate policies and projects

- Should monitor the effect of projects and services before and after applying

- Should evaluate zoning plans in terms of gender equality

- Should increase in-service training

- Should increase and diversify studies on migration and poverty

- Should not be limited to social assistance regarding poverty issue

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