

FROM GENDER EQUALITY TO GENDER JUSTICE: A CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN TERMS OF GENDER EQUALITY IN TURKEY

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sadettin Kirazcı
Director (Acting)

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ecevit
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Gülriz Uygur	(Ankara Uni., HUKUK)	_____
Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ecevit	(METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Canan Aslan-Akman	(METU, ADM)	_____



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

Name, Last Name : Elif Baba

Signature :

ABSTRACT

FROM GENDER EQUALITY TO GENDER JUSTICE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN TERMS OF GENDER EQUALITY IN TURKEY

Baba, Elif

Master of Science, Department of Gender and Women's Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ecevit

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The study focuses on the shift in the axis of women's policies from gender equality to gender justice within the last years in Turkey. Gender justice is the reflection of the miscellaneous transformation policy of the neoconservative discourse on women's issues. The study demonstrates that gender justice is designed by the neoconservative discourse to eliminate the role of gender equality on women's policies, by its distortion. Lacking a theoretical background or an effective argument, gender justice reproduces patriarchal gender roles by promoting a biologically deterministic attitude towards the relationship between women and men. New Right government policies including the glorification and promotion of religion, family and nationalism are instrumentalized by the discourse within the formulation of gender justice. The study remarks that gender justice, grounds on the principle of complementarity instead of equality and emphasizes biological differences between men and women on gender roles influenced by the religious approach of the Vatican, along with strategies imported from anti-gender movements of the West. The objective of this study which is conducted with the

method of critical discourse analysis from a feminist perspective is to demonstrate the inconsistency of gender justice with the notions of women's rights and equality, analyzing the discourse of neoconservatives on women. As a result, this study discusses how gender justice approach constitutes a context for the current discourse of the representatives of neoconservatism, with its characteristics that realize the transformation against gender equality and reproduce hegemonic gender roles.

Keywords: Gender, gender equality, gender justice, neoconservatism, Turkey.



ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET EŞİTLİĞİNDEN TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET ADALETİNE: TÜRKİYE’DE TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET EŞİTLİĞİ BAĞLAMINDA ELEŞTİREL BİR SÖYLEM ANALİZİ

Baba, Elif

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Bu çalışma son yıllarda kadın konusunun, Türkiye’de yenimuhafazakar söylem tarafından toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ekseninden kaydırılarak, toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti perspektifine adapte edilmesini konu almaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti, Türkiye’de yenimuhafazakar anlayış tarafından çok boyutlu olarak kullanılan dönüştürme politikasının kadın konusundaki yansımasıdır. Bu bağlamda çalışmada, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği kavramının yanlış sunularak toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti ile değiştirilmek istendiği görülmüştür. Teorik bir geçmişe ya da etkili bir argümana sahip olmamasının yanı sıra toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti, biyolojik indirgemeci bir yaklaşımla kadınlar ve erkekler arasındaki ataerkil toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini yeniden üretir. Dinin, ailenin ve milliyetçiliğin yüceltilmesi ve desteklenmesini içeren Yeni Sağ hükümet politikaları toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramı oluşturulurken yenimuhafazakarlar tarafından araçsallaştırılmıştır. Bu çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet adaletinin, eşitlik yerine tamamlayıcılık ilkesine dayandığının ve Vatikan’ın dinsel yaklaşımından etkilenecek cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin olarak erkekler

ve kadınlar arasındaki biyolojik farklılıkları vurguladığının, bununla birlikte Batı'daki toplumsal cinsiyet karşıtı hareketlerin stratejilerini de ithal ettiğinin altını çizmektedir. Feminist bakış açısından, eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemi kullanılarak hazırlanmış olan bu çalışmanın amacı, toplumsal cinsiyet adaletinin kadın hakları ve eşitliği kavramlarıyla uyumsuzluğunu yenimuhafazakarların kadın üzerindeki söylemini analiz ederek ortaya koymaktır. Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti yaklaşımının, tahakkümcü rolleri yeniden üreten ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği anlayışından uzaklaştıran özelliğiyle, yenimuhafazakarlığın temsilcilerinin güncel söylemlerine nasıl bir bağlam oluşturduğunu tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal cinsiyet, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği, toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti, yenimuhafazarlık, Türkiye.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (Mainland Party)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
EU	European Union
GONGO	Government-Operated Non-Governmental Organization
JDP	Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
KADEM	Kadın ve Demokrasi Derneği (Women and Democracy Association)
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)
MP	Member of Parliament
NAWSA	National American Woman Suffrage Association
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NOW	National Organization for Women
RP	Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)
TBMM	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Turkish Grand National Assembly)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objective of the Study and Research Problem

Women's struggle for equality, has always been a significant and substantial movement in Turkish history. The endeavor of women was persevered under the objectives of equality, liberty and protection for women until the emergence of 'gender' in the international rhetoric with the exertion of feminists. With the theorization of gender and the international embracement of gender equality, the axis of the movement has shifted to an ambit direction towards the elimination of gender discrimination regulated under treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Gender equality has, thus been the built-on concept of women's rights and gender discourse in accordance with the global strategies concerning women. Although Turkey is one of the states whom have precipitously ratified the influencing documents, CEDAW and the newly adopted Istanbul Convention, and for which the gender discourse has been formed around the axis of the agenda, the newfangled rising discourse on women and women's rights is intensely remarkable.

Gender equality, having been the most influential concept of the last decade in terms of gender and feminism, has been facing oppositions since the uptrend of neoconservatism in Turkey. The neoconservative discourse, that has been evolving ever since the rule of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) governments, have transformed state policies in many areas, of which the latest was their strategy against gender equality. Neoconservative discourse, suggests the adoption of a new concept on women's rights and issues, enduring on a theological perspective.

Gender justice, is formulated by the academics of the neoconservative sphere as an alternative to gender equality, with the sake of creating a socially just society. The main argument put forward is that the idea of gender equality neglects innate and biological differences between men and women deriving from creation. In spite of the legal implementations regulated during its own rule and the ratification of international conventions on gender equality, JDP has now positioned itself together with the discourse in supporting gender justice over gender equality. Consequently, the interminable discussion between gender equality and gender justice has been the hot topic within the last five or six years in Turkey, on account of this this study focuses on the debate.

This study intends to inquire into the transformation of state policies on women from gender equality approach to gender justice approach with the sake of reproducing and perpetuating patriarchal gender roles in the Turkish society. It also aims to illustrate the reasons embedded in the distortion of gender equality and the promotion of its abandonment with critical discourse analysis of the neoconservative discourse. I will lay out the reasons of the objection and judgements on gender equality hidden in the discourse of the neoconservative sphere, to demonstrate the significance of gender justice. In this context research problems of the study are; 1) Is the promotion of gender justice against gender equality accurate in terms of improving women's rights? 2) Is the approach of gender justice compatible with the discourse of neoconservatives in Turkey? The study argues that gender justice is designed by the neoconservative discourse with the impact of JDP government to accomplish a shift and transformation on women's policies from gender equality, to reproduce the patriarchal gender roles attributed to men and women. It is underlined within the study that the concept of gender justice does not ground on a strong theoretical background and fails to contribute an eligible argument other than reinforcing biological determinism on gender relations. With critical discourse analysis I aim to shed light on the contradictions between the neoconservative discourse and women's rights.

1.2. Methodology of the Study

Concepts that are disputed are investigated to, clarify the distortion of gender in terms of feminist discourse by the neoconservatives. Concerning that the concept 'gender justice' has been fairly new, the method that would display the intention and implication of the transformation from 'gender equality' most accurately by discourse analysis. For this reason, I have done a study in which both the distortion of the concept of 'equality' and the objectives under the transformation would be demonstrated evidently. I have intended to clarify the misconception of gender equality and equality, acknowledging it as the starting factor of the reconstruction of the gender discourse.

I have conducted the study with the method of critical discourse analysis together with the theoretical examination of the concepts from a feminist approach. Taking into consideration meanings and objectives embedded in the discourse that are the basis of social policies and movements, I believe that it is important to clarify the codes and understandings of the neoconservative sphere on gender and gender equality, rather than just focusing on the comments on the surface alone. Critical discourse analysis is the most accurate method for this study, within other methods of discourse analysis considering that the background and interpretation of discourse is phenomenal in social studies and social policies. Feminist analysis of the terms and discourses are held including speeches, texts and articles embracing the method of critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis, having been influenced both the poststructuralists and content analysis, is instrumentalized to uncover the paradoxes and discrepancies between the content and deeper meanings declared by the neoconservative discourse in Turkey. The method is often utilized in feminist studies, regarding the significance given to investigation and interrogation by the approach. Feminist critical discourse analysis includes the examination of power relations in terms of patriarchy, hegemony and gender relations from a feminist perspective.

Discourse analysis is a research method that has been designed firstly by the field of linguistics, and then adopted into sociopolitical research. The field of linguistics

focuses on the usage of language and the lingual roots of words from a scientific perspective. How the text is organized, the formulation of words and grammar are the vital elements of linguistic discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Although it was found by linguistics, social sciences adopted the method in various approaches. The characteristic of discourse analysis' deep interest on the intention, direction, content and the direction of the discourse endures on its adoption by post-modernism, as an objection to the empirical research methods of modernism. Scholars like Foucault have advocated a deeper meaning within the discourse itself, opposing to modernist approaches that rely on the surface of context. Discourse does not only connotes speeches or verbal material but every element of communication including written texts and visuals (Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J., & Wodak, 2011).

According to structuralism there is no deeper meaning of the discourse from the signified to the signifier. In other words, the meaning is no other than what is directed or illustrated. The discourse is formed of the signifier and the signified, which are the only factors forming the sign. Post-structuralism on the other hand highlights the importance of the background of the signifier as well as the circumstances and other various factors between them. For instance, the construction or the intention of the meaning, of that what is the objective behind the verbal text has gained relevance with post-structuralism. The relationship between language and discourse is more than just a constant verbal connotation but rather a transforming reactional matter. Hence, poststructuralists argue the variability of language and meaning under the effect of various aspects such as time, position and location (Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J., & Wodak, 2011).

Discourse analysis relies on commentaries of declarations or written material rather than an objective observation. Hence, there is no analysis of empirical data. The method utilized in social sciences differs from the field of linguistics. A significant approach to discourse analysis has been established as critical discourse analysis. Social scientists prefer critical discourse analysis regarding its helpful aspects on critiquing political texts in terms of hierarchy and power relations. The association of social practices and actions are inquired in terms of the discourse which is formed

by comments and other materials. A multidimensional analysis is conducted to relate social practice with the discourse, in other words hierarchical policies (Lazar, 2017).

The approach of social scientists on discourse analysis has been through the significance of the history, psychology and sociology behind the discourse or material. Foucault endures his approach on power and power relations, advocating that discourse mutates accordingly to the object of power. For as the object holding the power rotates, the meaning of the discourse evolves into another form. Hence, what designated the discourse is neither the sign, nor the signified but the power that shapes the discourse in the first place. Foucault's emphasis on power and power relations caught the eye of feminism and gender studies concerning his italicization of socially constructed meanings (Fairclough, 1995; T. Van Dijk, 2001). The clarification between the connotation of language and the social is the primary goal of discourse analysis. The usage of meaning and verbal contexts foreshadows the positioning of the signifiers as well as the signified through the analysis.

Critical discourse analysis is a method linked with the clarification of the ideological aspects and relations of the text and language. Fairclough argues that there is a dialectical relation between the social and practice. It is for this reason that critical discourse analysis has no sole method or approach, in fact it is evaluated also as a theory. The transformation of the connotations depending on the dominant is the main objective of critical discourse analysis. As the analysis of power relations constitute a wide space in the method, ideology and perspectives are uncovered through the usage of language and discourse in general (Fairclough, 1995).

Critical discourse analysis studies the sociopolitical strategies through the use of language and its connotations. The dialectical relationship of equality and power is investigated, regarding their impact on social norms and institutions (Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J., & Wodak, 2011). In terms of studying gender, critical discourse analysis is an accurate method since the construction process and aspects of notions such as power, ideology, ethnicity etc. are clarified with this method of analysis (Hyland & Brian Paltridge, 2011). Social policy and policy making are fields in which critical discourse analysis is utilized, especially with the impact of the

approaches of Frankfurt School and Michelle Foucault. This study is conducted from the approach of Norman Fairclough. In Norman Fairclough's approach, critical discourse analysis was constructed with a three-dimensional model; description, interpretation and explanation. Fairclough uses "*text analysis, correlating with critical linguistics.*" (Baker & Ellege, 2011, p.26) The interpretation stage;

focuses on the relationship between text and interaction, seeing the text both as product of the process of production and a resource in the process of interpretation. The final stage (explanation) examines the relationship between interaction and social context, considering the social effects of the processes of production and interpretation. (Baker & Ellege, 2011, p.26)

Although Fairclough's approach is influenced on the study, there is no exact method to Critical discourse analysis concerning numerous forms of approaches it has been established on. For an adequate and intensive study of the discourse on gender equality and gender justice, the method approach of Fairclough is incorporated with text analysis and theoretical definitions of the relational meanings. The study has employed feminist critical policy discourse analysis in order to investigate the reproduction and construction of the patriarchal power relations on gender equality. Critical discourse analysis is chosen together with text analysis and theoretical analysis to constitute a prosperous reflection and a proper feminist illustration of the transformation of the gender discourse. Feminist discourse analysis according to Lazar (2005, p.5) is;

a form of critical discourse analysis which is used to critique 'discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order: that is, relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group.

The declarations and comments of representatives of the neoconservative discourse have been primarily the center of analysis of the study including politicians and journalists. Articles from scholars are joined together with their declarations to provide an integrated perception. Texts from the media are investigated as the shade of the policies concerning the neoconservative paradigms as well as the implications that are made by the politicians. The results indicate the promotion and reproduction of the patriarchal gender roles by the center of power and reconstruction of power relations. Hence the transformation of gender roles is normalized by the media

articles that are brought by the journalists, mostly in support of the verbal speeches that are given by politicians. Articles of scholars form a frame for the hegemonic ideology of the dominant. Gender roles are practiced and the hidden meanings of written texts and articles are mostly ejaculated through verbal speeches or comments, easing the detection of the undercover meaning of the discourse. My objective in applying feminist critical discourse analysis to the research is to attain accurate replications of the hidden meanings behind the transformation of the gender discourse and to lay out how the struggle of reproduction of gender roles are related to patriarchal power relations of the discourse in Turkey.

Feminist studies focus on the unequal gender relations and the presence of gender discrimination within the subject of study, during the investigations of the issue. Similar to poststructuralism, feminism rejects the measures of positivism on the position of the researcher and the subject as well as the conjuncture in which the actions are shaped. Criticizing the belief in the objectivity of the researcher, feminist researches find virtue in experience and multicultural and multidimensional experience (Cancian, 1992). Hence, feminist studies embrace the differences and significance of the researcher on the subject in accordance with the experiment. Experience is a vital part of feminist study and research for which the researcher often includes her/his own experience, impressions and perceptions comprised before, during and after the research into the study. Feminist research is against the dominant and hegemonic and for this reason it is judgmental (Stanley & Wise, 1984). The resistance to the hierarchical and patriarchal internalization of notions are challenged with the diverse approaches and methods of feminist study. This approach accommodates a critical position towards the socially and academically accepted notion of positivism, and embraces the position of the researcher in terms of their identity, race, sex and other characteristics and promotes the inclusion of the researchers characteristics into the study as a reflection of the ideological stance of the researcher (Cancian, 1992). Experience is valuable, on account of this experience of different women is the major episode of feminist research.

Feminist critical discourse analysis is a method which is the combination of the Critical discourse analysis of social research and the feminist approach. The method

is utilized to analyze the power relations and ideologies concerning issues of gender and hegemony in terms of discourse analysis. According to Lazar, feminist critical discourse analysis aims to;

show up the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities. (Lazar, 2007, p.142)

Being interdisciplinary in character, this method uses language and social sciences as the apparatus of research. Hence the discourse analysis conducted by feminist approach leads to the analysis of praxis, investigating the relation between the actions and the discourse of the subject. Feminist critical discourse analysis focuses on notions of gender relations and power in relation to ideology as a part of its judgmental character. The reflection of dominance and investigation of inequality rests on a political purpose. Hegemonic aspects are clarified with the analysis of texts and declarations together with verbal material, underlining the emphasis of language. Thus, critical discourse analysis provides a successful outcome with feminist perspectives.

The fact that feminist critical discourse analysis stands with praxis, empowers the objective of illustrating the relations of power, gender and ideology right before portraying a feminist approach. This method unlike most of the research methods is able to demonstrate “*the dialectical relationship between theory and practice*” (Lazar, 2007, p.145), utilizing the combination for a feminist study. The patriarchal social order that compel women into a subordinated position, is one of the objectives that are designed to be challenged by the feminist critical discourse analysis method. In fact, that is why the usage of critical discourse analysis together with feminist approach results in a comprehensive content. As one of the aspects of critical discourse analysis, the feminist approach of the method utilizes the socially constructed institutions and notions, in consideration with the analysis of the contents of the discourse. Regarding that there is no internalization of a specific perception within the method, feminist approach challenges the domination and hegemony perpetuated by patriarchally set norms, mashing practice and theory. For this reason, feminist critical discourse analysis is not only a method of investigation

but rather one of the apparatus in policy construction especially in terms of deconstructing the patriarchal notions and norms embedded in unnoticed gendered the social (Lazar, 2017).

This method embraces the idea that patriarchy within social norms and values are not constant but rather fractional as well as lacking a symmetry in relations. Thus, the ideology is perpetuated and reproduced with societal routines (Weedon, 1997). Stemming from poststructuralism, critical discourse analysis deconstructs the structural dichotomies and hierarchies via focusing on material of analysis of oppression, power relations and subordination. For the objective of feminist critical discourse analysis is the demonstration and decomposition of the gendered relations and institutions within the existing social compositions. The deconstructing and analysis of the language utilized by the agents of the discourse are vital in this method, considering the approach towards ideological base of the multidimensional subordination and discrimination performed within the society through language.

The study collects data from public speeches, journal articles and newspaper articles as primary sources, in terms of the discourse of the neoconservative sphere. However, legal codes and implementations, international treaties and public news have been referenced as secondary resources for decoding the buried connotations. The primary resources consist of public speeches of the representatives and politicians of the ruling party JDP, mostly by the president, prime minister and ministers concerning women's issues. The articles and speeches of the NGO KADEM, that has theorized 'gender justice' and positioned it on an academic basis via its scholars and representatives have been frequently underlined and analyzed, as having the primary role in the transformation of the gender discourse in Turkey. Legal codes and implementations that have influenced Turkey's position on gender equality such as CEDAW, Istanbul Convention and Penal and Civil Codes are mentioned under various chapters and titles as secondary sources in drawing attention to the consistency of the center of power. In this study, I intend to conduct a content/ discourse analysis, from a feminist point of view. The material of analysis is organized as speeches, statements, newspaper articles, academic journal articles and in some cases drafts of legal regulations. Thus, the study includes an extensive

literature review (including books, articles, essays, and other sources of the existing literature). The theoretical definitions and formulations of concepts are portrayed with the literature review, to exhibit a well-developed analysis of the topic of discussion.

Considering that gender equality is a fundamental term within feminist movement and the area of women's rights, the necessity was born to investigate the ideology behind the distortion of the concept. Appreciating the value of experience in terms of feminist research, I have personally acknowledged worth of the notions of equality and gender equality. The importance of equality and gender equality within women's rights throughout the history of Turkey and women have been vital. The place of equality within women's experience in history has been underlined in terms of different approaches from a feminist perspective.

The political and social backgrounds to the formulated concepts and discourse of the neoconservative sphere is presented to provide a clear picture to the axis of the approach towards women's rights and gender. The relation between the discourse and the actions are studied in connection to each other as a method together with critical discourse analysis to lay out the paradox within the objectives of the discourse from time to time. The incompatibilities of the discourse with the legal framework and the obligations forced by international agreements are portrayed. On the other hand, the consistence of the declarations and approach to women's rights and gender equality are presented. Critical discourse analysis applied from a feminist perspective demonstrates both the content of the discourse on gender equality and the ideology embedded in the textual connotations. Hence, the study aims to portray the distortion of gender equality instrumentalizing the content of the developments and the stagnation of women's societal position in accordance with legal frames.

1.3. Significance and Limitations of the Study

Considering the domination of neoconservatives in every field of society with the impact of the JDP government, it is crucial to highlight the fundamental concept and

approach of the discourse on women's issues. Gender justice, being the core axis of women's policies of the government, has not been studied or investigated comprehensively by feminist scholars. There has been few articles published on the issue. For this reason, I have felt the obligation and interest to conduct this study that includes both the formulation of the definition, the significance and the objective of gender justice. The questions I search for are basically formed on the arguments that are made by the representatives of the discourse. The analysis of gender justice in terms of its objectives and background is significantly important, regarding the fact that the concept will likely be adopted by JDP government as the fundamental approach on women's policies for the next few years. Hence, this study will be a pioneer for further social or feminist research on the newly designed concept. I also believe that it will draw attention to the significant uptrend of the reconstruction process on women's rights and rhetoric in Turkey. Although it is vital for gender justice to be examined, the deficiency in its theoretical background and vagueness in arguments challenged me to base my study on a proper academic research. Gender justice has been introduced by the NGO, Women and Democracy Association (KADEM), however they have not provided any methodological or conceptual base for the concept other than religious references from Islam. Thus it was difficult to trace the connotations and approach in the root of the gender justice approach. Especially demonstrating the international definition of gender justice was truthfully challenging since the term connotes a totally different concept in the international rhetoric. While the international usage of gender justice is in support of gender equality, the Turkish case on the contrary rejects gender equality. Hence, the international and Turkish meanings of the term were not in accordance henceforth I had difficulty tracking English documents for the Turkish case. Most importantly, the feminist literature had been partly indifferent to gender justice that limited my reference to feminist scholars in terms of putting forward counterarguments to the approach. Another difficulty was on presenting the paradoxes on the approach within itself. Even though they are firmly against any sexual orientation except for heterosexuality, the founders of gender justice have utilized the term 'gender'. Taking this into account, the vocabulary used and the definitions meant by the discourse was completely reconstructed, therefore I had to adopt the study into the diverse connotations. On the other hand, I have chosen the

method of critical discourse analysis to investigate the social and political foundations of the interpretation of gender through texts and declarations, regarding their neutrality. The combination of the Vatican's approach, anti-gender movements and the effects of New Right on the formation of gender justice approach correlated perfectly through texts. All in all, the inadequacy of the theoretical foundations of the gender justice challenged me at first but the multidimensional approach I used culminated in a prosperous study at the end. The theoretical delicacy of the approach is the reflection of the oppositions directed on gender equality and gender discourse.

1.4. Personal Motivation

Having spent my teenage years in the early period of the neoconservative government, growing into adulthood the residuary rigidity in women's policies caught my attention. The tense drift within the political discourse precipitated me to conduct this study, especially observing the division within the women's circles whom had collided under the objective of the elimination of gender discrimination in the early years of the millennium. Having majored in law and as a gender studies student, the persistence on concepts that emphasize biological differences, especially referring to theological texts, and the abandonment of equality has concerned me deeply. I have acknowledged the significance of the virtue and the principle equality for humankind, first hand in my daily experience as a woman and a lawyer who believes in the worthiness of human rights. Although I have internalized the virtue of equality in terms human rights, during my studies in this department, I have found the opportunity to observe the patriarchy within almost every field and area of our lives as women. Struggling to illuminate the simplest patriarchal hegemony within our daily lives to the people I engage with, especially men, I have comprehended that consciousness of socially constructed gender roles and presence of gender equality is crucial. Studying in the department of Gender and Women's Studies has challenged me to overcome the prejudices that we have grown into. There were times when we questioned our own beliefs and merits, even the undergraduate degrees we attained in terms of the socially constructed measures. At the end, I am grateful for having acquired a multidimensional perspective, and having found my own worth and embraced myself as a woman, as well as

appreciating the value of every woman surviving under this gender-biased system. For this reason, I felt personally responsible to demonstrate the deficiency and inaccuracy of the arguments set against equality and gender equality, as a female lawyer, to my professors and every woman I have and have not met.

1.5. Structure of the Study

The study begins with the general knowledge on the issue and the background information to the signify and emphasize the subject and the research problem. The methodology is held under the introduction to provide an explanation for the method of study. Following the introduction, Chapter 2 formulates the background on which the study lies under the title of Theoretical Framework. This chapter covers gender equality, with its background, history of formation and the approaches of different feminist strands to the concept. The history and evolution of gender and gender equality is examined after proving equality to be a concept beyond sameness or identicalness, to better perceive its significance in terms of women's rights. The primary documents on women's rights and gender equality are highlighted to present the evolution of feminism. The interpretation of the feminist approaches to equality and the transformation in the approach of the feminist movement from women's equality to gender equality are covered in order to underline the significance of gender equality for women's rights. Beginning from the first wave to the third wave, the role of equality on the women's movement is demonstrated from various dimensions. Later the debate of sameness vs difference, within second wave feminism is discussed in order to signify the position of gender equality and to illustrate the evolution of gender equality strategies today. The diverse approaches of different feminist strands to women's equality, for having constituted the foundation of gender equality, provides a foreground for the discussion of gender equality vs gender justice.

Chapter 3, focuses on the accomplishments and stagnations in women's rights related to gender equality. In the first section, the significant acquisitions in women's rights are illustrated continuously to underline embracement of gender and accordingly gender equality as fundamental policies on women's rights. The effects

of the movement on the legal and political agenda are highlighted, taking the international discourse into consideration including CEDAW and the European Union (EU) accession process. Policies and agenda's of United Nations (UN), the Council of Europe and the EU, as the institutions having the uttermost effects on gender policies and legislation of Turkey are analyzed on women's issues and gender, in terms of the ratified conventions and regulations. This section includes the implementations adopted and ratified by Turkey specifically, with the enforcement of the intergovernmental strategies on gender equality. The second section concentrates on the countermovements that have been shaped against feminism, gender and gender equality that has been influential on the antigender movements of Turkey. The backlash movement after the second wave feminism, the uptrend of New Right policies, the equity approach of the Vatican as gender justice and the antigender movements of the contemporary era are presented respectively. The significance of the movements studied under this chapter is to either have a similarity in terms of the subjects of the objections, or to share the same strategies against gender equality. At this point, the equity approach of the Vatican is investigated and demonstrated in depth, as the foundational strategy of the gender justice approach which is the subject of this thesis. The strategies and attitudes of the Vatican on the equality principle and relationship of men and women are underlined, and the emphasis of complementarity and biological determinism are displayed by analyzing the main arguments of the approach. This part is crucial for the clarification and accurate interpretation of the concept of gender justice formulated in Turkey today.

In the first section of Chapter 4, the evolution and developments of women's rights and equality are illustrated, especially after the formation of the feminist movement. The second section however, focuses on the period of the rule of the neoconservative government JDP, consisting of both the developments and regressions performed in the process. Primarily the formulation of the ideology and perspective of the party are laid out, including the subconcepts adopted from diverse ideologies. Followingly, the shift in the attitude of the governments on women's issues and international rhetoric is analyzed under this chapter. The authoritarian disposition of the government on women's issues and gender equality, contradicting with their

own ratification of progressive conventions and codes is demonstrated to justify the discourse of neoconservatives on women and gender.

Finally, Chapter 5 includes the composition of the discourse of neoconservatives, which has been the root to the concept gender justice and have distorted gender equality. The analysis of the transformation towards gender justice is designed with feminist approach to critical discourse analysis of the texts, declarations and statements of the neoconservatives on women and gender equality. The approach of gender justice is demonstrated through the discourse via quotations of the representatives of the neoconservative discourse, which are analyzed conjunctively to the content of the theoretical framework and the approaches embraced by the countermovements against gender equality. References especially to the Vatican, the New Right and the antigender movements are made, regarding the resemblance and similarity they share with the Turkish context of gender justice. The arguments of the discourse to be an alternative to gender equality are evaluated and the consistency of the justifications and embedded reasons, layed out by critical discourse analysis, are compared. The accuracy of the arguments and discourse is discussed from the feminist perspective, including deep analysis of the texts, speeches and articles of the representatives of the discourse.

The conclusion chapter, is designed as the summary of the main argument and research problem of the study. This chapter reevaluates the arguments of the thesis and underlines the significant points within the chapters that fulfill the objectives of the study. The significance of the study for further research and gender discourse is mentioned throughout this chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: FEMINIST APPROACHES TO GENDER EQUALITY

This chapter focuses on gender equality, in terms of the history and formulation of the concept within women's movement and rights. The chapter includes feminist discussions on the sameness and difference debate, portraying the foundation of diverse approaches to equality in the feminist rhetoric. Gender equality and the approaches towards it are demonstrated in detail, in accordance with waves and strands of feminism. Formal equality and substantive equality are studied closely, considering that there is a significant confusion between the terms in the gender justice approach. The demonstration of the forms of equality in this sense facilitates a better analysis of gender equality and gender justice. The fundamental characteristics of gender equality postulated today are initiated through the developed concepts throughout contemporary history. Finally, the concept of gender equality, which is the foundation of this study, is indicated as utilized internationally, with its fundamental aspects.

Equality has for sure been one of the far most used and referred concepts throughout political history, considering its various functions. Many scholars and politicians have underlined the merit of equality countless times (Fredman, 2016). The description but, changes constantly depending on the paradigm of the descriptor. Notice that the term equality is often used together and also confused with the term's freedom and justice. Although this is quite inevitable, given that they all are the key stones of democracy and contemporary regimes, they show divergence on many grounds (Post, 2005). The principle of equality is betimes presented as sameness or identicalness. However, various scholars have shed light on the connotation of the

concept, clarifying the misrepresentation of its essence. “If equality is a moral principle, then we seek equality because we think it is a just aim – not because men actually are alike, but because we feel that they should be treated as if they were” (Sartori, 1987, p.339). Likewise, Williams states that; “It is not, he may say, in their skill, intelligence, strength or virtue that men are equal, but merely in their being men: it is their common humanity that constitutes their equality” (as cited in Goodin & Pettit, 2006). In Rosenfeld’s terms, the postulate of equality is essentially the idea that all persons have equal moral worth (Stancil, 2017).

Equality is a notion which has been the topic of multiple philosophical debates, which basically show presence as a comparison to an object or an individual in terms of diverse characteristics such as socioeconomic features, wealth and many more. At the end of the day, it is evaluated to have a ‘multifaceted’ meaning rather than a consolidated one, although still being often reduced to sameness or identicalness (Takeuchi, Dearing, Bartholomew, & McRoy, 2018). Although equality connotes diverse meanings, there is a common misunderstanding especially between egalitarians that concept only denotes formal equality (Pojman & Westmoreland, 1997). Although there are certain forms and features of equality that must be examined differently and implemented all together. It is possible to outlay equality under divisions such as equality of opportunity, absolute equality, proportional equality. However, when discussing the topic of gender equality, it is certainly a necessity to analyze deeply the two forms; formal equality and substantive equality. These forms have significance especially in terms of first wave and second waves of feminism. Hence a closer study of the waves of feminism is necessary.

2.1. Gender Equality

Gender equality is a fundamental concept in women’s and gender discourse, in the contemporary arena, with the consensus of the states via legal implementations of conventions and agreements. Having been embraced on an institutional level, the history of gender equality goes back to women’s movement and the roots of second wave feminism. Although women’s history and rights go far earlier and beyond the age of revolutions, certain movements within them have been specifically referred

to as the ‘feminist’ movements, or in other words ‘waves’. The evolution of gender equality has been formed in terms of the approaches driven from these movements. Thus, it is essential to study the movements and their objective in order to clearly acknowledge the concept embraced today. This section includes the history of equality in terms of women’s rights and feminism prior to gender equality to demonstrate the background of discussions of the neoconservative discourse on differences. Later on, the birth of gender and gender equality are illustrated and debates of different approaches are portrayed to provide a base for the analysis within the discourse analysis section.

2.1.1. Women’s Equality and Adoption of ‘Gender’

2.1.1.1. Revolutions and First Wave Feminism

Although equality has a long history, the recognition of women’s equality has been neglected in the primary documents of equal rights and citizenship. The struggle for equality of the women’s movement began with the adoption of liberal thought by pioneer women who demanded the recognition of equal citizenship and rights with men. The era of revolutions and movements of freedom influenced and empowered women in targeting equal citizenship basically with the evolution of ‘citizenship’ into its modern sense. French Revolution had a significant place in this new form of citizenship and conceptions of equality and state. Although equality has been mentioned and discussed from ancient civilizations, the concept which we confabulate today has first been mentioned during the French Revolution (Gören, 2012). Subsequently to the Revolution, the ‘Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen’ was adopted by the National Assembly on 1789. Taking place in the preamble of the Constitution of 1973, the declaration consists of sixteen articles. The first article of, dictates that all men are born equal regardless of their class and socioeconomic status¹ (Shelley, 2002). On article 6, equality before the law, in other words formal equality has been regulated. Article 6, regulated citizens’ right to participate in the process of legislation, subsequent to stating their equality before

¹ Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be based only on considerations of the common good. French Declaration of the Rights of Men and of the Citizen.

the law and every norm will be codified upon the general will². This provision is very precious for it displays the importance of rule of law (Dinçkol, 2005). Declaration of the Rights of the Man is considered as the birth of human rights in general. It is the first document to accept every individual to be equal by birth even prior to the International Declaration of Human Rights. However, although seeming to be a non-discriminative document, equality and the rights of the individual differentiated depending on their status. For instance, the status of women's and children's rights were inferior to the bourgeoisie and male peasants and workers (Donnelly, 2005).

French Revolution, contrary its influential impact on equality and citizenship, failed to supply its egalitarian archetype for women at the end. It should be highlighted that, the support of women to French revolution, especially working-class women were immense. Women were part and sometimes the subjects of various protests during the struggle against inequality. walked as thousands in the streets to the Versailles Palace, to protest economic depression in favor of the revolution (Winslow, 2004). In addition to the 'Petition of Women of the Third Estate to the King³' which was published anonymously in which women address the king to be heard as women. Considering the solidarity and effort women put in the French Revolution, it has a vital place in history of women in terms of pushing them to the streets as a mass into politics. On the contrary, the result of the Revolution did not satisfy the equal struggle with men and women were identified as secondary individuals. In other words, women were not recognized as citizens by the authorities following the revolution in which they had combatted. Following the struggling atmosphere of the French Revolution, with the establishment of the new order, the Jacobins⁴, forced women into the household, to a domestic, obedient role

² The Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part, personally or through their representatives, in its making. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. French Declaration of the Rights of Men and of the Citizen.

³ Petition des Femmes du Tiers-Etat au Roi: French translation

⁴ Jacobins are a social group or club, formed during the French Revolution in 1789. The name 'jacobin' relies on the Church in which the meetings of the club were held. Although they had front row in the revolution, they leaned towards a totalitarian approach during their rule. A part from being

whose first duty was to rear children. The acquisition of their support and struggle for the revolution was to lack equal citizenship. It was during this time, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, also known as women in “striped pantaloons and red liberty caps” (Winslow, 2004, p.191), protested against the authorities in favor of women’s recognition as citizens and equal rights under the leadership of Pauline Leone.

In this manner, a declaration in protest to the indifference towards women’s recognition as citizens was prepared by a woman. Olympe De Gouges’ ‘The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen’⁵ written in 1791, is considered to be the first feminist declaration for rights. De Gouges wrote the Declaration due to the lack of recognition of women on ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen’⁶ and aimed to submit it to the National Assembly. The Declaration consisted of the replacement of the term ‘man’⁷ to ‘woman’⁸ in ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen’, as a protest to the indifference towards women at the end of the revolution (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015). De Gouges requested women’s equality to men in areas such as education, property rights, marriage, employment and politics, and claimed that a tyranny of the man existed in the relationships of the two sexes. Olympe De Gouges was later executed with the guillotine on November 3rd, 1793.

Meanwhile, in England, with the effect of the Enlightenment and the inspiration of the French Revolution, Mary Wollstonecraft wrote a document which would later have significant causes in the feminist discourse. ‘A Vindication of the Rights of

quite effective and influential during the Revolution, after their one year rule the era of terror had increased significantly and the image of guillotine is owed to the jacobins.

⁵ Déclaration des droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne: French translation

⁶ Declaration was the first document in which ‘human rights’ was used as a concept, although not in the contemporary sense.

⁷ ‘homme’: French translation

⁸ ‘femme’: French translation

Woman' was published in 1792 by Mary Wollstonecraft. It stated that women were, compared to men, not even considered as individuals to have the rights given by the constitution. Although focusing on a more formal and legislative structure for rights and citizenship of women, the writer had deeper opinion such as sexual rights and social change, beyond her time (Dicker, 2008; Evans, 2003; Winslow, 2004). Mary Wollstonecraft lived in accordance with her revolutionary views on women's liberty and sexual freedom, and was allegedly criticized for her out of marriage pregnancy and radical marriage for the time. Wollstonecraft being a radical and libertarian woman, during her time, focused on more revolutionary aspects of women's rights and status in the society, of which were advocated by the radical and socialist feminists later on (Evans, 2003).

Consequently, to these women of the 18th century, women's rights were continuing to be questioned by another revolutionary group in the first half of the nineteenth century Europe. The European socialists of the 19th century, were the advocates of women' rights who often focused on social equality. The focus on feminism of the advocates was in terms of socialism and social change in accordance with the European conjuncture (Winslow, 2004). In fact, the term feminism was found by a French socialist named Charles Fourier. Women were in search of equality all around Europe in the nineteenth century. Flora Tristan, wrote the 'Workers Union' in England in 1843, in which she defended the social equality and liberty of working-class women. While Jeanne Deroine, wrote 'Voix des Femmes' in France in 1848 and later addressed her American 'sisters' to unite for 'the vindication of women's rights' after being imprisoned. Later on, 'International Women's Secretariat' was formed under 'The Second International of Socialist Parties' in Germany. Following this, 'the Socialist Women's International' was organized by Clara Zetkin in 1907, again in Germany, where the socialist women's movement was most powerful. Their objective of the organization was to advocate equality in wages, women's suffrage and other social equalities for women (Winslow, 2004). In short, women's movements have risen in different geographies at diverse times, with the effect of the current social tendencies and developments.

As demonstrated by France, England and Germany, the era of acquisition of equal rights in Europe influenced women's struggle for equality and right to vote (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015). In accordance with the women's movement in Europe, American women began to request equal rights especially on suffrage. Influenced by the abolitionists in the USA, the struggle for equality of women focused on suffrage, in other words right to vote and property as equal citizens to men in the mid-1800s. Women still lacked equal citizenship rights with men including the right to vote in an era when slavery ended. The Declaration of Independence has brought equality and freedom however women were not granted equal citizenship rights. Although, equality was accepted as the fundamental principle of 'The Declaration of Independence of the American Revolution', the formulations of the texts were made with the term 'men' on formal documents. Hence, women were excluded from equal rights to men, regardless of the Declaration.

At a time when European women were in struggling for equal citizenship and the abolition movement succeeded, American women's voices began to rise, seeking for equal rights to men. What triggered this struggle the most was the lack of property rights for married women. On 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York, the first mass meeting of women took place in United States of America (Dicker, 2008; Jeydel, 2004; Mountjoy, 2008). This was a convention, planned for two days, which took so much attention that even some men attended besides many women. The Convention of Seneca Falls was on the designation of the status of women in terms of citizenship rights and therefore holds a significant place in women's history for having witnessed the adoption of the first declaration of women in United States of America, 'The Declaration of Sentiments'. The Convention was arranged by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Coffin Mott, who were significant figures of the women's movement. Stanton announcing the declaration foreshadowed a struggle for a revolution, stating that male and female citizens 'are created equal'. 'The Declaration of Independence', had inspired, in fact was paraphrased to some extent, the text on certain points (Dicker, 2008; Jeydel, 2004; Mountjoy, 2008), of which equality is the primary one (Winslow, 2004). Points drawn attention in the declaration were; keeping one's own income, obedience to husband, wage inequity,

certain professions were denied, not having the right to obtain college education, having no public function in church in addition to right to vote and right to property.

However, unlike it is known today, the demand for suffrage was not a unanimously proposed request, in fact the only subject on which unanimity could not be achieved by women during the time, even within the convention (Winslow, 2004). Some women had doubts on the subject, which were decisively resisted by Stanton. After the disputes were solved, the 'Declaration of Sentiments' was signed by 100 people in total of which 32 were men (Mountjoy, 2008). The 'Declaration of Sentiments' portrayed American women's thirst for suffrage, the struggle for acquiring right to vote took years until it reached success.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton are the two most influential figures of the first wave women's movement, who took far measures in supplying equality for women in many fields. Even though their effort and struggle are undeniable, they were not able to live in a time where women enjoyed the rights they fought for. Elizabeth Cady Stanton passed away in 1902, whereas Susan B. Anthony was able to live until 1880 (Dicker, 2008; Jeydel, 2004; Mountjoy, 2008). The struggles of the suffragettes evolved into rigid protests and interventions from organizing conventions and writing declarations. These were times when women set boxes on fire among which many faced the police, went into prison where their hunger strike was broken by guardians who fed them by force (Walby, 2000).

The fight for suffrage continued into the 20th century. The National American Women Suffrage Association, established in 1890, had the goal of promoting suffrage on an international basis, for which the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) was established in 1902. Although women were allowed to vote in certain states, they fought for a constitutional protection to women's suffrage all around the country including all 50 states. Finally, with the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment, women were granted suffrage. The Nineteenth

Amendment⁹ declared that every citizen has the right to vote regardless of her/his sex. It was a similar form of the Fifteenth Amendment, which was enacted for race discrimination. In fact, the women's suffrage movement was affected by the enactment of the fifteenth amendment and many harsh discussions took place on the issue (Dicker, 2008; Jeydel, 2004; Mountjoy, 2008).

The suffragette movement succeeded in acquiring suffrage for women and it is generally known that, the only purpose of the suffrage movement is right to vote but the 'Declaration of Sentiments', contained conspicuous facts and aimed to eliminate inequalities in various fields of citizenship. Some of these were written as; women's lack of property rights, laws favoring men on divorce, enabling college education for women, abolishing unequal wage, not accepting to be subordinates in church (Dicker, 2008; Mountjoy, 2008). In other words, suffragettes who were classified as; white, Anglo-Saxon, orthodox, middle-class (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005); fought against the state to attain equal citizenship rights to men. They fought for women's equal rights, to vote and property.

The suffragettes, as they were later named, are accepted as the first feminists of history, whom have started the first wave of feminism. The suffrage movement reached a victory in 1920, with the 19th Amendment which guaranteed the right to vote for women. With the achievements of first wave feminists, women were accepted as equal citizens to men in Anglo-Saxon history. Women of New Zealand were the first to have gained suffrage in 1893, Australian in 1902, Canadian in 1918, American in 1920 and British in 1928. The first wave is accepted as to have ended with the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment. In fact, the 'backlash' phenomenon is underestimated, feminists are blamed to have fallen into disputes, dissolved or left after gaining suffrage (Walby, 2000). However, Walby (2000), lays out opinions which argue that feminists have proceeded their force underground but not have dissolved. One of them states that the feminist labor movements have influenced the growth of the welfare state in social policies. Another point

⁹ Section one of the Nineteenth Amendment of The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America states that "*The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex*".

highlighted is that women's movement continued from the first wave to the second wave, but these women did not identify themselves as 'feminist'. But women's struggle for rights in terms of equal pay proceeded especially in labor unions. One of the aspects that support these opinions is, 'The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)' which was shown to be affected by the struggles of these women and designed since the late 20s. It was 1923 when ERA was first proposed in Congress (Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004).

First wave feminism was identified with libertarian thought considering that the primary influencers like Wollstonecraft were affected from the equal citizenship ideal of social contract philosophers of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Furthermore, the struggle of the movement was limited with recognition as equal citizens to men, that is why later liberals were criticized to have adopted the form of citizenship designed on male traits. First wave feminism and the liberal thought of feminists were criticized to evolve into liberal feminism in the second wave. The perception of equality in the first wave feminism was basically limited with formal equality between men and women. The type of equality to be observed in laws, codes, implementations and any legal document is referred to as formal equality (Stancil, 2017).

2.1.1.2. Formal Equality

As Robert Post (2005) has defined; formal equality is a form of equality that is based on set of rules and law, of which the greatest is the constitution. Stancil (2017), mentions formal equality as a notion that is firmly been legally regulated. It is based on the paradigm that every individual is of the same value not disregarding the diversity in their age, race, gender or any other feature (Stancil, 2017). Serim underlines that formal equality connotes the application of the law to every citizen regardless of their socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity or any other feature in the exact same sense, even if it brings benefit or obligations and punishments (Baltacı, 1996). The most significant rights that compose formal equality are fundamental human rights and freedom, which are followed by the rights concerning citizenship such as to vote and to participate in public affairs (Post, 2005). One of the most

significant of these fundamental rights are human rights which are regulated in legal documents such as constitutions, international agreements and most importantly the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Fredman, 2016). Human Rights are based on the principle of human dignity, of the right which every human has just and only for being a human and can in no circumstances be taken away from any individual at any place or any point by any authority. As cited in Dinçkol (2005), according to Jack Donnelly, human rights make up the most virtuous of all morals.

Fredman (2005), takes a different direction towards analyzing formal equality and argues that it is a concept based on human rights of the individual whom is to be protected by the interventions of the state. She underlines that, the legal system is the guarantee of the protection of the rights of the citizen from the state (Fredman, 2005). Robert Post (2005), on the other hand, defines formal equality; as treating every citizen equally, in terms of constitutional provisions that make up the self-governing state, in other words democracy. Arguing that the term has a strong bond with the state system and individuals at the same time. He highlights that equal treatment of persons is a fundamental prerequisite of democratic systems. It is a necessity for every individual to be formally equal in this system, which is crucial especially in terms of freedom of participation and public decisions (Post, 2005). Stating all men to be equal is an egalitarian postulate (Temkin, 1986). The constitutional protection of equalities between men signifies equality before the law. Formal equality mainly signifies the legal regulations which seek to equalize individuals before the law.

According to Fredman (2005), formal equality, neglects the necessary measures in making sure that the beneficiaries and the disadvantaged of the society enjoy rights and reach equality to the same extent. Welfare states should take certain implementations towards the disadvantaged groups which of these synchronizing measures are often evaluated to be constitutional rights rather than just being political adjustments by the courts in such systems. Likewise, Stancil (2017), argues that, formal equality raises the problem that the similar status often lead to veil the differences which lead to the disadvantage of a certain group that lead to unequal results. In other words, even though the rules or the law is the same for individuals,

procedure, the effects of the result might be different for every other individual. Stancil underlines that "...identical rights and treatment to all 'persons', yet it may still be *functionally* discriminatory..." (Stancil, 2017, p.1637) At the point where formal equality is inadequate in supplying equality in a just way, a tool or notion for equalization is required (Stancil, 2017). The notion of substantive equality emerges for the abolishment of the injustice and unequal measures taken against the factual unequal individuals (Stancil, 2017). Substantive equality is a form of equality that has been adopted by feminists of the second wave on gender equality. The struggle given by suffragettes focused on the legal recognition of equal citizenship rights to men more than substantive policies. The movement could be summarized to ground on recognition more than transformation of social norms. The struggle and recognition of formal equality evolved into more comprehensive interpretation of equality in the second wave.

2.1.1.3. 'Gender' born with Second Wave Feminism

The struggles of suffragettes of the first wave were followed by the second wave feminists after almost a century. The second wave of feminism took place from the 1960s to the 1980s seeking for social and economic justice. The 1960s and 1970s are described as the rebirth of feminism in history (Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). In accordance with the general emancipating atmosphere of the era, the second wave focused on the liberation of women in every field of the society including home and politics. The antiwar movements of the Vietnam War, and the civil rights movements triggered women's rights movements in USA, just like the leftist student revolts of 68 affected them in Europe (Bryson, 1999; Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004; Winslow, 2004; Staggenborg, 1998).

After the systematic push of women into domestic life, following the end of first wave feminism, there was an increase in large families living 'the American Dream' in the suburbs. Being one of these women, Betty Friedan wrote the 'Feminine Mystique' in 1963. The book reflected the American woman, as a housewife and mother. Friedan, opposed to the belief that the fulfillment of woman could be satisfied with domesticity and drew the portrait of women like herself in her book

(Bryson, 1999; Dicker, 2008; Evans, 2003). Following her success in drawing attention to women's situation in society and family, Friedan took her place within the women's movement of the time. A women's organization, National Organization for Women (NOW) was established, of whom first president was Betty Friedan herself. NOW showed existence as the first organization after suffrage, that focused on women's rights, which was seen as a significant base for liberal feminism (Bryson, 1999). As the organization of liberals, it advocated legal equality and worked for the enactment of documents such as the Equal Pay Act. The USA government began to take measures in equalizing women's status in employment with the effect of the women's movement. In 1961, a commission was formed in order to abolish discrimination against women in the workforce. The Equal Pay Act was accepted by the Congress in 1963, with a slight change from equal wage to same work to equal wages to comparable work, which perpetuated the inequality between women and men in employment. The Equal Pay Act was considered an extension of the ERA, proposed in 1923 to the congress by first wave feminists (Dicker, 2008; Staggenborg, 1998).

The women's movement reached its peak at the end of the 1960s, with mass protests in USA and Europe. In USA, a group of women organized a massive protest against the Miss America Beauty Pageant in 1968 (Sowerwine & Grimshaw 2004; Bock, 2002). The protest was so striking that the legendary 'bra burning' is still told today, although according to Dicker (2008), it was not burning but throwing bras, curlers etc. into the 'Freedom Trash Can'. Organizations such as NOW had significant place in women's movement at the time (Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). The influential and symbolic 8th of March was distored as International Women's Day with the influence of these women (Winslow, 2004). Women protested for equal rights and opportunities by chaining themselves to organizing marches with kitchenware around the country from Berkeley to Boston. The Women's Strike for Equality that took place in New York City on August 26, 1970 was the largest demonstration of women since the suffragettes. The mass consisted of housewives, educated women, students and even the living suffragettes of the first wave (Dicker, 2008). The Equal Pay Acts were enacted in 1963, 1964, 1972 in United States and 1970 and 1975 in

Britain against sex discrimination in different fields such as education, equal wage and equal treatment (Bryson, 1999).

In accordance with American women, protests emerged in Europe in the 1960s. British women held a protest against Miss Universe, with support to blue-collar women night (Bock, 2002). The 1970s, Rome, Turin and Milan faced mass marches of women, protesting not being comfortable in the streets at night, where the motto was 'Take back the night' (Bock, 2002). The struggle of the second wave feminists grew all around the West and resulted in many developments in women's rights and liberation. Even though second wave feminism evolved parallel to one another in Western countries with the effect of the new left, the focus points differed in Europe and United States. European feminism leaned towards socialist feminism especially in England, France and Germany, whereas radical feminism which focused on sex and gender was more popular in the United States (Bryson, 1999). Feminist movements grew with student protests in France which evolved into a titled movement as the 'Women's Liberation Movement' (MLF) (Bock, 2002; Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). Recognition of women's rights was taken to an international level with the influence of the mass movements. United Nations announced the year 1975 as International Women's Year¹⁰ as well as organizing four World Conferences on Women in which they accepted the progressive 10 years as the Decade for Women, all with the power and steam of the women's movement of second wave feminism.

According to Winslow (2004), feminists transformed in almost every aspect of the society. The first two waves of feminism caused drastic changes in women's equality and rights as suffrage, employment, property, education, politics, and later on marriage and bodily rights such as divorce, abortion etc. (Winslow, 2004). Some of the main successes of the second wave is the gain in divorce rights, legalization of abortion and conversion of the society more likely to accept a change in gender roles and women's role in society and the workplace. However, second wave feminism was highly criticized, today as well, to be indifferent to women other than

¹⁰ The Declaration and Four World Conferences will later be discussed under Chapter 3.

the white, middle-class, educated, heterosexual women. The second wave still has a huge importance, considering the fact that the concepts 'gender' and 'gender equality' were born during this period. It was with the emergence of gender that struggles for women's equality and policies on women shifted towards gender equality internationally. Hence the second wave feminists have influenced the axis of women's rights policies with the foundation of gender.

Second wave feminism has a specific importance as it is the period in which the concept gender was born. 'Gender was first used by Robert Stoller, a psychiatrist, in 1968 in his work "Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity". Stoller used the term as the complexity of field between emotions, ideas and biological behaviors, explaining that gender is a psychological and cultural identity whereas sex is biological (Glover & Kaplan, 2000). Kate Millett, Ann Oakley, Juliette Mitchell and Gayle Rubin were, on the other hand the first scholars to use the concept in the feminist sense, as known today (Evans, 2003). These feminists associated the concept with oppression of women, patriarchy and in terms of inequalities. These connections formed 'gender' in the feminist sense (Evans, 2003), that is globally used.

Bradley (2013) underlines that gender has been quite important by definition since the 1970s. It is not a surprise that the concept was born during a time which he defines as 'the rebirth of feminism' (Bradley, 2013a). As gender is defined differently by many scholars, Scott defines it as: "a hierarchical division between women and men embedded in both social institutions and social practices" (Scott, 1988, p.1). Ann Oakley defines gender as the "socially constructed masculinity or femininity" and a "social characteristic" whereas evaluated sex as the biologically and anatomically given category by nature (Scott, 1988, p.9). Rubin on the other hand, defines gender as "*a socially imposed division of the sexes*", and in relation "*a product of the social relations of sexuality*" (Scott, 1988, p.9). Scott (1988) underlines that all these definitions show that gender is both related to but at the same time disparate from biological sex. Thus, gender is considered to be dependent on social and cultural relations and characteristics, that show change. However, what feminists examined is the unequal hierarchical relation between genders, by means

of the societal values. Feminists explained this relationship with patriarchy and dominance of men in the society.

According to Scott (2002), feminists utilized gender to explain the male female relations or in other words ‘the social construction of masculinity and femininity’ (Scott, 2002, p.1) and a “social category imposed on a sexed body” (Bradley, 2013, p.19). Scott (1988), highlights that gender cannot be separated by other characteristics such as race, sexuality and class which also affect the feminine and the masculine. Simone de Beauvoir underlines the social and psychological formation of ‘womanhood’ from femininity by nature. Harriet Bradley (2013a), focuses on three aspects of gender; being socially constructed, to be popular with political movements and should be evaluated as a set of experiences. Gender according to Bradley “is a social phenomenon, not merely an attribute of individuals” (Bradley, 2013, p.5). Gender was discussed for numerous times by various scholars as in stated. After the second wave feminists adopted gender to women’s issues, it became the major concept in women’s equality and elimination of discrimination policies. Struggle for women’s equality and equal treatment was now maintained under gender equality. However, the interpretation of how gender equality was to be realized led a substantial debate amongst different strands of feminists. The essence of equal citizenship and equality have been questioned by difference feminists that have emerged in the second wave, challenging the egalitarian rhetoric that has been following the footsteps of the first wave. The sameness and difference debate has been center of the formulation of gender equality that is the main actor of women’s policies today.

2.1.2. Different Approaches to Gender Equality

Bryson (1999) states that, feminism is a rather prorated field, not a single theory, in which various beliefs and paradigms exist and are disputed. The point of decomposition of second wave feminists were on the discussions of the concept equality, sexual difference and change of society and the economy (Bryson, 1999). ‘Sameness vs Difference Debate’ is one of the most significant discussions within history of feminism, which is based on the diversity in the axis focus of the

two different feminist groups, liberal feminists and radical feminists of the second wave. The feminist movement was made up of two basic influential branches during the second wave. First branch is grouped as the liberal feminists, whom consisted of white, middle-class women seeking for equality in the household, as well as antidiscrimination in the workplace. Second branch is identified to be radical feminists, who sought to deconstruct gender roles and patriarchal society with a feminist revolution (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005).

Liberal feminists base their struggle on the ‘equality’ between men and women, whereas radical feminists highlight the value of the ‘difference’ between them. Liberal approach is also named as ‘equality feminism’ since proponents of this approach advocate equality. Equality feminists focus on ration and reason and argue that women are equal in these characteristics. These feminists seek equality with men in every field, in terms of an androgynous mind and society (Tong, 2014). Radical feminists, on the other hand, criticize the equality feminists and underline that it is important to recognize the differences between men and women, and to highlight the value of femininity. This feminism is referred to as the ‘difference feminism’ as it focuses on the differences between men and women. The concepts of equality and difference are at the heart of the debates of these two groups of feminists. The concept gender equality has been designed with the adoption of these different approaches on equality in women’s policies. Hence it is vital to analyze the different feminist approaches on equality to interpret gender equality as a multidimensional principle.

2.1.2.1. Sameness Approach and Equality Feminism

The liberal feminist movement was the following branch of the women’s activists concerning campaigns for social justice and welfare in the first wave (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005). Liberal feminists primarily advocated equality in education, right to vote and property. For this reason, the liberal feminist movement was also named the ‘equal-rights movement’ (Winslow, 2004). Early feminist writers such as Mary Wollstonecraft (Britain), Simone de Beauvoir (France) and Betty Friedan (USA) are considered as the significant representatives of equality feminists. The ‘equal rights

movement' focused on equality between men and women on a more formal ground and fought for adoption of equal laws in the society. For this reason, most of the struggles and acquisitions concerning equal citizenship rights were established by the equality feminists and the effort of its organization NOW (Dicker, 2008).

Equality feminists primarily focus on equal citizenship and equal rights in the public sphere grounding on its political roots. Liberal feminism is theoretically linked to the 'equal rights' approach of the political science philosophers. The arguments of certain liberal theorists starting from the seventeenth century advocated that women were unable to enjoy equal rights with men since they lacked characteristics such as reason, intelligence and ration. In other words that they are inferior to men, therefore ought to stay out of the public sphere in which the ration is the ruler. Liberal feminists opposed these claims and rejected to remain unrecognized as citizens and inferior to men. As contracts and documents concerning rights of men began to evolve after the French Revolution, but lacked women's recognition of rights, the recognition of 'equal worth of women' became the point of concern of many philosophers such as Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill and Betty Friedan. Writers such as Naomi Wolf, underlined that "...women's rights are a form of human rights..." (Bryson, 1999, p.15). Hence, the liberal approach to women's rights have been born basically during the 19th century, and the issues concern equal rights of women on education, work, and equality in citizenship rights (Bryson, 1999).

With the efforts and struggle of equality feminists, the notion of equality and equal citizenship are enjoyed today by women in most of the western countries. However, equality feminists have been criticized by other feminist approaches for neglecting equality in the real sense, in other words substantive equality and grounding on the main principles for equality. For instance, the fundamental values utilized by liberal feminism such as the 'common sense', are criticized to be formed from the male perspective, in which rationality, autonomy and independence are considered to be the most virtuous characteristics of humanity. Whereas the characteristics linked to women are considered demeaning and worthless. Hence, women are pushed into the private sphere where emotions and nurture have a more significant place. This in

fact is why housework and domestic work is portrayed as the chore of women (Bryson, 1999). Radical feminists, argue that by focusing on the equality of women on values of ration and reason equality feminists seek for an androgynous form of society or equality (Tong, 2014). Accordingly, Jean Bethke Elshtain criticizes liberal feminists for their belief of three points; women could, want and should be like men. Elshtain underlines the inaccuracy in liberal feminists' consideration of men's virtue and values as of humans. She denounces the liberal feminists for neglecting the biological characteristics brought by nature and to evaluate every aspect of men and women to be constructed socially and culturally.

According to Elshtain, this is related to the concern that the acceptance of certain characteristics of women to be different from men naturally might result in oppression and repression. Elshtain highlights that it is not possible to be like men if there is no special modification (Tong, 2014). On the contrary, radicals believed that unless the political and social layout which is unequal changed, nothing would ensure equality on a true level, and explained that inequality of genders grounded on sexual oppression and patriarchy not on the neglect of ration or reason. For this reason, they focused on a fundamental revolution was necessary in the societal system (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005). Similarly, Uygur (2016) states that the sameness approach's perception of equality, misses out the fact that the existing norms and institutions already contend an inequality towards women. Hence in order to achieve equality a whole transformation is required. Transformation is underlined at this point since which requires a transformation to begin with.

In accordance to the prior agreements on equality feminism, Nussbaum (2009) declares that there are basic inequalities in the Western justice theories between men and women which cannot only be eliminated by bringing women to the same status as men. The only way equality can be reached is the reconstruction of the equality theory with changes in certain aspects (As cited in Uygur, 2015). Even though Nussbaum (2009) emphasizes the functionality of the liberal though in achieving gender equality after compensating its deficiencies, Uygur (2015) underlines that it is still problematic in ensuring absolute equality, considering that the understanding of the 'individual' of the liberal theory is not realistic. In other words, an imaginary

‘individual’ which is not compatible with anyone in the society including ‘men’, is illustrated by the liberal thought which is not practical (Uygur, 2015).

In fact, being a liberal feminist, Betty Friedan went through a change herself. At the beginning Friedan believed that it was necessary “to be the same as men to be equal to men” (Tong, 1998, p.30) and women’s liberation started from being like men. However, she “embraced” femininity and advocated that women should not neglect their differences from men to be equal to them. Friedan, disagreed with NOW at this point, since the organization claimed that being equal meant the same treatment for everyone. Betty Friedan referred to them as expecting women to be treated as ‘male clones’ and embraced motherhood as a feminine trait (Tong, 2014).

All in all, equality feminists are criticized for being too dependent and connected to “Western Liberal principle of equality” (Changfoot, 2009, p.21), by difference feminists who claim the current idea of equality holds a ‘masculine subjectivity’, neglecting women’s essence and forces the female ‘subordination’.

Carole Pateman (2015), in her work ‘Sexual Contract’, opposes the principle of equality in the sense of liberal thought, which is a reference to the social contract theories of equality. She contends that the concept of equality is designed on men by social contract theories in other words gendered (Evans, 2003). The notion of citizenship rights and equality designed by these theories neglect to recognize female characteristics and perspective, therefore it is not possible to achieve women’s equality with a simple adoption.

2.1.2.2. Difference Approach and Difference Feminism

The second group of feminists that were effective during the second wave were named as the ‘women’s liberation movement’, which was influenced by the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s and the student revolts of the New Left. The ‘women’s liberation movement’s objective was to make a basic change of the society culturally, psychologically, economically and politically rather than just seeking for social justice in the existing order (Dicker, 2008; Staggenborg, 1998).

Some of the famous women who were named as radical feminists are Casey Hayden and Mary King. Resuming the acquisitions of the first wave, the radical feminists of the 1960s and 1970s were courageous enough to put new topics such as reproductive rights, sexual liberty, equal pay, domestic violence, sexual harassment and gender roles on the agenda. In fact, many of the mottos which have formed the basis of today's feminism are the ones that second wave feminists, came up with during the second wave of which the most well-known is 'personal is political' (Evans, 2003) which highlights the 'public-private dichotomy' in the household, and the 'equal pay for equal work' promoting the equal pay act in the workplace.

One of the methods developed by women's liberation, later used also by other strands of feminism, to gain force and become a group was 'consciousness-raising'. This was how works of feminists were discussed and experiences were shared and women's movement became a mass movement (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Bryson, 1999). These little groups were the places where women's attention were caught on oppression (Tong, 2014). It was with the questioning atmosphere of the movement that disputes amongst second wave feminists began to form on certain issues (Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). Consciousness raising groups not only helped the movements to grow but also, held ground for many theoretical frameworks of feminism. Feminists found out by the shares of women that what is personal, was actually not caused by the individual but related to the public. Therefore, the slogan 'personal is political' was born during the 'women's liberation' movement, found by Carol Hanisch (Dicker, 2008). In fact, the famous book, reanalyzing female sexuality 'Our Bodies, Ourselves' was written with the effect of the discussions lead within consciousness raising groups (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005).

Difference feminism explained 'women's subordination' with 'sexual difference' as the primary issue. For this reason it is essential for women to recognize the value and virtue of their own traits as femininity away from the present male values, standards and 'institutions' (Changfoot, 2009). Radical feminists criticized the liberals for neglecting the differences between men and women and underestimating the 'feminine' traits of women, which according to them make women superior.

Radical feminists unlike the liberals, rejected the whole existing order, such as marriage and family and found them oppressive to women therefore advocated a revolution (Dicker, 2008).

Carole Pateman is one of the feminists who have criticized equality feminism for adopting equality endured on male traits. According to Pateman (1987), citizenship is defined on an ideal of male citizen, having masculine traits such as reason, ration etc. by the social contract theorists. Women are not granted this citizenship in the social contracts; the subjects being referred to as man and the contracts regulated under rights of man. The theoretical essence of the concept of citizenship, being the updated extension of the social contract theories, neglects women and female characteristics or the roles women are assigned to such as domestic labor (Friedman, 2005). Hence, Pateman (1987) declares that in order to be citizens of the existing patriarchal contracts, women either have to agree with masculinization and male attributions or submit to a deficient citizenship. Domestic sphere and the public-private dichotomy, neglected by the liberal feminists constitute the foundation of this hegemony between the male and female. Carole Pateman (1987) depicts a unique form of citizenship grazed from the patriarchal norms and perceptions with the power of women's movement. Equality 'before the law' was not sufficient, for these women, they aimed social, political and economic changes to free women from the patriarchal assumptions and enforcements of the society (Dicker, 2008). Another form of equality, substantive equality was adopted on women's equality policies within the second wave feminism with the arguments on the inadequacy of formal equality by feminists. As cited in (2005), according to Longo the form which focuses on attainment of substantive rights of a certain group is substantive equality.

2.1.2.2.1. Substantive Equality

Substantive equality, or equality of outcomes, is "a model of equality which is focused on the achievement of a given set of circumstances for a particular group or category", which aims to change current gendered social order (Longo 2001, p.279). The notion of substantive equality makes sure that the state fulfills its obligation to take certain measures to ensure equality and social justice by taking the necessary

measures such as positive actions and allocation of resources in essential circumstances (Fredman, 2005). Thus, recognition of differences and inequalities are vital, however there must be a legitimate standard for different treatment. Otherwise the regulations will be discriminatory and ought to be sustained by legal measures (Chemerinsky, 1983). Although Westen (1982) agrees that the notion takes a crucial part in national constitutions as well as international human rights regarding actions towards fundamental rights and against discrimination. Chemerinsky (1983) argues that equality prevents the enforcement of different regulations by the majority to minorities of any kind to an unjust manner, within democracies. The burden of proof demanded by equality, is the assurance of individuals against governments in terms of being treated on a just and equal level. It is thanks to equality that there is a need for justifiable measures in order to apply different treatment, which prevents governments from any spurious or erratic treatment towards a certain individual or group.

Although equality feminists claimed that once women's equality is ensured the idea of equality will change in social and political definition and move away from 'masculine subjectivity', difference feminists doubted the possibility taking into account that existing values and systems are immune to be adopted, therefore recognition of difference from the beginning is necessary. Changfoot (2009) underlines that difference feminists are distant towards the idea of sociopolitical equality, since they evaluate it as a 'patriarchal' form. Patriarchy was the obstacle before the ultimate equality of women with men. For this reason, any form of transformation or adoption into the patriarchally hegemonic system would reproduce inequality.

In other words, difference feminists believe that it is not possible for women to be equal in a world where all institutions, norms and values have been formed based on men's characteristics, traits and subjectivity. Simply adopting women into such a world where their own virtues, capacities and characteristics are not taken into consideration is not fair or accurate. For this reason, the only way women can be absolutely equal is to abolish the manly world and create an order where different traits and experience of men and women are valued and used. On the other hand,

equality feminists had the fear that the emphasis on several difference might result in the reinforcement of women's domestic and secondary roles giving nature as excuse or reason for the divisional differences. The three main points on which liberal and radical feminists collaborated in promoting were abortion, childcare and equality in education and employment (Dicker, 2008). The famous sameness vs difference debate in modern feminism has been formed with the conflicts between equality and difference feminists.

2.1.2.2.2. Necessity and Adequacy of Equality

In terms of difference feminism, France focused on difference from a psychoanalytical point, whereas Italy took it more politically, unlike USA which evaluated it as more of in terms of justice. Questions such as 'equal to whom?', 'what is equal?' were asked during the debates. Many women criticized equality feminists to seek for a gender-neutral society in which women did not hold motherhood, since motherhood was seen as a setback to absolute equality. Whereas others found these debates conflicting and gone far. All these assumptions were being made depending on the belief that 'equality' means 'sameness'. Just like 'difference' connotes 'hierarchy' in the feminist discourse (Bock, 2002).

Hence, scholars draw attention to the acquisitions of formal equality and equal citizenship, while embracing the differences of womanhood. For the value of equality is highlighted while the recognition of differences is approved. Nancy Fraser criticized difference feminists for focusing too much on the cultural differences in terms of reaching gender equality. Fraser focuses on the public/private dichotomy as the primal source for subordination and gender inequality and the existing gender roles (as cited in Uygur, 2016). The public-private dichotomy of the liberal theory neglects the secondary position and subordination of women in the home, evaluates it to be unrelated to the public equalities. It is advocated however, in the second wave by radicals that 'personal is political' that the oppression and discrimination women face in the domestic sphere is linked directly to the public understanding of women in the patriarchal system (Bryson, 1999; Changfoot, 2009). Relatedly, Pateman (1987) sheds light on the double burden performed by women,

under the rule of the welfare state, bringing wives into employment. The patriarchal characteristics of the state force women to engage in both public and private work, leading to double shifts, for which full time jobs have been evolving.

Although both approaches valued women and the struggle for women's rights, the forms of equality embraced by the groups differed. Liberal Feminists stood closer towards formal equality, adopting into the citizenship system whereas radicals rejected to consent into the measures and concepts that were created on male perspective and traits. With the ongoing debates of the second wave which approach to which should be applied into gender equality was discussed. Nominately, which approach should be embraced in achieving gender equality? Should equality be abandoned to recognize the differences? Or should differences be neglected to achieve equality?

According to Chemerinsky (1983), there are three ways in which equality is necessary; morally, analytically and rhetorically. The idea of equality is not that there should be same treatment of every individual in every circumstance, but the different treatment requires an acceptable and appropriate reason (Pojman & Westmoreland, 1997). Likewise, Chemerinsky (1983) argues that, there must be a moral measure for the abolishment of distinctions which are necessary. Nonetheless, the notion of 'equal dignity' is crucial in assuring respectful treatment as a human (Chemerinsky, 1983). There is certain logic behind the universality of the regulation of laws. It is not possible to regulate different law for every different characteristic of individuals. However, there are certain reciprocal categories for common diversities for which specific rules should be applied. In other words, it is rational to demand especial measures for diversities of major groups but irrational to expect different rules for every difference, which is the main logic of universal law (Lucas, 1965).

Chemerinsky (1983) criticizes Westen (1982), for insisting on the idea that equality is replaceable with substantive rights, but he misses out that equality is a necessity even when supplying right to justice politically and legally. Egalitarians argue that every individual should be treated equal. In fact, their views are often mistaken to

strictly expect everyone to be treated equal in every circumstance. Per contra, that is not the case, as Nielson gives an example where, no egalitarian would expect a senior to be treated equal to a child for instance. Equality should be however understood as people being treated as of equal worth, which Nielson implies to be in terms of morality (As cited in L. P. Pojman & Westmoreland, 1997). Dworkin's idea that humans deserve equal rights, because everyone is of equal worth, was embraced and formulated similarly by Lucas (1965), who calls this 'equality of respect' and Maritain (1944) who refers it to as 'dignity of the human person'. These humane rights are regulated by formal equality.

Lucas (1965) underlines that formal equality guarantees equal treatment in the means that every citizen has the right to protection of the law, which means that no one is exempted or privileged from the rule of law. This includes enjoyment of rights of citizenship, public administration, obligation to execution before the courts of law and assurance of no arbitrary judgement (Lucas, 1965). Likewise, Nielson criticizes the disdain against formal equality, by explaining that it is the root of the notion and the primary step to the battle towards equality. For he sets forth that formal equality is necessary but not sufficient in attaining the accurate result (Pojman & Westmoreland, 1997). Therefore as Chemerinsky (1983) underlines, there is a moral necessity of equality, considering the fact that the notion which enables us to notice different treatment at the beginning is equality itself. It is by equality which inequalities have been noticed and pointed out. In other words, in order to speak of presumption of inequality, there should be a mention of the concept equality.

Westen (1982) argues that the establishment of formal equality does not result in equality in reality in terms, which leads to the detriment of minorities, women and many other groups. Chemerinsky (1983), on the other hand, finds different treatment more corruptible and risky due to the fact that there have been more situations in which people were treated differently where there should have been equal treatment, than vice versa. Therefore, he argues that unjustified discrimination is more likely to exist within today's societies which have lived through sexism, racism and other forms of segregation for decades. It is correct that there is a need

for a side support for equality however it must be underlined that the notion itself is necessary in order to supply the social policy.

All in all, the notion of equality has been found to be necessary but insufficient to ensure justice by many theoreticians. In terms of fundamental rights and 'human dignity' equality has an important role in terms of 'equal worth' of individuals. According to Chemerinsky (1983), the society is overwhelmed with equality, respecting special measures such as affirmative action. It is the duty of theoreticians, social justice philosophers to underline the importance of equality and point to the damages of inequalities. Contemporary philosophers have been drifting apart from the notion of equality and tried replacing it with many other notions (Chemerinsky, 1983) such as justice, fairness and equity. However, these concepts seem to lack foundation unless they are in accordance with equality. As Dworkin advocates "people matter equally" (Pojman & Westmoreland, 1997). Therefore the major argument on equality should be on how to reach it not to abandon the concept, considering the fact that it is a moral principle in reaching the socially just society (Chemerinsky, 1983). For the fact that equality is the crucial notion in terms of human rights especially underlined by Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Pojman & Westmoreland, 1997). The same discussions on equality have been adopted to feminism and gender equality under the debate of sameness and difference.

2.1.2.3. Sameness vs Difference Debate

Numerous scholars emphasize the virtue of equality in gender relations, as well as appreciation of differences. Ruth Milkman for instance underlines the importance of equality and states that equality is the safety net of women's rights but the recognition of differences are essential (Scott, 1988). Karen Vintges confers by stating that equality should be accepted as a 'precondition' of difference, to which results in a 'dialectical relationship' (As cited in Changfoot, 2009). I believe that it is important to point out right here that equality does not mean sameness. As Sartori underlines, sameness is a concept in which nothing can exactly satisfy to (1987). O'Connor on the other hand, argues that the idea where equality is treating everyone

the same is not accurate (2008). The concept of equality is formed in human rights so that every individual is treated as 'equal'(Fredman, 2016). Nevertheless, recognizing their differences is a crucial part of the process, considering that the capacity of the individuals in different areas might be disadvantaged (O'Connor, 1993). Regarding that radical feminists argue that traits of femininity such as empathy and commitment are of high value and criticize masculine traits to be shown as virtuous (Werbner, 1999), Uygur (2016) highlights that the overly emphasis in the natural differences contains the risk of overpraising of motherhood and gender roles which might result in the 'reproduction' of the domestic role of women within the society, if not portrayed carefully and accurately. In addition, Martha Minow (as cited in Scott, 1988), draws attention to the point that leaving out difference is a threat to especially groups that have been downgraded but praising it too much would result in deviation of the cause. Minow (as cited in Scott, 1988), calls this contingency of difference as 'the dilemma of difference'. It is difficult to both neglect or praise it. She suggests that a new form of evaluation should be made for difference of which it should primarily be not seen as a binary opposite of equality (Scott, 1988).

According to Derrida (as cited in Scott, 1998), philosophy depends on binary oppositions in the western tradition. This necessity was filled with the equality vs difference dichotomy in feminism. However, these two concepts are not binary opposites in fact they are interdependent. Women who value difference advocate the necessity of specific measures and compositions for women's traits and necessities. Whereas women defending equality seek for same measures, treatment and opportunity with men and find difference unrelated (Scott, 1988). Nancy Fraser (as cited in Uygur 2016), explains that sameness approach asks for same treatment with men whereas, difference approach asks for specific treatment as women. Hence, equality feminists are criticized for accepting 'male subjectivity' whereas difference feminists are accused of 'reproducing' female gender roles and being biologically deterministic. Fraser underlines that both of these approaches are insufficient in ensuring gender equality by themselves (Uygur, 2016).

Similarly, Scott (1988) states that emphasizing difference (biological difference) forcefully might result in an essentialist view, whereas neglecting it might result in a normative end. For this reason, equality and difference should not be perceived as dichotomous concepts and feminism should rather seek for a policy of equality that recognizes and includes difference. According to Scott (1988), a new theory is necessary which does not neglect diversities and values resting on the differences deriving from femininity. She underlines that generalizes women as humans cause the misplace of experience which a crucial place in feminist studies as well as the value of femininity and its traits which has been neglected in written history. If equality connotes identicalness or sameness, men and women will never be equal since considering they cannot be identical. Hence, the importance of difference comes into the picture in supplying equality itself (Scott, 1988).

As an alternative to the debate, Michael Walzer, states in his theory of complex equality, that the solution to the dichotomy between sameness and difference is the acceptance and recognition of equality as a social phenomenon rather than a principle, which will guard and secure difference. Liberal approach is criticized by Walzer in three points, firstly that it neglects all sorts of inequalities. Secondly, the egalitarian thought of citizenship is discredited by Walker, for it is found to be gendered. Thirdly, equality has different connotations in diverse situations therefore abstract interpretations must be refrained since it has an inclusive characteristic (As cited in Armstrong, 2002).

The debate of equality vs difference has been recognized in the 'Wollstonecraft's Dilemma'. 'Wollstonecraft's Dilemma' explains the will to ensure equality between men and women without neglecting and giving recognition to their differences. Radical and liberal approaches of feminism have discussed a proper strategy for achieving equality. Radicals criticized liberals for being limited with advocating formal equality which might lead to inequalities and injustice in reality, therefore being insufficient. According to Armstrong (2002), there has been two approaches to the equality vs difference debate, one is the rejection of the concept of equality as a whole and second is to refrain from the dichotomy and adapt difference to the liberal feminist thought of equality. The sameness approach is linked to formal

equality whereas the difference approach is to substantive equality. Tools such as affirmative action are used for substantive equality. In this case the affirmative action is effective in abolishing the setbacks and inequalities towards women and enhancement of their status in the society.

Michael Walzer as cited in Scott (1988), highlights that equality means the elimination of certain differences in order to make people 'equivalent' for a function. It is underlined here that the purpose is not to make them 'identical' or the same. In fact, the opposite of equality is not difference but inequality. Therefore, equality itself, as a notion, grounds on the recognition of the presence of difference. Taking all the views into consideration, the approaches are taken as complementary in today's conjuncture. Ruth Milkman sheds light on the debate by stating that;

Feminists cannot give up 'difference'; it has been our most creative analytic tool. We cannot give up equality, at least as long as we want to speak to the principles and values of our political system (As cited in Scott, 1988, p.43).

Taking into consideration that neither of these approaches are sufficient ensuring 'transformation' gender equality accurately by itself, Uygur (2016) introduces a third approach which should be used with the two of them meaning three approach should be used in harmony.

2.1.2.4. Transformative Approach

As Bryson (1999), points out, it would be much more accurate to employ the different approaches as 'complementary' instead of seeing them as 'competitive', to provide a better environment of progression of thought. The transformative approach, recognizing both the approaches, contains the objective to transform the unequal conception of the policies and tools for gender equality (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015). Transformative approach requires the adoption of institutions, policies and standards for gender equality (Uygur, 2016). Gender equality is composed of all the three forms of approaches towards gender and equality. Sameness approach comes from equal treatment as humans, for which legal equality is under this category. Difference approach on the other hand, advocates that substantive equality is essential. Hence, since the status of women is advantageous,

positive treatment measures should be taken towards them in order to equalize the circumstances.

CEDAW has regulated transformative approach along with the two other forms, in eliminating gender discrimination (Uygur, 2016). According to Nash(2002), CEDAW holds the characteristic of combining the two approaches of the second wave, difference and sameness (as cited in Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015), strengthening them with the transformative approach. NGOs, governmental and intergovernmental institutions are part of the transformative approach on gender equality. UN has regulated three forms of gender equality with CEDAW, under articles as well as giving them obligations via General Recommendations. For transformative approach, CEDAW has obliged the states to eliminate the unequal and discriminative norms as well as forcing to transform the patriarchal distribution of resources and positions. Hence, CEDAW is a cohesive document on having aggregated different approaches of diverse strands of feminism. As one can see, gender equality promoted by UN in today's conjuncture includes both the sameness and difference approach along with a new form determining to transform the patriarchal inequalities via both the civil society and the states on an international level (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015). Certain tools and policies have been embraced for the transformation objective of the United Nations. UN has adopted 'gender mainstreaming' as the primary tool of transformation for achieving gender equality and eliminating gender discrimination (Uygur, 2016) in the Beijing Conference. For which later in the Beijing Platform for Action, the content was advanced and enforcement was developed.

The ECOSOC definition of gender mainstreaming is;

...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. 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 programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.(Issues & Women, 2002, p. v)

Transformative approach is established globally via instruments such as gender mainstreaming which aim to provide and stabilize gender discourse and equality. Gender mainstreaming is also criticized by many grassroots movements and feminists, as Koray (2011) states, the borders of gender policies are dependent on the economic system, even though they seek societal change. These policies instrumentalize feminist request, not support them. Therefore, gender issues have been universalized and formed into a solid perspective by 'gender mainstreaming', drifting apart from the emancipating atmosphere of 60s and 70s. On the other hand, women's movement unequivocally spread worldwide in terms of policy and theory with the policies of the international organizations and their enforcements on the member states. The data of UN reflects that policies on gender equality and elimination of segregation and discrimination have increased and unique strategies have been established (Issues & Women, 2002).

The policies and conventions of United Nations have been ground to the international gatherings in which women from these movements and organizations find a voice (Bystydzienski & Sekhon, 1999). The Decade of Women formed by UN has had an important influence on the formation of Global Feminism. Human Rights were defined in terms of women's rights within these conferences. Global feminism broke the idea of feminism to be a western ideal and different experiences were shared by women from all around the globe. Thanks to global feminism that international organizations worked to change the understanding of gendered law and international law was regulated towards an objective point. Crimes during war, crisis or against women were internationally accepted as 'human rights violations' (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005). Global feminism has evolved within third wave feminism, as well as the recognition of concepts like multidimensional discrimination and intersectionality promoted by gender mainstreaming have been realized with the transformative approach. A closer look to the third wave would be necessary at this point.

2.1.3. Third Wave Feminism

Third Wave feminism did not spring right after the second wave, regarding the retrogressive movements of the right¹¹. Although there was a significant decrease in the membership of prior feminist organizations up to this wave, feminism survived with the efforts and existence of ‘women of color’ who sought to depict women’s experience from the third world and other than ‘white’ women belonging to ‘middleclass’. It is accepted that the third wave began in the 1990s (Dicker, 2008; Liddle & Rai, 1993) During these years a new group of feminists were formed whom were identified as ‘Third Wave Direct Action Corporation’, whose first popular mass movement of third wave feminists was the ‘Freedom Ride’ in 1992 New York The (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Dicker, 2008). These people consisted of not only women but transgenders, men and queer movement as well, hence stood against any sort of inequality and discrimination including gender, sexual orientation, age etc. (Dicker, 2008).

With the third wave that has been formed in mid90’s, the general idea of feminism was questioned and in fact divided into groups. According to Dicker (2008), third wave feminists are not homogenous. They are composed of women from diverse nationalities, economic status, sexualities, women of younger generation and of older generation. Just like its members, the focus of third wave is concerned with ‘multiplicity’ as well. It studies multiple areas from economy to welfare, from the environment to culture (Dicker, 2008). The most criticized aspects of second wave such as heteronormativity and indifference towards race, ethnicity and culture were underlined in third wave feminism. Many different groups were formed by variety of women whose expectations, goals and perceptions differed. Having been started by the postmodernist academics, language and gender identities were studied closely by the third wave. Main perceptions and discourses on gender were deconstructed by postmodernist theories such as the ‘queer’ theory.

As the reflection of the blindness towards race and culture, especially black women underlined that feminists focused on sex and gender through the eyes of white,

¹¹ The retrogressive movements is discussed in detail, in the next chapter.

middle-class women (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). Bell Hooks for instance claimed that feminism ‘belonged’ to women who are white and is indifferent towards the ‘experience’ of black women. In fact even the requests of these two groups differed and counteracted (Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). Black feminism was formed as the result of these oppositions and approaches. Not only black feminism but all sorts of feminisms concerning different groups relating on diverse issues, ethnicities and classes were formed during the third wave (Bryson, 1999). Asian feminism, Latina feminism, Black liberal feminism, Black cultural feminism were only some of these various groups (Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). Third wave feminists concern includes third world women and women from other “race, ethnicity, economic status, and sexual orientation” (Dicker, 2008, p.127). One significant characteristic of the third wave is the creation of the compulsive concept ‘intersectionality, which connotes the inter-relational forms of inequalities and discrimination depending on many characters such as gender, sexual orientation, class and race.

Intersectionality was theorized by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989 (Bradley, 2013b). The term refers to various forms of oppression which are conjoined. Crenshaw used the term to demonstrate the situation of black women who suffer multidimensional discrimination, one for being woman and other for their race. According to Kanyoro (as cited in Bradley, 2013b) “It relates to the way in which ‘multiple forms of subordination interlink and compound to result in a multiple burden’ ” (Bradley, 2013, p.207). The third wave of feminism has embraced intersectionality, widening the view away from the mandate of Western feminism. The third wave brought, acknowledgement of the importance of diverse experience of women, multiple oppression they go through and revulsion from the heteronormative norms into the feminist discourse (Bryson, 1999). It highlighted the multiple (multidimensional) discrimination and targeted empowerment of women independent and detached from men to their own identities. Dicker (2008) underlines that, it is quite difficult to summarize the interests of third wave feminism, regarding that the movement is very versatile. Third wave feminists showed existence in the academia, in gender studies as well organizations and activism, like the second wave feminists (Dicker, 2008)

Nineteen-eighties were a time in which women's rights were discussed and regulated in international organizations and institutions. It was with this policy making that women's rights and concerns became publicly noticeable and apparent. In 1990 the number of women elected to U.S. House of Representatives was seven whereas only the new women elected was raised to 24 by the year of 1992 (Dicker, 2008). On the other hand, as international institutions and globalization of nations as well as the economies grew, gender equality has been recognized by international agenda in cooperation with the civil society. The policies and measures drawn in the Four World Conferences of UN, CEDAW and gender mainstreaming have increased the impact of civil society and international institutions on state's implementation of gender conscious norms and policies. The role of intergovernmental and international organizations has been quite significant in the process of eliminating gender discrimination on this account the implementations and policies are studied closer in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AND OPPOSITIONS TO GENDER EQUALITY

3.1. Progressive Movements of Institutions and Acquisitions of Gender Equality

It would not be inaccurate to remark that 20th century was a turning point upon which women's human rights have started to be taken into account. International conferences have been organized by International organizations which have focused on certain topics as gender equality, gender discrimination etc. Today the struggle against gender discrimination is considered as one of the key steps in democratization (Dinçkol, 2005). Women's rights have begun to develop with the influence and pressure of educated women and women showing existence out of the private sphere like Harriett Mill or Wollstonecraft. As women entered the public sphere, they became more and more visible. Needless to say, what triggered this admittance was mostly the nonending grassroot movements and struggle of women's organizations. After years of struggle and lobbying, the development of women's rights and empowerment were growing (Dinçkol, 2005). This time, the grassroots movements and struggle of women was beginning to be codified into international documents. The main documents on fundamental human rights have regulated the equality of men and women, starting from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹². International institutions such as the United Nations (UN) accepted and promoted equal treatment and rights of the two sexes up until the

¹² Universal Declaration of Human Rights preamble 5

1990s¹³. The further examination of UN is a necessity in internalizing the development of women's rights and gender equality in terms of the political and legal acquisitions.

3.1.1. United Nations

After the end of the Second World War, United Nations was established as an intergovernmental organization to ensure global peace and security on 24 October 1945. United Nations without a doubt has been one of the most influential and effective institutions upon women's rights and gender equality throughout the history. The founding treaty of UN regulated fundamental rights of the citizens and the obligations of the member states in terms of the newly born concept 'human rights'. During the process followed by the treaty, Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948 by the member states and became recognized as the primary document for human rights and human rights law. The states were obliged to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of their citizens, without any discrimination and to take measures as well as eliminate obstacles accordingly. Both of the documents include prohibition of discrimination (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015), however apart from being the contemporary common legal document on equality and equal treatment, Universal Declaration of Human Rights lacked emphasis on substantive equality and special treatment for women. The reason for this is that women's rights and issues were not accepted as a primary or general subject but rather a private and specific field. The Declaration perceived the protection of 'human dignity' as a moral principle and eliminated any form of discrimination or prohibition of fundamental rights.

The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was established in 1946, regardless of the objections of Eleanor Roosevelt, as the intergovernmental body concerning the promotion of women's rights and empowerment. The Commission aimed raising awareness via instrumental bodies and documents on a universal basis (Hannan, 2007). However, Roosevelt's concerns were realized and women's issues were constricted within the Commission and the objective of spreading them into

¹³ UN Charter preamble 2

bodies of the organization did not succeed. Since the world was busy with dressing the wounds of the devastating outcomes of the war, the states' and international entities' focus concentrated towards the economy and industrial recuperation and neglected policies women and equality.

Later with the influence of second wave feminism and the emancipating atmosphere of the 70s, UN began to notice women's movement and attached importance to women's rights and issues. It was with the effect of women's movements and organizations, that women's issues caught the eye of UN (Bystydzienski & Sekhon, 1999). The social movements on women bulged the institution and influenced them to regulate and examine women's status and role within society as well as women's rights. The process began with the recognition of women on a general basis, socially and legally and resulted into a state where transformation of gender equality is taking place on multiple grounds such as language, law, education etc. In accordance, the first functional action taken concerning women was when the UN declared 1975 as the International Women's Year. The declaration was followed by the adoption of UN Decade of Women between the years 1975-1985 with the commissioning of the General Assembly. Within the scope of the declaration, four important conferences on policies concerning women were organized in different locations, during different years.

The first conference was held in 1975 in Mexico City, which is well known as the place where the declaration of the next 10 years as Decade for Women took place. Another importance of the conference of 1975 was being the first international conference held particularly on women's issues (Hannan, 2007). The conference organized an agenda of women's emancipation with the Women In Development program, which according to Kandiyoti (2010) "foregrounding women as disadvantaged agents of development" (Kandiyoti, 2010, p.169). The second conference on Women took place in Copenhagen in 1985, with the agenda of abolishment of discrimination against women by establishing far more strict national measures. Copenhagen was the first conference held after the acceptance of CEDAW, which is still accepted as the fundamental document for international women's rights and will be examined more deeply later. The third conference on

women took place in Nairobi in 1985, was distinct from others having the characteristic that gender equality and its importance had been internationally recognized and its effects were proceeding to grow (Bock, 2002; Naples & Desai, 2002). The conference introduced feminisms of diverse geographies, breaking the wall of Western feminism, embracing different cultures. Having many NGOs participate in the conference, it is described as “the birth of global feminism” (UN). Gender equality was discussed to be spread and applied by the United Nations via gender mainstreaming first on 1985 in Nairobi, which reached a legal ground on 1995 in Beijing. Gender mainstreaming is promotion of gender equality in all sectors using the same policies and strategies internationally. UN has chosen the concept as the major tool in ensuring gender equality and eliminating gender discrimination.

The Beijing conference of 1995 was the final world conference on women, which is famous for establishment of The Beijing Platform for Action (Kandiyoti, 2010). The Platform spoke out and accepted legally that ‘women’s rights are human rights’. Necessary action and measures to be taken both internationally but especially on national levels were implemented in this conference. Thus, the fundamental objective of United Nations was to promote and establish a gender equal ground on an intergovernmental level (the ratifying states) in all sectors via gender mainstreaming. ‘Twelve critical areas of concern’ on gender were determined and member states were in agreement to take necessary measures with the platform. For this reason, the regulations and measures were moved to an intergovernmental level as well as in national or regional circumstances.

The four conferences were followed by the 2000 Beijing + 5, in which The Beijing Platform for Action was reviewed for its five-year period by the General Assembly. The theories developed by third wave feminist activists have influenced the 1990s so much that they were taken as topics even in UN Conferences such as in Beijing on 1995 (Kandiyoti, 2010; Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004). The main discussion topics included positive discrimination in terms of stabilizing gender equality and abolishing gender discrimination of any kind. The reviews proceeded by the member states within 10, 15 and 20 years in 2005, 2010 and 2015. Apart from these conventions and reviews, with the recognition of effects of war and conflict on

women, a crucial resolution was adopted by UN Security Council in 2000. The resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, consisting of seven resolutions, held the intention of ameliorating women's status in times of conflict and war.

As its sensitivity and placing importance to women's issues, UN Women, was established as a single body in UN, on July 2nd 2010 by the unanimous decision of the General Assembly. The UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, as gender experts, advises and works in accordance with other UN bodies on recommendations and reports on matters concerning gender equality. Finally, UN took the agenda to a wider level and established seventeen sustainable development goals, in 2015. The goals set by member states look forward to abolish inequalities, poverty and environmental issues by the year of 2030.

3.1.1.1. CEDAW

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is still the primary international document that regulates gender equality and gender discrimination. Regulated by the General Assembly on 1976, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is an agreement of the United Nations, which was adopted in 1979 by member states and came into force in 1981 (Kandiyoti, 2010). Although many member states ratified the convention on short notice, many put reservations on certain regulations. CEDAW has the importance of not only regulating women's rights, but to have the power to force the member states on the implementation of measures against discrimination against women, and have legal sanctions against them, being legally binding (Börü, 2017). The inspection of these obligations is held by the CEDAW Committee, which collects shadow reports from civil society, NGOs and also responds to the applications made by individuals. CEDAW is still the primary document for women's rights and gender discrimination (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015), being signed by 189 states in the international arena.

According to Shapiro (2006), due to the fact that no matter how many agreements and conventions on equality and human rights were in existence, a necessity to

regulate a specific one for women's rights existed since women could not enjoy their given rights accurately via the already existing regulations. Shapiro (2006), reflects the UN Charter of 1945 as an example, underlining that even though the charter was ratified by certain states, women were not allowed to vote as men by these same states. Hence, she points that in 1972, UN finally realized with the international arena that there is the necessity of a specific convention. Which later CEDAW was regulated as a roadmap in supplying substantial equality in terms of law and policy in both public and private environments for the ratifying states (Shapiro, 2006).

The vital aspect of the convention is having the world acknowledge that 'women's rights are human rights.' Hence, CEDAW has a pivotal influence on international law as well as the states themselves. CEDAW regulated 'sex' discrimination on its first documentation. With General Recommendation 28, however, 'gender' and gender equality were adopted as primal concept of discrimination against women. The convention clearly accepted that gender-based discrimination depended on power relations (Uygur, 2015). It is crucial to point out that what the convention regulates is gender-based discrimination, in other words, discrimination of a person just for being woman, of a certain gender. Gender discrimination is defined as preventing women from enjoying all sorts of rights and freedom, including political, social and most importantly human rights, for the cause of gender (Sargin, 2012).

CEDAW systematizes a three-dimensional model to supply substantive equality, which the convention defines as the sole protection of gender equality and supports any measure taken to achieve gender equality and eliminate gender discrimination. Hence tools such as affirmative action are encouraged by the convention, which is also related to the abolishment of the public- private distinction of CEDAW (Koray, 2011). The convention recognizes that the most damaging forms of discrimination against women are formed within the private sphere, which states cannot or do not interfere. General Recommendation 19, regulates the abolishment of the distinction of public and private, which resulted international law and arena to accept that gender discrimination is a general problem to be combatted as a whole. For this reason, CEDAW aims to abolish the distinction and take measures in both spheres to eliminate any form of gender discrimination with the assistance of the right to

supervise and investigate the ratifying states. To be clearer, in case of a violation of the rights of an individual regulated by CEDAW, the individual can apply to the committee against the state, under the protection of the convention. This surveillance is what strengthens the legally binding characteristic of CEDAW. CEDAW is referenced as the milestone and a turning point in women's equality for having realized the recognition of women's rights as a specific field under human rights (Dinçkol, 2005).

3.1.2. Council of Europe

Council of Europe, similar to the UN was established after the Second World War in protection of fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens within the member states in 1949. Although being often confused with the European Council, the entity of the Union, Council of Europe has no attachment to the European Union of any kind. Having 47 members within Europe, Council of Europe is one of the largest intergovernmental organizations of Europe. The European Convention on Human Rights holds a significant role in the protection of human rights and elimination of discrimination within the member states with the authority of its judiciary body and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). Being the authority in fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens, ECHR is in charge of the cases of human rights as a n authority to be applied with the exhaustion of internal authorities.

3.1.2.1. European Convention on Human Rights and European Court of Human Rights

The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights is a treaty of human rights that is signed by 47 member states of the Council of Europe, that protects fundamental rights and freedoms together with prohibiting unjust practice. The adoption of the term 'human rights' into political discourse was brought by the convention which then spread to various fields. The protection of fundamental rights such as the right to life and liberty, freedom from torture and slavery were regulated under the Convention similar to the declaration of French Revolution, however differed in promoting equality and liberty for 'humans' as 'human rights' instead of

for ‘man’ as ‘rights of man’. Hence, the development notion of equality, dignity and liberty beginning with the Enlightenment has evolved into a concept for all people, including women. For this reason, the Convention prohibits any form of discrimination in respect to the rights it ensures under article 14¹⁴.

Although human rights and prohibition of discrimination were protected by the Convention, the decision of ECHR on women and gender discrimination were not applied accordingly as most of the regulations of international law neglected ‘women’s rights as human rights’ on issues such as women’s health, violence against women. For instance, crimes, violence and discrimination against women were considered under individual rights and felonies until the adoption of CEDAW. One of the institutions who used to neglect the recognition of women’s rights as human rights was the European Court of Human Rights. The Court did not evaluate violence against women as a prohibition of gender equality, and was indifferent towards gender discrimination until the 1990s. The cases brought before the court were rejected from application, and violence against women was not considered as gender discrimination (Kuyucu, 2015). With CEDAW, women’s rights are approved as human rights by international law including courts and governmental, international and supranational organizations (Y. Arat, 2001). For which ECHR prohibits gender discrimination and implements violence against women as a form of it in today’s conjuncture.

Currently, gender equality is embraced as part of the fundamental form of equalities and freedoms by the Council of Europe and the ECHR. Council of Europe has focused more complexly into gender equality in terms of violence against women with a relatively new convention that was open to signature in 2011 in Istanbul. ‘The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against

¹⁴ “ Prohibition of discrimination: The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.”, https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf. Date accessed; January 5, 2019.

women and domestic violence' was ratified by 40 states so far, is also referred to as the Istanbul Convention, as the place of signature.

3.1.2.2. Istanbul Convention

The Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) is an intergovernmental convention of the Council of Europe adopted in Istanbul in 2011, came into force in 2014, focusing on violence against women. Having been signed first in 2012 by Republic of Turkey, finally by 40, the significance of the Convention relies on the interpretation of violence against women, including domestic violence. Istanbul Convention strictly regulates violence against women as a;

violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life¹⁵.

Istanbul Convention's clarification of violence against women from this gender conscious perspective is meaningful, considering that it was only with CEDAW that women's rights have been recognized as human rights specifically. The perception of the Convention of violence against women and domestic violence is shaped from the perspective which acknowledges various forms of violence including physical, psychological and economic, which are considerably new to the issue. The addition of stalking into the context is an indicator of how updated and sensitive the Convention is on forms of violence against women and domestic violence.

The Istanbul Convention consists of three dimensions in terms of combating violence against women; prevention, protection and prosecution. Prevention signifies to taking necessary measures to preclude any form of violence against women. Protection is formed in cooperation with prevention of violence, in circumstances which violence has been performed, on account of this the victim is

¹⁵ Council of Europe, Istanbul Convention. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/090000168008482e>. Date accessed; March 12, 2019.

protected by the state. Prosecution implies the obligation of the states to ensure enforcements and sanctions right away, at the same time providing protection over the victim. The elimination and prevention of secondary victimization is a significant aspect regulated by the Istanbul Convention; hence protection and prosecution procedures are ascribed to the states with severe measures. For instance, the states who have ratified the Convention have the obligations to eliminate any form of discrimination towards the victims, and to guarantee this qualification, the state has to educate or apply any supervision to the officials and institutions of these mechanisms. The correspondence of the member states' implementation of the measures, regulated by the Convention are inspected by the monitoring body, GREVIO. As the first member of the Council of Europe that have signed the Convention, GREVIO Committee was directed by Prof. Feride Acar, as the representative of Republic of Turkey in the previous years.

The magnitude of Istanbul Convention can be summarized with its recognition of different forms of violence such as psychological and economic, in accordance with assigning women the status of individual protection in terms of women's human rights. Istanbul Convention encumbers the states to provide women the same and equal rights and protection to men, as their citizens equally. For this reason, gender equality is used as a primary tool in the Convention. The fact that the Convention provides protection for all women citizens, regardless of their marital status or sexual orientation especially in terms of domestic violence demonstrates that gender equality norms are internalized and instrumentalized by the Istanbul Convention. As Turkey was the first member state of Council of Europe to sign the Convention, a specific code was regulated by the TBMM, to enable the application of the measures. Code 6284 is implemented in accordance with the Istanbul Convention and includes detailed measures on violence against women and domestic violence, which are studied under the section focusing on Turkey.

3.1.3. European Union

The discussion of gender and gender equality have come into the picture in Turkey with the effect of international organizations, agreements and institutions. United

Nations being the most influential and effective one of course, impinged legislative regulations on a significant level. European Union (EU) is the second institution to have the most influence on Republic of Turkey on gender issues. Maybe far more than UN itself, concerning the fact that Turkey has had the intention of becoming a member for years, hence is obliged to fulfill the necessary standards. Although international agreements have the priority over national codes, being considered at the same level as the constitution in Turkish Constitutional Law. It can be observed that especially in the legal system EU's preconditions carried women's status to a higher step with reforms made in various fields.

The European Union is one of the most influential institutions on gender issues and rights for Turkey. Looking back at its history, the EU has been developing parallel to the international organizations and had numerous effects, as much as, maybe even more than them on Turkey. The Treaty of Rome signed in 1957, is the first agreement that concerns women's rights policies. However, it is basically limited with the rights of working women within the labor force (Dedeoglu, 2012). Later with, the European Commission is acceptance of gender mainstreaming as a general policy in 1996, gender equality became a policy in EU. Finally with the Treaty of Lisbon signed in 2009 (Dedeoglu, 2012), it was double proved that 'women's rights are human rights'.

European Union has had a 'Framework Strategy for Gender Equality' involving economy, political suffrage, enjoyment of social rights, civil right and gender roles in 2000, with the purpose of ensuring gender equality. The framework was regulated for a five-year plan, of which showed parallel encounters to the four conferences of UN as employment strategies and structural funds for gender equality. In 2005, the European Union made a pact for Gender Equality, which was followed by the five year 'Roadmap for Equality Between Women and Men' formed between 2006-2010. The European Institute for Gender Equality was established in 2007, which came into force in 2009. An agreement for tools such as 'parental leave' was made in 2009 and promotions were given for them to be used (Koray, 2011). The European Union and the United Nations cooperated in 2017 to abrogate violence against women for the Spotlight Initiative.

Although the EU implementations and directives are legally binding and draw a general frame for the member states' obligations on gender equality with certain agreements and treaties, the gender policies diverge depending on the country. For this reason, the dates in which they are applied, the level of adoption and the result of the policy shows difference (Dedeoglu, 2012). The Scandinavian countries for instance, stand out in terms of gender equality in implementations such as parental leave and employment, unlike other European countries who fail to enjoy these rights as successfully. This divergence tends to depend on culture as well as the historical adaptation period. Since the Scandinavian countries have implemented gender equality much before the EU brought regulations, it was much easier for the people to adapt to changes. In the Mediterranean countries on the other hand, gender equality policies are fairly new, adopted with the enforcement of the EU, therefore it is much difficult for them to internalize gender equality (Koray, 2011). For instance, states have implemented the policies on a high level which resulted in a deep change in gender policies such as Ireland, whereas others such as Germany have continued to apply their own terms and the status of gender equality remained as it was. It is also observed that the member states seek for implementations which are 'compatible' with their traditional values (Dedeoğlu, 2012). After all, the diverse social values and circumstances affect the form and time of adaption without a question. On the other hand Koray (2011) lays out an eye catching point; the success of the policies change according to the objective of the implementations. Mediterranean countries for instance adopt gender equality policies as a tool of modernization, whereas Scandinavians who's only purpose is supplying gender equality (Koray, 2011).

As adoption towards gender equality differ, according to objections of the states, the interpretation of the union on the form of equality affects the implementation of the concept according to Walby (2004). The gender policies of EU are criticized for neglecting the differences of women, and only focusing on formal equality, as in form of equal treatment. The main points EU acknowledges on women are limited to employment and job market, which results in the secondary position of women in social and political matters. In EU's prior years on gender equality, Walby (2004) criticized EU for this principle as well as underlining that EU codes gender equality

in its soft implementations and treaties, which means that they do not attach importance to the subject as much as other issues. This underestimation results in the failure in ensuring gender equality and abolishment of gender discrimination.

While speaking of gender equality, it is crucial to highlight the concept of equality as the equalitarian policies are formed with the effect of each other and then the society internalizes it, like in the Northern European countries. This can be observed from the positive action tools concerning women such as maternal leave. Koray (2011) finds a correlation between the welfare state and the gender equality policies within the European Union member states. She observes that in the welfare states the capitalist economy is subsidized by the established political awareness which advantages gender equality within the country. In Scandinavian countries, the participation of women to the parliament is up to 41% whereas it is only at 19% in average around EU. Koray attributes this high rate of political participation as well as other gender equality status, to the government policies held by the countries. For instance, Sweden has formed a policy in the 70s towards gender equality under the name 'Towards Equality', which has increased sensitivity and raised women's status within the society. Although these policies have been established under the ideology of the welfare state and not feminism, the results are quite successful in terms of gender equality (Koray, 2011).

In summary, the gender policies of the EU have been mainly on issues such as employment and workforce regarding its liberal, capitalist feature. Although the union has stated certain measures and framework, it is mainly in the hands of the states to apply and accept gender equality policies. The level or success of internalization of gender equality on the other hand has the handicap of being lost in the patriarchal cultures of certain countries. The purpose in adopting the policies also affect the ratio of success, if the reason is modernization gender equality is not appropriated as much. Koray (2011) criticizes EU for being too economy and employment focused, and states that EU should adopt more measures which target social and political status of women to supply gender equality in a more substantive sense.

3.2. Oppositions and Counter-movements on Gender Equality

Ever since the 1980s, a continuous challenge against gender equality has been formed by various movements and discourses. Gender justice, that is the subject of this study has evolved from those movements and approaches, adopting different parts, perspectives and aspects of the movements. The challenges to gender equality resemble each other in different geographies, although they ground on unrelated concepts. However, it can be observed that right-wing policies and religious conservatism has been promoting the challenge against gender equality. New Right governments especially on issues like equal rights and abortion have affected the regression in women's equality, together with the perspectives of religious conservatives from different religions. The stance of the Vatican against gender equality and the following antigender movements of Europe in the 2000s are the significant movements of religious oppositions. Anyhow the right-wing movements and the religiously conservative tendencies have collided to promote the attack on and to promote campaigns against gender and gender equality continuously. Thus, this section of the study will investigate the political and religious movements together to form a stronger argument for the concept of gender justice, which has been influenced by all of these movements.

3.2.1. Neoconservatism and the New-Right

During the second wave of feminism in the 80s, there has been a rise in the 'anti-gender' movements. This era is referred to as the 'backlash' era by Susan Faludi. According to Faludi backlash is not something that just came up, it happens every time feminism becomes powerful and achieves developments (as cited in Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004; Walby, 1993). Women have been pushed back into the household with every anti-feminist backlash, which Faludi describes as feminism going back and forth. (Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004; Walby, 1993).

The global triumph of the New Right had a vital role in the backlash of feminism. Neoliberalism has pushed women back into the household with the decrease in welfare policies (Bryson, 1999). In the second half of 1970s, with the neoliberal

economy's global enlargement and empowerment, welfare state has been abandoned by most of the states around the world. Women have been one of the most effected groups from the reduction in the welfare state policies. Liberal economic models were adopted instead of welfare state. However, the freedom and liberal approach in the economy did not concur with the prehencile policies and norms within the social field. This ideology matched neither classical liberalism, considering the interventions in social life and promotion of traditions, nor conservatism in the classical sense, adopting easily to the global norms and values as the prerequisite of the globalizing world. Hence, the uptrend of a new ideology was on the agenda. Some, interpret this more as an approach than an ideology. The New Right was able to make agile moves since it did not stem from a certain ideology and therefore instrumentalized the beneficial aspects of different ideologies at different times in a pragmatic attitude (Heywood, 2013; Kirk, 2016).

The New Right is formulated as a pragmatic approach, is the combination of liberalism and conservatism in terms of economic and cultural circumstances. The fundamental principles of liberalism are maintained but adopted into the necessities of the current status (Friedrich Von Hayek, 1960). Conservatism within the cultural and traditional norms is implied whereas free market economy is embraced in terms of economic policies. The approach adopts to the circumstances of the globalized world, embracing the global market economy the primary field of support of the state. Perhaps, neoliberalism is a paradox in itself, which Giddens (As cited in King, 1987) criticizes on promoting the global market in terms of economical policies on the contrary to praising traditionalism in terms of culture, nation, religion and family. In this direction, neoliberalism diversifies from liberalism and conservatism as a unique approach to economics and social policies. Kaya summarizes the paradox of neoliberalism as;

On the one hand, it essentialises the role of the individual in contemporary consumerist societies, and, on the other, it revitalises the power of family and community in the absence of a parental welfare state (Kaya, 2015).

Neoconservatism is a reflection of the authoritarian approach of conservatism to social issues and liberal perception of neoliberalism to the market economy

(Yanardağ, 2004). Neoconservatives believed in the power of the market and embraced economic growth as a policy. Free-market and private property are perceived as the necessity or result of the unequal character of human nature. Hence neoconservatism contains neoliberalism within its economical approach. The flexible tendencies of conservatism are adopted within the new-right in terms of social policies and the liberal approach is instrumentalized in consolidating the freemarket economy. Kristol (1995) argues that neoconservatism seeks for an alternative to the welfare state and a system in which reduction in taxes are embraced to initiate economic growth. In short a system in which the intervention of the state to the economy is decreased.

The value given to tradition, culture and religion are the fundamental characteristics of conservatism which is adopted by the new right in terms of controlling the crowds. As conservatism lies within the desire to conserve the present, it rejects novelty or discovery (traditions), attaching sacredness to the past using religion. Neoconservatism on the other hand is in collaboration with adoption to novelties that are in favor of its benefit.

Global market is promoted by the approach to ensure economic stability. Highlighting the aspects of conservatism is crucial on the debates of gender equality since its an ideology that challenges equality policies, rejecting social equality or the essence of a naturally equal relations between humans. The existence of a natural state of inequality is embraced by the conservatives. According to this approach, the different traits and abilities of human beings cause the inequalities naturally on account of this assignment of diverse roles and duties are inevitable. Natural state of inequalities embraced by the conservatives are also effective on the gender policies and relationship. The social roles are assigned to women and men according to their different functions and obligations. For this reason, hierarchy coming from difference is inextricable and inherent, therefore women must embrace the domestic secondary roles assigned biologically (Heywood, 2013). In accordance with conservatives, liberals reject a natural equal state between humans, which is why the two ideologies collaborate on challenging social and gender equality policies.

Due to the faultiness of human mind and mentality, experience and tradition are valued over ration and reason by conservatism, on account of this these notions are attached holiness. It is because of this culpability that the society needs leaders and administrators to ensure stability. Individuals are assigned an identity within a certain group, it being either the family or the nation (Larner, 2000), against which the ideology creates an enemy to fortify the belonging. The incompleteness of humans are to be completed within this institution or attachment, especially in a marital and familial bond formed between man and woman. In terms of the deficiency of humans, women's lack of self-protection and self-government as portrayed by Hegel is criticized by Pateman (1987) to be patriarchally structured. According to Pateman (1987), women are bound under the protection of men and presented unable to govern or protect themselves as individuals, as the result of the neglect of the welfare state to provide substantial protection for its citizens. Here, the state is indifferent towards the protection of women as citizens and the obligation is patriarchally transferred to men and the family. Men are illustrated as the governors and protectors of the family and wives, whereas women don't have the ability to even provide these notions for themselves. The hierarchy created by the need of protection is clinched with the role of breadwinner over the subordinate woman responsible for the domestic sphere (Pateman, 1987). As men and women are incomplete without marriage and each other, they become complete with the holiness of marriage under the traditional family. Family, being the primary unit of conservation of tradition and the present system, is foreshadowed in being challenged with modernization. The existence and maintenance of the traditional family is the guarantee of the desirable society of the approach, regarding its ability to raise new generations who will sustain the cultural norms. Thereupon, institutions of family, tradition and religion are intertwined and instrumentalized by the New Right in preserving the desired society and the nation.

Likewise, in conservatism women are identified with familial roles such as mother, daughter and wife who perpetuate the social solidarity and maintenance (Özgün, 2014). According to Winker (2005) the duty of family is to raise children as part of the society and transform the social and cultural norms and traditions. The control of the fertility policies and exaltation of family surrounds on this transfer as well as

the condemnation of divorce and any other threat against family union (Winker, 2005). Pateman (1987) highlights that theories such as of Hegel, associate women with the family and recognize them only as the members of the institution in contrary to men as citizens. Family is praised as the fundamental unit of the society in which women are pushed into the private sphere, where they will find love and caring in conformity with their nature. Pateman (1987) criticizes the usage of the allegations of innate capacities of men deriving from their nature, to limit women within the private sphere instrumentalizing the welfare state. In other words, she declares that the welfare state allows women into the public sphere only to the extent that they will acknowledge their place in the private sphere as well.

Family and familialism were sublimated as a solution to the regression of the welfare state policies after the 80s in many countries. The New Right presents family as well as religion to be the alternative to the regressed welfare state, providing a protection of traditional beliefs and from alienation (Grzebalska & Pető, 2017). With the rule of Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in USA, the promotive policies towards women into employment were abandoned and the biological motherhood and family were promoted as a part of conservatism. The two governments are famous for having given a start to the combination of neoliberal and neoconservative policies as the pioneers of the New Right approach that has been proliferating even today. Thatcher and Reagan adopted the traditional and cultural conservative policies in society and politics in coordination with the liberal economy.

Considering the pragmatic characteristic of neoconservatism and the New Right and the switch from the welfare state policies, the subordinated groups of the society were proportionately affected by the new economic and social system. With the reduction in social aid, women were faced with poverty and the burdens of the public and private work. The obligations of the state of care were embarked on women, abandoning the official duty of the state towards the citizens. Women were instrumentalized as both the caregiver and the source of the production of the next generation, whom were the guarantee of the continuity of the traditions. Pateman (1987) underlines the importance of welfare state policies by stating that the citizens mostly benefiting from the welfare policies are women, due to the majority of

poverty within the group. The decrease in the policies and privatizations therefore aggravate women's position economically and politically. Labor consisting of care, is usually embarked on women, in the absence or insufficiency of the welfare state. Although women are the caregivers and providers of welfare they are not included in the political stages especially into the higher levels of the state as administrators or policy makers (Pateman, 1987). Pateman (1987) refers to the double-burden women go through during employment to which the system remains indifferent to and states that the distinction should be made between paid work with unpaid work in order to solve the hierarchy. She also highlights that the dichotomies of part-time vs fulltime and paid vs unpaid work reiterate the patriarchal hierarchy between women and men in terms of the state's recognition of women as deficient citizens. Pateman (1987) refers to the distinction of wage-laborer and worker in Britain to better present the dichotomy of the sexes. She underlines that women who work outside the home were defined as wage laborers, whereas men as workers, being the breadwinners of the family.

Similarly, Nira Yuval-Davis (2017) states in her speech that women representatives take a significant part in the neoliberal policies of the New Rights governments and institutions who praise the natural roles assigned to women. Care policies pushing the burden on women, whether it is their own children or to give care in terms of employment, it is a neoliberal policy grounded on natural traits of women. Whereas care should be practiced in terms of equal citizenship between all individuals including every gender (Yuval-Davis, 2017). An eye-catching aspect of the neoconservative and neoliberal approaches is their emphasis on the concepts of gender and equality as well as gender equality as a whole during the last years. The reactions on gender rest on the belief that it is a threat to the traditional society and conjuncture, being an issue under which the radical and conservatives of diverse religions and subjects coalitated. However, this rejection of gender and gender equality policies have inclined the world to a regression on the consensus of fundamental human rights concepts and policies. The trivalization of equality under the category of the natural rights depoliticizes the importance of the struggle and history of the rights (Grzebalska & Pető, 2017).

3.2.1.1. New Right on Gender Equality

The New Right policies have differed depending on the government and the social circumstances and values of the geography and the time. Certain subjects were a matter of struggle for women against the New Right governments, in other words right wing governments who were effective on Western political history. The common struggle of the New Right movements was conserving the traditional family. Thus, feminist accomplishments or developments of women's rights and gender equality were interpreted as threats against family such as ERA or right to abortion. Ronald Reagan in USA and Margaret Thatcher in Britain are considered as the initial representatives of New Right governments. The economy faced with the elimination of unions and privatizations were promoted together with reduction in taxes while a conservative approach on social policies were embraced. The neoliberal economic and neoconservative social policies of Reagan have promoted attacks and countermovements on women's policies and gender equality. These oppositions have mainly focused on the ratification of ERA and the platforms against abortion. Margaret Thatcher in Britain, Reagan in USA have affected gender policies backwards especially in terms of measures such as affirmative action. In fact, Thatcher has criticized women for asking for favors, and stated that she came to where she is only with her hard work¹⁶. With the New Right, government policies reduced social welfare on issues like childcare, maternity leave which was an influential reason for women to go back to the private sphere. During the 1990s women were once again the caregiver of the family, since the state did not provide care for the children or the elderly (Bryson, 1999).

3.2.1.1.1. Equal Rights Amendment

Movements are the tools for change and development in societies. However, the level of reaction they get, depend on the characteristics and the cultural aspects of the movement. Feminist movements for instance have faced with powerful counter-

¹⁶ Thatcher: A strong woman who got to the top but rejected the idea of feminism'. <https://www.foxnews.com/world/thatcher-a-strong-woman-who-got-to-the-top-but-rejected-idea-of-feminism>. Date Accessed; June 2, 2019.

movements beginning from the first wave, since they triggered a fundamentally social and cultural change within family relations, economical market and the political system (Staggenborg, 1998). The movements which have challenged the existing norms and dominant culture have faced with strong oppositions and reactions that led to collective comeback specified as counter-movements.

The countermovements against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in the USA is one of the most significant ones during this period. ERA is on the regulation of equal rights for American citizens regardless of their sex. The segregation between men and women were aimed to be eliminated in various field such as marriage, employment and wages. Although ERA was endorsed by a majority within the society, there were certain groups who opposed to the amendment. ERA was drafted by suffragettes in the early 1920s, but not ratified by the congress and not even brought up until the second wave of feminism in the 1960s. Campaigns in support of the ratification of ERA were organized during the second wave of feminist movement. In 1972, ERA was recognized and sent by the congress to the states. Although the Equal Rights Amendment was approved in 1972 by the American Congress, 3 states refrained from ratifying the amendment. The campaigns against ERA, organized by the conservative groups were the reason for the drawbacks of the states (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Dicker, 2008).

ERA was basically a legal implementation that ensured equality between men and women before the eyes of the state and law. However, it was challenged with powerful counter-movements mainly from the conservatives and traditionalists of the right wing. “Stop-ERA” was the most well-known campaign, consisted of right-wing companies from sectors who would lose money if they equated women’s pay with men. Main arguments opposing to ERA was that it abolished the American traditional family (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Dicker, 2008; Staggenborg, 1998). The Reagan government adopted policies such as the promotion of ‘family’ values ‘family values’ that concerned of the ‘patriarchal American family’.

The ERA was protested for basically three reasons by the religious fundamentalists and right-wing groups. Firstly, it was accused for causing divorce and eliminating

the title of breadwinner from men. In fact, feminist women were accused of dissolving the family by providing financial freedom for women and derogating the role of breadwinner. Secondly, it was claimed that parental control and power over children were loosened with the effect of individual rights movements of the 1960s promoted by ERA. Thirdly, a group of women opposed to the ERA for devaluing and twisting women's familial role and forcing them into the public sphere. They believed that with the ratification of ERA, even women who did not wish to leave being a housewife would be forced into the job market. All in all, the criticisms were mainly related with the conservation of traditional American family (Staggenborg, 1998).

Contrary to the oppositions, the ERA was supported by many housewives and men along with feminist women. The second wave feminists were organized under NOW for the campaigns on the ratification of ERA, still radical feminists hesitated to join the struggle, finding it inadequate for the abolishment of the patriarchal system (Staggenborg, 1998). Feminists evaluated ERA as a liberating implementation, promoting equality whereas some group of women interpreted it as a threat to the traditional American family and women's household. ERA was ratified firstly by 22, then by 13 states. However, the states that ratified ERA withdrew their approvals and ERA failed in the early 1980s. (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Dicker, 2008; Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004; Staggenborg, 1998). With the effect of the Republican president Ronald Reagan, the government embraced New Right policies and strategies which abandoned the promotion of gender equality and women's rights such as affirmative action (Dicker, 2008).

3.2.1.1.2. Women's Equality during Reagan Period

Being supported by the Republican president Reagan, the American government went through a reduction in welfare state with the adoption of neoliberal and neoconservative policies. The glorification of the traditional American family and institutions of marriage and motherhood were strategically implemented to fulfill the deficiency of the welfare state which influenced regressive movements and campaigns on women's rights especially on fertility and reproduction. There was a

huge influence of the conservatives from 'right-wing' including owners of companies and religious fundamentalists on the regressive campaigns on reproductive rights and stance against abortion. Magazines, lobbies and all sorts of media was instrumentalized by the campaigns to transform women's role and image in the society (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Dicker, 2008).

The most controversial issue on women's rights and gender equality during the late 1980s and early 1990s was abortion in the USA. As Yuval-Davis (2003) has underlined, reproductive rights and abortion have a symbolic importance and therefore fundamentalist and religious groups were severely against the procedure and its legalization in the USA. It was with the ruling of the Supreme Court (*Roe vs. Wade*) that abortion was legalized in 1973 (Baxandall & Gordon, 2005; Dicker, 2008; Staggenborg, 1998). After the legalization of abortion, a controversy came up between groups that supported and opposed the procedure. Groups that supported abortion were organized by feminists and defined as the 'pro-choice movement', whereas the groups against abortion consisted of religious fundamentalists defined as the 'pro-life movement'.

Abortion debate was not new in the United States. In fact, it was during the 1970s that Liberal Christians were the head of the groups involved whereas after second wave feminism fundamentalist Protestants lead the antiabortion debate in terms of religion. All of these traditionalist groups supported 'right to life' against the liberties of the individual and women's right to control her own body (Staggenborg, 1998). The abortion debate is a main issue to be discussed amongst religious women as well (Bystydzienski & Sekhon, 1999). Antiabortion groups all accepted sex to be a 'sacred' action, to be a part of the virtuous family and gender roles formed by the creator (Staggenborg, 1998). The most significant group on antiabortion was 'The New Christian Right', which consisted of Christian fundamentalists that were highly conservative. 'The New Christian Right' was concerned not only about the virtue of life but feared to lose the power over family values and traditions as well as parental control in transfer their norms and beliefs to their children, by legalizing abortion and reproductive rights, especially outside of marriage. Hence morality was the main concern of the Christian right on the issue of abortion. Debates on abortion

increased with the end of 1980s and even though the pro-life and pro-choice groups did share common views up to a certain measure, the struggles came to extremes in the 1990s (Staggenborg, 1998). Radical antiabortion groups aggressively attacked clinics, centers where the procedure was done and even the medical staff via bombings, vandalism etc. (Dicker, 2008; Sowerwine & Grimshaw, 2004; Staggenborg, 1998). These extremist groups were against abortion and many oppressed groups in terms of race, ethnicity and gender. This push towards conservatism resulted in policies promoting the family and traditionalism for the next twenty years with the influence of the ascent of global New Right policies (Dicker, 2008).

The Reagan period was famous for the uptrend of religion and traditionalism as parts of neoliberal reforms. The conservatism was on social issues more than on economic values. Issues such as abortion and homosexuality were the main axis of the oppositions. Freedom was interpreted in terms of economic rights regarding Reagan's economic bill of rights. In 1981, taxes were reduced and the Tax Reform Act was adopted in 1986 by the government. Neoliberal policies were utilized in creating new markets to the economy. Privatization of public services and foreign capital was increased within the economic system. A major aspect of the New Right is that it neglects the differences creating disadvantageous positions in society such as gender, class and race, therefore abolishes affirmative action. Hence, affirmative action policies on gender have been eliminated by Reagan and Thatcher governments.

The 1980s brought the rise of religion and conservatism in social issues and the glorification of the family and tradition. Up to the beginning of 1990s, the New Right governments transformed welfare state policies into a government controlled liberal economic market, grown with globalization. The globalized free market was promoted in terms of economy whereas family and religion were emphasized to fulfill the deficiencies in social services with the reduction of the welfare state. Religion and traditional family had vital influence on women concerning the designation of their domestic role during the period. In accordance with the promotion of women's domestic role, new approaches towards the relationship

between men and women were designed in opposition to the struggle of international organizations that embrace gender equality and women's rights.

3.2.2. Equity Approach of the Vatican

An argument on the natural difference between men and women, rejecting the principle of equality was introduced as an opposition to gender equality by religious fundamentalists. The approach towards the just distribution of roles between men and women was first voiced by the Vatican in the fourth UN conference in Beijing, in opposition to concepts of gender and gender equality (Şimga, 2019). Distribution of roles connote the attribution and assignment of gender roles of men and women. It is based on a religious premise, referring to the distribution of the roles of men and women by the creator. This perspective was utilized by religious and conservative circles on the emphasis of creational differences of men and women. The Vatican firstly rejected the concept of gender, and approached to the subject issues as men and women. Condemning other forms of sexuality or sexual orientation other than heterosexuality, it advocated that there can be no other affiliation on humans other than of the creation as men and women (Case, 2011). Gender was therefore rejected all at once by the Holy See¹⁷, before other discussions on women.

Intervention of the religious circle on women's rights began in terms of reproductive rights in the Conference of Cairo, which was organized to design a Program for Action in terms of an unanimity in population development policies by the United Nations Population Fund. The Program for Action was to be planned for a period of 20 years with the participation of the member states (Finkle, 2014). However, the conference is remembered for a different aspect than the objective. An alliance of the Vatican and the Islamist states were formed in opposition to the enlargement in women's reproductive rights. Kandiyoti (2010) highlights that in 1994, Muslim conservatives and the Holy See cooperated during the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) program against women's reproductive rights

¹⁷ The official office of the Vatican. The Holy See participates as an observer in United Nations' organizations.

in Cairo (Kandiyoti, 2010). As Vatican has been well known for opposing on reproductive rights of women as its observer status in UN (Buss, 1998), reproductive rights were condemned by this alliance, both praising the virtuous, religious and traditional family. Some Islamist states boycott the Conference and remained indifferent to the policies whereas the Vatican maintained its position on the rejection of Conference's policies on fertility control and abortion (Cohen & Richards, 2019). A conflict articulated between USA and the Vatican over the issue, by which later the Holy See adopted smoother policies in the Beijing Conference. The unresolved issue proceeded in the Beijing Conference, although the Vatican held more complex strategies in cooperation with the Muslim states. Beijing Conference holds importance for having faced the oppositions on equality and gender by the religious sphere (Buss, 1998).

Compared to the Conference of Cairo, the Vatican was more amenable in the Beijing Conference on women's issues and rights, a part from the gender and equality debates. Regarding that the Vatican had a conflict with USA, it assigned an American professor as the representative, as well as making moves to compensate the rigid approach towards women's rights with Pope's Letter to Women (Buss, 1998). Pope Jean Paul II wrote a "Letter to Women" (Fastiggi, Adolphe, & Vacca, 2013, p.613) in 1995, in which he underlines the 'complementarity' and 'distinctiveness' of the two sexes, being male and female. Although supporting the progress in women's rights in terms of employment, equal treatment and social justice calling it "women's liberation" (Fastiggi et al., 2013, p. 613). He emphasized that the diversities of men and women in terms of social roles do not imply a discrimination or disadvantage of women but rather a richness of the society and creation. The Vatican emphasized the importance of motherhood and fatherhood, relating it to human biology, and showed it as the reason to why gender roles and diversities between the sexes are multifarious and different. The beauty of 'creation' is underlined to support the claim of the virtuousness of complementarity between men and women (Fastiggi et al., 2013).

In accordance with complementarity, marriage is reflected as the holy institution and function of women through the biological differences created by the creator.

Needless to say, gender is seen as to be made up of the two sexes men and women by the Vatican. As it can be observed from above, the Vatican has applauded a policy of the differences between the sexes. The significance of 'creation' is emphasized with the complementarity of women and men by anatomy. Praising the biological traits of women, Pope Jean Paul II underlined women's nurturing and reproductive roles as mother and wife. Although he states that it is valuable that women's status and rights developed in terms of empowerment in the society (Fastiggi et al., 2013). The Vatican reprimanded the fundamental definitions and concepts of the human rights discourse as well as women's rights in the Beijing Conference, to appear more cooperative with the international stance on women's equality (Buss, 1998).

Similarly, a collaboration was formed between the conservative Christians and Islamist states during the Beijing Conference in 1995 (İlkkaracan, 2015). There was a conflict during the Beijing between certain conservative groups and feminists. Religious and traditionalists became organized and formed groups, amongst which were both Muslims and Christians. These two different religious groups made a coalition to interfere with discussions and acquisitions on gender equality (Yuval-Davis, 2003). The castigations were on gender and equality, all together as the gender equality policies were embraced by the UN internationally. Objection on the concept gender was raised by the religious circles in cooperation with the Vatican, enduring on men and women having been created as two sexes and heterosexuals. The recognition of homosexuality and other sexual orientations with the concept gender and the regulation of their rights in a legal basis concerned the Vatican and caused it to oppose to gender altogether as a term and policy. Sexual orientations or lifestyles other than heterosexuality were neglected and denied by the Vatican, leading to a reciprocating position against gender (Case, 2011).

In accordance with gender, equality was another concept criticized by the Vatican on women's rights and policies. The discussion on equality was multi-stranded although resting on the idea of natural differences and complementarity. Thus the equity approach of the Vatican is illustrated to be in relation with the difference approach. Although feminists have not formed the term on this, the difference approach is used by conservatives to imply that women are inferior to men by nature

(Bryson, 1999). Although consisting of different dimensions, the arguments of Vatican rest on the natural characteristics of men and women from the creation, having a theological base. The argument could be formulized into three parts; complementarity, perception of equality and human rights, and natural obligations and duties.

Firstly, the natural differences between men and women are underlined as the valuable characteristics that complement each other as human beings for which equality cannot be idealized between men and women. Without regard to the 'equal dignity' men and women share as humans, having no different or superior status in terms of humanity. Men and women have different functions and obligations deriving from nature, which is why they complement each other and are portrayed as equivalents rather than being equal. This complementarity is the only route to the full awareness of oneself via the embracement of femininity and masculinity according to the Vatican and equal rights subvert the significance of the difference between the two sexes. The drawback on the term equality relies on the misinterpretation or mispresentation of the concept as 'sameness' for which the Vatican orients the agenda towards 'equity' in terms of providing resembling rights instead of equal rights. According to Buss (1998), the strategy of discussing equality as a concept and replacing it with another term is a successful move, regarding the unsettled debate of feminists on the concepts themselves. However, the 'equity'¹⁸ which is used in accordance with equality by the feminist rhetoric, is portrayed as an opposite term to equality by the Vatican (Buss, 1998). Buss (1998) also underlines that although the Vatican focused on a controversial subject in the feminist discourse, difference, the usage of the concept is far from the challenge to patriarchy and oppression, on the contrary refers to the biological differences between men and women, once again reproducing the hierarchy within them.

¹⁸ Equity refers to an auxiliary concept to equality in the gender policies. Often used in strategies for education or employment, to ensure substantive equality in these fields. There are resources and contexts in which equity is referred to as a synonym for equality, even in the gender discourse. However, gender equity illustrated by the Vatican in Beijing, refers to a concept which provides 'similar however not equal' rights for men and women according to the biological and natural differences.

Secondly, women are depicted as mothers, wives and other positions assigned within the family. The Letter of the Pope, referred to women as religious sisters, mothers and daughters, praising their contribution in the sacred duty. Women's status as mothers and wives occupy a significant place within the discourse of the Vatican, towards which the duties and functions are directed. The entrance to employment of women is allowed, which is reflected as the justification on account of this the biological differences of men and women are not constant but can evolve according to circumstances. On the other hand, women's involvement in professions are permitted on a condition to fulfill the biological roles assigned to themselves. In other words, motherhood is positioned as the primary duty, for as long as it is fulfilled, women's entrance to employment is sympathized.

Thirdly, the Vatican recognizes and supports human rights and freedoms however refrains from defining women's rights as human rights. The argument put forward is that human rights are already regulated under various implementations on account of this there is no need for a further assignment to women's rights specifically as human rights. Similarly, the struggle against violence against women and sexual violence are praised by the Vatican, who on the other hand refrain from giving women the authority in making decisions on their own sexuality such as the reproductive rights. Regarding its policies on reproductive rights, the Vatican glorifies family and motherhood over any virtue within the society.

The common point of the neglecting women's human rights and their roles other than mothers or wives endure on the consecration of the family and familial roles. Controlling the reproductive rights rely on the same reason, as the family is appointed as the fundamental unit of the traditional and religious system. As a matter of fact, the Vatican criticized the Platform for underestimating the importance of family and having negative tendencies towards its essence and maintenance. The negative perception of the Vatican of the women's rights activists and feminists is another point that can be related to this reaction towards the policies. The Vatican held the belief of being the representative of women better than the feminists, imputing them as too radical or distant from the public. The basic unit of the desired society is subject to marriage, family and motherhood on account of this these

institutions are praised and negative connotations faced with the reaction of the Vatican (Buss, 1998).

Buss (1998) claims that the Vatican has aimed to create an alternative for women's rights opposing to feminism in the Conference of Beijing, by misreflecting the movement with the old-fashioned approaches and portraying it as Western oriented therefore insufficient for all women. Policies on reproduction and the family were depicted as the attack of imperialism on other countries and cultures, as well as the religious Christian society, with modernity. Feminism was condemned for secularizing the family and the society (Otto, 1996), deminusing the values and traditions, sublimating Western power with its theory and practice.

3.2.3. Gender Equality vs Gender Justice

On equality and equal rights in these various contexts after the 1980s, feminist scholars have advocated the necessity of the concept multiple times. In fact, many scholars and feminists have previously foreshadowed that the misuse and overly glorification of difference might result in the abandonment of gender equality. Heaps of times, this situation happened in diverse periods of history in diverse geographies. As the deconstruction of the fundamental concepts are closely linked to the political encounters and agenda of historical period (Scott, 1988), it is not surprising that gender justice was exerted by the conservatives on gender issues, in Turkey today. Gender justice is often utilized by the conservative circles to designate a way back to religion in reference to the creation. As the socioeconomic policies of the states and parties have begun to take a significant turn towards the right, or in fact nationalist circles, the effort to separate gender equality from welfare state policies emerged. The distortion of gender justice as a policy has reached a peak point in accordance with the expansion of patriarchal, conservative governments throughout the globe. The backlash to liberal societal change seems to be the main target of these retrogressive policies, one of which has the primary aim to abolish gender-neutral social policies (Kandiyoti 2010; Koray 2011; Scott 1988).

It is noted by some feminist scholars that giving up on equality as a whole might result in regression in women's empowerment in women's rights. As cited in Koray (2011), Milkman underlines that feminists must not leave equality or difference in any way. (Koray,2011; Milkman; Kandiyoti 2010; Scott 1988). According to Mossesdottir (2002), the social policies on equality differ depending on the party which is in power. The policies in favor of gender equality increase during the rule of social democrats whereas they tend to decrease during the rule of conservative governments, in the case of Italy, France and Denmark after the 2000s.

The effect of conservative governments on gender equality is highlighted with a famous court case (sears case) by Scott (1988), in which concepts of discrimination were deconstructed as natural difference to social inequalities. Scott (1988) underlines, this was the effect of the political agenda since, there was a deconstruction in strategies of affirmative action during the Reagan period. More relevantly, Kandiyoti (2016) underlines that giving the initiative on women's issues and empowerment to governments, might lead to an ambivalent situation in terms of women's rights in case of Islamist oppositions, whom have not much space for gender consciousness on agenda. On the other hand, Gita Sen, as cited in Kandiyoti (2016), highlights the drift in gender equality and social justice within the globe with the increase in neoliberalism. The rise of neoliberal policies tend to increase conservative policy making in terms of reproductive rights and women's bodies (Kandiyoti, 2010).

Gender equality being the key concept is raised with respect to intergovernmental and international conventions and strategies on women, diverse spheres the feminists. Although it has been formulated differently by feminists approaches, gender equality is embraced today by intergovernmental organizations like UN. Gender equality rests on the combination of feminist approaches, in order to internalize every aspect and virtue. For this reason, the grounds of gender equality, in the sense of international strategy includes the equality, difference and transformative approaches of the feminist strands. Today, gender equality, preserving equality in its formal sense, has been designed to contain the embracement of differences between men and women, as well as the recognition of

diversities between women themselves, promoting intersectionality. Hence, gender equality has the objective of eliminating gender discrimination of any kind and achieving equality in terms of legal and substantive sense, through affirmative action measures and transformation of the patriarchal institutions via implementations adopted in intergovernmental conventions. Equal treatment and equal opportunities are ensured together with the virtue of equal worth as humans by gender equality with the recognition of women's rights are human rights. The significance of women's rights being appreciated as human rights, as previously in the chapter, is realized with the struggle of gender equality and women's movement. This recognition is crucial for interpretation of women as equal with men in terms of citizenship and as individuals, a part from being members of a certain community, that being either the family or the nation. Thus, gender equality has a vital role in the promotion of women's equal citizenship with the internalization of embracing femininity and diversities (race, ethnicity etc.).

Gender justice, although having no exact root within a theory or academic base, signifies the equity approach on the relationship between men and women. Unlike in gender equality, it is controversial whether to use the concept gender or not, regarding the oppositions on its content. The most significant characteristic of gender justice is the inconsideration of women as unique individuals and citizens, without having any attachment to a social community. In other words, this approach neglects women's individuality both in terms of the social and the political content, and identifies them within either the family or a community, sometimes with both. The Letter of Pope specifies this identification with addressing women as either mothers, sisters or daughters, attaching a religious base to their positions. The attribution of certain identities to women other than simply individuals or citizens perpetuate the patriarchal roots of protection and natural deficiencies of women within the religion, as well as impose the sacred duty of preserving the traditional family and society with the domestic roles.

Gender equality and gender justice diversify in especially positioning women as individuals and as part of a community. Gender equality interprets women as sole individuals and citizens who suffer from the prejudice and disadvantageous

circumstances of the patriarchal society, whereas gender justice frames them as delicate and deficient humans that are in need for protection and recognition under a certain community. Accordingly, motherhood and marriage are illustrated as institutions which are essential to complete or fulfill the deficient within a woman by the equity approach, in this case gender justice. The expectation of forming a family and procreating as a woman rests on the objective of the approach on preserving and perpetuating the traditionally religious Christian family by evangelizing the values and beliefs to next generations (Case, 2011). For this reason, women's primary duty is assigned as motherhood and caregiving for the family or else being deficient by nature.

Natural traits and characteristics are highlighted in promotion of gender justice, unlike in gender equality. Although gender equality promoted the recognition of differences between men and women and different women, its objective is to achieve equality by abolishing the obstacles created by these differences. Gender justice on the other hand, is in favor of the perpetuation of the natural differences, to maintain the traditional and religious society, in which the gender roles are distributed according to patriarchal considerations. To put it differently, even though both of the approaches recognize differences between men and women, gender equality is in favor of eliminating the disadvantageous position of women created by them, whereas gender justice underlines them to reinforce the patriarchal roles attributed to women, in order to preserve the traditional character of community. The objective of gender justice relies on its existence being endured on the traditional family and the patriarchal system, including religion.

In short, gender equality is a concept which has deep roots in both equality and gender theories, being the result of the combination of various theories, as the primary actor of women's issues internationally for nearly 30 years. Gender justice, on the other hand lacks a theoretical basis, including theories on equality and justice for which can only be related to religious texts and affiliations. Although both of the concepts recognize differences between men and women, gender justice aims to perpetuate the disadvantageous position of women within the family and the society by underlining them, and affiliating women with the family and marriage. Gender

equality, unlike gender justice, holds the objective of eliminating gender discrimination that has been created with the effect of these differences and support women into an equal position legally and socially.

The gender justice that is subject of this study is a concept that has been formed by the neoconservative discourse of Turkey, with the influence of the equity approach to women and men's relations, presented by the Vatican in the UN Conference of Beijing in 1995. Although gender equality and gender justice are complementary concepts to supply gender consciousness as well as to abolish gender discrimination in the international gender discourse, gender justice is demonstrated as an alternative that is not related to gender equality by the neoconservative discourse in Turkey. The internationally renown concept of gender justice, implies the fair distribution of justice to every citizen regardless of gender and gender discrimination. The neoconservative discourse on the other hand, creates a new approach towards gender relations severely influenced by the Vatican as a binary opposite of gender equality and suggest that gender discourse should abandon equality. Gender justice is translated directly into English from Turkish, on account of this the content of the concept and the name is in confusion. Although the gender justice implied by neoconservatives of Turkey signify the equity approach of the Vatican, the translation has focused on justice rather than equity, on account of this this paper refers to the concept as gender justice. Hence, gender justice in the sense of Turkey will be discussed in this chapter, independent from the international connotation of gender justice.

In accordance with the Vatican, the neoconservative discourse of Turkey repugnates other sexual orientations than heterosexual men and women on account of this they neglect issues on LGBTQ, in discussions of gender and gender policies. In contrast to the Vatican on the other hand, they do not refrain from the usage of the term gender, but use the strategy to transform the meaning of the concept to another connotation, that solely being heterosexual men and women. Due to the neglection of the gender justice approach to other sexual orientations other than heterosexuality, this study will focus on the gender relations between men and women in terms of the neoconservative discourse and gender equality.

3.2.4. Gender and Islamist Fundamentalism

Islamist fundamentalism that contains a similarity in terms of content (not concept or definition) in terms of gender and the gender justice approach in Turkey is present in Iran. Being under the rule of Islam, since the end of 70s, Iran consists of various groups that approach gender and religion from different perspectives. The related perspective to the subject of the thesis could be summarized as the ‘gender balance’ approach of the Islamist fundamentalists. The interpretation of women and gender of this group is similar to the perception of the Christian fundamentalists at many points especially on the preservation of the traditional family and women’s identification with motherhood and duties as wives. Although Islamist fundamentalists share the perspective of Christian fundamentalists on women’s functions and duties deriving from creation, women’s rights and gender equality are often portrayed as Western notions inaccurate for men and women’s relations. It is argued that the West has primarily discriminated and oppressed women and later aimed to equalize them with men with identical rights which is inaccurate considering men and women are different. Morteza Motahhari, the leading individual in terms of women’s rights among Islamist fundamentalism, emphasizes that men and women are different in essence and biology on account of this they should be embraced in terms of their natural capacities. Islamist fundamentalism breaks Christian fundamentalism at this point and advocates that men and women should attain different rights and obligations including professions in accordance with their traits (Masoud, 2002; Mir-Hosseini, 1999, 2004).

The approach of Islamist fundamentalists to gender is represented from a ‘balance’ perspective, which refer to various fields of science in justifying their arguments such as psychology and sociology. According the approach of balance, women and men are complementary in creation which is why marriage should be designed on these different functions and duties of men and women. The differences should not be interpreted as unequal or unjust but rather the prerequisites of the natural order and justice provided by Islam. Equality is once again presented as sameness and regarding women and men’s differences in nature deriving from creation they cannot attain ‘identical’ rights. Gender equality is demonstrated as a Western

invention subsequently it should not be applied on the society of Iran. References to Western history of women are made to justify the insufficiency of equality on empowering women. As the essential differences of women are neglected in terms of the legal implementations, women's need for protectionism is underlined. Motahhari (as cited in Masoud, 2002) states that women are fond of being protected from nature and men look for protecting women, women wish to be controlled whereas men wish to control (Mir-Hosseini, 1999) and bases this argument on the physical superiority of men which was the objective of God in the first place. Grounding on this protectionism and the creational physical differences, the Islamist fundamentalists advocate that women and men should enjoy different professions and rules in accordance with their diverse functions and duties deriving from creation (Masoud, 2002). The natural differences are explained with the creation but verified by the utilization of sciences by the balance approach. As a result of the difference essence, 'proper rights' are approved instead of equal rights for men and women (Mir-Hosseini, 1999). Promoting the domestic roles attributed to women by the society, the balance approach emphasizes motherhood and domestic labor as the primary duty for women, in harmony with their natural functions. The principle of balance rejects the equality between men and women in institutions like marriage and family, in fact support the lack of women's rights on divorce, embracing that men are the head of the household. The name balance therefore signifies the balance in duties and rights. In other words men are assigned more rights compared to women because they have the obligation to fulfill more duties as the head and the protector of the family and women (Masoud, 2002; Mir-Hosseini, 1999, 2004).

The balance approach has similarities with the gender justice approach of the neoconservative discourse in Turkey, in terms of the protectionism and underlining of the natural differences between men and women. However, the contents and strategies of the balance approach advocates that women's rights and citizenship should be regulated differently. As Turkey is a secular republic, in which women enjoy equal rights to men in terms of citizenship and marriage, although the references to Islam in terms of creation are made, it would not be quite accurate to state that the balance approach resembles the gender justice approach. Furthermore, the policies and strategies of the gender justice approach are more similar both in

practice and strategy to the anti-gender movements and equity approach of the Vatican in terms of addressing women's status within the nation and the family especially on the areas of employment and education.

3.2.5. Anti-Gender Movements and Stagnation of Gender Equality in the 2000s

Over the past decade, the gender movements have been facing with counter movements globally. The authoritative governments have been uptrending around Europe and the Western countries, with support from the capital market in the shades of right populist parties. France, Britain, Hungary, Ukraine, Poland, the Philipines and finally Turkey, the uprise of populism of the neoconservative governments have evolved especially after 9/11 under the curtains of nationalism. The conservative governments of the East have certain aspects in common. For instance economic crisis have paved the way for their rule and they have positioned the West as a rival with the instrumentalization of nationalism. Thus, an enemy which is never significant or specific but rather adaptable at any geography or form is created (Demir, 2017). There are two views for the development of this strategy. One is that the uptrend of nationalism and authoritarian approach of governments with the effect of 9/11 and reaction against terrorism. The other finds the fault in the New Right which is composed of both neoliberalism and neoconservatism in ideology. Whichever the reason is, it is a fact that many countries have been suffering from the authoritarian approaches of the governments in gender policies as well as in almost all fields of social, political and economic spheres. Although the states were denoted to have internalized gender policies in regard to international conventions and implementations, the request of regression have been on the agenda of certain countries including of Europe. While the movements all have unique characteristics, they have many similarities, especially the Eastern European countries. The regressive movements and the pressure against gender equality resemble each other in countries such as Poland, Ukraine and Turkey. Issues like abortion and reproductive rights have continuous characteristic in terms of historical foundation (e.g. Ireland, USA) whereas the elimination of gender equality and gender are fairly new. The main concern of the regressive movements appears to be on the

conservation of the nation and the traditional society. The regressive movements of certain countries have compulsive similarities with the Turkish context on account of this they will be discussed in this part of the study.

The regressive movements in Poland have began in 1989 and continued in the 1990s, and finally resulted in the restriction of legal abortion. During the 1990s the political atmosphere and the majority of the parliament shifted with the impact of the religious officials and antiabortion lobbies began to emerge and finally in 1993, legal abortion on demand was prohibited. Currently only under certain circumstances which entail the threat of life of the mother or in terms of a crime that abortion is permitted in Poland. A proposal of a new regulation that prohibits abortion under any circumstance was submitted to the parliament in 2016, which led to the stunning Black Protests. The protests composed of women and men that searched for the freedom of control over women's own body. Warshow meeting that took place on October 3, 2016 was one of the most participated demonstrations in Poland, with the attendance of 50 thousand people. The draft of the bill that prohibits abortion totally has been submitted once again to the parliament in 2018, which were faced with stronger protests. Regressive policies on abortion have been emerging ever since the liberation from the Soviet Union, with the pressure of the conservatives. Women's protests and movements have been the strongest reactions against these reversal in gender policies (Graff & Korolczuk, 2017; Staroszczyk, 2017).

Similar to Poland, Ireland is another country in which abortion has been a controversial issue. Feminists of Ireland have been struggling with the prohibition of abortion for years against conservative traditions and perspectives. The abortion ban was taken before the ECHR for which the court decided on the necessity of the government to adopt new regulations on abortion. Nonetheless what changed the idea of the government was not the court decision per se, but the protests held after the tragic death of a woman from septicemia due to the prohibition of abortion. Finally four years after the court's decision, abortion was permitted for only women who have the tendency to commit suicide, in addition a committee of priests were to make the decision. With the adoption of the oppressive regulation, protests were

raised across the country in which various spheres of individuals from men to women, students to workers attended in struggle for the assignment of a referendum on abortion (Auliffe & Kennedy, 2017; Waszak, 2017).

Ukraine, ever since the collapse of Soviet Union, has been socializing with western world as well as universal ideologies like feminism and gender policies. Gender policies have been improving in Ukraine ever since the establishment of the country after the collapse with the support of intergovernmental organizations, primarily UN (Lamakh, 2017). Similar to Turkey, women's movement was legalized under women's and gender research centers in universities with support of UNDP, as well as establishment governmental institutions. The legal reforms included codes on domestic violence and equal opportunities between men and women in the 2000s. With these codes Ukraine was obliged to adopt to the international gender measures and policies. Majority of the policies focused on education given on domestic violence and other women's issues to certain professions. Withal the country faced with a powerful response in terms of counter movement from the conservatives and religious officials later supported by state officials (Lamakh, 2017). The strategies instrumentalized by the conservatives were the establishment of their own NGOs focusing on the protection of the family, antagonizing gender and feminism as a threat. The conservative groups pressure feminists on aiming to destroy the traditional Ukrainian family. Feminism is reflected with a distortion by these groups as immorality to raise familialism and conservatism under nationalism and traditionalism. The regressive struggle of these groups have been mobilized into the parliament even attacking the ratification of the Istanbul Convention. The antigender movements have a wide impact in Ukraine basically by pressuring the government and influencing the society with false implications and definitions of feminism and gender, portraying them as indecent and corrupt (Lamakh, 2017). Regression of women's rights and gender policies in Ukraine, although having accrued before, show concrete similarity with Turkey, which is discussed in Chapter 5.

The regressive movements on women and gender have been present beginning from second wave feminism. Sometimes they focused on same issues in different geographies such as abortion, sometimes they have diversified depending on local

sensitivities as in the case of Ukraine. Abortion having been the main concern for all the countries is the accurate reflection of the patriarchal and dominant policies of the New Right, aiming to control the fertility of women. The shifts in women and gender policies have begun with the change in economic, social and political systems, in some cases transformation from welfare state to neoliberalism and other from communism to capitalism. In every case, the neoliberal approach of the governments have solidified states' policies on women, and reproductive rights, promoting traditional family to replace the vacancy of the welfare state (Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017).

An extensive form of an antigender movement has spread around Europe within the last years. This rising ideology consists of traditionalist and conservative influences of the Catholic Church together with the nationalist and traditionalist ideologies of the New Right. In accordance with the increasing Islamophobia and immigration in the Western world, there has been a growth in the plea of conserving national and traditional values in European countries. Sometimes it has been shaped with the objective of preserving and protecting the national identity and norms such as in France (Stambolis-Ruhstorfer & Tricou, 2017), whereas it can be in form of maintenance of the familial system and traditional values as in Poland. Although the movements show diversity in terms of propaganda or reflected reason, they show similarity on the grounding purpose and strategy.

The groups leading the movement are composed of communities of various affiliations amongst which are; conservatives, religious fundamentalists, antiabortion groups, family unions and politicians and parties of the far right with mainly religious backgrounds. The rising antigender movements today are the enhanced and altered versions of the approach of the Vatican in the conferences of Cairo and Beijing in the 1990s. Having focused on different subjects and utilizing diverse strategies, all of the movements stem from the conservative approach of the Catholic Church. As in fact it has been layed out that most of the movements are either affiliated or funded by Churches or the clergy. In terms of religious attachment, it is noteworthy that the antigender movements have been transformed into various forms according to the embracement of religion within the country. In

France for instance, these movements have been aggregated under a secular form, regarding the secularist structure of the nation (Stambolis-Ruhstorfer & Tricou, 2017), whereas stayed more religious and pious in countries like Italy or Spain. Hence, although the fundamental objectives and targets are the same, the strategies and arguments are put forward in accordance with the national, cultural and religious conjuncture of every specific country.

Strategies that have been utilized in every country within Europe in terms of the antigender movement was significantly the protection of the family and the maintenance of the national values and identities. The ideology of gender is positioned as an enemy in terms of having the danger of transforming the traditional family, into a homosexual form, denying the religion and creation. The enemy is formulated again regarding the religious status and approach to a significant geography of the country. For instance, antigender movements focus on the conservation of traditional values and family against the demoralized West in Poland, whereas it is positioned as an American notion by French groups in accordance with the opposite connotation of USA to the French national identity (Stambolis-Ruhstorfer & Tricou, 2017). Similarly, it is portrayed as a totalitarian notion, resembling the communist regimes and practices in the Eastern European countries that have a prior experience with communism. In Germany and Austria on the other hand, the antigender movement through gender mainstreaming is demonstrated as totalitarian, interfering with national order and system (Mayer & Sauer, 2017; Villa, 2017). All in all, in most states gender ideology is evaluated as an intervention of the international institutions and foremost the EU on the national identity and values. Thus, it can be observed that all of these groups include a form of traditionalism and conservatism within their structure.

The main concerns of the antigender groups around Europe are mainly the protection of the traditional family and national identity on account of this they have a stance against same-sex marriage. Some groups also oppose to sex education in schools such as in Poland, as well as condemning the international implementations such as the Istanbul Convention. Gender studies courses and centers are challenged by the antigender groups in accordance with the conservation principle, however

sometimes found to be redundant by certain groups like in Germany and Austria (Mayer & Sauer, 2017; Villa, 2017). These groups advocate that gender equality has already been achieved, for the establishment and activation of these centers would be discrimination to men and sabotage the family. The Catholic countries on the other hand have focused on abortion and have been shaped in terms of mainly antiabortion groups as in Italy and Spain, when in fact the antigender movement is composed of family and parent unions rejecting same-sex marriage mainly.

Although these countries are a part of the Western world, gender and gender equality has been positioned as an opponent to traditional family and national identity with the argument that it is a Western notion. In fact the place where the antigender movements have stemmed from, the Vatican, outrightly Pope Francis refers to gender as “ideological colonization” (Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017, p.8). The Vatican has utilized the strategy to present itself as the true representative of women and men, condemning feminism and instrumentalized traditionalism in deconstructing and reconstructing the notions and concepts of gender and feminist discourse. In terms of the justification of the opposite positioning of gender and the gender ideology, the antigender groups from a victimization discourse, situating an opponent either the West, communism or secularism, depending on the beliefs and values of the nation. The uptrend of the antigender strategies and movements have been in accordance with the increase in secularism of Europe, on account of this the Vatican has accused gender of secularizing the traditional Christian family. In short, the Catholic Church, the right and conservative parties and groups have cherished each other in promoting the antigender stance. The reference of the Vatican to “equal dignity over equal right”(Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017, p.9) has been perpetuated in the name of preserving the traditional, heterosexual family and the national identity. Hence, the religious movement on abortion crosscuts the populist literature of the right. Women have become prominent in the movements, as public figures in many countries.

The effects of the anti-gender approaches have been effective on Turkey as well, being part of the international community with both geographical imminence and being obligated with intergovernmental conventions. Stagnations and struggles

towards gender equality and women's rights have shifted from time to time in the country. Harmony with the international context had sometimes been possible, whereas the circumstances differed depending on local factors. However, it would be accurate to conclude that the gender justice approach of neoconservatives in Turkey resemble the antigender approach ideology rising in Europe consisting of the effect of the Catholic Church and the right-wing policies concerning the family and traditionalism. This approach is similar more to the Western antigender movement than to the Muslim significations and policies. The discourse against gender equality in Turkey has used the strategies of victimization and preservation of national identity, similar to these European countries. Gender equality and the stagnations of gender are investigated in terms of Turkey and the Turkish rhetoric in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER POLICIES IN TURKEY AND THE RISE OF NEOCONSERVATISM UNDER THE JDP GOVERNMENT

4.1. Acquisitions of Women's Movements Before JDP

The Republic of Turkey has cooperated with international institutions and entities from its establishment. Women's movements and struggle for equality can be divided into two eras as before and after the government of JDP in relation to this study. Turkish women's struggle for equality has been told to stem from the women's movement of the prerepublican era, started by activists such as Halide Edip Adıvar (S. Çakır, 1994). However, with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, women's rights and freedom have been imposed on the society with state policies as a terminus of Turkish modernization. White (2003), refers to this period as 'state feminism', regarding the state policies of the state on equal rights and citizenship of women to men. The early republican period is appreciated by the first generation women whereas criticized to form 'state patriarchy' on women's liberation by the following generations (Cansun, 2013). After the establishment of the republic, the Turkish state promoted women's policies in the name of modernization step by step (A. Saktanber & Corbacioglu, 2008).

Firstly, the Civil Code was adopted in 1926 that regulated marital rights and societal rights of Turkish citizens. These rights granted Turkish women the right to divorce, contrary to the previous case in the Ottoman era. Monogamy was regulated under the Civil Code to protect women and embrace equal citizenship in marriage. Following, in 1934, Turkish women's right to vote was regulated on a national level for the first time. Women's struggle for suffrage had been given under the roof of

Turkish Women's Union¹⁹ in 1924 (Aydemir & Aydemir, 2011), however had not succeeded until 1934. As the protests grew and women marched to the National Assembly for suffrage, women's right to vote was firstly regulated for the municipality elections in 1930 and the right to be elected in 1933. Finally in 1934 women gained full suffrage and were considered as equal citizens (N. Arat, 1996). In 1935, 18 women were elected in the National Assembly.

Women acquired comprehensive form of rights on sociocultural matters. For instance, the obligation of wearing the veil set during the Ottoman rule was abolished and institutions such as marriage and divorce were legalized with the adoption of the Civil Code. As Turkish women were the center of the republican reforms of modernization, contemporary feminists criticize the era for objectifying them as the symbols of the new system and instrumentalizing them for state policies²⁰. Kandiyoti (2007), highlights that the women attending and dancing in the balls, wearing skirts and shorts are the image of how the republic shaped women's appearance. However, this liberation of women failed to reach the less educated women, therefore even though the Turkish woman was 'emancipated', she was not 'liberated' (Kandiyoti & Bora, 2007). The ability and duty of women to rear the future citizens as mothers were underlined, for why education and intelligence is valued by the reformists, according to feminists. Thus, the policies of reforms are criticized for using women as the tools of Westernization, instead of granting them freedom and equality as citizens like men. Kardam, on the other hand rejects that the objective was neither Westernization nor to control the society, the aim of the state was to provide equality for real between men and women, as the president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk has idealized (As cited in Arat, 1996). As the result of the revolutions of the new state, women were legally able to hold occupations such as doctors, teachers, judges just like men (N. Arat, 1996).

¹⁹ Türk Kadınlar Birliği, was established in 1924 by Turkish women. Most of them were activists during the Ottoman rule. The union targeted to enter the elections in 1925 with Nezihe Muhittin and Halide Edip Adivar as candidates for MP, however the General Assembly vetoed women's entrance into politics (Abadan-Unat, 1996).

²⁰ See for e.g. Serpil Çakır, Deniz Kandiyoti, Serpil Sancar, Coşar and Yeğenoğlu.

4.1.1. Feminist Movement

Republic of Turkey went through an economic and political transformation in the early 1980s with the government of ANAP (Mainland Party). ANAP was a political party that idealized neoliberalism as its ideology. With the rules of ANAP (who was the majority government between 1983-1991), economic policies shifted towards a neoliberal end including privatization of state enterprises and reduction in welfare policies. ANAP was the reflection of the New Right in Turkish politics, embracing neoliberalism and free market together with traditionalist approach on social norms and values. The party has the significance of transforming state-based economy of Turkey and to introduce it with neoliberalism. 1980s were the era of change in Turkey with the effect of the coup d'état performed by the military on September 12.

The radical political ideologies of left and right were abandoned and a center-right liberal approach rised in politics. The women's movement filled the void created by the regression in social activism and social movements. Hence, it was during the 1980s that the new women's movement began to sprout with the prior impact of the liberation movements in the 1960s and 1970s, second wave feminism, of the West. This movement basically focused on domestic violence, reproductive rights and women's equality (Aksoy, 2018). During the 1980s, women's movement started with small group meetings similar to the consciousness raising groups in the West. Women's activism was made up of heterogenous groups of women consisting of housewives, professors, and educated women. The meetings started in large cities mainly Ankara and Istanbul held by small groups, then increased to wider meeting in conference halls (Timisi & Gevrek, 2002).

An organization, 'Women's Circle', very active at the time, formed a petition for the ratification of CEDAW. The demonstrations and protests of women's NGOs has had a significant effect on the implementation especially during the end of 1980s. 1980s were more of a mass movement full of street protests and petitions, feminist publications were made and prepared. The protests "march against battering" on 1987 that took place in Istanbul is reflected to be the most important mass protest /

street movement in Turkey concerning women (N. Arat, 1996; Işık, 2002; Timisi & Gevrek, 2002). The Turkish women's movement focused on various subjects beginning with formal equality to the oppression of women in the private sphere, in accordance with second wave feminism (Y. Arat, 2016). Most of the Turkish feminists were women who have separated from the leftist movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Women questioned the patriarchal norms of the leftist movements which they were once part of, however not liberated or recognized enough in terms of their female identity. (Bora, 2002). Feminist movement in Turkey focused on the matters on the private sphere such as marriage and motherhood, nonetheless later discussed sexuality and reproduction (Sancar, 2012). This movement struggled for the recognition of women as individual citizens rather than identities that are part of certain communities (Y. Arat, 2016).

In accordance with the global proliferation of institutionalization as part of the ratification process of CEDAW, the foundation of women's movement shifted from the streets to actors of civil society as NGOs and associations in cooperation with intergovernmental organizations. The NGOs of the 1980s began to focus on major specific issues in the 80s (Işık, 2002). In 1989, the first, 'Women's Research and Education Center' of Turkey was established in İstanbul University (N. Arat, 1996). The local and national women's NGO's began to form relations and negotiations with municipalities governments and political parties. Women's shelters, libraries, magazines and centers for gender studies were organized.

During the 1990s, the movement started to collaborate with international institutions and activists attended conferences, which caused a transformation in the society's perception of women's rights (Aksoy, 2018; Gedik, 2016). Violence against women and domestic violence was the major axis of Turkish feminist politics throughout the 1990s. The campaigns and policies drew attention to all sorts of violence against women including domestic violence. Individual rights and freedoms were the fundamental concepts of struggle with debates on patriarchy and hegemony. The political discussions on gender and gender equality emerged with the impact of international organizations, agreements and institutions in Turkey. United Nations being the most influential and effective one of course, impinged legislative

regulations concerning women on a significant level. The Republic of Turkey signed CEDAW in 1985 and ratified it in 1986. Later in 1995, the Beijing Declaration was signed and measures were guaranteed to be taken. Regarding gender equality there are two forms of changes in Turkey; institutional regulations and legal regulations. On institutional base the ‘Directorate General on the Status of Women’ was established in 1990, “to abolish any form of discrimination against women, to protect and improve women’s rights and to provide equal opportunity and treatment in every of society” (Cansun, 2013; Işık, 2002). The directorate has been rearranged with a legal change in 2011.

With the pressure of women’s protests and the NGOs, reforms concerning women began to be discussed in various legal fields starting from 1998. European Union is the second institution to have influenced Republic of Turkey significantly on women’s and gender equality. Even far more than UN itself concerning the fact that Turkey has had the intention of becoming a member for years, hence is obliged to fulfill the necessary standards. It can be observed especially in the legal system that the EU accession process carried women’s status to a higher level with the obligatory reforms in various fields of the society and rights. Turkey has signed an additional protocol for full adjustment to CEDAW in 2000 and entered the EU Gender Equality Program in 2003 as an obligation of the accession process. Meanwhile, under the JDP government ‘The Commission for Equal Opportunity of Women and Men’(KEPEK) was established in 2009, to abolish gender discrimination and provide equal opportunity to women and men by the parliament. Turkey presented reports to the CEDAW Committee in the years of 1997, 2005 and 2008 on Turkey’s status on gender equality (Koray, 2011).With the latest form of legal reform Turkey ratified is ‘The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence’ in 2011, known as the ‘Istanbul Convention’. The convention has four objectives and functions; to protect, prevent, prosecute and eliminate violence against women. More precisely to provide policies against violence against women, to protect women against gender discrimination via education in order avoid it, to protect and provide assistance to women who suffer from violence and to supply correct sanctions against violence.

Although Koray (2011) finds it important that gender equality policies have been brought into agenda in Turkey and that the issue of gender discrimination has become visible, the policies have not been functional in reality. She underlines that the gender equality policies in Turkey have been established with the sake of ‘modernization’ and adoption to the international arena, The reason gender equality has not been internalized in Turkey depends on the conservative culture, socio economic norms and the late timing of the adoption of the policies (Koray, 2011). Sancar (2012) argues that, women realized in the 1980s that the reforms of during the establishment of the republic were not sufficient in emancipating women from the patriarchal structure of the society in Turkey, therefore the necessity of a transformation in the social understanding a part from the legal implementations. Similarly, women’s issues have been frequently discussed and addressed. Howbeit, the subject of attention is usually the family and institutions like motherhood on women’s rights and issues rather than the individual emancipation (Acar & Altunok, 2013). Hence, it can be observed that the implementations and discussions on women do not contain a feminist perspective and feminism is alienated from the legal procedure of women’s rights by the right-wing parties. As Koray (2011) has emphasized violence against women or domestic violence, for instance, are coped with from a unique perspective, neglecting its patriarchal roots and perception. Similar to Tekeli (1998)’s emphasis on the feminist movements limitation with educated, middleclass women in Turkey, currently a politics of exclusion of the feminist theory is applied on women’s issues. This unconsciousness or confusion is observed from politics to the academia in current conjuncture mostly within the neoconservative discourse. As its reflection in the academia, Ecevit (2010) has italicized that even though the number of studies on women and women’s issues increase every day, the interpretation and content of the feminist discourse and utilization of feminist perspective has been perilous.

The feminist movement in Turkey was criticized for being capsuled to a certain group of women, middle-class, educated living in big cities and neglecting the problems of diverse identities and spheres (Bora, 2011). During late 90s the feminist movement began to undergo a change within itself and differed into various groups in Turkey. Women’s groups began to identify themselves according to other

characteristics such as Kurdish feminists and Islamist feminists (Bora, 2011; Bora & Günal, 2002). Islamist women showed significance in the 90s, first with the headscarf ban. Headscarf was banned in the state institutions including universities. College students who could not enter the universities made protests against the ban with the support of certain feminist groups, which resulted in a formation of a movement (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017; Saktanber, 2006). Islamist feminists were of various debates to whether women can be both feminist and Islamist.

According to Eraslan (2002), the movement of Islamist feminists started in the late 90s and had a two dimensional form. With the headscarf issue they stood against the secular state and with the reformist understanding they were against the conservative Islamists. In both of the dimension they aimed to prove that Islam does not mean the demeaning of women and that women have the right to dress and live as they wish (Eraslan, 2002). From that time on feminism and women's empowerment spread to Islamist women. As the reforms of the codes took place, these women supported feminists in standing against the patriarchal norms along with the feminists during the legal reforms (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017). Women from all these groups having diverse characteristics joined together for gender equality, under 'negative partnership' which was gender discrimination.

Although, currently any of the women's groups identify themselves with third wave feminism and intersectionality, some groups of women neglect feminism or women's movement of the previous years and attribute a whole different meaning to 'gender equality'. Neoconservative women are one of the significant groups, who refrain from the terms feminism or women's empowerment and reconstruct a new form of societal justice. What separates them from the Islamist women or conservatives in other words is their adaptation to liberalism and free market. The conservative tendencies have been increasing since 2002, when JDP (Justice and Development Party) came into power. With the election of the neoconservative government, the gender equality policies tend to go backwards (Koray, 2011).

4.2. Gender Equality Policies After JDP

JDP (Justice and Development Party) came into power in 2002, following the economic crisis of 2001 in Turkey. The party consisted of conservatives from the previous Islamist Party RP (Welfare Party), liberals from right-wing parties, other right-wing politicians and even some previously leftist politicians. JDP was established with the goal of supplying economic, social and political stability and development (Çınar, 2013), regarding a neoliberal economic model and politics, in collaboration with the Western countries. During its initial years JDP sought for a more comprehensive, accommodating and inclusive politics. However, holding the majority of the seats in the TBMM continuously for four years of government its politics became more and more authoritarian, unidirectional and exclusive over the years. (2002, 2007, 2011 and 2016), JDP continued to increase its power (Aksoy, 2018; Coşar & Yeğenoğlu, 2011; Dedeoğlu, 2012; Güneş-Ayata & Doğançün, 2017; Kaya, 2015).

The ideology of JDP was initially defined as ‘conservative democracy’ as underlined in the party charter (Coşar & Yeğenoğlu, 2011; Kaya, 2015). JDP refers to values such as social justice, pluralism, free market economy and democracy within the charter, stating the virtues they wish to employ during years of power. Freedom of religion and permittance of religious practices within state institutions, which have been banned because of laicism were its sensitivity towards freedom and democracy (Kaya, 2015). JDP government has embraced privatization as the fundamental aspect of their interpretation of social stability (Atalay, 2017). Many institutions and enterprises were privatized which previously belonged to the public or the state. The neoliberal policies were managed with socio-cultural conservatism, “mélange of neoliberalism and neoconservatism” (Atalay, 2017, p.4).

4.2.1. Pillars of JDP’s Neoconservatism

The discourse of the neoconservatives on gender and women endures on the new term gender justice in Turkey. With this new discourse the role women play in the society have been planned by the government under the influence of religion,

patriarchy and nationalism. As approaches praising creation have been promoted by religious conservatives in both Christianity and Islam. The reflection of the gender justice has become the neoconservatives of ‘New Turkey²¹’. The form of state is formulated within JDP’s party charter as; conservative, neoliberal, traditionalist and nationalist. However, regarding its comprehensive approach, the concepts have been redefined and instrumentalized by JDP, different from the previous governments of Turkey. JDP has been established by former state officials and MPs of right-wing parties like RP (Welfare Party) and ANAP. The party was accused plenty of times as the continuation of the conservative, Islamist fundamentalist party RP, since its leaders were the important figures (Çavdar, 2006). JDP however, refuses to be affiliated with National Outlook and Islamist fundamentalism, instead prefers to be identified with the former New Right governments such as ANAP. This reference is perceived as partly correct by various scholars considering JDP’s conspicuous differences from National Outlook²². Although the ideology is defined as ‘conservative democrat’ (Akdoğan, 2004), the formulation of conservatism is rather liberal.

Conservatism has been previously utilized by political parties such as DP, RP, SP in Turkey, nevertheless the form of conservatism embraced by these parties rather different. The conservatism of JDP is generally affiliated with the Islamist fundamentalism of the National Outlook Movement and the party is accused to have a hidden agenda of transforming the secular state (Cansun, 2013). According to Türköne (2003) the conservatism that holds a significant place within the political discourse rests on the preservation of the traditions and cultural values, which are acknowledged to hold the society together and create the identity of attachment. Conservatism is identified as a ‘position’ rather than an ideology by the

²¹ New Turkey is an eye-catching concept created by the JDP government in their speeches and state programs. Although it connotes diverse aspects in various fields of governing, the main result and aim is evaluated as to erase the traces of the laicist, Kemalist Republic of Turkey and to establish a state in the ideology of the party.

²² Milli Görüş, is a movement initiated by Necmettin Erbakan in 1969, grounding on Islamist conservatism. The movement has been criticized to be a threat to the principle of secularism of the Republic and the parties of MDP, MSP, RP and FP were closed by the constitutional court in threat to secularism. The movement divided into two parties; SP and JDP in 2001 (Cansun, 2013).

representatives who tend to rely on experience instead of rationality. This characteristic also osculates on the prejudice on the creation of humans as incomplete, which must be controlled by a hierarchical state. Türköne (2003) underlines that social status and divisions hold an unchangeable place in this discourse for that reason each individual has obligations and liabilities to fulfill depending on their roles within the society. The division of social roles are praised as the resource of harmony, instead of conflict. This intelligence of harmony, in terms of women's issues, is often observed in the discourse of neoconservatives.

As Göle (2002) highlights, the Islamist movement shaped a new political identity around their ideological values with the use of religious symbols that are transformed into political symbols such as the headscarf, turban or circle beards. The position of National Outlook against capitalism and modernism was transformed by JDP, under a form which stands in accordance with the values and methods of Islam however adopts into the modern rhetoric. The political position is JDP, is quite controversial unlike the National Outlook which has strictly denied Western cooperation such as EU membership and adoption of modern norms and values (Hale & Özbudun, 2010). JDP underlined a system in which cooperation with the West is inevitable and benignant, as much as the necessity of the protection of cultural and religious traditions and values (Kalaycıoğlu, 2007). The contradiction between the two approaches were often criticized primarily by the proceeding National Outlook, whom denounce their previous colleges as having surrendered to Westernism and modernization. The inclusive approach has turned upside down within the last years of government. During the initial years of government, JDP was supported mostly by the Western allies. According to White (2013), JDP utilized the experiences from the National Outlook years and adopted the strategies into party politics.

The structure and position of JDP, is associated by many critics to the conservative Christian democrats of Europe, especially considering that the emphasis on democracy remains its status the distance towards the root of the movement, religion has been significant within the initial years. Unlike National Outlook, JDP determined to keep the distance with religion, identifies itself far from Islamist

parties and moving itself towards the Western understanding of democracy. Although JDP positioned itself distant from National Outlook, the opposition impeach the party for being the endurance of the movement and sustain the same terminus and objectives. In fact, in the initial JDP stood against any comments disregarding modernization and Western concepts, whereas within the last years the emphasis on ‘local and national²³’ resembles the approach of National Outlook, aggrandize national ideologies and traditions. Another point that resembles National Outlook can be specified as the pragmatism of ‘love’ and ‘service’ using religious symbols and cultural traditions, which push the parties in power during times of economic crisis. National Outlook is criticized to not have had the ability to grow into masses as JDP, eluding from the rigid discourse and ideologies (R. Çakır, 1991).

The uptrend of conservative and Islamist sphere in politics began with the success of RP in the election of 1994, from which the political figure Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was born as the mayor of Istanbul. After the ascent of the sphere on first local, followingly on the national basis, the fear of Sharia spread around the country resulting in the military intervention that contributed to the prohibitions of Islamists from politics. The ideology and identity of JDP is defined as conservative democrat within the social agenda, which has been created in 2001 during the establishment of the party (Saktanber, 2006). Regardless, the party has shifted towards other ends of the political sphere, instrumentalization of the advantage of embracing no specific ideology or approach at the end. For this reason, unlike National Outlook, the smooth transformation to nationalist politics whereas positioning the party against nationalism other times have been an easy mark. According to Hale and Özbudun (Hale & Özbudun, 2010), considering that there is an emphasis on religion and traditionalism JDP can be defined as the Turkish equivalent of European Christian Democrats. In fact, JDP uses the term ‘conservative democracy’ in their party charter. JDP grounds on a perspective in favor of change and transformation in respect to social dynamics (Akdoğan, 2004)

²³ ‘yerli ve milli’.

Neoliberalism is developed and instrumentalized by the promotion in free market economy in the global sense, in relation to the preservation of local values. The economy is supported on a global basis relying on the wider market meanwhile tend to construct a conservative politics within the local counters such as nation and religion. The features of neoliberal and conservative parties meet at positioning with the old and the traditions against modernism and new accounts. The prejudice against the West is the common ground for the neoliberal and conservative parties within Turkish politics. Neoliberalism was brought into Turkish politics with the political party ANAP, which is evaluated as the representative of the New Right in Turkey. The party was the majority government throughout the 1980s, hence imposed its neoliberal strategies on the state. Similar to JDP it was identified with a strong political figure. With the January 24 decisions brought by Turgut Özal, communitarian economic policies were transformed into a neoliberal agenda based on strategies such as privatization. Turkey was intergrated into global capitalism with ANAP government (Taşkın, 2014). The economic policies of JDP endure on privatization of public enterprises, as a reflection of the neoliberal character. The privatized enterprises include various areas from communication to the defense industry. Privatizations did not supervise the principle of national and local politics of RP as well. Although JDP adopt a policy on cooperation with the West, it made a severe turn after a certain period. JDP reverted to a discourse on ‘local and national’, alienating the previous allies as a form of jeopardy. The economic growth and stability which the party has been praised of itself, has been passing through pitfalls in accordance with the obstructed foreign policy. The country has been living a series of crisis within the last 2-3 years, with Turkish lira melting against foreign exchange.

As nationalism and conservatism is the common strategy for the Turkish right-wing (Çetinsaya, 2004), JDP pursues the right-wing tradition by instrumentalizing them both (Kahraman, 2009). The characteristics that distinct the National Outlook from other right-wing parties is the frequent reference to Islam (White, 2003). This detection can be declared for JDP as well. Religious references are combined with nationalism in the party rhetoric. The nationalism of JDP, anyhow is established differently from the previous governments, especially of the social democrat

governments of CHP. The party often uses a term ‘millet’ that can be translated as nation. However, the concept is not based on race or ethnicity. The nationalism of CHP is based on the people that live under the flag of Turkey. The nation idea of JDP, differs from both the French revolution and Kemalist nationalism. It more connotes the people living in Turkey, more likely the Muslims living in Turkey. This is why JDP has not been too tense on the Kurdish case unlike the previous governments but refrain from integrating with the Alevis of any ethnicity or race of the Turkish Republic, let alone people from other religions. The nationalism of JDP, lies within Turkish rights religious paradigm of ‘ummah²⁴’ rather than the principle of nationalism in the establishment of the republic, influenced by the French Revolution. The ideology of the party is still questioned, considering that it has entered politics as a reactionary party to the devaluing economy under the hands of coalition governments. Hence, economy and development has been its primary objective and the nationalist emphasis against imperialism of National Outlook was abandoned by JDP in its initial years.

JDP took a closer stance towards the West, especially in the prior years and gained people’s sympathy with their support to the EU. The sympathy towards the west was an aspect that separates JDP from the former tradition of National Outlook which adopted a policy of a local and national. Westernization has been positioned against the discourse of religious parties within the Turkish political rhetoric beginning with National Outlook. Westernization and western type modernization are the opposite of prioritizing traditional values and cultural norms by this sphere.

The three concepts of establishment strongly affect JDP’s policies on gender equality. Gender justice is mashed with the three concepts and converted into an anti-gender concept under the JDP rule by the neoconservatives. The next chapter contains the analysis of the materials collected from speeches, articles and declarations of the neoconservative discourse. Analysis of the discourse is conducted from a feminist perspective, regarding the axis as gender equality while recognizing gender justice as the central concept of research.

²⁴ Ümmet.

Women's place within the party was very active, not only in general but specific as in terms of municipalities and local politics. The gender policies of JDP became more conservative and retrogressive after the year 2010. Restrictions began to grow on the opposition, media and NGOs. After the 1980s with the effect of globalization and neoliberal policies there has been a transformation in welfare state and social justice. JDP has utilized these policies to support and internalize its paradigm of 'woman' and 'gender' to be limited to the primary roles 'mother' and 'wife' within the family (Gedik, 2016). Gender equality began to be discussed on legal grounds with CEDAW and emerged with the Beijing Platform for Action and finally the hope of realization increased with the legal reforms held starting from 2001 with EU accession process. Despite that, during the latest years, especially after 2010 there has been a serious retrogression in gender equality and women's rights in Turkey within the JDP rule.

The most significant role JDP casts for women is the one in the family and the nurturers of the next generations (Cansun, 2013). As a mother, wife, daughter, caregiver and a housewife. Taking JDP's political standing into consideration, neoliberal and neoconservative, the concerns of feminist scholars such as Kandiyoti, Tekeli, Scott and Masedottir might be relevant. The domestic policies of JDP, do not tend to change even in situations where woman works outside the household. Women still have to fulfill their primary responsibility, that is taking care of their family and home. Koray analyzes the case and states that;

it is impossible to speak of even equality between men and women, let alone an empowerment or liberation of women, in such a conjuncture where approaches that advocate women's place at home consolidate (Koray, 2011, 47).

Family was used as the functional basic unit of this system. It was in fact a safety net in a system which lacked social welfare. Women are praised as the providers of social and familial care, therefore the traditional family is reproduced by the governmental ideology (Atalay, 2017). JDP has used egalitarian policies and theories and converted them with conservatism as instruments of its power. Women are represented under 'social policy', even in the party program and they are emphasized as the nurturers of next generations (Cansun, 2013). Koray (2011)

shows the policies reflecting women as an object of the family as an example and underlines that women are denied individual power and equality with men (Koray, 2011). Although JDP adopts the traditional family and gender roles, its neoliberal approach forces a different form of women's role for them to enter the labor force. For this reason, a semi-system concerning women is established in which primary role being mother and wife, women are motivated to join the workforce (Coşar & Yeğenoğlu, 2011). Nevertheless, the conservative tendencies of the party continued to increase with the enlarged authority. Within all those years of being in charge, apart from the lift of the headscarf ban, JDP has shown no interest or effort in improving women's rights and status, in fact have been precluding against the developments women's movement tends to bring (Coşar & Yeğenoğlu, 2011). Cansun (2013) argues that JDP instrumentalized women's issues as a strategy to prove their distinction from National Outlook and Islamist roots.

The ideology of JDP is defined as neoconservatism, neoliberal patriarchy or neoliberal populism by different scholars. Regarding its adoption to neoliberalism and populism it's possible to refer to the party as such. Hitherto, I believe that it would be deficient to refer to the party as neoliberal, taking its religious references into account. Hence, I will refer to JDP as a neoconservative party, in terms of its relation with the National Outlook as the evolution of its conservatism and its embracement of neoliberalism in the economy. Neoconservatism of JDP differentiates from both the conservatism of National Outlook and at the same time connotes the adoption of neoliberal economic policies. The religious conservatism would be missing if I had referred to it as neoliberal populism or neoliberal patriarchy whereas the neoliberal perspective would be deficient if referred to as conservative. Neoconservatism would be the most accurate identification of JDP in the context of gender equality. Thus, the study refers to JDP and the discourse in support of and in collaboration with its strategies, ideology and policies as the neoconservatives and the neoconservative discourse. Neoconservative women are grouped as the women figures of either scholars, representatives of the party or women in support of the ideology in this study, different from Islamist women. The study uses neoconservatives instead of JDP since the discourse holds a wider place in Turkey (composed of academia, society and politics) than politics. In other words,

neoconservatives have developed a discourse that is multidimensional that cannot be solely identified with the party.

4.2.2. The Reformist Phase of JDP- The Era Improving Gender Equality (2002-2013)

As the economic crisis of 2001 paved the way for its rule, JDP's goal were basically economic, except the headscarf ban and the Imam Hatip Schools, when it first came into power (Kaya, 2015). For the first five to six years, the government cooperated with women's NGOs and the civil society, to develop reforms to achieve EU's standards. The codes such as the Criminal Code, Civil Code were enacted and the Istanbul Convention was ratified in 2013 (Aksoy, 2018). During this time JDP transformed the traditional, conservative perception and perspective on women and women's identification with the private sphere, although the traditions and the culture were a barrier to the adoption of gender equality and the change of 'gender roles' especially amongst the uneducated, working class.

Contrary to what seculars argue, JDP's policies on the family, women are not completely ignored or isolated within the private sphere like in the National Outlook movement (Çağatay, 2018). Ever since its establishment, JDP has been promoting women to enter politics. However, its promotion is designed within party politics in collaboration with familialism and traditionalism. In fact, as a party policy, especially in the initial years women went door to door and promoted the party and their leader. Women have a vital part in party politics especially in terms of municipal and local policies. According to Çağatay (2018), in 2017 JDP had 4.5 million members of their 'women's auxiliaries'. According to Cansun (2013), this matches the rights' identification of women with the family and pushing them into women's branches as traditional caregivers. Although women have a significant part in the promotion of the party in the electoral process, their presence in decision making procedures are limited. In other words women are motivated to be in the women's branches per contra refrained from the administrative positions (Tekeli, 1982). Coşar and Yeğenoğlu (2011) evaluate JDP as establishing a new form of patriarchy in Turkey, which is in dialog with women, at the same time structuring a

patriarchal, liberal and conservative base. Cansun (2013) argues that the reforms of JDP concerning women ground on certain objectives; to prove their separation from Islamic roots by promoting women's rights and to underline EU candidacy being affiliated with women's issues. It is also the political outcome of the period that there was an uptrend in the women's movement during the initial years of the party. The reforms improving women's rights and gender equality could be studied as the first part of this paradox.

4.2.2.1. Legal Reforms

4.2.2.1.1. Civil Code and Penal Code

Republic of Turkey became a candidate of the European Union in 1987 and the process of accession began in 2005. The incompatibility of Turkish codes included sexual rights, violence against women, low rate of political participation, reproductive rights and many more aspects including the patriarchy within the political and social literature. During the initial years of JDP rule, numerous reforms were made in legal and economic policies, also in terms of gender. After JDP was elected as the government, a set of reforms were made in legal codes with the effect of the EU accession process. These reforms included the Constitution, the Penal Code, the Civil Code and the Labor Code in the advantage towards women. The process of reforms began in 1998, with the effect of women's movements, solidarity and feminist campaigns as well as international agreements and EU's preconditions (Acar & Altunok, 2013). These reforms include the new Civil Code enacted on 2001, which collapsed the hegemonic patriarchal regulations and lead to a more gender equal state and rights between genders especially within family as spouses which were underlined before as husband and wife. Some terms include the demolishment of the man being the head of the family, to equal partnership and the rights of the woman to keep her last name after marriage (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017).

The Penal Code, enacted on 2004, is another document that is crucial since it protects women's rights in many ways, most importantly in terms of human rights,

apart from providing a gender equal environment within the society and the state. The discriminatory and patriarchal issues such as marital rape, sexual crimes and others were regulated. The changes in the regulations were basically on 'bodily integrity of women' leaving the understanding of objectifying woman in the family and patriarchy and prioritizing rights of women as individuals. The process of the reenactment of the Penal Code was probably the most affected by the preconditions of the EU, and not just in terms of gender and women's rights. The reforms on regulations of the Civil and the Penal Code were made with the intention and the ambition of constructing, in reality transforming into a gender equal society (Güneş-Ayata & Doğançin, 2017).

The legislation process of the legal codes was affected by a massive feminist movement. Especially the patriarchal Penal Code was challenged with the platforms of women and their street protests. The major problem of the 90s' Turkey was domestic violence and violence against women, which is why the demonstrations and protests were formed around this matter. Many women, including feminists gathered to raise their voices against 'beating' of women, as well as protesting honor crimes and sexual harassment. Different groups were formed with the purpose of pressuring the government on adopting changes in the Turkish Penal Code, and to recognize women as individuals outside the familial bonds. A group was formed with the cooperation of activists, lawyers and NGOs to request a more gender conscious Criminal code, and named themselves 'Turkish Criminal Code Women's Study Group'. Nine NGOs from women's civil society came together to write a report on the status of crimes against women. The report 'The Turkish Criminal Code from Women's Point of View- The Report of Petition of the Alteration of the Turkish Criminal Code' opposed to the regulation of sexual assault under family order or honor instead of bodily integrity of woman and the individual, as well as rejecting the exclusion of third genders from the code (Erbaş, 2003) The platform underlined many crucial points such as, marital rape must be regulated as a form of sexual crime, honor killings should be eliminated and the government should put an end to virginity tests that are forced by the family. Most of the demands of the platform was fulfilled by the new Penal Code, even though as some have still not been legalized (Özdemir, 2004).

In 2004, there was an adoption of a new regulation concerning gender equality in the constitution with the pressure of women's movement and NGOs. The regulations of the Constitution sought the objective of supplying a guarantee of the gender equality both in society and before the law by stating general guidelines of absolute legal equality, consolidated by tools such as positive discrimination. The principle of gender equality was added to the second paragraph of article 10²⁵, stating that men and women are equal. Then on 2010 affirmative action²⁶ has taken place within the constitution, again being added to article 10. With the accession of affirmative action, the feature of equality has evolved from being 'formal equality' to ensure 'substantive equality'. In other words, it is now guaranteed with the constitution that the state is obliged to ensure substantive equality for women and men, with the help of tools such as affirmative action. The fact that it is the state's obligation²⁷ takes place in the last paragraph of the same article, article 10 of the constitution.

Women's NGOs and officials had high level of participation in these processes of regulations, therefore there was a cooperation of the state with women's civil society during the time (Aksoy, 2018). The 'Law on Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence against Women' was adopted in 2012 by the General Assembly in accordance with the İstanbul Convention. This law provided protection for women and gave officials the authority to take measures against violence against women (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017).

²⁵ ARTICLE 10- (Paragraph added on May 7, 2004; Act No. 5170) Men and women have equal rights. The State has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice.

²⁶ (Sentence added on September 12, 2010; Act No. 5982) Measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality. https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf. Date Accessed; February 5, 2019.

²⁷ State organs and administrative authorities are obliged to act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law in all their proceedings.2.

4.2.2.1.2. Law on the Protection of the Family and Prevention of Violence Against Women (code number 6284)

Law on the Protection of the Family and Prevention of Violence against Women (code number 6284) was implemented in 2012 with the impact of the struggle of women's movement as well as the obligation of the Istanbul Convention. The code regulates the production of women and children facing with domestic violence as well as violence against women with significant measures. Forms of violence are clearly defined under the regulations, as a novelty of the recognition of psychological and economic violence. Psychological or economic pressures within marital bond included, are accepted as domestic violence, on the contrary to the previous code. Stalking is accrued in the code number 6284 as a form of violence against women as well. The perpetrators are enforced rigid sanctions, for which the necessity of the crime to have been committed is not essential. In other words, as the characteristic of prevention of violence against women, the risk or possibility of the violence is adequate for women to ask for protection. Some of the forms of protection include; being transferred to a shelter, requesting for police escorts, suspension of the perpetrator from home or and the dissemblance of the victim's address. The guardianship of the perpetrator can be restricted and limited alimony can be requested by the victim, according to the properties of the case.

Although the code has implemented detailed and complex measures on protection from and prevention of violence against women, the executives and officers of the system have still not yet internalized the gender conscious aspect of the regulations. The number of women's shelters are not adequate compared to the desired level of the Istanbul Convention. This is an accurate example of the factors that complicate the prevention of violence against women. Acar& Altunok (2013) criticize the code for not recognizing violence against women as a form of human rights violation and neglecting the internalization of gender equality in accordance with the ruling party's perspective on women. In fact, the code has been shifted to a protection of the family rather than of women who are under the threat of violence, so much that the protection of women is provided within the family instead of the state.

Accordingly, strategies such as empowerment are neglected while violence is still perceived only in terms of the physical form (Acar & Altunok, 2013).

4.2.3. The Era Eliminating Gender Equality (2013-2019)

After the EU accession period went through a pause, the eagerness of the JDP government to improve gender equality and women's rights began to decrease. As the power of JDP increased in 2007 with the retirement of the laicist president Ahmet Necdet Sezer, who rejected most of the proposals of the JDP government (Kaya, 2015), the general atmosphere of equality transformed into a religious and conservative authoritarian attitude (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017). Although the JDP has been complemented for improving women's rights, the reports of the Directorate General of Women's Status show that the investigation of the institution have focused on nothing else but violence against women after 2002, unlike the previous booklets and reports which were more multifarious, taking gender discrimination, employment etc. in consideration. In fact the institution failed to use the concept 'gender' itself within the following years (Koray, 2011).

In this period, the support and inclusion of women's civil society and NGO's of the JDP government let itself to the establishment of GONGOs (Government-Operated Non-Governmental Organization) upon issues and policies concerning gender and women (Aksoy, 2018). In the second term of the government the NGOs were being accredited in order to attend the policy-making process with the state. Certain NGOs were not allowed to cooperate with the government for being too radical or opposing to government policies and later banned (Aksoy, 2018). JDP refrained to be seen in relation to feminism and underlined even during women's rights committees that feminist ideology is not embraced in any way within the party (Coşar & Yeğenoğlu, 2011).

In the initial years of the government, women's NGOs cooperated with the party in the reforms made for the EU accession period. JDP was considered to be reformist, inclusive and developmental by many institutions for supporting women's status within the public sphere, especially in terms of the headscarf issue, social security

and the rise of women members within the parliament. Withal, after the rise of authority, the party turned its back on certain women's institutions which they consider to be 'feminist' and be westernized, falling away from the culture of Muslim Turkey. Çağatay (2018), bases this exclusion on the oppositions of these NGOs to the government in general.

From the beginning of the process in which JDP came into power, Republic of Turkey has been going through certain transitions in many different areas. The circle of women whom did not take part in politics or any sort of organization in the means of the state opened up a space for Islamic belief and lifestyle with JDP's rule. JDP has benefited from the religious organizations and NGOs during the first term that it was elected and therefore continued to support them. The Islamist organizations managed to reproduce the traditional family and social solidarity of the Turkish culture on a religious basis. Thus the welfare was supported via these NGOs by the government instead of the welfare state (Atalay, 2017). As in every field of the society, the neoconservatives institutionalized under their own NGOs. Most of these proislamic NGOs stood on the side of the government on women's issues like KADEM or ideological struggles on the debates between women's NGOs and the government. Major policies of the government including abortion, child marriages or women's rights were firmly supported by these neo conservative and proislamic women's NGOs. Gender Justice that is the subject of this study is designed by one of these NGOs KADEM.

4.2.3.1. KADEM

Women and Democracy Association (KADEM) is a non-governmental organization, established in March 8, 2013 (Geçer & Kıymaz, 2019) by 16 founding members in Istanbul. The organization has agencies in 46 cities, as of today. KADEM is defined as a GONGO by various women's rights activists, taking into consideration it is granted state funds and supported by representatives of state in events and conferences. In fact, the founders and representatives are composed of women who are affiliated or has bonds with the representatives of JDP. Ever since its establishment KADEM has organized international and national conferences and

summits, most of them on subjects such as family, justice, employment²⁸. The conferences and summits have focused mainly on the relationship of family and women, stemming from the perspective of gender justice. Promotion of family and familial bonds are a significant part of KADEM's policies, which they define to be in harmony with the cultural and traditional character of Turkish society. Women and Justice Summit and Gender Justice Summit are the most significant organizations on emphasizing gender justice. President and representatives of the government often attend these summits, making declarations at the opening ceremony. The strategies and policies of KADEM are observed to be in accordance with the government's policies and political stance.

The objective of the organization is stated as raising consciousness towards women in accordance with traditional values and norms²⁹. The fair distribution of gender roles taking the changing social conditions are underlined amongst its missions³⁰. Justice is emphasized as the primary principle of KADEM, in relation with the religious connotation of the notion. Gender relations are represented from the perspective of justice and religion by KADEM representatives. KADEM has been a significant actor on women's issues with the development of the concept gender justice, which is embraced by the neoconservative government. The founding president Sare Aydın Yılmaz, who is also a scholar, introduces the concept herself in *A New Momentum: Gender Justice in the Women's Movement*. Gender justice is analyzed in detail in the next chapter.

²⁸ KADEM Conferences. <http://kadem.org.tr/zirve-ve-kongreler/>. Date accessed June6, 2019.

²⁹ KADEM's establishment. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-i-olagan-genel-kurul-ve-tanitim-toplantisi/>. Date accessed June 6, 2019.

³⁰ KADEM's missions. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-hakkinda/>. Date accessed June 8, 2019.

CHAPTER 5

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: THE NEOCONSERVATIVE SPHERE IN TERMS OF GENDER EQUALITY AND GENDER JUSTICE

The neoconservative government JDP came into power as a majority government party itself in the parliament in 2002 as the result of the search of citizens for a new movement, being overwhelmed by the failing coalition governments of the existing parties that lead to the crisis of 2001. Remaining its power for sixteen years, the party's attitude on democracy and freedoms shifted significantly after the constitutional referendum in 2010, to a more authoritarian and exclusionary form from a reformist and inclusive perspective. JDP is a party identified with a leader, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, rather than an ideology, which abandoned its goal of National Outlook to cooperate with Western policies and adapt into modernization. Defining their party as conservative democrats, the members of JDP have had the chance to form alliances with many different parties and ideologies in the last sixteen years, utilizing the advantage of refraining from having presented a concrete ideology or policy in the party charter. In its early years, JDP also approached the Kurdish voters by avoiding the discourses of nationalism, however has allied with the MHP wrapping itself up with nationalism in the latest elections. The strategy of victimization instrumentalized in its years of establishment has been utilized by the party within the sixteen years against various movements and ideologies and evolved into general attitude that's creating an alienation between citizens against any opposition.

Over time, JDP has spread its populist language with the media and other communication tools that it has designed along with the mass composed of its own elites, academics and media power. JDP, which substantiated the transformation and

reproduction of patriarchy within social and cultural values through these tools, became increasingly distant from its point of birth, the RP and its democrat line, and evolved into a more totalitarian authority. As well as transforming the state institutions and organizations, the party privatized public enterprises and implemented and propagated its own social perceptions and values on every issue and subject. The objective of Turkish Republic to adopt the values and principles of Western and modern states in terms of human and women's rights, in accordance with the international discourse, has been targeted by the transformation policy of the ruling party on women's issues, on account of this the policies on women have drifted apart from the internationally embraced discourse. Basing on the allegation that Western-based concepts and policies separate men and women, as well as being incompatible with the Turkish society, JDP has opposed to equality-based approaches. The neoconservative discourse in which JDP is at the center has designed an alternative concept to gender equality, that is gender justice.

5.1. Gender Justice and Gender Equality

Gender policies instrumentalized by neoconservatism in Turkey are dependent on the concept of gender justice. The concept gender justice was brought into Turkish politics by a GONGO³¹, KADEM as an alternative to gender equality. The gender discourse is sought to be transformed into gender justice approach rather than the universally embraced gender equality. Gender justice is introduced by the former president of KADEM, Sare Aydın Yılmaz, in her article 'A New Momentum: Gender Justice in the Women's Movement', which has a significance since it sheds light on the concept used by the neoconservatives today. Gender justice is formulated with the sake of fulfilling the perceived deficiencies of gender equality in terms of women's rights and social position. The deficiencies of equality are demonstrated as its inadequacy in providing social justice regarding its indifference towards natural differences between men and women.

³¹ GONGO is short for government-organized non-governmental organization. GONGO's are funded by governments, usually to adapt their policies into the civil society. They are the actors of governments within the civil society.

Firstly, neoconservatives argue that equality is insufficient in improving women's status and eliminating gender discrimination. According to neoconservatives, equality has been the key notion in women's rights for centuries nonetheless inequalities and gender discrimination still not been overcome. As Sare Aydın Yılmaz put it;

The reason for raising the debate of women's social status to be on equality is that it has been insufficient in abolishing the injustice and unjust treatment of women³².

On the objections on gender equality, in her article pro-government Star Daily. Her arguments are the reflection of the neoconservatives on gender and gender equality. The legal reforms embracing gender equality have not been successfully internalized in politics and the society. Yılmaz argues that gender discrimination can only be eliminated by the recognition and demonstration of the differences between genders. This recognition will empower female identity which had been diminished especially in the public sphere, usually by masculinization of female figures, an effect of modernization (Yılmaz, 2015).

It is argued by KADEM that, it is not possible to achieve absolute equality with solely ensuring legal equality, taking social and cultural factors into consideration. Since the concept of equality is designed according to male traits, the formulation does not provide a fair and efficient ground for women. This notion of equality verifies the natural weaknesses of women and reproduces the subordination of women to men. According to Yılmaz, this is why gender justice attracts women who have not been fulfilled by the ideal of equality that has been pumped by modernism.

As a modern concept, equality provides standard monotypes [for women] grounded in Western culture by attempting to equalize women and men, whereas 'justice' points to a superior concept in which equality is inherent and refers to equity, balance, a higher understanding of fair treatment, and liabilities between men and women (Yılmaz, 2015).

³² "Kadının toplumdaki konumunu eşitlik üzerinden tartışmaya açmak, eşitliğin kadının mağduriyetini ve haksızlığa uğramışlığını ortadan kaldırmada yetersiz kalmasındandır.", Sare Aydın Yılmaz, Star Gazete, <https://ww4.ticaret.edu.tr/kadinveaile/makaleler/>. Date Accessed; May 10, 2019.

This understanding situates justice above equality as an inclusive term, however positioning the idea of justice to only stand on the differences, especially biological differences between men and women. As equality neglects to properly recognize differences and causes the consolidation of women's secondary status within the society, gender justice is shown as the accurate strategy in achieving social justice. Yılmaz argues that gender justice;

It highlights the different features and characteristics of men and women by nature, and acknowledges different liabilities between men and women attributed by society and culture, but also notes that there is no hierarchical superiority or inferiority between sexes (Yılmaz, 2015).

Gender justice is portrayed to value the differences and to establish social justice, which can fallaciously be associated with difference feminism at first glance. Despite that contrary to difference feminism, the fundamental objective is not eliminating inequalities with recognition of differences (Tong, 2014). Gender justice approach aims at perpetuating natural differences with reproduction of patriarchal gender roles instrumentalizing religion. Neither of the three approaches focusing on gender (equality, difference and transformative) correspond to the perspective of neoconservatives on women's policies and equality. The recognition of differences of difference feminists' intent to achieve equality and gender equality, in other words advocates a form of equality that recognizes differences. However, the 'gender justice' approach in Turkey, in accordance with the equity approach of the Vatican, refrains from embracing equality between genders altogether and promotes a complementary perspective in gender roles. Hence, this approach signifies a distorted adoption of recognition of differences and does not concern any fundamental theory or approach besides theological paradigms and religious references. In presenting gender justice, religious references from Islam are often given by the neoconservatives to explain the value given to women, as well as the reason to why women and men should be accepted as different in relation and obligations. One term catches the eye in investigating gender justice and equality within the neoconservative discourse, 'fitrat'. This term forms the base of neoconservatives' approach to differences of genders and the essence of the arguments.

5.1.1. Fıtrat

The argument of the insufficiency and inefficiency of equality rests on the reason that the concept has been created on the ideal of the male, therefore does not take the gender differences into consideration. Although this opposition seems relevant to difference feminism of the 1960s and 1970s, the idea that women and men are different, and their diverse traits must be recognized endure on a rather different perspective. The perspective of neoconservatives' promotion of differences between genders is based on the term 'fıtrat'. Sare Aydın Yılmaz defines *fıtrat* as “a concept that explains all the physical and spiritual features that begin with the moment woman and man have fallen into the womb” (Yılmaz, 2018). It is significant that the term refers not only to biological traits but to the mental and spiritual characteristics of the two sexes (Şimga, 2019). ‘Fıtrat’ is utilized very often by the representatives of the ruling party JDP, as well as neoconservative women activists and authors. In fact the term was used by the prime minister of the time Recep Tayyip Erdoğan³³, during his speech in the I. Women and Justice Summit in 2014 with these words:

Being equal is not what women need, it is being equivalent, that is justice. You can't equalize man and woman. Because their fıtrat's are different, their nature is different, their constitution is different.³⁴

Later on, in 2019, he stated that;

You can't be just by equating men and women, putting aside their physical characteristics, emotional differences and abilities coming from nature. Attention, there is a separation coming from 'fitri' difference, not from women's deficiency³⁵.

³³ Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was the prime minister since 2002, however he was elected as the president in 2014. For this reason, his title is referred as prime minister/president in the study from this point on.

³⁴ “Kadınların ihtiyacı olan eşitlik değil, EŞDEĞER olabilmektir, yani ADALETTİR. Kadın ile erkeği eşit konuma getiremezsiniz. Çünkü fıratları farklıdır, tabiatları farklıdır, bünyeleri farklıdır.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister, I. Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 24 Kasım 2014. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-batsin-bu-dunya-siyaset-1974189/>. Date Accessed; April 8, 2019.

³⁵ Yaradılıştan gelen fiziki özelliklerini, duygusal farklılıklarını, becerilerini gözetmeden erkeği ve kadını aynı kefeye koyarak adil davranmış olmazsınız. Dikkat ediniz burada kadının eksikliğinden

Within this context *fitrat* is instrumentalized to portray the unequal nature of men and women, and that it is not accurate for them to be equal, instead equivalent. The prime minister uses *fitrat* often on political issues as well. The term is referred to by the neoconservatives as a significant part of the discourse, concerning that religious references make up an extensive place in the political discourse of JDP. The argument of the president was opposed by women's rights activists, scholars and lawyers, claiming that the statement was against international agreements such as CEDAW that promote gender equality (Kandiyoti, 2010). However, this was not the only speech in which he emphasizes the differences between women and men. The statements he makes are quite straight forward and clear on the fact that women and men cannot be equal but rather equivalent.

Moreover, *fitrat*, is portrayed as the fundamental justification of the preference justice over equality on women's issues and rights by the neoconservative discourse. The natural differences that deriving from creation are of high value, therefore must be maintained through justice. The neoconservatives argue that it is not possible to eliminate gender discrimination with the concept of 'gender equality' (Şimga, 2019), which is to why gender justice must be obtained as a policy. According to Ayşenur İslam, The Minister of Family and Social Policy in 2014,

It can be seen that the approach that neglects or intends to destroy the creational differences between men and women, has not been able to solve women's problems, and the progress in participation to education, employment and decision procedures could not overcome discrimination against women, and that violence against women is shaped independent of the education, level of income or social status the woman.³⁶

değil, fitri farklılığından kaynaklanan bir ayrışma söz konusudur. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2018. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/99751/-calisma-hayatindaki-kadınlarımız-ulkemizin-gucune-guc-katmis-basarılarıyla-yuzumuzu-agartmistir-> . Date Accessed; March 6, 2019.

³⁶ "Kadın ve erkeğin yaradılışlarından kaynaklanan farklılıklarını, yok saymak veya yok etmek gibi bir yöntemin günümüzde hala devam eden kadın sorunlarını çözemediği, Kadın erkek eşitliğinin ölçüldüğü göstergelerden eğitime katılma, istihdama katılma, karar mekanizmalarına katılma gibi durumlardaki gelişmelerin kadının ezilmesini engelleyemediği, Kadının şiddetin muhatabı olmasının onun eğitimi, gelir seviyesi ve sosyal statüsünden bağımsız olarak, gelişebildiği açıklıkla görülebilecektir." Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı, I. Uluslararası Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 2014. <http://kadem.org.tr/aile-ve-sosyal-politikalar-bakani-sayin-aysenur-islamin-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

In the Gender Justice Congress, that took place in İstanbul Ticaret University, it is highlighted that, the principle of equality within the legal implementations and regulations have not been adopted as successful into the society and the for the discrimination women go through have not been revoked. For this reason, it is underlined in the congress that, there is a necessity of a new approach that stands further than equality. At this point the neoconservative discourse puts forward justice. As former president of KADEM, Sare Aydın Yılmaz states;

To the question, what is justice? Mevlana says, Justice is to water the trees, but not to water the root that sucks the water, to accept it as a blessing, who compares cruelty to a thorn. There really is a thin line between justice and cruelty. Only the equality whose roadmap is justice would do good.³⁷

In the III. Women and Justice Summit. Justice is didactically defined by scholars, as well as politicians of JDP. Theological references and metaphors are made on creation, to justify the reproduction of patriarchal power relations. Justice being positioned as a higher measure, is reflected as the decision of God which supplies fairness amongst the humans and the state is the authority that holds the ability to distribute justice.

We state that, we need a system that does not neglect justice, sees and forms a policy on the difference between man and woman, while establishing equality. The norms in relation to rights and obligations of Islam, reflects this form of justice. See that in Nisa Surah Ayah 4, it is stated that...³⁸

³⁷ Adalet nedir? sorusuna, Adalet ağaçları sulamaktır, lakin adalet su emen her kökü sulamak değil, bir nimeti yerine koymaktır diyen Mevlana, zulmü ise, dikene su vermeye benzetir. Gerçekten de adaletle zulüm arasında böylesine ince bir çizgi, böylesine ince bir sınır vardır. Pusulası ancak adalet olan bir eşitlik, kadınlara fayda sağlar. Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, III. Uluslararası Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 23 Kasım 2018. <http://kadem.org.tr/ii-uluslararasi-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-baskani-sayin-sare-aydinin-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; February 10, 2019.

³⁸ “Kadın ve erkek arasındaki farklılıkları gören ve bunun üzerinden politika geliştiren, eşitliği sağlarken adaleti göz ardı etmeyen bir sisteme ihtiyaç duyduğumuzu dile getiriyoruz. İslam medeniyetinin haklar ve yükümlülükler bağlamında öngördüğü normlar da, bu adalet anlayışını yansıtmaktadır. Bakınız Nisa Suresi’nin 4 ayetinde”, Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, II. Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kongresi. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sare-aydinin-kadin-ve-yoksulluk-kongresi-konusma-metni/>. February 8, 2019.

As can be observed from this quotation, reference to Koran is given by representatives of the neoconservative discourse on the objection to equality of women and men. This statement of Sare Aydın Yılmaz, continue as;

Therefore while reminding us the responsibilities towards each other, the perception of justice in Islam endures on a basis of human rights that come from living together and human relations, It is for the benefit of man and woman that the factors of gender and physical suitability are guarded in the regulation of the rights and obligations of man and woman. The acceptance of the physical, mental and spiritual differences is essential rather than being neglected by absolute equality, these differences should be mutually turned into advantages.³⁹

The concepts of equality and justice are evaluated in terms of a biologically deterministic perspective, regarding the countless number of references to creation and biological characteristics. Altogether, the neoconservatives argue that with gender justice, the concept of equality is not rejected but, rather taken into a formal concept within legal frames. According to this group, that is supported both financially and ideologically, equality is a notion that can be achieved between people who are equal, in other words the same. Thus, gender justice perpetuates the disadvantageous position of women in the society. Women and men to be equal because they are different in every aspect, especially by nature. Gender justice is designed with the requirement of a properly functioning norm. Gender justice rests on the idea that ‘the holy kalam sees women and men as two parts which complement and balance each other’. Main purpose is to supply the fair distribution of the gender roles without contrasting with the different traits that come from creation. The concept of gender justice as used by the neoconservative discourse rests on the biological differences that deriving from nature, or creation.

This essentialist politics towards natural differences in the JDP’s gender justice approach, resemble the approach of the Vatican to equality and gender equality in

³⁹ “Dolayısıyla İslâm’da adalet anlayışı birbirimize karşı sorumluluklarımızı hatırlatırken, bir arada yaşamaktan ve insanlar arası ilişkilerden ortaya çıkan bir insan hakları temeline dayanmaktadır. Kadın ve erkek arasında hak ve sorumlulukların düzenlenmesinde cinsiyet ve fiziksel uygunluk faktörünün gözetilmesi ise bu bakımdan kadın ve erkeğin çıkarına olacaktır. Kadın ve erkek arasındaki doğuştan getirdikleri bedensel, akli ve ruhi farklılıkların salt mutlak bir eşitlik iddiasıyla görmezden gelinmesi yerine kabul edilmesi, bu farklılıkların karşılıklı olarak fırsata dönüştürülmesi gerekmektedir. Sare Aydın Yılmaz, II. Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kongresi. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sare-aydinin-kadin-ve-yoksulluk-kongresi-konusma-metni/>. Date Accessed; February, 8, 2019.

Beijing Conference (Şimga, 2019). As the Vatican has underlined in the Conference multiple times, although having equal worth as humans, women and men are different in nature, therefore they cannot be equal but complement each other. The reaction towards gender equality endured on the belief that men and women cannot be considered same in essence, concerning their unique traits coming from creation (Beattie, 2014). Vatican underlines that one can only reach true awareness with embracing the feminine within them, for which the spiritual fulfillment will be achieved with the feminine complementing the masculine (Buss, 1998). Turkish neoconservatives' approach towards complementarity and human essence fit right in with the Vatican's arguments on the traits of femininity and masculinity. Both of the approaches lean on the differences between men and women to fulfill the spiritual and theological deficiency of humans. As a part of conservatism, the neoconservatives rely on the deficient nature of humans which are in search for the full essence, for which both of the religions of Islam and Christianity are unified under the approach. Underlining the differences of women and men from creation, both of the approaches proceed their distance towards equality and aim to perpetuate the natural differences justified by the objective of becoming complete. The natural differences and traits of women and men have caused them to attain diverse functions and duties according to both of these approaches. One function and obligation men are assigned is protecting the naturally secondary women. The differences of women and men are underlined for their characteristics of having the necessity of protection and being the caregiver of the family.

5.1.2. Protectionism

According to religious circles of both Christianity and Islam, women and men have different functions and obligations that are based on creation. The Vatican has emphasized this importance in the difference in the Conference of Beijing and used it as a justification of its opposition on equality between men and women (Beattie, 2014). Similarly, the neoconservative discourse has been instrumentalizing natural and biological differences in their objection to equality between genders, referring to the essential traits and duties on the sexes, assigned by Islam.

Attention, there is no clause there that men are superior than women. On the contrary, there is equality in creation. Superiority can only be in protection, therefore taqwa. In relation to this clear command, we deny and understanding that insults women for only and only their gender.⁴⁰

declared president/primeminister the president in the I. Women and Justice Summit in 2014. Although he underlines that it does not mean that women are inferior and this difference comes from the nature of creation, he reflects that there is the possibility of a superiority in terms of the need of protection of women. This hegemonic perception which constitutes women as the secondary position in the patriarchal power relations is used quite often in the neoconservative discourse. Women are accepted to be in need for the protection of men, taking into consideration that they are less powerful and ‘delicate’ by creation. Hence, protectionism is another justification of the opposition to equality and highlight on equivalency within this discourse. Women are to be protected regarding their physical conditions states the president in another speech;

You can’t make women work at every job as men, like in the communist regimes. Give her a shovel and a digger, let her work. There can’t be such thing. First of all it is against her delicate nature. For this reason rather than equality, we need to take the concept of equivalency, meaning justice as the most important criteria on this issue.⁴¹

This delicacy can also be evaluated as the reason for the segregation in the public sphere. According to Sare Aydın Yılmaz, not only in the public sphere, but the need of protection of woman result in the lack of rights in religion. Women lack certain responsibilities, unlike men, who are bound to achieving much more by the creator. Yılmaz explains that men and women are two complementary forms having the same essence by creation, however they are assigned with different amount of

⁴⁰ “Bakınız burada, erkek kadından veya kadın erkekten üstündür diye bir hüküm yok. Tam tersine, yaratılıştaki eşitlik var. Üstünlük ise sadece Allah’tan sakınmada, yani takvada söz konusu olabiliyor. Bu açık emir mucibince, kadınları, sadece ve sadece cinsiyetlerinden dolayı tahkir eden her türlü anlayışı reddediyoruz.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister, I. Women and Justice Summit, 24 Kasım 2014. <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/181124-erdogan-yaradilista-esitlik-var>. Date Accessed; March 10, Mart 2019.

⁴¹ “Kadınları erkeklerin yaptığı her işte çalıştıramazsınız, komünist rejimlerde olduğu gibi. Eline ver kazmayı küreği, çalışsın. Olmaz böyle bir şey. Onun narin yapısına bir defa bu ters düşer. İşte onun için eşitlikten ziyade eşdeğer kavramını, yani adalet kavramını bu meselede en önemli kriter olarak görmek, en önemli referans olarak almak zorundayız.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/11/141124_kadininfiratri_erdogan, Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

‘functions’ and ‘duties’ by the creator. The same argument was utilized by the Vatican in Beijing. The Vatican also underlined the diverse functions and duties of women and men, and implied that these differences are what will carry them to the fulfillment with the complementarity of the feminine and masculine (Buss, 1998). Similarly Yılmaz quotes a statement from the Koran to prove the different functions and obligations. According to Yılmaz,

The statement in an-Nisa 4/34, often referred to in discussions of Islam, states that ‘men are in charge of women’, and lays the burden of looking after the family on men within the scope of division of labor. This verse considers the relationship between women and men in terms of functionality and signifies that the priority addressed here is not of nature, but of duty. Men have not been bestowed gratuitous privileges and concessions without any burden. If there is any ‘priority,’ there is an absolute duty or burden laid upon men... (Yılmaz, 2015, p.113-114).

In terms of justifying the natural difference in functions and duties, Yılmaz formulates a difference in the position of men and women. She underlines that men are positioned as “*primus inter pares* (first among equals) and advocates that the assignment of different obligations and duties is the result of this opposition. On the other hand, Yılmaz opposes to the obligations of ‘women’s obedience to men’, stating that it is only a patriarchal interpretation of the religion and correcting that Islam asks for obedience to the order, not men (Yılmaz, 2015). The explanation of Yılmaz is the most open and clear reflection of the argument of neoconservatives on why women and men are not, and can not be equal but rather equivalent. She sheds light on the controversial arguments and speeches of the discourse which seem to be deficient at some point. However, with this article, highlights neoconservatives’ interpretation and the relations between men and women. It is also noteworthy to underline that the explanation is made by a female, since mostly the analysis of Islam are controlled by male scholars or clergy. This way, it is reflected that even women agree with the fairness of gender justice and embrace the approach. Instrumentalization of female figures is in fact a frequent strategy of neoconservative discourse under the JDP governments.

The protectionist approach of neoconservatives have two different dimensional reasons which both comprise a significant place in JDP’s rule. Primarily women are considered to lack what Pateman (1987) refers to as self-governing and self-

protection, unlike men in the patriarchal state. The deficiency of women in self-protection creates the necessity of a more powerful entity to protect them as in the case of the patriarchal society, men. The assumptions create a hierarchy between the two sexes positioning women as secondary citizens. In the case of JDP and neoconservatives of Turkey, women are both positioned to be under the protection of men and under the governance of the state as a higher patriarchal protector. The ideal of a male protector, reverberates as a male state official in the case of Turkey. As the validation of Yılmaz's illustration of a male protector, Erdoğan defines women as 'emanet'⁴² and 'can'⁴³ that are the treasures of God. For which he refers to justice as the necessary concept when regulating relationship between men and women. As the president/prime minister put in his speech in the Women and Justice Summit; "Looking at human with justice, helps us to see humans only and only as a CAN."⁴⁴

on gender equality and justice. The protection of women is highly linked with the idea of theological justice in Islam. Women are defined as 'emanet's, with reference to religious texts, creating a hierarchy between men and women as humans. The allegation of perception of women and men as of equal worth was underlined by the neoconservatives, similar to the Vatican in highlighting difference from creation. However, both cases indicate that women are secondary, in need of protection under a more complex and qualified human. Hence, references of neoconservatives are in accordance with the Vatican and both serve in reproducing and supporting the patriarchal hierarchy between female and male citizens. Equality is refrained from being presented in relation with the continuity of this order instead of the state to

⁴² A valuable good that is left to the protection and supervision of a trusted one.

⁴³ The word can be translated as 'soul' to english, although it has a spiritual and theological connotation.

⁴⁴ "İnsana, adalet nazarıyla bakmak, insanı sadece ve sadece bir can olarak görmemizi sağlar.", Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, I. Women and Justice Summit, 24 Kasım 2014. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/148663/_Kadin_ile_erkegi_esit_konuma_getiremezsiniz_fitratina_aykiri_.html. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

provide protection to women only as a citizen without the patriarchal pressure in which I agree with Pateman.

The attempt to protect women citizens is a strategy that is part of the populism of the JDP. The populist approach is often used by the right-wing parties of Europe under a form of “paternalistic leadership” (Aslan-Akman, 2017, p.4), to which consorts successfully with the case of JDP. The supportive and protective attitude of president/primeminister is frequently faced with in Turkish politics especially in terms of the voters of JDP, which will be held under the section of politics. The president/prime minister instrumentalizes justice in supplying the protective language towards women, considering the term is aggrandized for its status in Islam. Erdoğan described how women’s protection should be held under as;

I would like to state here that I highly value that the problems of women are taken into consideration with the concept of JUSTICE both on national and international level. For in the modern world we sorrily see that every aspect of humans and concerning humans are handled however a holistic and just approach is not produced. All these double standards, these hesitant approaches, show us that actually what is missing in the problems we face is the sentiment of JUSTICE⁴⁵.

He later clarified the difference between justice, law and equality, underlining that all legal regulations must be guided by conscience in order to be just. The search for justice is a connotation of the obligations and expectations from humans in Islam. The references to Koran and other religious texts can be endured on this detail. As the conservative implications of justice are perceived through religion. Justice is to give a person what they deserve or have built up themselves (Kekes, 2008), whereas equality would be giving the people a right in a certain status. Hence the patriarchal protector would protect the naturally secondary woman, as a form of ensuring the

⁴⁵ “Kadın sorunlarının, hem ulusal, hem uluslararası düzeyde, ADALET kavramıyla birlikte ele alınmasını, şahsen çok önemseydiğimi burada ifade etmek istiyorum. Zira, modern dünyada, insana ve insanlığa ilişkin her meselenin bir şekilde ele alındığını; ama sorunlara karşı bütüncül ve adil bir yaklaşım ortaya konamadığını üzülererek müşahade ediyoruz. Bütün bu çifte standartlar, bu ikircikli yaklaşımlar, aslında, karşı karşıya kaldığımız sorunların çözümünde en büyük eksiğin, ADALET duygusu olduğunu bizlere gösteriyor.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2014. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/148663/_Kadin_ile_erkegi_esit_konuma_getiremezsiniz_fitratina_aykiri_.html. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

holy justice. Just like Erdoğan has reflected this obligation followingly;“We have taken the measures so that no woman is underprotected or disembodied⁴⁶.”

The paternalism of JDP, can be observed from this statement. The protectionist approach of the neoconservative sphere here resembles the belief on women’s desire for protection of the balance approach of the Islamist fundamentalists. On the other hand, here women are not portrayed to desire protection, but rather presented to be in need for protection by men. Given their functions and obligations from the Koran, as the authority and the protector of the country, it is the duty of the state officials to protect the women in the country, according to the representatives of the party in this discourse. This illusion of the male protector as a leader reflects another aspect of both Turkish politics and the patriarchy in the societal system. Pateman (1987) has attributed men’s protection over the insufficiency of the states’ protection of women as citizens, however in the Turkish case, the protection is supplied by a multidimensional hierarchy. First with the male figure of the house in private than the male figures of the community either in kinship or neighborhood and finally the patriarchal authorities of the state. The patriarchal protection over women rest in the essentialist approach of neoconservatives as a secondary stage. In this respect, patriarchy and religion nourish each other and incarcerate women in a indigent position. From this paradigm, it is not possible for men and women to be equal, due to the natural need of protection and obstacles. As the president/prime minister states in the Women and Justice Summit;

If we are speaking of justice, we must first start the discussion with the injustice here. To leave the pity of the dominant to the oppressed, is no different than leaving sheep to a wolf.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ “Hiçbir kadınınımızın sahipsiz ve korunaksız kalmamasını sağlayacak tedbirleri aldık.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2018. https://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-kultur-koklerimizde-cinsiyet-ayrimciligi-yok,pG3atocyJUCjKIT_h4Nug. Date Accessed; April 15, 2019.

⁴⁷ “Eğer adaletten söz edeceksek, tartışmaya öncelikle, işte buradaki adaletsizlikten başlamak zorundayız. Mazlumun derdini anlatmayı zalimin insafına bırakmak, kuzuyu kurda teslim etmekten farksızdır.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, II. Women and Justice Summit, 25 Kasım 2016. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/61122/haksizliklar-karsisinda-susarak-cografyamiza-ve-tarihimize-sirt-cevirmeyecegiz.html>. Date Accessed; April 5, 2019.

This metaphor can be related to the oppressed as woman, nonetheless it is not clear who is identified as the dominant since men are not specified as superior or dominant to women in the neoconservative discourse as they have stated. Not only men are the protectors or responsible for women. President/Prime minister himself is a hero, or a protector for neoconservative women. His stand on women's issues especially on the headscarf issue has prevailed him amongst these women. Various times he mentions these women in his speech and refers to them as 'bacı'⁴⁸ Erdoğan declares his gratitude towards women who have supported and worked for his campaign for the election of 1994⁴⁹ (Aslan-Akman, 2017). He reiterates his support for women as;

My request to you is, please do not wait for others to do something for you. Take action, you will already see me with you. We will İnşallah, construct New Turkey with our country's women.⁵⁰

Knowing the contribution of women to local politics in terms of tools to reach especially women voters from his RP years, as the mayor of Istanbul, Erdoğan gave importance to mobilization of women in JDP as well. However, unlike the indifference National Outlook turned on women following the election, the bond between women and JDP was rooted in a stronger base to pursue the participation of women voters. This is how the neoconservative discourse differs from the previous conservative discourse. Women are not ignored but controlled and asked for contribution with a motivational tone continuously by the representatives. Mostly with religious and cultural references, sometimes with praising historically treasured institutions such as family and motherhood.

⁴⁸ Sister in Turkish, however concerns a traditional tone, purged of a sexual connotation.

⁴⁹ The year Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was elected as the Mayor of Istanbul. Also the year known as his entrance to the political arena.

⁵⁰“Sizlerden ricam, lütfen başkalarının sizin için bir şeyler yapmasını beklemeyin. Siz harekete geçin, beni zaten yanınızda göreceksiniz. Yeni Türkiye'yi inşaallah ülkemizin kadınlarıyla birlikte inşa edeceğiz.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2016. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/konusmalar/353/61158/kadem-adalet-ve-kadin-kongresinde-yaptiklari-konusma>. Date Accessed; April 5, 2019.

In support of the president/prime minister's protective leadership speech, neoconservatives have evaluated gender equality as a form that connotate absolute equality and equality as to mean sameness (Şimğa, 2019). This idea of sameness is criticized to be irrelevant to the sociopolitical factors and culture in the Gender Justice Congress held in 2015;

Models that do not recognize any other approach by emphasizing the concept of absolute 'equality, and believing to be the only authority in deciding what is wrong and what is right, forms a structure that does not fit the equations of society.

The misinterpretation of equality as sameness is an approach imported from the Vatican. In the Conference of Beijing, equality was opposed with the belief that it meant sameness, and therefore men and women cannot be the same for which they cannot be equal (Buss, 1998). Throughout the theoretical framework the paper has emphasized that equality does not connotate sameness or identicalness in anyway. As Sartori (1987) and Williams (1962) have emphasized, individuals are not considered equal neither because they are the same or alike nor because they embody same characteristics or traits, but only because they are all humans. For equality is a major principle and a necessity of being human and of equal worth. The insufficiency of formal equality have been discussed, which for substantive equality have been established in all human rights documents. However, the abandonment of equality as a whole in achieving social justice has been stimulated by Chemerinsky (1983) and Lucas (1965), who underlined that equality, by itself is morally necessary in enjoying other rights that concern social justice. For this reason, it is obvious that equality is a multidimensional virtue, which consists primarily of the equal worth of humanity regardless of any other traits, and proceeds with other necessities to achieve substantive equality.

In addition to equality in the sense of not meaning sameness, gender equality is not designed on a single approach towards equality. Gender equality, a part from including the primary necessity of formal equality, is designed to recognize differences and eliminate gender discrimination accordingly, by the contemporary gender discourse. Intergovernmental organizations and institutions such as the UN, has codified gender equality to include all three approaches to women's equality

including the difference and transformative approach, therefore gender equality does not only consist of formal equality. UN has instrumentalized regulations from conventions like CEDAW and continuous projects with civil society and states to eliminate the patriarchal existence of gender discrimination and achieve equality between genders on a substantive basis (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015). Briefly stated, it can be interpreted that neither equality connotes sameness nor gender equality only aims formal equality neglecting differences. For this reason, Şimga (2019) evaluates the neoconservatives' implication and presentation of gender equality as a 'distortion' of the concept. Gender equality is formed with the acceptance of equal rights and freedoms of individuals, in terms of the recognition of their differences to ensure substantive equality with necessary measures by the states, who are obligated to eliminate gender discrimination. Hence, the argument of both the neoconservatives and the source of import, the Vatican is inaccurate in terms of the conceptualization and insufficiency of equality. The suggestion of abandoning equality and adopting other concepts are only the reflection of the objective to perpetuate gender discrimination and inequalities rising from the biological differences and reproduce the patriarchally assigned gender roles.

In this perspective, it is the duty of men to protect women, which will also bring the necessity of control. Control of women have especially been assigned through sexuality by the discourse, considering the importance given to biological differences. Women's sexuality is mainly controlled by violence for which the government has taken plenty of measures. It is important right here to first mention the legal implementations that have been adopted during the EU candidacy, as previously stated in the study. Before the changes in the legal codes of the Turkish Republic, the regulations were codified from an absolutely patriarchal perspective, rejecting the individual rights of women in terms of the body and bodily integrity.

The new Turkish Civil Code was adopted in 2001 and the new Turkish Criminal Code and Turkish Criminal Procedure Code were enacted in 2004 during the legislative reforms for the EU accession process. The implementation of the Criminal Code had a fundamental effect for the elimination of patriarchy and dominance applied on women and women's bodies. Elimination of gender

discrimination and principle of equality is regulated under article 3 of Turkish Criminal Code, as a primary element of gender equality, distinguishing it from the previous code. Enactments on bodily integrity of women, abrogate the identification of women with the family or a male figure. Crimes that endured on patriarchal dominance such as honor killings were regulated to involve increase of the penalty under the new Turkish Criminal Code. Marital rape, not having been recognized by the previous code, was legislated an infringement of women's bodily integrity, similar to sexual assaults, only being prosecuted under complaint. The abatement of action in cases where the perpetrator and the victim were unified under marriage was prohibited, regarding the discriminative nature of the provision including its infringement of human rights. A significant problem, the enforcement of genital examinations by the family or patriarchal figures have been prohibited under this code.

Certain provisions were eliminated all together under the separation of women's sexual features as virginity or marital status. The previous code regulated differential implementations for married and single women as well as virgin and nonvirgins in crimes of sexual assaults or rape. Turkish Criminal Code settled the penalties distanced from women's marital or sexual status setting the same punishment for the perpetrator. The state's patriarchal control over women's body was eliminated to a certain degree with the provisions of the new Criminal Code, regarding its partly gender conscious character. Domestic violence is now also recognized, the new code abolished the necessity for official complaint of women. Measures taken against domestic violence were increased including the education of the officers and law enforcement units. The new code has eliminated the male and familial supervision on women's bodies and sexuality.

Sexual crimes were regulated from a patriarchal perspective, being enacted under the title 'Crimes against family order and general manners/customs' in the former Criminal Code, demonstrating its patriarchal structure. The new Criminal Code stated sexual crimes under the title of 'Crimes against sexual immunity', recognizing the sexual freedom and sexuality of the individuals. Sexuality and sexual freedom are respected, rather than evaluating the right as part of customs or ethics of the

society or the family. Physical integrity of individuals is protected under the provisions of the Criminal Code, eliminating the hegemony of the state or patriarchy over individuals (Acar & Altunok, 2013).

The amendments of Turkish Civil Code are noteworthy, considering the influence on the abolishment of patriarchal order within Turkish society and familial sphere. Although the application of the implementations has not been appropriately successful, the impact they constitute on liberation of women from legal dominance of patriarchy has decreased. The provisions that were far away from being equalitarian, that granted further authority to men within matrimony were eliminated with the enactment of the new Civil Code in 2001. From selection of official residence to women's allowance in employment was authorized by the husband until the amendment of the code. The unequal provisions were abolished, considering the recognition of gender equality in the new code. Men were comprehended as the head of the family, which was abolished with the new implementations. Women and men were authorized equal rights and obligations, including the recognition of domestic work. Division of property and alimony are arranged in deference to the labor both spouses have put into the marriage and family, with which housewives' efforts have been protected.

With the enactment of the modernized Criminal and Civil Codes, women's rights and recognition has evolved on Turkish legal grounds. The legislation is implemented on an equalitarian base, including tools such as positive discrimination in supplying substantive equality. However, performance of the norms and regulations have not been that accurate in terms of gender equality, regarding the patriarchal codes internalized by the judiciary personnel and the society. The development in women's rights and liberties brought by these codes are mainly the product of the struggle given by women's movement and NGOs during the drafting period. Women's rights activists have unified with the objective of providing a legal guarantee for women's rights under the principle of equality.

Violence Against Women has increased to a striking level, with 2337 women being killed within the last 10 years. Only in 2018, 440 women were killed, mostly within

intimate relationships. Many cases were brought before the social media, as a reaction to the judgements of the courts. Cases of rape, murder and domestic violence are criticized for being settled on from a patriarchal perspective neglecting women's human rights. Amongst the last 10 years there have been some cases that prevailed over other countless homicides such as; case of Münevver⁵¹, case of Özgecan⁵² and the most recent case of Şule Çet⁵³. Even amongst these cases was a difference in society's perception of the crime as well as the media's and representatives of the neoconservative discourse. The case of Özgecan was embraced by almost everyone considering that she was raped and murdered on her way home back from school by a bus driver. Münevver and Şule Çet were not that protected since they had been raped and murdered by men they had previously known, as well as place of the crime being their houses. Questions such as 'What was she doing there', 'Why did she go alone?' were raised even by the most senior state officials of the state. There is a sharp decomposition of the neoconservative discourse's attention and reaction to the cases of Münevver and Özgecan. It was with Özgecan's murder that a bill was regulated by the TBMM on violence against women. Whereas the case of Münevver faced with statements such as; "They should have supervised their daughter." by the former National Head of Police Department. These assumptions were made in relation with control of sexuality of women. Violence is condemned according to the measures and perception of the patriarchal, neoconservative understanding, reproducing the dichotomous relations by the

⁵¹ Münevver Karabulut, 19, was murdered by her boyfriend in 2009. She was killed in the house of her boyfriend and ruptured by an electrical saw. The case became public due to the controversy in the criminal procedure of the case. The murderer was found 197 after he committed the crime. For further information on the case; <https://www.aksam.com.tr/yasam/cem-garipoglu-oldu-mu-nasil-oldu-cem-garipoglu-munevver-karabulut-kimdir/haber-797789>. Date accessed; June 5, 2019.

⁵² Özgecan Aslan, 19, was murdered in 2015 by the bus driver on her way home from school. She was killed, resisting to the sexual attack of the murderer. The case attracted the attention of the media and the public and became a symbol for violence against women. For further information on the case; <https://www.ihf.com.tr/haber-ozgecan-aslan-nasil-olduruldu-ozgecan-aslan-kimdir-624150/>. Date accessed; June 5, 2019.

⁵³ Şule Çet was found dead, to have fallen from a 20 story building, from the apartment which belongs to her former boss. The media brought the attention to the case in which the former boss and another male are accused for attempting sexual assault and murder of Şule. The case is still proceeding, therefore the decision and guilt has not been charged yet. <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/203299-sule-cet-cinayeti-kronolojisi>. Date accessed; June 5, 2019.

reproduction of gender discrimination resting on bodily control of women's sexuality.

As every sociopolitical issue is often related to religion, once again violence is evaluated by Erdoğan from the same perspective;

A religious person, I am speaking of someone who really knows the value of this, murder of a woman, violence against women, would he do such a thing? Is it possible? No, he can't.⁵⁴

In this context, violence is attributed to a nonreligious characters and individuals. Religion, conscience and justice are interlinked to be contrary to maltreatment and discrimination of women. Patriarchy, dominance and especially power relations are neglected on the issue, which as the general approach of the neoconservative sphere towards violence. Although it can be observed that violence is the base of neoconservatives' policies on women, the effect and strength of power relations and patriarchy are highly ignored on the conflicts. As the recent president of KADEM Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu stated in an interview; "We say that violence is an assault against human integrity and personality while being a sickness that threatens family unity and order."⁵⁵

Gümrükçüoğlu, evaluates violence against women as an illness regardless of the patriarchal roots it concerns. Patriarchy and domination are so far away from the neoconservative discourse that the campaigns against violence against women contain direct sexist, patriarchal language. The campaigns like 'First Be A Man'⁵⁶,

⁵⁴ "Kadın cinayetleri oluyor değil mi? Gerçek olarak düşüneceğiz. İnançlı bir insan, gerçekten bu işin değerini bilenden bahsediyorum, bir kadın cinayeti, kadına şiddet, böyle bir şeye girebilir mi? Mümkün mü?" Giremez.Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2014. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/11/141124_kadininfitrati_erdogan. Date Accessed; April 10 2019.

⁵⁵ "Şiddetin, insan onuruna ve kişiliğine karşı bir saldırı olduğu gibi aynı zamanda ailenin birliğini ve yapısını tehdit eden sosyolojik bir hastalık olduğunu söylüyoruz." Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, 2018. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/roportaj/kadem-baskani-gumrukcuoglu-kadinyonelik-siddeti-insanlik-sucu-olarak-degerlendiriyoruz/1341016>. Date Accessed; April 12, 2019.

⁵⁶ 'Önce Adam Ol', was a campaign against violence against women, started by KADEM in 2014. The campaign consisted of references to manhood, claiming that real men would not perform violence against women.

and ‘If you are a Man, overcome your anger⁵⁷’ pursue the patriarchal codes by highlighting the importance and dignity of manhood. Violence against women is dealt with from a patriarchal perspective neglecting the deep roots of the crimes within the society, although it is accepted by the institution that it is the most vital subject concerning women. Although domestic violence is an important issue for the neoconservative discourse on which have been many speeches in diverse occasions, the reason for the lean on the issue is quite eye-catching. Domestic violence is evaluated as a threat to the unity of the family and the society, as observed from Gümrükçüoğlu’s statement. The causes of violence against women are underlined by Sare Aydın Yılmaz in an interview with these words;

Word Health Organization has shown the causes of violence against women as; low level of education, child abuse, witnessing domestic violence, anti-social personality disorder, use of alcohol, suspecting adultery, gender inequality and approaches that approve violence, beliefs in family honor...⁵⁸

Although Yılmaz highlights that gender inequalities cause violence against women, the discourse advocates gender justice over gender equality. At the same time, not stepping away from the dichotomous diversion through biological and theological difference discourses. The form of violence that is taken into consideration is basically a threat to family, however beliefs in family honor cause violence against women. Justice is reflected as a concept that is deigned to a sub form. For which power relations are reproduced by the state officials from a patriarchal perspective. In this context by the authority or the dominant to the dominee. The codes of the power relations within the context can be perceived from the definitions and metaphors on justice. Family and familialism are glorified over individuality of women even on subjects like violence. Every threat to women, including violence

⁵⁷ ‘Erkeksen, Öfkeni Yen’, was a campaign against violence against women, started by KADEM in 2013. The campaign refers to manhood in an ironical base, as declared by the representatives of the association.

⁵⁸ “Dünya Sağlık Örgütü kadına yönelik şiddetin nedenleri olarak; eğitim seviyesinin düşüklüğü, çocuk istismarı, aile içi şiddete tanık olma, anti-sosyal kişilik bozukluğu, alkol kullanımı, aldatılmaktan şüphelenme, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini ve şiddeti onaylayan tutumlar, aile şerefine olan inançlar, erkeğin cinsel haklarıyla ilgili kabul edilmiş düşünceler ve yasal yaptırımların yetersizliği gibi nedenleri sıralamaktadır.” Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, 2015. <http://kadem.org.tr/sare-aydin-trt-habere-kadina-yonelik-siddetin-boyutlari-ile-siddetle-mucadele-yontemlerini-anlatt/>. Date Accessed; April 12, 2019.

is considered as a threat to the family or the nation. Family and familialism, having a crucial role in the neoconservative discourse of Turkey, as a part of right-wing strategies, is therefore analyzed in detail in the next section.

5.1.3. Family and Familialism

Policies of the governments of New Right integrate citizens into groups and identities, some within the family, to complete the deficiencies coming from human nature and to fulfill the gap formed with the abandonment of the welfare state (Larner, 2000). The glorification of family and tradition is a large part of the New Right as both in terms of neoconservatism and neoliberals. Family and familialism have been promoted to replace the obligations of the state to their citizens with the abandonment of the welfare state (Grzebalska & Pető, 2017). We see today in Turkey with the neoconservative discourse the deification of family and familialism in collaboration with patriarchy as fundamentals of the system. Similar to other conservative approaches, this approach identifies women with family and natural obligations, to define them as citizens of the state. The neoconservative discourse has a perception of women that recognize them as mother or wife, the provider and caregiver of the family rather than as an individual (Özgün, 2014). It is for this reason that issues on women always tend to be referenced with family, children and society. The system is built so that the society will enlarge and proceed with the existing values, traditions and beliefs by next generations who are under the supervision of women, as mothers. The future of the state, the society depends on the mothers, considering they are the ones that rear the children. The restoration of women's status and rights rest on the necessity for more conscious and qualified bearers of future generations and to form and sustain a civilized, self-conscious marriage. The development in education, employment and socialization of women all contain the intention of a more qualified provider for the family. *With the belief that we will reach powerful Turkey, with powerful families...*⁵⁹

⁵⁹ “Güçlü ailelerle güçlü Türkiye’ye ulaşacağımız inancıyla...” Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk, Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanı, III. Uluslararası Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 23 Kasım 2018. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/guclu-kadin-guclu-turkiye-hedefiyle-calismalarimiza-devam-ediyoruz/1415217>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

These were the exact wrds of Zehra Zümürüt Selçuk in the International Women and Justice Summit on 2018. As the Minister of Family, Employment and Welfare Service, Selçuk's speech summarised the social and economic policies of the neoconservative government. The status and policies concerning women, comprise a wide space in the neoconservative discourse. The amount of policies is not the reason for this space, but the relations they seek for the general neoliberal and neoconservative system of the state. Similarly, Erdoğan underlines; "*Woman, is both the inseparable piece and the locomotive of the family*⁶⁰" in the Women and Justice Summit underlining the significance of the role women play within the family. Women are arranged as the providers and caregivers of the basic unit of the system, the family. Thus, the progress of women towards the arranged direction hold a vital place in the politics of neoconservatism. "The future of a society in which the institution of family is not powerful, is dark to the same extent for men and women⁶¹."

Proceeds the president/prime minister as his words are the reflection of the ideology of the state. Family is programmed as the basic unit of the system formed by the neoconservative system in Turkey. The political, social and economic alterations stand on the concept of family and the solidarity between them. Conservative values and cultural norms are transferred through familial sphere, which contend a major space in the neoconservative discourse. "We gain an identity under the roof of family and adopt our cultural values⁶²" states Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, the

⁶⁰ "Kadın, ailenin hem ayrılmaz bir parçası, hem de lokomotifidir". Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Başbakan, I. Uluslararası Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 24 Kasım 2014. <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/cumhurbaskani-erdogandan-flas-aciklamalar5>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

⁶¹ "Aile kurumunun güçlü olmadığı bir toplumun geleceği, kadın için de, erkek için de aynı derecede karanlıktır." Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Başbakan, I.Uluslararası Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 2018. <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/cumhurbaskani-erdogandan-flas-aciklamalar5>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

⁶² "Aile çatısı altında bir kimlik kazanır ve kültürel değerlerimizi benimseriz." Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, 2019. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/toplumun-temel-diregi-aile/kadem-baskani-gumrukcuoglu-kulturel-degerlerin-korunup-nesillere-aktarilmasi-ailelerle-saglaniyor-/1464419>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

president of KADEM, to highlight the importance of family to their understanding. The identification of women with the institution of family is the most significant notion concerning women and the neoconservative discourse. Women are affiliated value an integrity only within the family, as mothers or wives instead of as citizens or individuals, since the New Right recognizes women as mother and daughters (Özgün, 2014).

Gender relations and discourse of the neoconservative sphere dwells upon the virtues of family and protection. The identity of ‘woman’ is shaped in two aspects by the neoconservatives in Turkey, and both of these identities are projected within the family. Women are primarily mothers and wives; whose function and obligation are to take care of their families. The internalization of familialism is reflected under the role set for women by this view, as the caregiver. Main power family has, over women is control, especially in terms of the body and fertility. The threat to family is perceived as a threat to the society (Cansun, 2013). The politicians and scholars of the neoconservative discourse have highlighted the importance of family for the society and the state multiple times. To that end, the understanding of ‘complementary’ individuals holds a significant place within this familialism.

The empowerment of individuals must cause the empowerment of the family. The balance set on individual-family-society based policies must be formed around the principle of complementarianism, not on the principle of opposition. Woman and man must be seen as each other’s complementary, not the alternative in terms of the population dynamics and the nurture of the generation which guarantee future of the society.⁶³

With this statement of Ayşenur İslam The Minister of Family and Social Policy, the precedence of family and women are accentuated here clearly as to guarantee the growing population, and the maintenance of the familial system in the name of society’s future. It is within general policy of JDP, to promote marriage and large families as a part of the neoliberal and conservative perspective. These policies

⁶³ “Toplumu oluşturan bireylerin güçlendirilmesi, ailenin de güçlenmesine sebep olmalıdır. Birey-aile-toplum merkezli politikaların oluşturulmasında dengenin kurulması karşıtlık değil tamamlayıcılık ilkesi etrafında şekillendirilmelidir. Nüfus dinamikleri ve toplumun geleceğini temin eden nesillerin yetişmesi açısından da kadın-erkek ve aile birbirinin alternatifi değil, birbirinin tamamlayıcısı olan unsurlar olarak görülmelidir.” Ayşenur İslam, Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı, I. Uluslararası Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 2015. <http://kadem.org.tr/aile-ve-sosyal-politikalar-bakani-sayin-aysenur-islam-in-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; March 12, 2019.

correspond with the Vatican's emphasis on marriage and nurturing the next generations and as well as the New Right's policies on women as mother and wives. According to Winker (2005), New Right's approach attaches importance to family for the sake of the transformation of religious values and traditional norms. Family holds the obligation of raising new generations and maintaining the union (Winker, 2005). Accordingly, a part from the incentives on marriage and child birth that are planned within the program of the government, in forms such as gold, money and promotions, young people are encouraged by direct statements of the representatives of the party. The former prime minister, now president Erdoğan has mentioned plenty of times at the weddings he attended to have 'at least three children' to the newlyweds (Acar & Altunok, 2013). The number of children he encourages have increased to 'at least five' within the recent years. JDP's policy on children hinge on the ideals of a powerful state and country as underlined in the words of president/prime minister;

This is why I recommend at least three, if possible, more children to our youth in all ceremonies. For that reason, one is lonely, two is opponent, three is balance, four is fruitfulness, the rest is Allah Kerim⁶⁴⁶⁵.

It can be observed that the speech sheds light on the conservative part of the birth policy as well as the neoliberal side. The encouragement of large families and having many children are encouraged with a perspective that assumes that the family will be provided by a creator. Here, the duty of the welfare state is transferred to a theological authority, considering the faith of the people, and the population that is necessary for the transmission of the conservative and traditional values are satisfied. The duties and protection of the state is transferred to the family, with the reduction in welfare policies and acceptance of neoliberal approach towards the economy (Pateman, 1987). The significance of family performs the base to the

⁶⁴ A religious expression that connotates that whatever God gives is fine and that God will provide whatever is necessary. In this context it is used as how much children are born is decided by God and that God will provide the needs.

⁶⁵ "İşte bunun için tüm nikah töreninde gençlerimize en az 3 çocuk, mümkünse daha fazlasını tavsiye ediyorum. Onun için bir olur garip olur, iki olur rakip olur, üç olur denge olur, dört olur bereket olur; gerisi Allah Kerim diyorum...", Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2019. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/erdogan-genclerimize-en-az-3-cocuk-mumkunse-daha-fazlasini-tavsiye-ediyorum.html>. Date Accessed; March 12, 2019.

population policies of JDP, and child birth. Erdoğan in a speech summarizes one of the state policies on population and birth as; “We have to, in order to keep this young, dynamic population solid. Particularly for countries like us, population is power.”⁶⁶

The control of population as power of the nation is a state policy that is a novelty for Turkey. Previous governments have been giving the struggle to reduce the population by stimulations as well as state policies such as birth control, regarding the economical situations of the country. The policy of JDP in population, as yet has not shown an alteration even during times of economic crisis. Having a policy of enhancement in terms of population, the control over women and reproductive rights have been an issue within this discourse. Reproductive rights are controlled in terms of two institutions, one being motherhood and the other as the patriarchal control over the state. For this reason, reproductive rights are held under the title of motherhood in this study.

A part from the general praising of the family as a notion by itself, women are directly associated with family in the neoconservative discourse. So much that when speaking of women’s rights and empowerment, even in specific fields of education or employment, the development and value of family is underlined. Just as expressed in the speech of the Minister of Family, Employment and Welfare Services Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk: “We must generalize the practice of education and awareness in the empowerment of the family, to provide equal and fair enjoyment of rights and opportunities for women.”⁶⁷

⁶⁶ “Mecburuz, çünkü bu yapıyı dinamik genç nüfus yapısını sağlam tutalım. Bilhassa bizim gibi ülkeler için nüfus güçtür.”, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2019. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/erdogan-genclerimize-en-az-3-cocuk-mumkunse-daha-fazlasini-tavsiye-ediyorum.html>. Date Accessed; March 12, 2019.

⁶⁷ “Ailenin güçlendirilmesinde eğitim ve farkındalık çalışmalarını yaygınlaştırarak, kadınların hayatın her alanında hak ve fırsatlardan eşit ve adil bir şekilde yararlanmalarını sağlamalıyız.”, Ayşenur İslam, Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı, I. International Women and Justice Summit, 2018. <https://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/politika/593771.aspx>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

Just like the Vatican highlights the obligations and functions of women and men, the glorification of motherhood and fatherhood come into the picture in the neoconservative discourse as well. The individuals are defined as the caregivers of next generations that will perpetuate the order, on account of this the family is the primary unit of the system. Womanhood and family are identified together for which women's problems are classified as to be of the family or in the family by this discourse. The solution for women's issues are perceived via familialism. An example of this is seen from the interview of Saliha Okur Gümrukçüoğlu;

Because first of all we believe that the balance that will sustain the society is gender justice that positions men and women with a balanced share of roles... We believe that every disadvantageous position woman go through concerns men who are part of the same society and designate them to be primarily solved within the family. Our summit, different from the previous practice and studies regarding women, has started with the approach that confer holistic proposals by interpreting women and men within the context of family.⁶⁸

The share of roles is rather balanced, as yet not equal is constituted by the discourse of gender justice. Here not only the individuality of the citizens is neglected but also the duties of the welfare state are downsized. As part of the neoliberal policies of JDP, certain services such as childcare, elderly care are attributed to women that are actually the obligation of the welfare state. This attribution corresponds both to the neoliberal state, whose duties are downsized and the neoconservative tradition with whom the cultural codes will be controlled and transformed through woman and family. Interpreting women within the family is reflected as a holistic approach, as men are shown to be part of this complementary perception. From the legal implementations and social circumstances however, it is only applied accurately to women. Women go through an identity loss away from the family, within this discourse. Coşar and Yeğenoğlu (2011), have underlined that the neoconservative discourse evaluates family as the “natural locus of women”(Coşar & Yeğenoğlu,

⁶⁸ “Toplumsal anlamda denge ve huzura kavuşmanın sadece kadına özgü meselelere odaklanmanın ötesinde bir yaklaşım geliştirmek gerektirdiğine inanıyoruz. Kadınların yaşadıkları her dezavantajlı durumun aynı toplumun bir parçası olan erkekleri de ilgilendirdiğini ve bunların öncelikle ailede çözüme kavuşturulması gerektiğine işaret ediyoruz. Zirvemiz, daha önce yapılmış kadın çalışmalarından farklı olarak kadını ve erkeği aile bağlamı içinde değerlendiren bir yaklaşımla sorunların çözümüne dair bütüncül öneriler sunma hedefiyle yola çıkmış...”, Saliha Okur Gümrukçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, 2019. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/toplumun-temel-diregi-aile/kadem-baskani-gumrukcuoglu-kulturel-degerlerin-korunup-nesillere-aktarilmasi-ailelerle-saglaniyor-/1464419>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

2011, p.567). Within this context Saliha Gümrükçüoğlu highlights the importance of attaching women and family together in these words; “We named the summit as strengthening of the family, because we believe that dealing with men and women independent from family would cause deficiencies.⁶⁹”

It is for this reason that marriage is encouraged especially to young women by state policies. Many regulations have been transformed so that young people would enjoy the incentives of marriage such as the regulation on marriage portion. With the regulation of the Ministry for Family and Social Policy in 2016, the state began the distribution of incentives for young couples who are insufficient in terms of economic status under the name of ‘marriage portion account’, of which in 2018 the involvement of the state has increased even more. The state policies regulate not only before but after marriage, as a unit all together. Centers for family counseling were established as previous stage before divorce before the family ombudsman. The establishment of family centers on family as an alternative to women’s centers is a common policy used by the New Right. For instance, in Ukraine, the opposition to gender and gender equality have used these centers as a counter strategy to gender equality (Lamakh, 2017). Gender and gender policies have been shown as the threat to family and to have caused divorce, similar to cases in Turkey. Family has a significance because, the patriarchal control of the state over women begins from youth, proceeds into marriage and finalizes with the enlargement of the family with children. With the gender justice approach, marriage is prioritized for women under the title of ‘fıtrat’ and creation. “The feeling of having a family comes from creation. Also, family, to which societies owe their strength and welfare to, subsist with individuals’ support for each other. Family is evaluated as a steady pact in our faith.⁷⁰”

⁶⁹ “Bu seneki zirvemizin ana temasını Ailenin Güçlendirilmesi olarak belirledik. Çünkü biz ailenin gücüne inanıyor ve güçlü toplumların ancak güçlü aile yapılarıyla sağlanacağını biliyoruz.”, Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, 2018. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sayin-dr-saliha-okur-gumrukcuoglunun-iii-uluslararasi-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

⁷⁰ “...aileye sahip olmak yaratılıştan gelen bir duygudur. Ayrıca, toplumların gücünü ve refahını borçlu olduğu bu kurum, fertlerin birbirlerine olan desteği ile varlığını sürdürür. İnancımıza göre

The discourse generalizes that men and women complement each other within the family in which they sustain different roles that deriving from their nature. Thereupon, gender justice is favored over gender equality, to perpetuate the notion that marriage is a natural course for women. In fact, according to the discourse women are assigned responsible for the family by ‘fitrat’, as Sare Aydın Yılmaz summarizes;

Women are held primarily responsible for the proceeding of the family, the birth and upbringing of next generations and consequently shaping the social structure, because of their major virtues such as reason-sensitivity-love-compassion-patience- eq and having motherhood, that is one of the most precious jobs of the world. The liabilities that should be justly distributed between men and women whom are created to be complementary by ‘fitrat’ have been attributed to women by cultural codes, traditions and morals.⁷¹

The statement of Yılmaz sums up the biologically deterministic perception of women, in terms of the neoconservative discourse, generalizing certain traits for women such as sensitivity, love etc. Whereas at the end she criticizes cultural norms for attaching the liabilities of family to women. Hitherto, the argument made here is not that men and women should share the family and house chores evenly but rather should make a distribution in terms of justice, is to say gender justice. Considering the fact that gender justice advocates different obligations and rights for women and men, on the basis of justice that comes from ‘fitrat’, it will be natural for women to be assigned the chores including child rearing, housework etc. Women are glorified as mothers by the neoconservative discourse, bringing up next generations to the

aile, sağlam bir misak olarak nitelendirilir.”, Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi, 2018. . <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sayin-dr-saliha-okur-gumrukcuoglunun-iii-uluslararasi-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

⁷¹“Dünyanın en kıymetli işlerinden biri olan annelik vasıfları ve akıl-duygusallık-sevgi-şefkat-merhamet-sabır-sosyal zekâ gibi önemli meziyetlerin kadında yaşam bulması nedeni ile kadın ailenin devam etmesinde, gelecek nesillerin dünyaya getirilip yetiştirilmesinde ve dolayısıyla toplumsal yapının şekillenmesinde birincil derecede sorumlu tutulmuştur. Fıtraten birbirini tamamlayıcı olarak yaratılmış olan kadın ve erkek tarafından adil bir şekilde paylaşılması gereken bu yükümlülükler, toplumsal anlamda egemen olan kültürel kodlar, adet ve örfler tarafından kadına atfedilmiştir.”, Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Kurucu Başkanı, 2017. <http://kadem.org.tr/3-uluslararasi-toplumsal-cinsiyet-adaleti-kongresi-sare-aydin-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

system. Motherhood, being accepted as the primary function and obligation of women need further analysis, that will be held in the next section.

5.1.3.1. Motherhood

The ideology of the state destines women as the formers and the proceeders of the family, contrary to a citizen and an individual, hence women's human rights, built on the significance within the family (Kandiyoti, 2010). The value driven to the institution of family and motherhood precludes over the worth of women individuals. The plea of womanhood is cherished for the competency of transferring the cultural codes and beliefs to next generations. Consequently, childrearing and motherhood is the most displayed aspects within womanhood. It has been pointed out by various scholars that womanhood is identified with motherhood by the neoconservative discourse in Turkey (Acar & Altunok, 2013). The social appraisal of women hinges on the glorification of motherhood, in accordance with the caregiver role assigned to them deriving from creation. "For this reason, that, it is because of the mother role that women are the irrevocable leader for the healthy development of the family and the architect of the process of construction of society."⁷²

This statement underlines the value women comprise within the society and family in terms of the neoconservative discourse. Womanhood is equated directly with motherhood and categorized accordingly. As a representative of the discourse the president/prime minister praised motherhood in these words; "Our religion has given women a position. What position, the position of motherhood. Mother is something different. It is the unreachable of all the positions, the highest one"⁷³.

⁷² "Bu sebeptendir ki kadın anne rolü nedeniyle toplumsal inşa sürecinin mimarı, ailenin sağlıklı gelişimi için asla vazgeçilemez öncü bireyi konumundadır.", Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Kurucu Başkanı, 2017. <http://kadem.org.tr/3-uluslararası-toplumsal-cinsiyet-adaleti-kongresi-sare-aydin-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

⁷³ "Bizim dinimiz kadına bir makam vermiş. Ne makamı, annelik makamı. Anne başka bir şey. Makamların ulaşamazıdır en yükseğidir.", Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister 2014. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/aktuel/2014/11/24/erdogan-kadem-zirvesinde-konustu>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

Not only motherhood is praised in terms of social context, it is also accentuated in the religious sense by this declaration. Motherhood is put on a pedestal, a status that all women would look forward to attain. The respect women gain is predominantly attributed to motherhood in the neoconservative discourse. For instance, Erdoğan, speaking of his mother in a council of elderly, announced his love for his mother followingly;

I assume everyone knows the Hadis of ‘heaven is under the feet of mothers. I used to kiss my mother’s feet; she would pull away. I would say ‘Mom do you consider the smell of heaven too much for me; she would cry. I advise you, kiss the feet of your mothers. There is no one like them. We are here because of them.’⁷⁴

As it can be perceived by this speech, the plea of motherhood is often didactically adopted by the representatives of the discourse, mainly in reference to religious texts. Kandiyoti’s (2010) indication that women are apprehended as mothers instead of acquiring a sociopolitical persona, is quite accurate in this context. Similarly, in another declaration, the president/prime minister in his message for Mother’s Day refers to the power of mothers on the state and reflects the values of motherhood once again through theological explanations.

Our mothers whom have taught us love, respect, solidarity, sharing and tolerance are the major force in establishing happiness and peace in our country. We are the representatives of a culture and a tradition who believe that heaven is under mothers’ feet, hold them in high honor, say ‘there is no one like mom’, give importance to respect to mothers and take motherhood as the most exceptional degree of the world.⁷⁵

Motherhood is instrumentalized by the neoconservative discourse with glorification in reproducing the patriarchally assigned gender roles. This attachment is often

⁷⁴ “Cennet anaların ayağı altındadır hadisi şerifini herhalde bilmeyen yoktur. Ben anacığımın ayağının altını öperdim, anam ayağını çekerdi. Anacığım bana cennet kokusunu çok mu görüyorsun derdim; ağlardı. Tavsiye ediyorum analarınızın ayaklarının altını öpün. Onlar gibisi yok. Onlar olduğu için biz varız.” Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, Yaşlılık Şurası 2019, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/turkiye/201902201037771542-erdogan-ananizin-ayaklarinin-altini-opun/>. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

⁷⁵ “Annelerimiz sabır, müsamaha ve sevgi dolu yürekleriyle, toplumsal yaşamda huzur ve barışın tesisinde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Sevgiyi, saygıyı, dayanışmayı, paylaşmayı ve hoşgörüyü bizlere öğreten annelerimiz, ülkemizde mutluluğu ve huzuru tesis etmede en büyük gücümüzdür. Bizler, cennetin annelerin ayakları altında olduğuna inanan, anneleri baş tacı kabul eden, 'ana gibi yar olmaz' diyen, anneye hürmeti esas alan, anneliği dünyanın en müstesna mertebesi olarak gören bir kültür ve geleneğin temsilcileriyiz.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, Anneler Günü Mesajı, 2019. <https://www.cnnturk.com/yerel-haberler/ankara/cumhurbaskani-erdogandan-anneler-gunu-mesaji-992143>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

observed in conservative approaches. Likewise, this approach towards women, resemble the identification of motherhood with womanhood has been made by the Vatican in Beijing. The glorification of motherhood is a common strategy used in the conference by the alliance of the Vatican and the Islamist states as the justification of the objections on abortion and reproductive rights (Cohen & Richards, 2019). With motherhood being a glorious notion, the control of womanhood is often portrayed by the control over reproduction. Reproductive rights are one of the most compelling areas in which the neoconservatives seek to apply the patriarchal intervention to women's bodies and beings. The aim of neoconservatives to control women can be examined under two subtitles according to the discourse they have created during JDP rule; abortion and birth control and population growth.

5.1.3.2. Reproductive Rights

5.1.3.2.1. Abortion

As previously stated, and investigated within the previous chapter, abortion has always been an issue of controversy around the world. Countless movements have been formed against abortion, of which concern not only religious traditionalists but also women from various movement. The ethical stance against abortion is for sure a significant issue, still the religious stand is more relevant to the discourse in Turkey. Ever since its establishment, Turkey has faced with requests and struggles to legalize abortion by various groups. However, the procedure has been interpreted as a crime by the neoconservatives and to cause a negative outcome for the populational growth in the long run by the government. Accordingly, even though the procedure was confabulated a certain time, it was not legalized for years until the military intervention of 1980. After the military intervention, with the enactment of different implementations, abortion was on the table, but this time it was obvious that the procedure was perceived as a method of birth control. Finally, the legalization of abortion was realized on May 27th 1983 with the “The Code on Population Planning⁷⁶” in Turkey. This Code regarded certain measures for legal

⁷⁶ “Nüfus Planlaması Hakkında Kanun”

abortion, including the fetus to be less than 10 weeks growth however more in medically necessary cases.

The group who stood against abortion to be a legal right were basically the traditionalist conservatives in Turkey. As part of the neoconservative discourse, abortion has often been criticized by the authorities of the neoconservative government of JDP. Erdoğan, prime minister at the time declared in clearly his speech: “ I see abortion as murder.”⁷⁷

The statement of the prime minister/president was a reflection of the neoconservative perception which had a struggle against abortion beginning from the historically prior conservative parties such as RP. The patriarchal ideology that seeks to dominate the woman body was reinforced by the neoconservatives similar to the conservatives. Although JDP refrains from defining abortion as a sin and classifies it as a crime instead (Acar & Altunok, 2013), the embedded reason for objections shows parallelism with RP. Karaömerlioğlu (2012), on the other hand claims that the antiabortion stand of the government does not rest on religion but nationalism and policy of economic growth. He underlines that Islam has a rather liberal stance on the issue of abortion, but the apprehension in the decrease of population pushes the conservative government to be against the procedure. Hence, although it is reflected that neoconservative government opposes to abortion because it is a crime, the actual reason is its deterioration to the neoliberal economic policies and the ideal of strong ‘nation’.

Unlike the thoughts of the traditionalists of Christianity during the ERA period, some neoconservatives have gone radical and rejected abortion even in cases of sexual assault. An MP of JDP who was also the head of the Commission for Human Rights in the National Assembly, has a significant declaration. Ayhan Sefer Üstün

⁷⁷ “Kürtajı bir cinayet olarak görüyorum.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister, 2012. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/kurtaji-bir-cinayet-olarak-goruyorum-20630000>, Date Accessed; March 15, 2019.

declared that;“The perpetrator is more innocent than the victim of rape who has an abortion.”⁷⁸

This shows that the maintenance of the patriarchal, traditionalist society is superior to the woman’s bodily rights and integrity. Üstün took his statement to a more intense level and compared the cases of rape and abortion to the war crimes of rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina. With the sentence: “The woman who has been raped should not have an abortion as well. The women in Bosnia were raped but they gave birth”.⁷⁹ Üstün proves the ideology’s devaluation of woman as an identity or individual but recognizes her as an object of reproduction neglecting not only the physical rights but the psychological status of the victim. In accordance with Üstün, Recep Akdağ, a minister exposed another suggestion as to abolish abortion but to control women’s bodies as; “ The woman who is raped should give birth, if it is necessary the state will rear the child.”⁸⁰.

As it can be seen from these two statements, even in cases of sexual violence, women’s right to control her own body is not preferred by the discourse. In this case, abortion is still not permitted, the woman’s body is controlled by the patriarchal government however the responsibility of the woman is left to her conscience as a mother. The state is assigned a gender here as masculine and excludes women’s citizenship and human rights, instead chooses to defend the patriarchal system, even if it is necessary to take over the duty of the mother, to rear the child, itself, regarding the babies as its citizen and human capital within the ‘nation’. The declarations of the officials contain a patriarchal tone and a superior hierarchical undertone within

⁷⁸ “Tecavüzcü, kürtaj yaptıran tecavüz kurbanından daha masum.” TBMM İnsan Hakları Komisyonu Başkanı; Aydın Sefer Üstün, 2012. <https://www.aksam.com.tr/guncel/tecavuze-ugrayan-da-kurtaj-yaptirmamali--118800h/haber-118800>. Date Accessed; March 15, 2019.

⁷⁹ “Tecavüze uğrayan da kürtaj yaptırmamalı. Bosna’da kadınlar tecavüze uğradı ama doğurdular.” TBMM İnsan Hakları Komisyonu Başkanı; Aydın Sefer Üstün, 2012. <https://www.aksam.com.tr/guncel/tecavuze-ugrayan-da-kurtaj-yaptirmamali--118800h/haber-118800>. Date Accessed; March 15, 2019.

⁸⁰ “Tecavüze uğrayan doğursun, gerekirse devlet bakar.”Recep Akdağ, Sağlık Bakanı, 2012. <http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/saglik-bakani-imama-uydu-tecavuze-ugrayan-dogursun-gerekirse-devlet-bakar-haberi>. Date Accessed; March 15, 2019.

their construction. They tend to propagate a rigid image of the power of the conservative state. The discourse did not only make patriarchal declarations but, draft bill was prepared by the JDP government to limit abortion in 2003. This draft regulated the prohibition of abortion after 10 weeks even in cases where the fetus might have the risk of disability, with the reaction and protests of women's movements the draft was cancelled to be represented later on (Acar & Altunok, 2013). As patriarchal policies controlling women's fertility continue to evolve, however faced with objections. Religious references and texts conservatives produce an antiabortion stand in terms of reproductive rights in diverse geographies. For instance, JDP's policies on reproductive rights show no difference with the coalition of the Vatican and the Islamist states in Beijing (İlkkaracan, 2015). The regulations of reproductive rights were immensely objected previously in Cairo, which the Vatican justified as protection of family in Beijing. Hence conservative tendencies collide under patriarchal control of women's bodies in various religions.

The radical approach towards antiabortion of the neoconservative also resembles the furious stands on abortion in countries like Ireland and Poland. In Ireland abortion is prohibited under any circumstance, which the ECHR has decided for the elimination and implementation of a new regulations. On the other hand, the antiabortion campaigns are quite strong and vigorous, indifferent to the death of a young woman from septicemia due to the ban on abortion (Waszak, 2017). The relentless oppositions and determinants on abortion resemble the Turkish case, considering the statements of Üstün. Primary human right of women, right to life are undermined by the discourse over the appraisal of reproduction and fertility policies. Similar to Ireland, debates on abortion have been raised in Poland by conservative groups. Although abortion has been applied on a limited basis, only in situations where threat of mother's right to life or a crime. Anyhow, in 2016 a draft has been proposed to ban abortion in every circumstance, even in cases of a danger for the mothers life. The antiabortion campaigns have been underlining the position of the fetus with harsh pictures and imagery. Even though, the draft was faced with rigid protests, it was represented to the parliament in 2018 (Staroszczyk, 2017). Therefore the antiabortion groups which neglect women's humanly right to life and the control over one's own body continue in many countries. Lately, in USA, a draft

bill was accepted prohibiting abortion at any circumstance (except the risk of mother's life) including cases of rape, in Alabama. Facing with reactions from all over the country, the regulation will come into force if signed by the mayor. Abortion is not the only subject in which women's fertility is controlled by the patriarchy and the state. Birth control and promotion of population growth is one of the major issues JDP and the neoconservative discourse has worked on ever since its establishment.

5.1.3.2.2. Birth Control and Promotion in Population Growth

Turkey has met birth control, especially the pill much later than the Western countries. Prior to the pill or condoms, methods such as withdrawal were used. Abortion again was and still is evaluated as a method of birth control. Similar to the government policies in population planning, Turkish governments have either supported or rejected birth control depending on the rate of population growth. Birth control has been promoted in times of low growth to pump up human capital, whereas it has been contradicted in times when there was a baby boom in the country. Hence the basic reason for the stand taken against birth control confides on economic interests, most of the times it is announced under the name of nationalism or conservatism in Turkey. JDP exercises both conservatism and nationalism in its struggle against birth control. Globally the neoconservative state's terminus in controlling women's fertility endures on a strategic and an ideological base (Acar & Altunok, 2013). Firstly, family is assigned as the substitute for the policies and services reduced with the abundance of the welfare state, for which it is the primary unit of production (Giddens, 1994). Hence the enlargement of unit of production is necessary for the stability of the society and the economic system with human capital. And secondly, the maintenance and continuity of the family ensures the transmission of traditional values and cultural codes as well the religious sensitivities (Grzebalska & Pető, 2017). In fact, as child breeding and rearing children is assigned as the major responsibility of family within conservatism, the control over fertility and birth policies rest on the protection of the family. Not only birth control but other factors such as divorce are considered dangers for the family, therefore the system (Winker, 2005).

Similarly, birth and population growth are promoted by the neoconservative government in Turkey. A part from promotions in social welfare policies, the president/prime minister himself not only presents his hostility against the procedure but encourages population growth in many of his speeches. Every time he attends a wedding, he makes declarations and takes the word of the bride and the groom to have ‘at least 3 children’. In one of his speeches of a holiday, he reacted to the oppositions who criticize him for his intervention;

They say he intervenes with our lifestyle. Where did this three children issue come from, they say. There is no such regulation. I just recommend three children, as a prime minister. This is the most natural right of mine. No gun is held against anyone. There is no legal obligation. I am saying, bring three children to this nation, grant them. This nation needs to be strong. What does that go through, the honorable creature that is called human? This human will be raised by mothers. She won’t, let her not.⁸¹

The statement of the president is a reflection of the patriarchal ideology of the government which recognizes women as the objects of production to the neoliberal state. The neoconservative ideology forms women’s role as mother and wife under caregiver category, alienating her from the control of her own body and reproduction (Acar & Altunok, 2013). Neoconservatives legitimize the control of women by the state and men, instrumentalizing the gender justice approach, under need for protection and essence of motherhood. The production of human capital is based on creation and ‘fitrat’ along with religious references. JDP’s approach towards birth control is similar to the conservatives in the Conference of Beijing including the Vatican. Control of women’s fertility is used as a tool in supplying the protection of the traditional family according to conservatives. The Vatican has instrumentalized this approach on family for opposing to fertility rights and birth control in the Beijing Conference as well as the Islamist states. According to the Vatican, motherhood and fatherhood are the essential objectives of men and women to become complete together with the spouses and the children, on account of this

⁸¹“ Hani diyorlar ya bizim yaşam tarzımıza karışıyor. Nereden çıktı bu üç çocuk meselesi diyorlar. Böyle bir yasa yok. Ben sadece bir başbakan olarak en az üç çocuğu tavsiye ediyorum. Bu benim en doğal hakkımdır. Kimseye kalkıp da silah dayatmıyoruz. Yasal bir mecburiyette yok. Ben hanım kardeşlerimize gelin bu millete üç çocuk hibe edin, lütfedin diyorum. Bu milletin güçlü olması lazım. O da nereden geçiyor, insan denilen şerefli mahluktan geçiyor. Bu insanı işte bu anneler yetiştirecek. Ha yapmayacak, yapmasın.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister, 2013. <http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/basbakan-erdogan-hanim-kardeslerimiz-uc-cocuk-hibe-edin-lutfedin-diyorum-haberi-77>. Date Accessed; March 15, 2019.

marriage and family are sacred institutions. Birth control is a threat to marriage and the family, which constitute the society and the transmission of religious beliefs (Cohen & Richards, 2019).

Oppositions on birth control and abortion is a significant characteristic of neoconservatives, regarding the glorification of motherhood and family. JDP utilizes every policy to perform population growth in terms of fertility, a part from birth control and abortion. Hence the tools the neoconservative government practices control over women's reproduction is not only birth control or abortion but diverse procedures such as, cesarean as well (Acar & Altunok, 2013). In 2012, after the declaration of the prime minister against the procedure, the rate of caesarean procedures decreased consistently, the reason relying in the approaches of the hospitals and the doctors on cesarean. Later on, in July 2012, a regulation that limits the procedure to medically obligatory situations were adopted. Linkage of the policy rests on the creationist perception of the neoconservative discourse. As motherhood is natural, for which birth is natural, the control of women's bodies is ensured through the refusal of cesarean procedure⁸². Natural birth and motherhood are praised over tradition so much that, the Declaration of the IV. Gender Justice Summit, suggests that midwifery should be considered, together with the adoption of informative policies on natural birth. The reason for these suggestions is shown as the prejudice against natural birth and doctors applying the procedure as preference instead of medical necessities. Thus, the promotion of natural birth and anticesarean policies are linked to the governments objectives on population growth and consequently control of women's reproductive rights. As women are portrayed with the role of mothers in the systems, producing human capital, fertility cannot be left to women's choice, regardless of their individuality as citizens. Womanhood is so identified with motherhood by this discourse that, women who are not mothers are being alienated via declarations of administrators. The most

⁸² "Sezaryen ile doğum fitratla yok.", Mehmet Müezzinoğlu, Sağlık Bakanı, 2014. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/saglik-bakani-muezzinoglu-sezaryen-tartismasina-noktayi-koydu-fitrati-normal-dogum-27809995>. Date Accessed; April 25, 2019.

significant declaration addressed to childless women was made by the president/prime minister;

Rejecting motherhood is giving up on the half of oneself for a human. More widely. Giving up on humanity. Would there be humanity if there is no mother? If there is mother there is humanity. That is why I recommend three children at every occasion. It's not me whose doing this. My Rabb⁸³ orders it, our Prophet says it.⁸⁴

Erdoğan's speech was criticized by many women for identifying womanhood with motherhood and postulating childless women as incomplete human beings. Hence, for the discourse being a mother is the prerequisite of womanhood, furthermore there are certain comments on the status before being a mother. That is to say, there are certain rules and traditions that must be obeyed in pregnancy according to some conservatives. A neoconservative Ömer Tuğrul İnançer spoke in a national tv show in Ramadan in 2013:

It is against our upbringing to announce pregnancy with drumrolls. You can't go around the streets with this belly. More important than anything it is not esthetic. After 7-8 months the pregnant woman goes to a ride in her husband's car to get some air. Then they go out in the afternoon... But now maşallah, the one with wings and the one's without are on tv. This is ayıp⁸⁵, ayıp. This is not realism. This is disorderly.⁸⁶

The control over woman's body is taken to a different level even evaluating the grown belly of the woman to be 'ayıp' and she must not be around on the streets. Therefore, not only motherhood is controlled in terms of familialism but pregnancy,

⁸³ A way to address God, 'Allah' in Islam.

⁸⁴ "Anneliği reddetmek insanın yarısından vazgeçmektir. Daha geniş tutuyorum. İnsanlıktan vazgeçmektir. Anne olmazsa insanlık olur mu? Anne varsa insanlık var. Bunun için her fırsatta en az 3 çocuk tavsiyesi yapıyorum. Bunu ben yapmıyorum. Rabb'im emrediyor, Peygamberimiz söylüyor." Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister, 2016. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/erdogan-anneligi-reddeden-kadin-eksiktir-yarimdir-40113493>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

⁸⁵ An action found to be shameful by the society or religion.

⁸⁶ "Hamileliği davul çalarak ilan etmek bizim terbiyemize aykırıdır. Böyle karınla sokakta gezilmez. Her şeyden önce estetik değildir. 7-8 aydan sonra anne adayını biraz hava almak için beynin otomobiline biner, biraz dolaşır. Sonra akşam üstü çıkarlar... Şimdi ise maşallah, kanatlısı kanatsız televizyonlarda uçuşuyor. Ayıptır ayıp. Bunun adı realizm değildir. Bunun adı terbiyesizliktir" Ömer Tuğrul İnançer, 2013. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-hamile-kadinin-sokakta-gezmesi/gundem/detay/1741343/default.htm>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

how to give birth and how to be a mother is sketched into limits by the neoconservative discourse under the name of ‘fitrat’ and creation. The patriarchal control of women in the primary stage supplied by the family and men is continuously ensured via state policies and comments in this sample.

Neoconservative discourse often highlights the threat of modernism on the institutions of family and social order. With modernization and adoption of western values, the traditional roles and norms have fallen into disuse, constructing a concern for the traditionalist side of neoconservatism. Gender equality is perceived as inapplicable to local values and traditions, regarding the import of the concept from the West. Religion constitutes a part in the irrevocable aspects of the society from the perspective of the discourse. “Family, comes in front of the issues that have been wounded the most by the modern world.”⁸⁷

Thereupon, the chapter examines the overlook of the neoconservative discourse on modernization and westernization which is alleged to have endangered gender justice by transforming the society in diverse fields. The modern world, in other words modernization has trivialized family with theories and practices, which also involve the discourse on gender.

In this summit, we will also discuss the family structure which is weakened by global threats. We should set an example with gender justice, that women and men not as each other’s rivals but as companions.⁸⁸

The perception of neoconservatives towards modernization and westernization compose a significant part in the conjuncture. Policies promoting family and traditionalism, reflect modern values as the opponent that dissociate men and

⁸⁷ “Aile, modern dünyada en çok yara alan konuların başında gelmektedir.” Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, 2018. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/konusmalar/362/99764/3-uluslararasi-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-gala-yemeginde-yaptiklari-konusma->. Date Accessed; March 25, 2019.

⁸⁸ “Bu zirvede küresel tehditlere karşı zayıflayan aile yapısını nasıl güçlendireceğimizi küresel boyutta ele alacağız. Kadın ve erkeğin birbirinin rakibi değil refiki olduğu bir toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti anlayışıyla birlikte dayanışma örneğini ortaya koymalıyız.” , Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk, Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanı, 2018. <https://www.haberturk.com/istanbul-haberleri/16974118-3-uluslararasi-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

women. Thus, westernization and modernization will be studied further under the next section.

5.1.3.3. Discussion

Unlike the objective of gender equality to eliminate the discriminative and patriarchal division of gender roles assigned on men and women (Kurtoğlu & Bayrakçeken, 2015), gender justice approach aims to distribute the roles on an essentialist basis, reproducing the existing dichotomy between genders. As Pateman (1987) has underlined the lack of women's full citizenship like men, the tendencies incarcerate women to a secondary position with attaching them identities as mothers, daughters and wives (Özgün, 2014), neglecting their individual personae as citizens of the state (Kandiyoti, 2010). Contrary to gender equality, gender justice tends to maintain the patriarchal society instrumentalizing religion, family and nationalism over women. Parallel to the Vatican, the creational characteristics such as motherhood and fatherhood are praised for the transmission of cultural codes and religious values to new generations, who defines the essence of creation and completeness as this nurturing role (Buss, 1998).

A plea of motherhood (Kandiyoti, 2010) is designed which limits the social and political role of women. Neoconservative discourse bases the existence of women on motherhood, on account of this childless women are positioned outside of the ideal society. As women are recognized as mothers, daughters or wives, all roles within the family by the conservative understanding (Özgün, 2014), JDP focuses on the familial significance of women instead of individuality or citizenship. The duties and obligations of the welfare state are transferred to the family (Grzebalska & Pető, 2017), and the care policies are loaded on women as the primary caregiver (Yuval-Davis, 2017) of the family innately. Hence, gender justice approach instrumentalizes both religion and neoliberal state policies, being both important characteristics of the JDP governments, to constrict women into a secondary citizenship. In accordance with conservatism's denial of equality in humans' nature, the societal equality is neglected amongst genders and within family. Social and familial roles are distributed fairly according to the natural functions and traits of men and women.

Difference breeds a hierarchy between genders, naturally which should be embraced (Heywood, 2013). Men's role as breadwinners and women's role as mothers and wives predate over any other function within the public sphere. For this reason women's primary role are considered to be caregivers of the family, for which burdens of care are pushed on women by neoliberal state policies (Yuval-Davis, 2017).

Birth control and abortion, are primary concerns of conservatism, attaching importance to transmission of values and traditions as the fundamental element of the society. As the Vatican has cooperated with Islamist states in Cairo and Beijing Conferences for the elimination of fertility policies (Cohen & Richards, 2019), JDP governments focus on the control over women's reproduction as a religious and a national issue rather than a personal choice. Karaömerlioğlu (2012), on the other hand argues that the policies on birth control of JDP, endure on population and growth rather than a religious perspective. In every part of women's policy of JDP, neoliberalism and neoconservatism have intertwined in terms of prerogatives, on account of this it is difficult to separate one from another. Fertility issues are often portrayed together with religious and populational concerns by the party, instrumentalizing nationalism as an instigating tool.

Motherhood and womanhood are attached deeply into family and familialism, while they are connected with every aspect of women and women's identity even as citizens. Every subject concerning women such as reproduction, work, education, politics have been attached to their roles in the family and as mothers by the neoconservative discourse and gender justice approach on account of this the study examines all the issues in connection to one another and under similar titles. Family is the fundamental actor in the system adopted by the approach which is conservative in social values, liberal in economy (Kaya, 2015), however pragmatist at every circumstance. Being the primary producer of the family, woman is the major warden in the familial roles as nurturer and caregiver. For this reason, women's issues, concerns and empowerment are perceived as the empowerment of the family and the maintenance and continuity of the patriarchally formed neoconservative system. The patriarchal dimension of the strategy can be explained

with pushing women into the private sphere/the family because of the lacks of self-governance and the secondary position as citizens (Pateman, 1987), whereas the instrumentalization of religion to perpetuate the secondary position can be shown as the conservative part of the neoconservative discourse. It is genuinely difficult to separate women's portrayal of the discourse from the family and motherhood, concerning their effort to design women as the instruments of empowerment of the family and the neoconservative-neoliberal state.

Neoconservatism and the New Right evaluate impairment of the traditional family as a major threat to the order on account of this gender and gender equality are perceived as significant dangers. Gender equality has been positioned as a rival instrumentalizing religion and nationalism, believing that women and the image of woman and accordingly the traditionally patriarchal functions of the gender roles will be subverted. Since any damage preformed on the family is perceived as a danger on the continuing order, family is referenced and linked to every subject by the neoconservative discourse and the gender justice approach. Issues concerning women such as work, politics and education are investigated in the next section, however under modernization and westernization as it is accepted as the primary threat to the ideal society and family of JDP. Gender equality is criticized for being part of the Western discourse and endangering the justly distributed gender roles within the powerful family of the party. Next section will involve work, politics and education issues of women.

5.1.4. Modernization and Westernization

Neoconservative discourse indicates modernization as an obstacle before the maintenance of the ideal society. Modernization and westernization, according to the discourse obstructs cultural codes and traditional values of the society, as for the ideal society, women must be educated in order for the family to be prestigious and qualified, in which the traditional codes that are protected from the threats of modernism and westernization will be transferred to next generations. Members of the JDP, neoconservative scholars and representatives have attracted attention to the threat of westernization from time to time. Although it has stepped into politics

within support of Western states and especially EU, JDP has been highlighting the importance of the adoption of local practices and theories as a strategy for the last years. As a matter of fact, the president/prime minister has stated, on the issue of women; “Turkey can build its own way of struggle, instead of adopting imported concepts and practices⁸⁹”.

Modernization is perceived identical to westernization throughout the discourse of the neoconservatives, since the modern values and norms are identified with the Western world, that are perceived as threat to the local values and religious beliefs. The prominence of the adoption of western values seem to be the fear of transformation in traditional values and institutions, of which family has the primary significance to. Heaps of times the adoption of children to the Western ideals via tools of modernization such as technology have been underlined by the representatives. Westernization and modernization are demonstrated as instruments of deconstruction of traditional values and institutions which the neoconservative discourse grows on, therefore they are positioned as enemies of the system. The western paradigms do not succeed in fitting with the local standards and needs according to Sare Aydın Yılmaz, who motivates national researchers for local resolutions in these words;

Societies that have their own system of belief and accumulation of civilization like us should find solutions to the problems on protection of the family by constructing their own concepts, instead of relying upon Western designed concepts.⁹⁰

Hence, as it has been highlighted by the discourse that the western ideals and concepts do not satisfy the local necessities of the ‘nation’ of Turkey. The contextualization of gender equality is rather negative, as being a reflection of modernism. For this reason, there is a struggle for the adoption of new and local

⁸⁹ “İthal kavram ve eylemlerin yerine, Türkiye, kendi özgün mücadele biçimini inşa edebilir.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2014. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/1520/adaletin-devreye-girmedigi-hicbir-mesele-hakkaniyetli-sekilde-cozume-kavusturulamaz>. Date Accessed; March 21, 2019.

⁹⁰“Ailenin korunması noktasında kendi inanç sistemi ve medeniyet birikimine sahip bizim gibi toplumların Batı temelli çözümlere bel bağlamak yerine kendi kavramlarıyla zihinlerini inşa ederek çözüm üretmesi gerekir.” Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, 2017. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-aile-degerlerini-ve-evlilik-muessesesini-koruma-toplantisinda/>. Date Accessed; March 21, 2019.

concepts on problematic issues, such as gender discrimination and violence against women.

According to Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu modernization of the family causes the bonds between individuals to loosen, pushing them into a lonely state;

We observe that the model of women and men who live on their own and believe that they do not need anyone else, search for happiness while prioritizing their own wishes, isolate the individual. And this situation decreases the communion between family members and damage the notion of family.⁹¹

Modernization not only threatens the family for the adoption of individualism on a parent- children basis but also transforms the large form of solidarity that is utilized as the richness of the Turkish ‘nation’. What bothers the discourse is that the large familial bond between neighbors and kinship are destroyed under the efficacy of modernization and westernization. The Declaration of III. Women and Justice Summit attracts attention on the depotentiation of these bonds;

Family, has been through transformation in terms of relations and values. The relationship and solidarity of kinship and neighborhood that is powerful within the traditional society, weakens with the effect of factors such as immigration and condensation in cities as well as individualization and change of roles. For this reason, it is necessary to adopt policies that protect the family structure and powerful family relations more than ever.⁹²

The reverberation alienating kinship bonds and neighbors are the reflection of the decline of control over women and women’s bodies. Kinship and neighborhood

⁹¹ “Tek başına yaşayarak kimseye ihtiyacı olmadığını düşünen, kendi isteklerini önceleyip yalnızca bu sayede mutluluğu arayan kadın ve erkek modelinin, kişiyi gittikçe yalnızlaştırdığını görüyoruz. Ve bu durumun, fertler arasındaki paylaşımı azalttığını, ayrıca aile mefhumunu da zedelediğini düşünüyoruz.” Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, 2018. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/roportaj/kadem-baskani-gumrukcuoglu-kadina-yonelik-siddeti-insanlik-sucu-olarak-degerlendiriyoruz/1341016>. Date Accessed; March 15, 2019.

⁹²“Modernleşme süreciyle birlikte değişime en fazla maruz kalan kurumlardan biri de aile olmuştur. Modern toplumda aile; yapısı, ilişkileri ve değerleri bakımından değişime uğradı. Bu sebeple aile yapısının korunmasına ve güçlü aile ilişkilerinin geliştirilmesine yönelik politikalara her zamankinden daha fazla ihtiyaç duyuluyor. Geleneksel toplumda güçlü olan akrabalık ve komşuluk ilişkileri ve dayanışma kültürü, modern toplumda göçler ve kentlerde yoğunlaşma gibi etkenlerle birlikte giderek zayıflıyor.” Declaration of III. Women and Justice Summit, 2018. <http://kadem.org.tr/iii-uluslararası-kadın-ve-adalet-zirvesi-sonuc-raporu/>. Date Accessed; March 23, 2019.

have been instruments to the control over women in terms of body and sexuality as a form of traditionalism for years. As the supervision of the large family has lifted over women, the traditionalist community react to the effects of modernization and individualism. The significant threat in the context of gender equality, seems to be the reference to the change of roles in this context. Gender roles are deconstructed within the discourse of gender equality, that has taken a reaction from the neoconservative sphere. The deconstruction of the traditional roles of women and men, are perceived as a threat to the present order and beliefs, considering the traditionalist characteristics of the community. Deconstruction of gender roles are criticized by a journalist from the newspaper ‘Yeni Akit’, renown to be from the neoconservative community in these words;

As the result of a couple of feminists who concern no value amongst the society, made themselves perceived valuable, and attempt to redesign the society...By trivializing the society...The perspective which reflects woman and man as opposite poles that fight with each other...with theories that look scientific⁹³.

Karahasanoğlu’s article is a reflection of the concern neoconservatives face with the evolution of gender equality and gender consciousness within the society. Modernization is targeted to have caused this deconstruction of the traditional family and roles of women. The same newspaper Yeni Akit, has previously mentioned the gender equality project of the Ministry of Education, claiming that the local values will be wounded via propagation of gender. The news report of the newspaper ‘Akit’ articulates the project of Gender Equality of the Ministry of Education as having “objective to establish a genderless society” in an accusational tone. The report proceeds with positioning a Gender Research Center as the “home of betrayal”. Accordingly, the official text of establishment is accused to be the

⁹³“Toplum nezdinde hiçbir kıymetleri olmayan birkaç tane feministin, AK Parti iktidarında kendilerini fasulye gibi nimetten saydırıp, toplumu yeniden dizayn etmeye kalkışması sonucu..

Aileyi değersizleştirip..

Kadın ile erkeği zıt kutuplar ve birbirleri ile kavga eden unsurlar gibi gösteren bakış açısı..

Nasıl yapıyorlar bunu?

Süslü cümlelerle..

Bilimsel gibi gözüken yaklaşımlarla..”, Ali Karahasanoğlu, 2019.

<https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/yazarlar/ali-karahasanoğlu/istanbul-sozlesmesini-iptalle-baslayacaksın-ise-27774.html>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

“confession” of the “dirty objective”, which is stated to as “struggle against gender discrimination”. (Sermen Feb. 2019)

Similarly, Karahasanoğlu blamed feminists and gender experts for having the purpose of creating a society in which families with genders other than men and women exist. These articles and papers are the samples of the homophobic approach of the neoconservative community, which is also a factor in the rising reaction against gender equality. Apart from the social tools and factors, even the intergovernmental implementations adopted by the government such as the Istanbul Convention are criticized by the neoconservatives themselves. Karahasanoğlu refers to the Istanbul Convention as;

The beginning is Istanbul Convention in 2011... We have signed such a mistake named as the Istanbul Convention... We should have at least decreased the damage of the essence of it in the following years, have been vigilant. No effort. On the contrary... From a perception that accepts the Istanbul Convention as a tabu. Everywhere goes under the occupation of this convention.. The crooked regulations of the Ministry of Family... Setting aside the regulations which have been added to the Penal Code that dynamite the family institution⁹⁴.

As it can be perceived from the article, Istanbul Convention is positioned as a threat to the social order and societal values by the neoconservatives. Likewise, signature of the Istanbul Convention has been opposed similarly by the conservative groups in Ukraine. Conservative groups pressured the parliament not to sign the convention, claiming that it endangers the traditional family and values (Lamakh, 2017), just like Karahasanoğlu has contended. Still in the Turkish case, the convention has already been ratified, in fact a national code has been regulated according to the

⁹⁴ “İşin başlangıcı 2011 yılındaki İstanbul Sözleşmesi..

Onunla ilgili söyleyeceklerimiz çok uzun..

En azından..

İstanbul Sözleşmesi diye vahim bir hataya imza atmışız.. Bari sonraki yıllarda, bu hatanın özrü sadedinde, hatanın zararlarını asgariye indirelim, azami uyanıklık gösterelim.

Hiçbir gayret yok..

Tam aksine..

İstanbul Sözleşmesi’ni tabu gibi gören bir bakış açısı ile

Her yer, bu sözleşmenin işgali altına girdiriliyor..

Aile Bakanlığı’ndaki çarpık düzenlemeleri..

Ceza kanunlarına eklenen aile kurumunu dinamitleyen düzenlemeleri bir kenara koyduk.” Ali Karahasanoğlu, Akit Gazetesi, 2019. <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/yazarlar/ali-karahasanoglu/istanbul-sozlesmesini-iptalle-baslayacaksin-ise-27774.html>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

measures of the convention. For this reason, the accusations of the neoconservatives are in conflict with national codes. Hence, regulated by the neoconservative government itself. The incompatibility between the representatives of the discourse on women's issues, the officials of the government and the neoconservative writers is noteworthy. Women's participation in the public sphere and employment are encouraged by the neoconservative discourse, ever since the election of JDP. In fact this approach is one of the significant values that separate neoconservative discourse from the previous conservative discourses of Turkey. Akit journalist Karahasanoğlu, however, reflects women's employment as a threat of traditional values brought by the concept of gender equality. Karahasanoğlu states that;

It is cristal clear that the ones who imposed will control the courses... The participation of woman at every expense will be taken into prominence... The motherhood of women will be set back... Western philosophy...

In this text, women's presence in employment is evaluated as a Western norm, whereas this understanding has been left long ago by the neoconservative discourse. Women's participation in the public sphere is reflected as a western value contrary to the declarations of the neoconservatives that support women's rights and empowerment. For instance Yılmaz has underlined in III. Gender Justice Summit the prioritizing of women in Turkish society ground on to the ancestors. Furthermore womanhood is identified with motherhood once again within the declaration.

It is possible to observe from the history of Turkish society, that women, which stands in such an important status, has enjoyed social life to the same extent to men and have the authority of decision. It is for this reason that, Kağan's wife Hatun sits in the throne as a tradition, rules the country with him and attends conventions. Hatun, who has a place in devlet idaresi has an unquestionable position as a mother and a wife⁹⁵

The unseparable characteristic of motherhood from womanhood, push and fasten women to the institution of family, for which the neoconservative discourse

⁹⁵ "Türk toplumunun tarihi seyri içerisinde erkekle eş statüde toplumsal hayata katıldığının, karar verme yetkisini kendisinde taşıdığının örneklerini görmek mümkündür. Kağanın hanımı olan Hatun'un da tıpkı Kağan gibi töre ile bu makama oturması, Kağan ile birlikte ülkeyi yönetmesi, antlaşmalara Hatun'un da iştirak etmesi bunlar arasındadır. Devlet idaresinde söz sahibi olan Hatunun eş ve anne olarak yeri ise her zaman tartışılmaz bir mevkide olmuştur." Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Kurucu Başkanı, 7 Mart 2017. <http://kadem.org.tr/3-uluslararasi-toplumsal-cinsiyet-adaleti-kongresi-sare-aydin-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; May 10, 2019.

evaluates the adoption of western norms and modernisation as a threat to the system. As the roles of women dissolve within the family, the traditional structure of family retire from patriarchy that provokes the dissolution of the neoconservative system. As the differences between genders and family members persist, the patriarchal traditional form of family will pursue.

Modernism is reprimanded to neglect the differences between men and women, which prevents it from forming an accurate approach towards gender discrimination. The Minister of Family and Social Policy, Ayşenur İslam underlines the policy of the government on women as;

It is an inevitable result that the illustration of human of modernism, does not only bring men and women subject to each other but isolates individuals by making them each other's rivals. The approaches which neglect or demolish the creational differences between women and men, do not solve the women's problems that still exist today.⁹⁶

Sare Aydın Yılmaz's words complement the view as;

Comprehending from this, we see women's issue as the individual and freedom struggle of women who find the diverse identities and preserve their own national and spiritual values and embrace gender justice, instead of the western one-model women image that targets a certain mass.⁹⁷

The diversity between women is highlighted by Yılmaz, who excoriates modernism for being essentialist and assuming that all women contend the identical problems and struggles globally. Sare Aydın Yılmaz in her speech at the opening of W20, draws attention to the same issue by objecting to comprehend local and national

⁹⁶ "Modernizmin insan tasavvurunun; sadece kadınla erkeği karşı karşıya getirmedeği, insanı insanın rakibi kılmak suretiyle herkesi yalnızlaştırdığı kaçınılmaz bir sonuç olarak karşımızdadır." Ayşenur İslam, Aile ve Sosyal Politiklar Bakanı, 2014. <https://www.haberler.com/kadem-1-uluslararası-kadın-ve-adalet-zirvesi-6715857-haberi/>. Date Accessed; March 16, 2019.

⁹⁷ "Bu anlayıştan hareketle bizler, kadın meselesini, batının ürettiği tek-tip kadın imajı ve belli bir kitleyi hedef alan kadın politikası yerine, farklı kadın kimliklerinin varlık bulduğu, kendi öz milli ve manevi değerlerini koruduğu kimlik, kişilik ve özgürlük mücadelesi olarak görüyor, toplumsal cinsiyet adaletini benimsiyoruz.", Kadem Kurucu Başkanı, 2016. <http://kadem.org.tr/ii-uluslararası-kadın-ve-adalet-zirvesi-baskani-sayin-sare-aydinin-acilis-konusmasi/>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

problems of women from a modern and standard point of view. She recapitulates that the only possibility for realization of gender discrimination on a global phase will be through satisfying the specific and accurate necessities locally. Yılmaz finds the Western discourse on women orientalist and refuses the adoption of the western designed notions. Emine Erdoğan endorses Yılmaz's views during her speech at the International Women's Studies Summit;

It is with these attempts that we can abolish certain clichés and break the mold. More importantly, we can analyze orientalist approaches, and struggle against the unjust attributions that are imputed on 'Eastern Woman', 'Muslim Woman'. For the West has stigmatized the east with its sharpest definitions, that it does not deserve, over women.⁹⁸

The declaration of these neoconservative women evoke the third wave feminist movement on intersectionality. However, the sensitivity towards differences and diversities between women, concentrate on gender justice unlike the feminist movement. Sensitivity and significance of headscarf is a well-known feature of the JDP government and the neoconservative sphere⁹⁹. Çaha (2013) claims that feminism and women's movement have been ignorant towards Muslim women and their problems, being its roots shaped within the modern and western ideals. Similarly Altuntaş (2015) criticizes Western feminists for grounding theories solely on the western culture and for their orientalist interpretation of the east and the third world women, perceiving and illustrating them as women victims aiting to be rescued and the 'poor other'.

As positioning a concept or notion on the opposite and considering it as a rival to increase its power is a fundamental strategy of the New Right governments, neoconservative governments have been utilizing this strategy over the West, for enhancing their power through nationalism (Demir, 2017). National politics in

⁹⁸ "Bu tür girişimler sayesinde bir takım klişeleri ortadan kaldırabilir, ezberleri bozabiliriz. Daha da önemlisi oryantalist yaklaşımları analiz edebilir, 'Doğulu kadın'a, 'Müslüman kadın'a atfedilen haksız nitelermelerle, mücadele edebiliriz. Zira batı, doğu hakkındaki en keskin tanımlamalarını, kadın üzerinden yapmış, doğu zihniyetini hak etmediği sıfatlarla yaftalamıştır.", III. Uluslararası Toplumsal Cinsiyet Adaleti Kongresi Sonuç Bildirisi, 2019. <http://kadem.org.tr/3-uluslararası-toplumsal-cinsiyet-adaleti-kongresi-sonuc-bildirisi-aciklandi/>. Date Accessed; May 10, 2019.

⁹⁹ will be studied in detail under the title of education.

Turkey have been busy with the JDP governments' positioning the West and Western values as enemies within the last years. Gender equality is perceived and presented as a Western notion, having been created and applied in terms of Western perception by the neoconservative discourse. The opposition on the Westernization and West of the neoconservative discourse has paved its way into women's issues and gender policies for several years. The formation of an alternative notion to gender equality relies on the refusal of Western ideologies and understanding as well. Şimğa (2019) points out that the opposition on gender equality is intertwined in a way, with the dispute between seculars and Islamists of Turkey.

Feminism and women's rights are often attached with West and Western traditions by the third world which is also a strategy utilized by the Vatican in Beijing Conference, against concepts of gender and gender equality (Buss, 1998). The Vatican claimed, similar to JDP that gender equality approach was an imperialist invasion of the cultural codes and traditional values of other countries. Similarly, the movements raised against gender equality, advocate that feminism and women's movement injure the traditional Ukrainian family (Lamakh, 2017). Hence, gender equality is often related with West and Western culture by the conservatives in terms of positioning an enemy. The interpretation of gender equality as a Western norm and approach repulses the attraction of conservatives and neoconservative governments from the notion. This repulsion is instrumentalized by neoconservative groups to design the alternative women's rights and empowerment groups or institutions positioning themselves as the national and true women friendly ones. Ukrainian conservatives have formed their own NGOs under the names of family and protection of family, in which women's rights are discussed and modelled, however reflect feminism and gender equality with a distorted essence (Lamakh, 2017).

In accordance with Ukraine, KADEM and other minor NGOs are being funded by the government to design the alternative women's rights and movement against gender equality and feminism in Turkey. Gender equality and feminism are positioned against the Turkish traditional family and a rivalry is being formed with attaining it a Western ideology (Saktanber, 2006). The disfigured implications of

gender equality and feminism are utilized by these NGOs, who accuse feminism for not being the actual representatives of women. In Beijing, the Vatican had the same allegation, that the feminists and women's activists in the Conference did not represent women and that themselves were a better spokesperson for women, especially Christian women (Buss, 1998). As it can be seen by all the conservative moves attained from the 90s to 2010s, by Christians or Muslims that conservatives have opposed to women's rights and struggles with the same allegations. Gender equality is positioned as the rival to the traditional values and institutions as family and religion and distorted to be distant from women.

As conservatism relies on tradition and experience over the rational or the modern, JDP and the neoconservative discourse highlights the importance of family and the traditional values in relation to religion. Although JDP is neoconservative therefore differentiates from conservatism's rejection of the modern and new, the conservative tendencies of the party tend to prevail on the protection of the traditional family. As the Vatican once accused feminism for secularizing the traditional Christian family and community (Otto, 1996), the neoconservatives of Turkey claim that gender equality approach threatens the traditional and religious Turkish family with its Western sensation and form¹⁰⁰.

Modernization and westernization has been criticized by the neoconservatives on illustrating men and women as each others rivals and disregarding their biological differences. Religious references are presented to accentuate the protection women are put under with Islam. Theological discourse on justice is used as a justification to abolish the struggle of women's rights and gender equality.

The life, body and social dignity of women is protected against any prediction, abuse and violence, the right to property are unconditionally recognized, her belief is accepted as untouchable, the natural and civil law between her and her children is conserved by Islam. However, any 'rights' discourse, that deviates from the purpose causes a hierarchal superiority of men and women to one another. Therefore, men and

¹⁰⁰ <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/106727-dengir-mir-firat-akp-nin-kadinlari-feminist-ideolojiye-kole-olmayacak>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

women should act in equilibrium and harmony instead of struggling to transform each other.¹⁰¹

Said Sare Aydın Yılmaz in the II. Gender Justice Summit, highlighting that the rights discourse creates a hierarchy between men and women. Nevertheless, Yılmaz's declaration neglects patriarchy or hegemony and reclaims women and men having acquired the same position within the society, contradicting her own comments on women's disadvantage in the patriarchal traditions and cultural norms. Yılmaz pretenses that the discourse of gender equality separated men and women into opposite poles that aim to transform each other, which is a quite common counterclaim amongst the neoconservatives. Similarly, in the IV. Gender Justice Summit Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, stated that; "We stand with the approach that accepts men and women as two humans that complement each other, as friends and partners, instead of the modern perception that position women..."¹⁰²,

In another occasion, Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk, the Minister of Family and Social Services underlined the notion of complementarity in accordance with the discourse; Selçuk proceeded by referring to the Koran in terms of this complementarity;

It says in the Koran; 'Believer men and believer women are each other's companion.' For this reason, we should set an example of solidarity by adoption an understanding that perceives men and women as companions, not rivals, like gender justice.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ "İslam'ın özünde kadının canı, bedeni ve toplumsal saygınlığı her türlü isnat, istismar ve şiddetten korunmuş, mülkiyet hakkı koşulsuz şekilde tanınmış, inanç dünyası dokunulmaz kabul edilmiş, evlatlarıyla arasındaki doğal ve medeni hukuk muhafaza edilmiştir. Ancak, bu noktada amacından saptırılan her türlü "hak" söylemi, kadın ve erkek için birinin diğerine hiyerarşik bir üstünlük kurmasına yol açmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, kadın ve erkek karşılıklı olarak birbirlerini dönüştürme savaşı vermek yerine, kadın ve erkeğin denge ve uyum içerisinde hareket etmesi gerekir." Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, II. Toplumsal Cinsiyet Adaleti Kongresi, 3 Mart 2016. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sare-aydinin-kadin-ve-yoksulluk-kongresi-konusma-metni/>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

¹⁰² "Kadını erkeğin karşısında konumlandıran modern algı yerine; onları birbirinin tamamlayıcısı, dostu ve yardımcısı olarak kabul eden İKİ İNSAN anlayışıyla hareket ediyoruz.", Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, IV. Toplumsal Cinsiyet Adaleti Kongresi, 8 Mart 2018. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/kadin/2019/03/08/kadem-baskani-dr-saliha-okur-gumrukcuoglu-5-toplumsal-cinsiyet-adaleti-kongresinin-acilisinda-konustu>. Date Accessed; May 10, 2019.

¹⁰³ "Kur'an-ı Kerim'de "Mü'min erkekler ve mü'min kadınlar birbirlerinin dostlarıdır." (Tevbe, 71) buyuruyor. Dolayısıyla, kadın ve erkeğin birbirinin rakibi değil refiki olduğu bir toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti anlayışıyla birlikte dayanışma örneğini ortaya koymalıyız.", Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk, Sosyal

The emphasis on the companionship of men and women rests on religion and conservative orientation of the government. Companionship has been embraced by women of the neoconservative circle with the fairness discourse, and finally gender justice in terms of women's issues. The solidarity between men and women, especially within the family is given prominence over equality and the rights discourse. Notions similar to solidarity such as tranquility, balance and justice are punctuated by the representatives in speeches and problems concerning women, to be directed under the subject of family rather than to be handled under individual rights and liberties. Relatedly, Sare Aydın Yılmaz, former president of KADEM gives the reference of Sura of Nisa from Koran on the discussion of once again embracing the biological differences;

Look it says 'O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women. And fear Allah, through whom you ask one another, and the wombs. Indeed Allah is ever, over you, an Observer.' In Ayat 4 of Surah of Nisa. As you can see, the perception of justice of Islam reminds us of our liabilities towards each other while resting on a human rights basis that relies on living together and individual relationships. Protection of the factor of gender and physical suitability in the regulation of rights and liabilities between men and women is for the advantage of both of them.¹⁰⁴

The complementarity of men and women is highlighted perpetually, while the differences are attributed to religion and creation. In another speech, Yılmaz defines the relationship of men and women as the necessity of each other for survival. Portraying approach of gender equality as sexist and characterizing it as a notion that merely focuses on women, she underlines that KADEM embraces gender issues from

Hizmetler ve Çalışma Bakanı, 2018. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/aile-her-cagda-insan-icin-guvenli-bir-liman-olmustur/1319425>. Date Accessed; May 5, 2019.

¹⁰⁴ "Bakınız Nisa Suresi'nin 4 ayetinde bizlere " Ey insanlar, sizi bir tek candan yaratan, ondan da eşini yaratan ve her ikisinden pek çok kadın ve erkek meydana getiren Rabbinize karşı sorumluluklarınızın bilincinde olun" buyruluyor. Dolayısıyla İslâm'da adalet anlayışı birbirimize karşı sorumluluklarımızı hatırlatırken, bir arada yaşamaktan ve insanlar arası ilişkilerden ortaya çıkan bir insan hakları temeline dayanmaktadır. Kadın ve erkek arasında hak ve sorumlulukların düzenlenmesinde cinsiyet ve fiziksel uygunluk faktörünün gözetilmesi ise bu bakımdan kadın ve erkeğin çıkarına olacaktır. Kadın ve erkek arasındaki doğuştan getirdikleri bedensel, akli ve ruhi farklılıkların salt mutlak bir eşitlik iddiasıyla görmezden gelinmesi yerine kabul edilmesi, bu farklılıkların karşılıklı olarak fırsata dönüştürülmesi gerekmektedir.", Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, 2016. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sare-aydinin-kadin-ve-yoksulluk-kongresi-konusma-metni/>, Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

human rights and humans perspective as a whole¹⁰⁵. This conception of feminism and gender equality is quite usual to the neoconservative discourse. Notices and policies specializing on women and women's rights are portrayed as creating a hierarchy between genders and promoting women to become superior to men. This misperception is used as a justification for the disregardance of women's demands, necessities and rights. Although Yılmaz has chastised the equalities supporting women, like gender equality, advocating them as being sexist, she has described the society as patriarchal and women to be unprotected.

Not with a sexist approach, formal equality is inevitable in terms of being individuals and the protection fundamental rights. However, legal and political equality was not able to compensate the unjust treatment of women, as well as being insufficient in protecting them from the patriarchal power relations perpetuated by traditionalist culture.¹⁰⁶

Yılmaz defines subsistent society and social values as patriarchal and admits that factors such as equality and conditions endure on power relations. Her declarations contradict with each other on whether she accepts or denies the disadvantageous status women take within the society. Either way, equality is perceived and represented as insufficient in her words. The critiques against modernity and modernization have always been a point of interest for the neoconservative writers. Çaha (2013) castigates modernism for having postulated women's liberation and empowerment on factors such as education, professional identity and attending public space, for which religion is neglected and repudiated. Likewise, the perception of women's work and education of the conservative approach

¹⁰⁵ “Kadınlar ve erkekler hayatı aynı biçimde yaşamazlar, değerlerden, politikalardan, mekanlardan, kültürden, toplumsal kabullerden farklı düzeyde etkilenirler, ancak yaşamı devam ettirmek için birbirlerine ihtiyaç duyarlar. Bu nedenle meseleye salt kadın ve cinsiyetçi bir yaklaşımla değil insan olmak ve insan hakları kapsamında baktığımızı ifade etmek isterim.” Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, 2016. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sare-aydinin-kadin-ve-yoksulluk-kongresi-konusma-metni/>. Date Accessed; March 5, 2019.

¹⁰⁶ “Cinsiyetçi bir yaklaşımla değil, insan olmak ve temel hakların korunması açısından hukuki eşitlik kaçınılmazdır. Ancak, hukuksal ve siyasal eşitlik, geleneksel kültür tarafından beslenen erkek egemen güç ilişkileri içinde kadınları yeterince koruyamadığı gibi, mağduriyetlerini de giderememiştir.”, Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, Bilim Evi Kadın Dergisi. <https://ww4.ticaret.edu.tr/kadinveaile/makaleler/>. Date Accessed; March 12, 2019.

disintegrates from the feminist perspective, contemplating on the preservation and development of the family and society instead of individual advancement.

The positioning of gender equality to push men and women into rivalry is the opposite of the claim of feminists and human rights advocates. According to Pateman (1987), the patriarchal state creates a dichotomy with the separation of the public and private sphere, to later which assigns women the double-burden after their acceptance into the public sphere. With its perception that women lack self-protection and self-governing, men attain full citizenship whereas women are still deficient citizens (Pateman, 1987). JDP's approach to the distribution of gender roles and employment of women perpetuate the patriarchal dichotomy formed with the separation of public and private as well as the double burden created by modern familism. For this reason, gender justice appears to create and reproduce the dichotomous positioning of women and men, rather than gender equality. The opposition of men and women through their acceptance into employment however with the double-burden will be investigated under the section of work. In order to internalize the outlook of the discourse on instrumentalization of women under the patriarchal state and society, work and education together with politics are studied in the following sections.

5.1.5. Women in the Public Sphere

5.1.5.1. Work

Turkish woman is the ornament of her home¹⁰⁷

The historical recognitions on women has diversified depending on the issue and circumstances, for which they have acquired diverse positions in terms of economy, society and politics. In a certain period, women were treated as cheap labor, considering that they were the substitution of men within the workforce. Women's income was a contribution instead of a management of subsistence. Under the

¹⁰⁷ "Türk hanımları evinin süsüdür." Vecdi Gönül, Milli Savunma Bakanı, 2005. <https://www.haberler.com/bakan-vecdi-gonul-turk-hanimplari-evinin-susudur-haberi/>. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

capitalist system the domestic work that women are put under is not recognized as an employment which receives a payment (Yılmaz, 2016). Although Yılmaz criticizes the capitalist system for the lack of recognition of domestic labor, according to KADEM, the drift in gender roles rests on the distinction of spaces of work and family. This endures on the idea that gender justice is embraced on the subject of employment as well. Work and family are not inquired disjointly by the neoconservatives when it comes to women. Major issues are gathered on the struggle for the decrease in the attention to family and children.

As the complementary structure of each other men and women are not generalized into diverse spheres by the discourse. For instance, first lady Emine Erdoğan underlines in her speech that men should not be customized to the public sphere, regarding that they are part of the family;

Considering that family is a team, we should reconsider the role of the gradually decreasing role of the father. Unfortunately, family is an issue that is pretty much delegated to woman. Whereas the foundation of a steady family, depends on the love, respect and division of labor between man and woman. The collective approaches that position woman at home, man outside, is against the natural flow of life. Men and women are two elements that complement each other at every expense. A just division of labor eases the burdens.¹⁰⁸

However, the division of labor is rather relative within the context. According to this discourse, women and men are attributed certain functions and obligations originating in creation. Although there is a comprehensive distinction between the conservative and neoconservative discourse on women's employment, the dissemblance apprehension on gender roles and women's domestic chores do not divaricate. Declaration of I. Women and Justice Summit enunciates that women who work outside the domestic sphere are put in conflict for the duties deriving from the gender roles within the public and private spheres. Women's entrance to the workforce and public sphere is under debate in terms of two aspects in the

¹⁰⁸ "Aile bir takım olduğuna göre, babanın gittikçe azalan rolünü de yeniden gözden geçirmeliyiz. Ne yazık ki aile büyük ölçüde kadına ihale edilmiş bir konudur. Oysa sağlam aile birliğinin temeli, kadın ve erkek arasındaki sevgi, saygı ve karşılıklı işbölümüne bağlıdır. Kadın evde, erkek dışarıda şeklindeki toptancı yaklaşımlar, hayatın doğal akışına aykırıdır. Kadın ve erkek, her şartta birbirini bütünleyen iki unsurdur. Adaletli bir iş bölümü, hayatın yükünü hafifletir." Emine Erdoğan, First Lady. <https://www.turkhabergazetesi.com/guncel/erdogan-aileden-uzak-dustugumuz-her-yer-gurbettir/14083>. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

neoconservative discourse, under which familialism is configured in relation to neoliberalism and neoconservatism. First aspect is the dual role women are put under after entrance to the workforce. Second one is that, the mother roles are being challenged with the burdens on the public sphere.

Securing women's entrance to the public sphere via being part of the workforce is a vital element that separates neoconservatism from conservatism. The discourse does not push women into the domestic sphere and limit the public sphere to be male context. However, the role women are expected to fulfill is observed to have enlarged. The neoconservative emphasis on familial responsibilities resemble the Christian democrats of Europe (Cansun, 2013). Gender justice approach, expects women to fulfill the obligations and duties ejaculating from creation such as motherhood and caring. With the familial approach of the neoconservative sphere, women are allowed into the public sphere and the workforce as long as they successfully fulfill the primal roles (Cansun, 2013), that are set on them by 'fitrat'. In other words, women are obliged to fulfill the responsibility that is attributed with motherhood and caregiving, without interfering with their outside labor.

Only a fair and just division of gender roles that protects family bonds, can supply women's active participation in professional and social life in the globalizing world.¹⁰⁹

Summarised Yılmaz to illustrate the expectations of the neoconservative community from working women. Conference on the balance of work and family are organised on the problems of working women, one in the III. International Women and Justice Summit under the title 'Towards a better equilibrium of work and family'.

Family is once again the fundamental reason for the support of adoption of women into the workforce, as it is to its education and politics. Declaration III. International Women and Justice Summit states that;

¹⁰⁹ "Küreselleşen dünyada kadınların profesyonel ve sosyal hayata etkin katılımını, aile bağlarını da koruyacak şekilde ancak kadın ve erkek arasında sağlanacak adil ve hakkaniyetli bir toplumsal cinsiyet rol paylaşımı mümkün kılacaktır." Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, 2014. <http://kadem.org.tr/sare-aydin-kuresel-hamle-women-20-zirvesini-yazdi/>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

Policies that expedite the balance between work and family for women, regarding the consciousness that powerful woman means powerful family and that powerful family constitutes powerful society.¹¹⁰

Motto of powerful family, powerful society maintains its continuity in women's employment. Women, especially mothers are expected to fulfill multiple roles with the entrance into the public sphere and the workforce. As Pateman (1987) has drawn attention, women are pushed into a multidimensional set of obligations, after entering the workforce, defined as double-burden. Double-burden signifies; women's double load of the domestic labor chores assigned by patriarchy in addition to the work women perform in the public sphere as individuals (Pateman, 1987). The patriarchal roles assigned to women are justified with religious references and essentialist assumptions on care and familism. However the reflection is as if the choice is left to women, in handling the double-burden. According to Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu,

We witness, even though they undertake multiple roles their labor is not appreciated enough, sometimes even ignored. Women generally have to make a choice. The ones who choose home are anxious because they can not do their professions, the ones who choose work are anxious for not having enough time for home and their families. For the ones who wish to be present in both in a balanced way absolutely need support for başarmak this in the heavy standards of the modern world.¹¹¹

Gümrükçüoğlu mentions the burdens of the dual role women attend as mother, wives and employees. Although the double burden is only described as a natural result of the justly assigned gender roles. Women are obliged to perform both tasks, if they preferred to enter the public sphere, as citizens like men. Similar to Vatican's approach towards equality and women's employment (Buss, 1998), the

¹¹⁰ "Her yönden güçlü kadının güçlü aile, güçlü ailenin de güçlü toplumu oluşturduğu bilincinden hareketle, kadınlar için iş-aile dengesinin sağlanmasını kolaylaştırıcı politikalar geliştirilmelidir." III. Uluslararası Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi Sonuç Bildirisi, 2018. <http://kadem.org.tr/iii-uluslararasi-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-sonuc-raporu/>. Date Accessed; April 15, 2019.

¹¹¹ "Bulundukları her alanda çoklu roller üstlenmelerine rağmen emeklerinin yeterince takdir edilmediğine, hatta kimi zaman yok sayıldığına şahit oluyoruz. Kadınlar genellikle bir tercihte bulunmak zorunda kalıyorlar. Evde olmayı tercih edenler mesleğini icra edemediği, çalışan kadınlar ise evine ve ailesine yeterince zaman ayıramadığı için sürekli bir kaygı hali yaşıyor. Her iki alanda da dengeli bir şekilde var olmak isteyenlerin, modern dünyanın ağır şartlarında bunu başarabilmeleri için desteğe ihtiyaç duydukları kesin." Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, 2019. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/toplumun-temel-diregi-aile/kadem-baskani-gumrukcuoglu-kulturel-degerlerin-korunup-nesillere-aktarilmasi-ailelerle-saglaniyor-/1464419>. Date Accessed; April 15, 2019.

neoconservatives of Turkey, accept women's entrance into employment as long as the domestic and nurturing roles are fulfilled without plentitude. The naturally and socially assigned gender roles are the primary concern for this approach, where the individual fulfillment of women as citizens is secondary in position. Neoliberal policies and the reduction in welfare state endorse the patriarchal and essentialist tendencies of the neoconservative of the New Right in Turkey just like in Europe. Taking into account that, women are not considered as individuals, but once again as part of a family or as mothers in terms of employment, the possibility of working women who refrain from starting families or becoming mothers are not an option in the neoconservative discourse. In fact the president/prime minister has responded to women who have chosen to work and give up motherhood with these words;

Woman who refrains from motherhood by saying 'I am working', is actually rejecting her womanhood. This is my samimi thought. A woman who rejects motherhood, that gives up on looking after her home, no matter how successful in her job, is against the threat of losing her özgünlük, she is incompetent, half. Woman, who makes up the half of humanity, is woman with her motherhood, etkinlik on her children and home, zarafet, esthetics, instincts and differences she has. We reject any understanding that set this reality aside and see women and men as rivals, opponents of each other.¹¹²

Erdoğan, once again refers to creation and the plea of motherhood while perusing working women. As mentioned in the title of family and motherhood, women who are not mothers are criticized for not fulfilling their roles deriving from their nature. In accordance with conservatism, women are primarily situated within the family as mother and wives (Özgün, 2014). Motherhood is accepted as the core reason for the essence of creation and fulfillment along with marriage and complementarity of the feminine and the masculine by the Vatican (Beattie, 2014), likewise to the neoconservative discourse of Turkey. The expectation from working women to fulfill the multiple roles they are assigned naturally, is justified by the gender justice

¹¹² “‘Çalışıyorum’ diye annelikten imtina eden bir kadın, aslında kadınlığını inkar ediyor demektir. Bu benim samimi düşüncemdir. Anneliği reddeden, evini çekip çevirmekten vazgeçen bir kadın, iş dünyasında istediği kadar başarılı olsun, özgünlüğünü kaybetme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıyadır, eksiktir, yarımardır. İnsanın yarısını oluşturan kadın, anneliğiyle, evinin ve çocuklarının üzerindeki etkinliğiyle, zarafetiyle, estetiğiyle, içgüdüleriyle, sahip olduğu farklılıklarla kadındır. Bu gerçeği bir kenara bırakıp erkekle kadını birbirlerine hasım olarak, rakip olarak gören anlayışı kesinlikle reddediyoruz.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2016. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogan-calisiyorum-diye-annelikten-imtina-eden-kadin-kadinligini-inkar-ediyor-demektir-37291399>. Date Accessed; April 20, 2019.

approach as an allegation. Çaha (2013), evaluates domestic works' attribution as a natural result rather than a form of discrimination, representing the patriarchal gender perception of neoconservatives. As the reflection of the dual role women are obliged to attain, outbreaks raise by neoconservative women. Sare Aydın Yılmaz summarizes the requests of women who have entered the public sphere by professions as;

57% of women state that equilibrium between domestic work and professional work is not reached. For this reason, women's education and entrance to modern life and workforce does not constitute an advantage, on the contrary a second shift begins for the women at home. If we don't supervise fairness, balance and measure and internalize this conscience, women will continue to live through this clash of roles.¹¹³

Although Yılmaz sheds light on women's burdens, modernisation and capitalism is criticized within this notification rather than the impedimenta of traditional gender roles that are associated with women. Neoconservative women focus on the burdens of the professional work instead of the domestic chores that are attributed to the role of female within the family. Domestic work and caregiving are considered to be women's functions and obligation enduring on the creationist perspective. The empowerment of women as professionals are perceived as the road to a stronger family, which leads to a powerful society. Sare Aydın Yılmaz draws attention to the fact that women's employment increases the socioeconomical positions of their families. She then concentrates on the multiple role women attain;

The process of capitalist industrialization and global world economy necessitates to set aside domestic work and motherhood while giving them the opportunity to be employed in diverse markets. This situation forced women to face with making a decision between their professional roles and mother-wife roles or to üstlenme both roles at once... It is important that this ikilem is abandoned for both women's own personality, their self-esteem to grow and for protection of the birliktelik and bütünlük of the family which is the daimi area of production.

As observed from the declarations, unlike the conservative sphere, the neoconservatives do not ignore, in fact closely investigate the employment and work

¹¹³ “Kadınların %57’si ev kadınlığı ve çalışma yaşamı arasındaki dengenin kurulamadığını söylüyor. Dolayısıyla, kadının eğitim alarak modern yaşama, çalışma hayatına dahil olması bir avantaja dönüşmüyor, aksine kadının ev içinde ikinci vardiyası başlıyor. Kadını kalkınmaya dahil edeceğiz diye insafı, dengeyi ve ölçüyü gözetmezsek ve bu bilinci zihinlere aşılamazsak, kadın bu rol çatışmasını yaşamaya devam edecektir.” Sare Aydın Yılmaz, KADEM Başkanı, 2016. <http://kadem.org.tr/kadem-baskani-sare-aydinin-kadin-ve-yoksulluk-kongresi-konusma-metni/>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

of women. Regarding the neoliberal policies, it is accepted that women have entered the public sphere, only as a ‘helper’ of the family budget. Justifying the old-timer distinction of wage laborer and worker in Britain, women are not considered as full citizens in the labor market compared to men (Pateman, 1987). Similarly, when women enter the public sphere it is more of a choice than of a necessity. Only it was assumed that women’s entrance to the economy and the public sphere would liberate women from the secondary role, whereas women were put under two roles. The main problem within the employment of women is reflected to be what the feminist discourse has been defining as the ‘double-burden’. The neoconservative discourse often refers to the double-burden, but only refrains from stating the terminology or identifying it with feminism or women’s movement. It is highly criticized that women suffer from having to choose between their families and work. Although neoconservative women draw attention to the intensive work women are put under, the solutions designed to eliminate double burden differ from of the objectives of the feminist discourse.

In the Conference of Gender Justice in İstanbul Ticaret University, the difference in the expectations from women oscillating on traditions are underlined. The necessity for the adoption of regulations that pave the way for women’s entrance and stability into employment are often discussed, by the discourse. Accordingly, certain set of legislative regulations were enacted during the rule of JDP, concerning working women. The president/prime minister in 2016 has highlighted the efforts of his party in these words;

Production, being in every area of life is definitely not against motherhood. We have established very important incentives especially for working mothers. From pregnancy, birth and breastfeeding leaves, flexible working hours to compulsion of kindergartens in workplaces we have connected many opportunities that will ease the motherhood of our women. From my years as prime minister to Presidency we have supported women and family more than any government.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ “Üretmek, hayatın her alanında var olmak kesinlikle anneliğe engel değildir. Özellikle çalışan kadınların anneliğini teşvik için çok önemli düzenlemeler yaptık. Hamilelik, doğum ve süt izinlerinden, esnek çalışmaya, işyerlerinde kreş zorunluluğuna kadar kadınlarımızın anneliğini kolaylaştıracak pek çok imkanı devreye soktuk. Başbakanlığımdan, Cumhurbaşkanlığım dönemine kadar hiçbir dönemde olmadığı kadar, kadına ve aileye desteği biz verdik” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President, 2016.

Incentives on working mothers were planned as the president/primeminister has underlined in his speech, that are connected to the policy of government concerning family and population. During the sixteen year rule of the party, ministries concerning women and family were established and transformed. In year 2011, the Ministry of Women and Family was substituted with the Ministry of Family and Social Policy and women were, not only as a policy, now officially limited under the notion of family. The probirth policy of JDP is connected with the promotions and policies on working mothers. A plan named as the ‘Family Package’¹¹⁵ was programmed and presented on January 26, 2015 by the government, to ease the conditions of working mothers, to promote child birth and increase the birth rate as a state policy. ‘Family Package’ consists of the regulations of breastfeeding and maternal leaves during which women get paid without any cuts from the wages. Extra leaves of approximately 8 weeks for the first, 16 for the second and 24 weeks for the third child could be joined with the natural maternal leaves of 16 weeks after birth. A part from that the convenience of part-time work, for mothers until the child is at the age for elementary education, the amount of hours that mothers do not work will be absorbed by the state. Financial support for the encouragement of birth is calculated according to number of children. The incentives include dowry accounts for children which could be customised after the age of 18, with the contribution of the state. Finally, the incentive provides delivery of gold for women who give birth. The Minister of Family, Social Services and Employment Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk, has summarised the contents and objective of the incentives;

We have given mothers the opportunities such as; birth loan, allowance of breastfeeding, allowance of motherhood, to support the role of motherhood. We directly contributed to the empowerment of family and adoption to employment with breastfeeding leave, support for kindergarten and part-time working.¹¹⁶

<http://www.diken.com.tr/erdogan-kadinligin-tanimini-da-yapti-anneligi-reddeden-kadin-eksiktir-yarimdir/>. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

¹¹⁵ “Çalışan anneye 5 destek”, Hürriyet Gazetesi, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/noyan-dogan/calisan-anneye-5-destek-41091371>. Date Accessed; April 8, 2019.

¹¹⁶ “Kadınlarımıza doğum borçlanması, emzirme ödeneği, analık ödeneği gibi imkanları sağlayarak annelik rolünü destekledik. Süt izni, kreş desteği ve yarı zamanlı çalışma imkânı ile iş yaşamına uyumlarını iyileştirdik ve ailenin güçlendirilmesine doğrudan katkı sağladık.”, Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk,

The common ground of these policies contain, although birth is encouraged, the lack of the intention of configuring a change in the gender roles of parenting. All the incentive is given on maternal leaves other than the 5 day paternal leave. The absence in fathers role in childrearing and familial sphere is the reflection of the uneven distribution of gender roles within the family and childrearing. However it is often mentioned in the speeches of the representatives of the discourse that family and child rearing is not solely a woman's obligation or duty and that marriage is a twosided notion. Maternal leave is an obvious subject of proposal whereas there is no suggestion on paternal leave of any kind. These differences from feminism are the reflection of the claim of the 'fair' distribution of gender roles that deriving from the nature of men and women. The policies tend to contradict with the declarations that are given to empower women and eliminate gender discrimination, as the proposal of neoconservatives are limited with proposal on eased work such as part-time jobs or flexible working hours for women.

In terms of women's employment, Sare Aydın Yılmaz mentions a sample for the model of production in certain neighbourhoods of Istanbul where women are encouraged with incentives such as part-time work or flexible work hours. Women are employed near their houses for a factory and are competent to visit their houses during the lunch breaks. Yılmaz highlights that women have been satisfied with the fact that they are able to conserve and manage their houses and contribute to the home economy. However she contradicts with the prior point of complaint, as the multiple role of women. Although the neoconservative discourse does not label the problem as so, double-burden is the load on working women. The way of employment in this case is not a solution for the double-burden, since these women are still obliged to perform domestic work during their times of break or after work. As Pateman (1987) has defined part-time jobs as one of the major problems of women's acceptance as full citizens compared to men, resolution of double burden is not flexible hours of work or part-time jobs but rather the elimination of the patriarchal gender roles within the family. Neoconservative discourse however,

The Minister of Family, Social Hizmetler and Employment, 2018. <https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/tr-tr/haberler/emine-erdogan-kadem-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-2018/>. Date Accessed; April 12, 2019.

tends to miss out the crucial trouble under double-burden, that it is created from a patriarchally, hegemonic social construct and that it is reproduced via performance of the traditional gender roles. Woman is seen as the caregiver of the family, therefore she is portrayed to be in charge to rear children. Even though it is highlighted that the man is part of the family and that the household should be shared by the couples, there are no concrete examples where the man shares part in domestic work, within the neoconservative discourse. The hegemonic structure of the patriarchal family is preserved within the family as the caregiver, while the ideology of conservative state is internalized in the public sphere. The Minister Selçuk, also mentions the elderly in her speech and states that;

We observe the advantages of focusing on family as the policies of social welfare and social work. Today approximately 513 thousand handicapped and elderly citizens are benefiting from Home Care Support and 120 thousand children from Social and Economic Support Program.¹¹⁷

The repression of care is a common practice within the context of the neoconservative and neoliberal states. Neoliberal governing systems often transfer the obligation of caregiving, that is an important part of welfare state, to the individuals and the individuals in relation to them. The neoliberal state embarks its duty of care on women, perpetuating the patriarchally assigned gender roles (Pateman, 1987). The care of children, elderly or disabled is conveyed via familialism usually with certain incentives and state policies. JDP's policy on childrearing and elderly care resembles the common practice of the neoliberal state, although it is clearly declared in the constitution that Turkish Republic is a welfare state. The incentives are served to maintain the traditionalist and conservative system and to lift the weight of the expenditure of the elderly care. The significance of the policy, on the context is that the burden is laid on women. Neoliberal and neoconservative state transfers the responsibility to the family that is to women via slight incentives that are not sufficient enough to cover the cost. Yuval-Davis underlines that care is a service that must be provided to every citizen regardless of

¹¹⁷ “Bugün yaklaşık 513 bin engelli ve yaşlı vatandaşımızın Evde Bakım Desteğinden, 120 bin çocuğumuzun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Destek Programından faydalandığını görüyoruz.”, Zehra Zümrüt Selçuk, Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanı, 2018. <https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/tr-tr/haberler/emine-erdogan-kadem-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-2018/>. Date Accessed; April 4, 2019.

the gender or socially assigned roles (Yuval-Davis, 2017). The incentives to domestic burdens of care, preserve the patriarchal relation both within the family and the hegemonic state, positioning the incentives as ‘financial support’. Although neoconservative women have been struggling with entering the workforce and balancing their responsibilities as wives and mothers, certain groups among neoconservative men have not been able to make any progress in their perception. Veysel Eroğlu, a Minister of JDP for instance has questioned women’s eagerness to be employed as; “Isn’t housework enough?”¹¹⁸

Although, the statement can be evaluated as an acknowledgement of the difficulty of domestic work, the depreciatory tone obstructs the interpretation. Similarly Vecdi Gönül referred to women as ‘ornaments’, implying that women are bound to stay in the private sphere and that public sphere is a male domain. The comments of representatives of JDP, have often referred motherhood as the profession of women, deporting them from integration to a professional employment. The Minister of Health Mehmet Müezzinoğlu told a couple who welcomed their third baby; “Mothers shouldn’t take any carrier into the center except motherhood. They should focus on raising well generations”¹¹⁹.

Hence, motherhood is interlineated as a job that women are capable of and responsible to be doing. Domestic labor, on the other hand is perceived as vital for women’s duties by the representatives of JDP, as much as motherhood. Women’s attribution with domestic sphere and alienation from empowerment, is a reflection of the neoconservative ideology. Although the neoconservative understanding has accepted women into the public sphere and employment on condition, some of the representatives seem to have not internalized these policies, perpetuating their ideologies as citizens of conservatism. Similarly, another minister of JDP Mehmet

¹¹⁸ “Evdeki işler yetmiyor mu?”, Veysel Eroğlu, Çevre ve Orman Bakanı, 2009. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/bakan-eroglundan-is-isteyen-kadina-garip-cevap-11196061>. Date Accessed; March 10, 2019.

¹¹⁹ “Anneler, annelik kariyerinin dışında bir başka kariyeri merkeze almamaları gerekir. Merkeze iyi nesiller yetiştirmeye almalılar.”, Mehmet Müezzinoğlu, Sağlık Bakanı, 2015. <https://t24.com.tr/haber/saglik-bakani-mehmet-muezzinoglu-annelerin-merkezinde-baska-bir-kariyer-olmamali,282277>. Date Accessed; April 5, 2019.

Şimşek, made a statement on the rate of unemployment relating it with women's entrance into the workforce; "Do you know why the rates of unemployment are increasing? Because in the terms of crisis people are looking for jobs more. Especially among women participation in employment are higher¹²⁰".

The minister blamed women for the rate of unemployment, assuming that women are not individual that are allowed into employment have the right to seek for jobs and be employed as much as men. New Rights positioning of women into the domestic sphere as the inheritor of the welfare state in terms of care, has played a significant role in cooperation with the existing patriarchy in Turkey under the rule of the neoconservative and neoliberal government. Women are positioned both within the domestic sphere as the providers and caregivers lifting the weight of the neoliberal state in terms of care and the market as employees who are still considered side employees, common to the wage laborer status, perceived from the statements of the discourse. The opinions of neoconservative women contradict with the comments and legislations of the neoconservative discourse, especially in terms of the objectives of employment, empowerment of the family and capacitation of the society. Women appear to be in favor of employment and incentives on motherhood, whereas men refrain from approving women as colleagues within the neoconservative discourse. However, neoconservative women are conspicuously present in the field of politics, counter to their presense in conservative politics. An area in which women are conspicuously present in employment is politics. On account of this, politics of neoconservative women must be studied closely in the next section.

5.1.5.2. Politics

Women's presence in politics diversify from the conservative discourse of the initiator parties of JDP, such as RP. Erdoğan has statements that he, encouraged women himself to participate in politics and under the roof of JDP. The occupation

¹²⁰ "İşsizlik oranı niye artıyor biliyor musunuz? Çünkü kriz dönemlerinde daha çok iş aranıyor. Özellikle kadınlar arasında kriz döneminde işgücüne katılım oranı daha artıyor", Mehmet Şimşek, Devlet Bakanı, 2009. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/simsek-e-bakilirsa-issizlik-kadınlar-yuzunden-artiyor-11240874>. Date Accessed; April 8, 2019.

and contribution of women to JDP is so significant that the women's branches have over 4.5 million members. Per contra a form of glass-ceiling is present within party politics. Women take part in the lower or middle levels of the party whereas the primary levels of the party consists of men. Although there are one or two ministers in every government of JDP, these ministers are limited in areas of education and family and social policy. It is significant considering the fact that these areas are identified with women that concern children, domesticity and familialism¹²¹. The utilization of women in terms of national and local politics have been adopted from RP, beginning from the elections of 1994, in which Erdoğan was elected the mayor of Istanbul (Aslan-Akman, 2017). As the neoconservative approach tends to endorse the profitable sides of any discourse, the utilization of women for politics was embraced right away unlike the preservation of national capital or connotations of Islamic Law. RP neglected the women who worked for the promotion of the party during the elections, which is one mistake JDP refrained from doing (Aslan-Akman, 2008), on account of this the women's branches are still composed of the highest level within all parties. However, politics and women are quite controversial in terms of the neoconservative discourse and JDP, concerning some issues such as the negative perspectives on the quota system.

The debates on quota for women as positive discrimination in politics have been proceeding from the early years of the ruling party. Although quota had been a discussion topic that was worked on before JDP, the debates became more rigid with neoconservative comment. Prime Minister Erdoğan made the first statement on 2004 concerning quota in politics and women as; "I comprehend quota as an insult for women. It's not necessary. Eligible and qualified women should be supported."¹²²

¹²¹ Nimet Çubukçu as Minister of Women and Family in 2005 and Minister of Education in 2009, Selma Aliye Kavaf as Minister of State Responsible for Women in 2009, Fatma Şahin as Minister of Family and Social Policy in 2011, Ayşenur İslam as Minister of Family and Social Policy in 2013, Ayşen Gürcan as Minister of Family and Social Policy in 2015 and Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya as Minister of Family and Social Policy in 2016.

¹²² "Kota konusunu, Kadınları aşağılamak olarak düşünüyorum. Buna gerek yok. Nitelikli, kaliteli, eğitilmiş kadınlara yer verilmelidir" , Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Başbakan, 2014.

Despite his support on women's presence in politics, Erdoğan rejects the implication of quotas as positive discrimination for the woman's branches. He underlines that there are certain obstacles that women can not overcome, which will be solved by the woman's branches. Following Erdoğan's statement, JDP administration that consisted of ministers and palimentars, underlined that they do not perceive quota as an accurate resolution for women's participation in politics. The administration expressed their interpretation of quota as a form of segregation. Dengir Mir Fırat, a MP of JDP summarised their view of quota as;

Setting quota in favor of women, is an insult, dregarding and protection of them. There is no need to put women under protection. This is an frivolous proposal. Our board of management's 20% consists of women¹²³.

Head of MP Salih Kapusuz continued ;

This can't be done with regulations. This is a matter of heart. Politics have its own rules. Progress is made with requests. Legislating it symbolically is not sufficient. It is all our desire that women have a place in politics too. But this can't happen by force¹²⁴.

Both of the MP reflect the system of quota as an enforcement that is to be imposed on women who have no interest in politics. As well as implying quotas as handouts given to women, instead of interpreting them as positive discrimination that is regulated within the constitution. Positive discrimination interms of gender was accrued to the Constitution in 2010 with a separate enactment. With the implementation of a new paragraph into article 10, the state was obligated to take

<http://www.gazetevatan.com/erdogan-dan-kadin-kotasina-vize-yok-25602-gundem/>.
Accessed; April 10, 2019.

Date

¹²³ "Kadına kontenjan koymak ona hakaret demektir, küçük düşürmektir, koruma altına almaktır. Kadınları koruma altına almaya gerek yoktur. Gayri ciddi bir teklif. Bizim MKYK'nın yüzde 20'si kadın", Dengir Mir Fırat, AKP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı, 2005. <https://kazete.com.tr/haber/akp-kotayi-kadinlara-hakaret-olarak-goruyor-38674>. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

¹²⁴ 'Yasayla olmaz. Bu gönül işi. Siyasetin kendi kuralları var. Talepler geldikçe kendiliğinden yürür. Sembolik olarak oraya yerleştirmek yetmiyor. Siyasette kadınların da olması hepimizin isteğidir. Ama bu zorlamayla olmaz.', Salih Kapusuz, AKP Grup Başkan Vekili, 2005. <https://kazete.com.tr/haber/akp-kotayi-kadinlara-hakaret-olarak-goruyor-38674>. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

measures in favor of the disadvantaged under tools as positive discrimination. Article 10 clearly states;

Everyone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such grounds. (Paragraph added on May 7, 2004; Act No. 5170)

Men and women have equal rights. The State has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice. (Sentence added on September 12, 2010; Act No. 5982)

Measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality. (TBMM, 2010)

For this reason the reflection of positive discrimination measures of MPs of JDP as a matter of either pity or segregation is against Turkish legislation. Although the last sentence was added in 2010, the previous statement can be interpreted as tools for supplying equality, considering that the state is obligated to ensure substantive equality. The refusal of the neoconservative discourse on raising women's participation to politics with the help of positive discrimination tools are the reflection of the patriarchal state. As Pateman (1987) has underlined, women take front in the daily practices of the state, work and family unlike men, on the other hand they are denied to take part in legislative and administrative chores along with policy-making substantively. Although the formal citizenship rights are allowed, the substantive measures are insufficient to attain efficient level of female participation in politics with the reproduction of the patriarchal tradition gender roles of the gender justice approach. JDP's direct refusal of the quota system is the reflection of the patriarchal ideology that positions women as the citizen however secondary citizen before the state. Nükhet Hotar, who is the vice president/primeminister of the party, surmounts on another aspect of the issue and states; "There are other ways for this. The parties who have quotas have less woman MPs than us. Instead of this we need educated and qualified women to enter the stage of politics¹²⁵."

¹²⁵ "Bunun yerine başka yollar var. Kota olan partinin kadın milletvekili bizden az. Bunun yerine eğitilmiş ve nitelikli kadınların siyasete girmesi teşvik edilmelidir", Nükhet Hotar, JDP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı, 2005. <https://kazete.com.tr/haber/akp-kotayi-kadnlara-hakaret-olarak-goruyor-38674>. Date Accessed; April 10, 2019.

Similarly the Minister of Women and Family, Nimet Çubukçu reacted to the persistence on quota application and stated that there is no obligation for parties to assign the quota system into their regulations, and that the parties who wish to embrace the system are free to do so. The negative tendencies of the JDP government on quota have been systematically proceeding since the year of 2004. Erdoğan's statements in 2007 on quota are quite significant as well;

I'm sorry but, is she a possession that we give quota? This is nonsense. Some organization say; assign quotas. Sorry, but are we going to hand our sisters in the aids of men. We are of course going to search for license and qualification and set off with them. It is not okay when you say, 'There is quota anyway, we have to put her here. Then the price will be paid in another way.'¹²⁶

The significant aspect is that female representatives of the party, take front in the opposition to the application of quota system in politics. As Yuval-Davis (2017) has shed light on the participation of women in New Right policies, that's why the belief that women connote peace is not accurate. The positions women in the New Right have taken such as Margaret Thatcher have formed a hegemonic relationship among right-wing women over men in addition to the ones between men and women. Hence, Yuval-Davis draws attention to the importance of power relations rather than the gender of the producer of power. Similar to what Yuval-Davis has underlined, the patriarchal gender roles are reproduced and perpetuated by women of the neoconservative discourse during the rule of JDP. It is either via the representatives of the party or the neoconservative scholars or civil rights spokespersons who maintain the patriarchal order and justify the dichotomous arguments with religion and creationism. The declarations of Erdoğan and the neoconservative women always tend to harmonize with each other, including on controversial issues like the quota system. Erdoğan evaluated quota as a form of discrimination and reacted to the debates of women's organizations as;

¹²⁶ "Kusura bakmayın, mal mı ki bu, kota veriyorsun? Böyle saçmalık olmaz. Bazı dernek çıkmış diyor ki; kota koyun. Affedersiniz, erkeklerin ianesine mi teslim edeceğiz biz hanım kardeşlerimizi? Bu işte tabii ki ehliyet, liyakat arayacağız, onlarla beraber bu yola koyulacağız. 'Nasıl olsa kota var, bunu buraya koymamız lazım' dediğiniz zaman olmaz. Ondan sonra yarın bunun bedeli de ayrı bir şekilde ödetilir.", Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, AKP Yerel Yönetimler Kadın Şûrası, 2007. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/mal-mi-ki-bu-kota-veriyorsun-6215385>. Date Accessed; April 12, 2019.

You have the same rights as me. Why aren't you being fair? Everyone is equal right now. I don't comprehend quota as equality. Equal participation already exists today. Go, win, take. You don't go, win and take yourself. Sister go, win, take. When there is quota it means I am hiding under men's donation. You can't explain this to me. This doesn't exist in the whole world. Is there quota in USA? How much is the quota in France, how much?¹²⁷

The interpretation of equality of the neoconservative sphere can be observed from the reactions to the quota debate. Equality is evaluated as an absolute form of equality and same treatment via legal regulations (Şimşak, 2019). For this reason, substantive equality through norms and tools such as positive discrimination is not embraced. Only within the issues that the discourse finds virtue that measures of positive discrimination are adopted or planned. However, these implementations are far from being regulated under the title of positive discrimination but rather as the requisite of fitrat. Notice that the positive discrimination measures that have been mentioned in this paper have all been in the fields of either religion or notions of familism such as motherhood. Measures in terms of politics such as quota are not utilized as tools for substantive equality but rather a form of discrimination. A didactical language is again used to persuade women against the norm, as reflecting it as a matter that demeans the power and status of women. The hierarchical relationship between state and women citizens are perpetuated via dominant language, redefining discrimination on women and politics. Although the quota system is strictly opposed by the party, it can be observed that there is 'soft quota' (Cansun, 2013). Women's participation in politics have been supported by Erdoğan himself in terms of the women's branches. Accordingly, he reacted to men's authority on women's issues in these words;

Men always speak about women's issues, their perception of the world in our parliament. If there is to be the enactment of a legislation men talk. However, the ones that live this life are women. We made a principal decision that male MPs will stand back and female MPs will speak. On the change of constitution on the headscarf issue predominantly female MPs of JDP spoke.

¹²⁷ "Şu anda var, haksızlık yapıyorsun. Benimle aynı haklara sahipsiniz. Niye adil olmuyorsun? Şu anda herkes eşit. Asla kotayı ben eşitlik olarak almıyorum. Eşit katılım zaten şu anda var. Git, kazan, al. Sen kendin gidip kazanı alamıyorsun. Kardeşim git, kazan, al. Kota olduğu zaman ben erkeklerin ianesine sığınıyorum demektir. Bana bunu anlatamazsın. Bütün dünyada bu yok. Başka yerlerde var diye anlatamazsın. ABD'de kota var mı? Fransa'da kota kaç, kota kaç" , Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, TBMM Yeniyl Resepsiyonu, 2007. <https://kazete.com.tr/haber/cinsiyet-esitliginde-erdogan-i-kizdiran-ulke-1862>. Date Accessed; April 15, 2019.

Erdoğan's declaration that men should step back on women's issues, contradicts with his references made often during his political years. The headscarf issue has an exclusive character within the discourse and political agenda. The controversy of headscarf began with the struggle of women that were not granted to participate in college education, therefrom the headscarf conflict is studied under education. Except, conservative women's presence in Turkish politics inaugurated with the conflicts on the headscarf issue. As a protest to the headscarf ban women entered politics, from the roots, the neighbourhoods.

Erdoğan narrates that his 'bacı's have gone door to door to get him elected from the elections of 1994. From that year on party politics and headscarf conflict have been objectives for conservative women. It was with the identification of headscarf that conservative women were politicized and entered the public sphere. Furthermore, women who can be identified as part of the neoconservative discourse consist of only a part of these women of the RP. Considering the fact that women and men were positioned in different spheres during the conservative identity, neoconservative discourse brought women closer and finally into the public sphere with men (Cansun, 2013). Although the identification and specification of women could be argued, the adoption of women and men to the political discourse is closer than of the previous conservative parties such as RP. The mobilization of women in terms of politics have been brought from the RP discourse, however women were included in party politics unlike RP to provide a proof to the distinction from RP (Cansun, 2013). Neoconservatives have held a patriarchal tone in terms of female politicians and citizens voting for their parties. The words used to refer to women electorates as 'bacı' once again implies the necessity of protection of women, instead of perceiving them as colleagues.

Erdoğan states that he has always been supported firstly by women;

I have always expressed this, but I am repeating it once again. During my 40 years of political life, in every struggle I gave, the ones who gave me the biggest support were women and the youth. Starting from my family, if it wasn't for the support and incentive of women, I am not sure if I could have carried on this tedious struggle upto this day. For this reason I have made an effort and worked for solving the problems of women every position I had the authority. I have made a special effort to make sure

women took their place in every stage of politics, from county and district organisations to mayors and parliaments.¹²⁸

As he expresses his gratitude towards participation and support of women on his political journey, it is possible to observe a specific bond between Erdoğan and neoconservative women of JDP. Woman's branches of JDP, eludes from of other parties' in terms of magnitude as well as participation. Transformation from the conservative sphere in which women were invisible to a system in which women were built as the sustaining power was significant.

What is the role of the Woman's Branches in the politics of JDP? Woman's Branches of JDP have a major significance within party politics and utilization of women voters. Although it is not possible to speak of a homogenous group of women in the establishment of the woman's branches of JDP and the backgrounds of members diversified depending on politics and economy, the power of the branches have been maintained ever since the establishment of the party. As an insider of the woman's branches, Sözen (2006) summarizes members as; ones who have been together with Erdoğan since his political presence in RP, women who are highly educated however have been out of the job-market as well as any political background and thirdly women who are positioned as secular but affiliated with politics of the right which include parliamentary of the party.

Regarding the success of women's mobilization during the years of RP, Erdoğan appreciated the significance of women in party politics. He attached importance to the formation of woman's branches in the new party JDP. Women's eagerness towards joining woman's branches emerge from their loyalty to Erdoğan. The bond between the president/prime minister and neoconservative women, especially

¹²⁸ “Her zaman ifade ettim, burada bir kez daha tekrarlıyorum. 40 yıllık siyasi hayatımda, girdiğim her mücadelede, en büyük gücü kadınlardan ve gençlerden aldım. Şayet, kendi ailem başta olmak üzere, kadınların desteği ve teşviki olmasaydı, bu uzun ve meşakkatli siyasi mücadeleyi bugüne kadar yürütebilir miydim, açıkçası bilmiyorum. Bunun için, sorumluluk üstlendiğim, yetki sahibi olduğum her yerde, her konumda, kadınlarımızın meselelerinin çözümü için çalıştım, gayret gösterdim. Belde ve ilçe teşkilatlarından genel merkez yönetim organlarına, belediye başkanlıklarından milletvekilliklerine kadar, siyasetin tüm kademelerinde kadınların yer alması için özel çaba harcadım.” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Başbakan, 2016. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/61122/haksizliklar-karsisinda-susarak-cografyamiza-ve-tarihimize-sirt-cevirmeyecegiz.html>. Date Accessed; April 20, 2019.

women of the woman's branches are worthy of putting under the spotlight. Most of the women attending woman's branches attach their bonds with Erdoğan, from his years as the mayor of Istanbul. He mentions his sisters¹²⁹ in his speeches concerning women and politics, and gives their credit in aggrandizing the party. The policy of women's 'door to door' mobilization of RP, was used by JDP, during the initial years and has grown to a wider form ever since. As of 2017, the number of members to woman's branches of JDP has been almost 4.5 million. Organization of woman's branches show existence at the same level of the central administration, making them active in local and municipal issues. Politics and education are interrelated fields in terms of neoconservative women, considering the significance of the headscarf issue. Hence the alterations and implementations of the discourse on women's education is investigated more closely in the next section.

5.1.5.3. Education

Ever since JDP came into power the education system has been changing within almost every 4-5 years along with the changes in government. The major policies of education have been regulated hand in hand with religion and conservative tendencies within the last sixteen years. From 1997, eight years of education, until high school, has been mandatory in Turkey. However, there are diverse forms of schools in terms of high school, that affect the acceptance to college. Forms of schools were mainly Science High Schools, whose main language was English and had high level of acceptance to almost all colleges in Turkey. Anatolian High Schools, whose education system was in English and rate of acceptance followed the science high schools, therefore were considered very successful. There were public high schools that were in Turkish and the rate of acceptance to colleges diversified from school to school. Finally, the controversial form of schools, the Imam Hatip Schools were the focal point of JDP and the neoconservatives.

Imam Hatip Schools gave secondary education for the religious administrators and practitioners 'imam's and 'hatip's and were expected to study theology in college (Cansun, 2013). For this reason, the calculation of the graduates' scores of this high

¹²⁹ Bacılar

school were made accordingly, hence they were disadvantageous in majoring in other subjects in college. Neoconservatives objected to this regulation and advocated the acceptance of Imam Hatip Schools' students to be accepted with the same rate of calculation in the exams for college with the students of other high schools. However, the governments previous to JDP advocated that the purpose of the schools were to raise professional imams and hatips, therefore students that idealise other professions must attend regular schools. However, after JDP came into power, the conflict of Imam Hatip Schools were the subject of important debates which were finalized with the decision of JDP to abolish the disadvantageous calculation system, utilizing its majority within the parliament. Accordingly, ever since JDP held majority in the parliament, the number of Imam Hatip Schools have been raising accurately.

The significance of the increase in Imam Hatip Schools have in terms of the laicist discourse and women's rights is that the students and education system in public schools have been facing discriminatory and sexist confrontations and comments from the neoconservatives. Although girls and boys have been getting coeducation together for years, the statements that were made especially on girl students caught the eye of the media as well as MPs of the opposition. The Head of Education of County in Diyarbakır, banned female students to enter the cafeteria. Likewise, wearing skirts were prohibited in a school in Antalya and female students were warned not to climb the stairs with male students. All of these implementations were made under the authority of the ruling party and Minister of Education, after the "package of democratization" (Cansun, 2013) was accepted in 2013, that brought a freedom of uniform. It was claimed that the dress code included the obligation of dressing appropriately with customs and culture, and that jeans and beards will not be allowed. On the other hand it is noticed that the package brought freedom of headscarf in public spaces. Later in 2014, the headscarf ban was lifted for secondary education. With the proliferation of the application, certain reactions were given on girls without headscarves. A head of education in Bartın for instance said that seeing girl students who don't wear headscarves made him angry, which was brought before the courts by the opposition. On May, 2014 a circular was enacted that

regulated the establishment of ‘only girl schools’, in order to increase girls’ participation in education.

During the rule of JDP and neoconservatives, women have been facing various forms of gender discrimination in education. The discourse of the representatives of the party, reflect the ideology and perception of women in terms of the neoconservative community. Female students are segregated from their friends and accused of being careless by spending time with the opposite sex. Erdoğan drew attention to the threat that is created with female and male students staying in the same houses in these words;

In some houses male and female students stay together. We have notices from the neighbours. We can’t set these notices aside, our police department and governors will evaluate them and take action... We don’t know what is happening in there. Complicated things can happen. Mothers and fathers are shouting. These steps will be taken. Sorry but, as a conservative democrat party we have to interfere. We can’t spiritually be put under such a responsibility. I know for a fact that the mothers and father will not allow such a thing. We have to take a persistent step on this issue.¹³⁰

The statement attracted reaction from the society, and Erdoğan has been criticized to use his power on lifestyle that can not be interfered via legislation. Whereas Bekir Bozdağ, his asistant, showed the constitution as the guarantee for the premises. He underlined that the constitution gives the state the right to protect young people. Likewise, interference of the secular lifestyle by the neoconservative discourse is seen quite often in the last years. Especially the control of women’s bodies have been significant on college students that are perceived as threats on the traditional conservative roles and lifestyle by the representatives of JDP.

Gender discrimination was made by the form of dresscodes to control women’s body and sexuality as well as imposing the traditional gender roles on girl students. Religion and traditions were used in all parts of education by the neoconservative discourse. From religious practices to the consolidation of traditional gender roles are imposed on children via the new education system. For instance, the book of

¹³⁰ “Buralarda nelerin olduğu belli değil. Karmakarışık her şey olabiliyor. Sonra anneler babalar feryat ediyor. (...) Bu ülkede annelerin, babaların kahir ekseriyetinin bu işlere asla müsaade etmeyeceğini bilen insanım. Nerede nasıl seslerin yükseldiğini bilen insanım. Bu işte biz kararlı adım atmaya mecburuz” Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Başbakan, 2013. <https://t24.com.tr/haber/erdogan-kiz-erkek-evleri-denetimi-konusunda-bulent-arinci-yalanladi,243343>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

Social Science illustrated a henna ceremony under the title of ‘Our Culture is Our Wealth’, and gave instructions for the impersonation of the scene by fifth grade students. It is stated within the book that henna is made as a symbol of the loyalty of the bride to her husband and family. The book was criticized by the political opposition, with the claims that include the imposition on children that the woman must sacrifice herself for her family and husband if necessary. Gender discrimination and reinforcement of traditional and religious values on school children have often been an issue, for which the ruling party is criticized. According to Aratemur Çimen and Bayhan (2018), traditional gender roles and distribution of domestic work are illustrated and consolidated within the books published by the Ministry of Education for elementary school kids. These books include domestic work and childrearing duties which are attributed to women. The book published by the Ministry of Education, ‘The life of Prophet Mohammed’ was criticized by the opposition with the allegations that it contended statements that pertain discriminative context of the distribution of gender roles. Statements such as;

Islam has asked for women to obey his husband in return for the liabilities men attain and regards it as prayer. If the man does his mission, behaves well towards his family and the woman acts fond of him and shows enough attention and obedience then there will be balance and order within the family.¹³¹

were advocated by the Minister with the defence that, it connotated the liabilities women held on domestic work. The book also referred to the status of ‘headman’ which was abolished by the adoption of the civil code in 2001, with expression such as “ Men have the primary liability of the family, since they are more powerful and further on strength.” It is also advised that women are to be rigorous in fulfilling their responsibilities towards their husbands and families. Accordingly, in 2018, the Head of the Education in the County, who distributed the book that wrote “Women should be grateful if they are beaten” to students was promoted as the Head of Education in the city. These statements are the examples of the attribution and

¹³¹“İslam, erkeğin üstlendiği mesuliyetlere karşılık kadının da kocasına itaat etmesini istemiş ve bu itaati ibadet saymıştır. Ailede çocukların büyütilüp terbiye edilmesi daha çok anne tarafından yerine getirilir. Ailede erkek vazifesini yapar, ailesine karşı güzel davranır; kadın da ona karşı gereken muhabbet, hürmet ve itaati gösterirse aile içinde düzen ve uyum sağlanmış olur”, 2017. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/egitim/816912/Bakanligin_ders_kitaplari_kadinklardan_itaat_i_stiyor.html. Date Accessed; April 25, 2019.

reinforcement of the traditional and patriarchal gender roles on women by the neoconservative discourse. Materials that consist of the traditional gender roles and distribution of domestic work as well as religious references, are the reflection of the neoconservative ideologies perception of women. As education is a tool of the internalizing social measures and paradigms, the materials of education have been prepared with this objective. Either the assestion of gender justice, as the fair distribution of roles can not be observed in the system or the distribution that is requested fits into the shape of the materials.

In accordance with the opposition to gender equality by the gender justice approach, the “Gender Equality” classes that was accepted by the Board of Higher Education for universities, which was then followed by the Ministry of Education, were cancelled in 2019 following the targeting of a neoconservative newspaper ‘Yeni Akit’. The news report of the newspaper ‘Yeni Akit’ articulates the project of Gender Equality of the Ministry of Education as “objective to establish a genderless society” expressing it in a negative form. The report proceeds with positioning a Gender Research Center as the “home of betrayal”. The official regulation is accused to be the “confession” of the “dirty objective”, which is stated to as “struggle against gender discrimination”. (Sermen Feb. 2019) The project was blamed to be ‘deviant’. Hence, the strategies on gender are stated to shift from gender equality to gender justice approach officially.

Prior to the discussion and imposition on gender roles, the struggle of the neoconservative discourse began with the headscarf debate. What is the significance of this debate on education? Turkey holds the characteristic of secularism as a form of administration, under the rule of law. The aspects of secularism are brought into public spheres as education, public offices, health and administrative entities with the enforcement of the constitution. Citizens are free to embrace any religion, religious practice or belief that is protected with freedom of religion that is protected under the rule of law. However, in regard to the principal of secularism symbols identified with any religion, belief or cult are forbidden to be utilized in public entities, offices or educational institutions. Considering the fact that there is a wide range of muslim population in Turkey, the debates on the prohibition of religious

symbols pivoted on ‘headscarf’. As part of the prohibition principle, usage of headscarf was banned in public and educational institutions and public entities such as courts, hospitals etc. The ban was objected particularly by the conservative community on the axes of politics and education.

During the 90s a mass movement amongst conservative women arose to protest the headscarf ban in college education. Female students who were accepted to college with the central exam, rejected to leave the headscarf in order to attend college and therefore held protests against the legislative prohibition. It was argued by JDP that the lift of the ban would increase women’s participation in education. Conservative women or as they are also called, Islamist women were supported by certain group of feminists during these protests, with whom they cooperated later in the enactment of Penal and Civil Codes during the EU accession process of Turkey (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017). Çaha(2013) appropriates the movement to women who traveled and lectured others on the virtue of using the headscarf in Islam, on account of this Islamist women have become stronger and grown into a movement. With JDP coming into power, the headscarf ban became the controversial topic that was brought to the attention of the public eye. It was a well known fact that the issue was important to the religious community. JDP has underlined the significance of freedom of religion on the issue and the victimhood women have gone through during the process, making it in fact part of party politics (Aslan-Akman, 2017). For Erdoğan himself has stated that his daughters have not been able to study at university in Turkey because of the headscarf ban¹³².

The headscarf ban was removed in 2008 for higher education and finalized to be eliminated in public institutions and civil service by 2016, including female students starting from the age of nine. A package under the name ‘Democracy Package’ was accepted that consisted of reforms including the lift of the headscarf ban for teachers, judges and other public officers (Pürüzsüz, 2017). Aslan-Akman (2017) argues that JDP has instrumentalized women in headscarves via victimization, as a form of the populism based in its party politics. The ban was so much internalized and

¹³² <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2013/gundem/erdogandan-turban-aciklamasi-384591/>. Date Accessed; March 20, 2019.

prioritized that it was evaluated as the major development JDP brought into Turkish society in terms of gender equality by a Minister of the party (Aslan-Akman, 2017).

Although the lift of the ban was appreciated by a group of conservative women, there were reactions from certain groups within the discourse. Especially conservative women whom had given the struggle during 90s were reactive against government for not being conferred. These women consisted of conservative women's rights activists that had started the mass protests of university students on the ban. The conservative women's rights activists criticized the ruling party in terms of the antidemocratical politics especially in terms of gender equality and gender discrimination. The women's rights activists of the prior conservative discourse were often named as Islamist feminists whereas the neoconservative women who advocate gender justice are in no way to be identified with the term. The identification of the conservative women rest on the solidarity that was held between feminists and conservative women's rights activists on body politics and sexuality. Conservative women were supported by feminists during the 90s, just like the conservative activists who stood against the accusations against secular and women without headscarves on sexuality. Body politics were often utilized by the representatives of the ruling party on both conservative and secular women. Süleyman Demirci, a representative of JDP was forced resign after his facebook status that wrote; "A woman without headscarf is like a house without curtains. A house without curtains, is either for sale or for rent¹³³."

Women without headscarves were criticized for their performance of sexuality whereas conservative women are used as tools of the political atmosphere and ideology. In terms of gender equality, Aslan-Akman (2017) evaluates the demolishment of the headscarf ban as an instrumentalization. She argues that the ruling party has used the ban as a form of victimization, in relation to its populist character. Gümüşçü and Sert (2009) (as cited in Çağatay 2018), on the other hand, reflected that the party saw the issue in terms of human rights. The headscarf ban

¹³³ "Örtüsüz kadın perdesiz eve benzer. Perdesiz ev ya satılıktır ya da kiralıktır", Süleyman Demirci, AK Parti Ünye İlçe Tanıtım ve Medya Başkanı, 2011. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/ortusuz-kadin-perdesiz-eve-benzer-17238959>. Date Accessed; April 30, 2019.

was previously brought before European Court of Human Rights by Leyla Şahin, but the court found Turkey to be rightful and underlined that headscarf is a religious symbol (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017). *Şahin vs Turkey* was accepted as a test case within the national legal system. Although, with the lift of the ban, women wearing headscarves took their place in politics as well as bureaucracy in opposition to the court's decision (Gümüştü and Sert as cited in Çağatay). The division between conservative women's rights activists and neoconservative women who stand with the ruling party on women's issues is that, the activists take a stand against any form of instrumentalization of women and bodily control. For this reason the policies of the ruling party has been criticized and protested as patriarchal by the conservative women's rights activists (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017). Accordingly, these activist women should not be confused with the neoconservative women who are part of the neoconservative discourse that is the subject of this study.

Ayata and Doğangün (2017) draw attention to the point that JDP's policies on women do not concern a contradiction on patriarchy, but rather on modernization, regarding the fact that headscarf was the main focus point of the party. In fact, it was only field of women's rights which the government embraced in terms of human rights and individual freedoms. A part from the headscarf debate, JDP and the neoconservative discourse perpetuated the patriarchal codes of the Turkish society, reproducing the dichotomy between men and women hiding it under familialism and society (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017). As Pateman (1987), underlines women are neglected as citizens but rather instrumentalized in terms of bodily politics. The gender justice approach has shown no significance in the political participation of women, other than the neoconservative instrumentalization of the headscarf debate. The approach rather focuses on the just distribution of roles and the relationship between women's work and family and neglects to discuss politics. Women's significance in the society is underlined as the caregiver of the future generations, instead of individuals (Güneş-Ayata & Doğangün, 2017), in every subject of society.

5.2. Evaluation: ‘Equal in Rights, Complementary in Roles’

Neoconservative discourse makes the argument that gender justice approach creates an understanding in which equality is not neglected however insufficient in terms of social roles. According to this approach, the equality principle within legal implementations and human rights are to be protected, whereas the distribution of gender roles is planned in terms of justice, that requires a fair distribution. The scale or measurement for fairness is concealed within the holiness of justice and the harmony shrouded in creation. Distribution of liabilities and obligations that effectuate gender roles attributed to the two genders hang on fitrat in the end. Corroborating with this standpoint, the declaration of the first Women and Justice Summit articulates; “In the relationship between men and women, an approach considering equality for the rights, but justice for the distribution of the social obligations and roles is required.”¹³⁴

Social obligations and gender roles are distributed regarding justice, with the necessity of a fair distribution between the two genders. Fair distribution of gender roles pertain the insufficiency of equality, once again neglecting the differences of men and women. The declaration based the disadvantaged position of women in terms of politics, economy and society on the delinquency of differences, underlining the victimhood of women on various issues. The neoconservative approach to gender interprets that the functions and liabilities assigned to women and men diversify according to culture. Gümrukçüoğlu elucidates gender justice in relation with gender equality as;

We as KADEM, express the roles and liabilities every culture imposes on women and men in the socialization process. For this reason, we redefine this concept with an approach of justice that encircles equality that is defined as gender equality in the literature¹³⁵.

¹³⁴ “Kadınla erkek arasındaki ilişkide, haklar bakımından eşitliği, ancak toplumsal yükümlülüklerin ve rollerin dağıtımı bakımından adaleti dikkate alan bir yaklaşıma ihtiyaç vardır.” I. Kadın ve Adalet Zirvesi Sonuç Bildirisi, 2014. <http://kadem.org.tr/uluslararasi-kadin-ve-adalet-zirvesi-sonuc-bildirisi/>. Date Accessed; May 9, 2019.

¹³⁵ “Biz KADEM olarak Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kavramıyla sosyalleşme sürecinde her kültürün kadın ve erkeğe yüklediği rol ve sorumlulukları ifade ediyoruz. Bu sebeple literatürde Toplumsal Cinsiyet

Prominence given to culture and justice are the reflection of the conservative perception of sheltering traditions and local values coupled with the theological attachment to biological traits and creational differences. Gender justice approach accedes to the socially assigned gender role, conversely to the substantial gender literature, in despite of the utilization of their concepts. In other words, utilization of concepts incumbent to feminism and the gender movements is a frequently referenced method in instrumentalization of women's rights by the discourse. Representatives of the neoconservative discourse on women's issues contemplate reconstruction of historically developed concepts as gender and gender equality in the direction of adopting current values as well as timeless traditions. Most virtuous precedence is attached on culture and cultural values on which gender roles are constructed along with the religious implications of the sexes. The requirement of justice as a norm is grounded on Islam and it's perception of the concept within human relationship and rights. The declaration of V.Gender Justice Summit recalls the necessity of adoption of a fair paradigm that encapsules the resilience of the reconstruction of gender roles, on the contrary to the rigid form of positivism.

The primary objective of the neoconservative discourse is the fair distribution of the gender roles in preservation with cultural norms and traditions. Although the solution is reflected as a redistribution of the roles, it is possible to speak of a support or emphasis on the present roles assigned by the society. Differences in the creational characteristics form the majority of the aspects which are prioritized in this matter, to be fairly distributed rather than to be abolished. Sare Aydın Yılmaz has emphasized the significance of traditional gender roles on which the fair distribution will be constructed as;

In order for women and men to have equal opportunities and rights the cultural norms and the prevelant remarks have to change. Also, in additon to traditional image of

Eşitliği şeklinde yer alan bu kavramı farklı bir çerçeveye oturtuyor, onu eşitliği de kuşatan bir adalet anlayışından hareketle TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET ADALETİ şeklinde yeniden tanımlıyoruz.”, Saliha Okur Gümrükçüoğlu, KADEM Başkanı, V. Toplumsal Cinsiyet Adaleti Zirvesi, 7 Mart 2019. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/kadin/2019/03/08/kadem-baskani-dr-saliha-okur-gumrukcuoglu-5-toplumsal-cinsiyet-adaleti-kongresinin-acilisinda-konustu>. Date Accessed; March 26, 2019.

woman and man, the roles of woman and man must be redefined in a pattern that consists of justice.¹³⁶

In accordance with Yılmaz's emphasis on traditional roles, the vice president of Directorate of Religious Affairs Huriye Martı, articulated that men and women must be treated justly in deference to their characteristics based on creation, in the society. Although the neoconservative discourse accentuates the fair distribution of gender roles while preserving the traditional and cultural elements, the survey's which are conducted by themselves concern the opposite implication. For instance Sare Aydın Yılmaz, italicizes in another interview that traditions are a significant factor in the increase of violence against women. "The patriarchal distribution of gender roles and the gender prejudiced traditions are important factors that affect violence against women¹³⁷".

She then proceeds with the campaigns that have been pursued by KADEM, against violence against women. However, the previously mentioned campaigns of 'Is you're a man, overcome your anger' and 'First be a man' perpetuate the patriarchal distribution of roles regarding the gender prejudiced language they contain. Similar to the campaigns, the distribution of gender roles that neoconservative women promote are rather patriarchal and hegemonic, including within the domestic sphere. Up until now the emphasis on women's primary role within the family and the society as a caregiver has been underlined, enduring the role distribution on the creation and the biological differences between men and women. For this reason, the redistribution of gender roles in terms of fairness, indicates the implication of the reproduction of the patriarchal and traditionalist gender roles. As the primary feature of conservatism the hegemonic relationship between the 'primus inter

¹³⁶ "Kadınların erkeklerle eşit fırsatlara ve haklara sahip olması için, yaygın görüşlerin ve kültürel normların değişmesi gerekmektedir. Ayrıca, geleneksel kadın ve erkek imajına ek olarak, kadın ve erkek rollerinin de adalet perspektifli bir biçimde yeniden tanımlanması gerekmektedir." Sare Aydın, KADEM Başkanı, 2015. <http://kadem.org.tr/sare-aydin-trt-habere-kadina-yonelik-siddetin-boyutlari-ile-siddetle-mucadele-yontemlerini-anlatti/>. Date Accessed; March 15, 2019.

¹³⁷ "Toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin ataerkil dağılımı ve cinsiyet önyargılı gelenekler, kadına yönelik şiddete etki eden önemli faktörlerdir." Sare Aydın Yılmaz , KADEM Başkanı, (Yılmaz, 2016).

pares'(men) and women is to be preserved with the use of traditional relationships and the religious values.

Equality in terms of rights and complementarity in terms of roles are observed from the connotations of the discourse. However, the equality sought in rights have only been constructed on the areas or issues that are prioritized by the neoconservatives such as the headscarf issue, motherhood or control of sexuality which all indicate the instrumentalization of women. The promotions and incentives on marriage and motherhood conceive the hegemonic relationship of the patriarchal state for population policies, whereas the lift of the headscarf ban in public services, indicate the utilisation of women over their bodies in terms of political symbols. In both of the issues, women's bodies are instrumentalized for the achievement of state's objectives. There are procedures by which the state ensures the patriarchal control directly through the lens of segregation of public spaces. For instance, Pink buses were a project that was set as the example for the country, being promoted in certain cities. The pink buses were only designed for women, segregating the public space between men and women, under the allegation of protecting women against sexual harassment. Despite that, the application received reaction from both women and men in opposition to the Islamist and neoconservative circle. The separation of public spaces had been practiced by the conservatives previously, in fields such as swimming pools, restaurants etc. Although the neoconservative sphere refrains from constructing a distinction between genders in social spaces, the proposal indicated various implications for different circles. Some groups perceived the application as the state's effort to reduce risks against crimes, whereas other groups, including feminists called attention to further discriminative policies either from the state or reactions from the society on women who have not preferred to use the pink buses.

In this direction, the applications of the government on planning tools as positive discrimination or incentives for women are shaped according to preference rather than the general will. Even though the enactment of improvement of women's rights have been established under the rule of JDP, there are certain implementations which aggravated women's position in social life and practice. The implementations

on alteration of passports is one example for the regression in women's rights, which have been planned as positive discrimination by previous governments¹³⁸.

The interpretation of the analysis demonstrates the significant role, the neoconservative discourse holds in the reproduction and deterioration of gender equality in Turkey. Firstly, a dichotomy is illustrated by the essentialist approach to articulate the biological differences between women and men. Consequently, the dichotomous relationship is corroborated by the theological references, which heavily contain the underlying patriarchal power relations internalized by the Turkish society. An exclusionist tone is embraced while creating the dichotomy by the representatives of the government. The patriarchal stance is consolidated through female figures including scholars, journalists and ministers. The justification of the hegemonically patriarchal and essentialist position of gender justice, is supplied under religious references and cultural norms. Patriarchal power relations are reproduced by the embracement of the dichotomously theorized concept gender justice. As Özdek states, gender justice;

does not go beyond being an attempt to legitimize the patriarchal relations under a new concept by opposing the approach of equal rights and advocating division of labor that grounds on gender in accordance with 'fitrat' (Özdek, 2016)

Traditional gender roles have been reproduced and consolidated through the applications and discourse of the neoconservative understanding. Retirement from universal concepts and modern values, although rest on the ideology of the ruling party, being neoconservatism, has resulted in the increase in offenses against women, first and foremost being violence against women. The relationship between the perpetrators and the victims of the crimes reflect that the familial authority provided by the state, forms a treacherous supervision over individuals, especially women. As the neoliberal state began to overspread, its prerogative over citizens and individuals have been transferred to the patriarchal bond of family and male leadership, constraining women into a hegemonic structure. The 'primus inter pares' characteristic of men has been pampered by the patriarchal governments, promoting

¹³⁸ The right to attain green passport from her mother or father during a lifetime was annulled by the JDP government. Equalizing women and men to give up the privileged passport at the age of 25.

the separation of men and women as citizens. Although feminism and principle of equality is criticized for creating a decomposing atmosphere and structure between men and women, illustrating them as rivals, the gender justice approach underlines the differences between the two genders causing a division in the spheres of their existence. It is vital to emphasize the presence of women within the neoconservative sphere unlike in the previous communities of conservatism, however the subsistence is still not blended in, with regard to equal citizenship or individualism, but rather hegemonic characteristic over the indigent, women. At last, the promotion of gender justice demonstrates the patriarchal ideology of the dominant sphere in the state and contains the objective of reproduction of the traditional gender roles, transforming the modern rhetoric of gender. Furthermore, gender justice approach has the absence of grounding on an accurate theory or practice, in terms of women's rights and gender roles.

The implication that difference approach of feminists, have influenced gender justice approach would not be accurate considering that the major objective of difference feminism is to eliminate gender discrimination and the patriarchal distribution of gender roles. Difference feminism draws attention to the importance of difference between genders, not to perpetuate them for the dichotomy but rather to achieve a substantive equality with recognition of the feminine traits along with equal opportunities and rights (Tong, 2014). The response to equality feminisms reflection of citizenship depending on male traits is the concern of these feminists. Whereas gender justice approach does not seek for any elimination of diverse gender roles, or any intent in abolishing the patriarchal order. Gender justice approach, underlines the differences between men and women (Şimga, 2019), only to reproduce the patriarchal distribution of the gender roles, and maintain the traditional familial and societal order. Hence, this approach can only be related with the equity approach presented in the Conference of Beijing by the Vatican. Both attaching importance to biological and spiritual traits and advocating the complementarity of the feminine and the masculine as the sole roadmap towards fulfillment. In accordance with the Vatican (Buss, 1998), neoconservative discourse positions equality and gender equality as danger towards the traditional society and gender roles, reflecting them as Western norms and ideologies that will transform

the powerful family and society. However, JDP instrumentalizes nationalism and familial norm to perpetuate the neoliberal policies and system of the government, to fill the role of the welfare state.

The gender justice approach of neoconservatives contains significant similarity with traditionalist and religious groups both from Christianity and Islam. The promotion of the traditional family and advocating difference in gender roles deriving from the different functions and duties from creation are embraced by both the Christian fundamentalists and Islamist fundamentalists on women's rights. Men's duty to take care of the family and women's national function as mothers and wives are underlined frequently by these traditionalist communities. Women are demonstrated as delicate and weak naturally, in need for the protection of men by both groups. God's intervention was to create two different creatures that complement each other with the diversity in their functions and duties according to fundamentalists. Although the gender justice approach has similarities both with the Islamist fundamentalists and the anti-gender movements of Europe, it diversifies from both in terms of strategies and content. The focus of Islamist fundamentalists has been limited with the adoption of women into education and employment, headscarf and attainment of divorce rights in Iran. The Turkish context per contra focuses on a general perception of women in terms of the gender roles within the society and the family. In other words, regarding the secular and equal legal system, women already have the civil and citizenship rights as unique individuals, apart from men or male figures of the family. Hence, gender justice approach internalizes equality in rights in terms of formal rights, but promotes the duties and positions assigned to women within the family. For instance, women's employment is acknowledged and not an issue of judgement as long as it does not interfere with the natural duties of motherhood and domestic labor, however not assigned to be obligatory. The Islamist fundamentalists on the other hand argue that the professions and rights should be distributed according to the balance principle, therefore differ between men and women.

Considering the secular notions and the social values of the Turkish context, the gender justice approach resembles the anti-gender movements of Europe grounding

on the equity approach of the Vatican. Even though gender justice is promoted by religious references of Islam, the strategies and contexts of the concept is the same with the content of the equity approach. Women's equality in terms of rights and legal framework are acknowledged however the social attribution of roles are reproduced with gender justice, just like the Vatican's approach that spread around Europe with the anti-gender movements. Family is portrayed as the primary institution of the society and it is illustrated as to be under the threat of the other, the West, with victimization strategies both in European anti-gender movements and in Turkey. The patriarchal order and marriage are on the contrary closer to the Islamist fundamentalist content, promoting the superiority of men over women in terms of duties and functions. Although the anti-gender movements in Europe focus mainly on same-sex marriage and the resistance against the concept of gender, gender justice approach adopts the concept and reconstructs its content with heterosexuality similar to the Islamist fundamentalists.

To sum up, the concept gender justice is designed with the influence of the gender equity approach of the Vatican in Conference of Beijing and is portrayed as an opposite for gender equality. Positioning gender equality as a Western ideal, the discourse reflects the concept as a threat to the traditional and religious values in order to promote its abandonment. In order to justify the resignation from equality and gender equality, the discourse makes allegations that the concept creates dichotomy between men and women, whereas a dichotomy is performed and perpetuated by the gender justice approach considering its glorification of different functions and liabilities deriving from fitrat. The objections on equality endure on the inaccurate interpretation and presentation of it as promoting identicalness or sameness, neglecting natural differences between men and women. However, taking into consideration that gender equality is a concept which contains all three approaches (equality, difference and transformative) towards women's rights, the critique of insufficiency of gender equality can be perceived as a distortion. Gender justice is a concept which reproduces the patriarchal gender roles and perpetuates women's secondary position in the traditional society, instrumentalizing religion, traditional values and New Right's policies of both neoliberalism and neoconservatism. Although, 'equality in rights, complementarity in roles' is

illustrated as the summary of gender justice, the fair distribution of gender roles are in accordance with the patriarchal understanding of the discourse on men and women. In short, gender justice seems more to be formulated as a concept which induces the reproduction of patriarchal distribution of gender roles, rather than promoting women's empowerment and elimination of gender discrimination, unlike gender equality.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Gender equality plays a key role on issues regarding women, particularly that of discrimination, segregation and violence in the international arena. Although the concept has a relatively short history, it has created universal impact with the embracement of intergovernmental institutions under the influence and efforts of women's movement. Gender equality, which is accepted as the fundamental element of women's policies is experiencing a transformation within the last five-six years in Turkey. Gender justice is promoted by neoconservative discourse with the support of the JDP government as the substitute for gender equality, presented as the fundamental state policy on women's issues. The objective of this study is to analyze this transformation and to clarify the reasons embedded in the discourse of the neoconservatives for this shift. On that account, I have conducted the study from a feminist perspective with the method of critical discourse analysis.

I have demonstrated the distortion of equality into absolute and formal equality and presented the inclusive content of gender equality within the study. As gender equality is a principle that is composed of multidimensional perspectives from different approaches such as equality, difference and transformative, it cannot be disparaged to an absolute or formal form of equality identified with sameness or same treatment. In fact I have shown the formulation of gender equality, starting from the initial women figures studying women and citizenship to provide a basis for the significance of the concept on women's policies. Women have been neglected as citizens and individuals even during the times of revolutions and pushed into the private sphere and identified with the family. Respectively with the

first and second waves of feminism, the struggle of equality has evolved and women have been recognized as equal citizens.

The second wave of feminism has been an era when the struggle was moved beyond equal citizenship and feminists searched for equality on substantive grounds in every area including the private sphere. Women's struggle for equality shifted to gender equality and the recognition of gender discrimination with the impact of international institutions and conventions. CEDAW, being the most comprehensive convention on discrimination against women, adopted gender equality with its general recommendation. Women's rights were recognized as human rights with UN conferences on women. For this reason, I have mentioned the second wave of feminism within this study since it prompted a universal change in women's rights and gender equality was postulated as the fundamental policy concerning women with its impact.

Gender consciousness flourished with the third wave of feminism and gender equality policies began to be implemented by states with the enforcement of international institutions such as the UN, Council of Europe and the EU and the growing women's activism. Hence I have placed the importance and relevance of the conventions of these institutions within the study. It is noteworthy to underline that women's movement was empowered by the collaborations with intergovernmental institutions and the axis of globalization. Although gender equality has been opposed by certain traditionalist and conservative groups, the concept was adopted by various intergovernmental institutions as the key strategy for women's rights. These conservative and fundamentalist movements provide a vital place for this study, regarding that gender justice has instrumentalized various aspects of their strategies.

The New Right policies stemming from the 1980s have been utilized by the neoconservative governments and groups of the 2000s in the West. I have found that these policies were used by the neoconservative government and the discourse in the oppositions against gender equality. The triumph of the New Right on countries like USA with Reagan and Britain with Thatcher impinged on the women's

movement and gender equality in a negative way in the 1980s. These governments which embraced neoliberalism in the market economy along with conservative policies in social and cultural values, positioned women into a familial and national identity as mothers and wives, separating them from equal citizenship and individuality. The strategies of the New Right grew from the 1980s to the 2000s and instrumentalized every aspect and ideology at different times in accordance with their pragmatist character to sustain their powers across Europe. Although the uptrend of New Right governments endured on different foundations depending on geographies, it is a reality that they cultivated antigender movements. As the antigender movements evolved, the protests against antigender evolved as in Ukraine, Poland, Ireland and France. My argument underlines that gender justice approach has instrumentalized strategies from every different group or movement of these groups in Europe. However, the most relevant approach that resembles gender justice accurately is the equity approach of the Vatican.

The Vatican designed an approach of equity between men and women as a strategy against gender equality, in the Conference of Beijing in 1995. Although the approach was formulated as a strategy to challenge birth control, it was supported by religious fundamentalists of Islam in the Conference. Twenty years later, it influenced the neoconservative approach of gender justice in Turkey. Together with the equity approach, gender justice advocates the equivalency and complementarity of men and women, in accordance with the harmony of creation. Women and men are reflected as deficient creatures in nature and to be complemented with marriage and procreation. I have detected that both approaches ground on heteronormativity and biological determinism, often referring to religious texts. The equivalency connotes the sameness in worth of men and women as humans before God but difference in essence for which the adoption of equality would not be accurate in terms of social policy.

Gender justice approach includes a promotion of both protectionism and familialism. Women are considered to be in need for the natural protection of men because of their delicate nature and biological characteristics. This need for protection is consolidated by the paternal state in the public sphere and promoted to

be fulfilled by male figures such as fathers, brothers or husbands in the private sphere. The secondary citizenship of women and privileged abilities and duties of men are justified by religious references from the Koran that positions men as the *primus inter pares* (first among equals). The paternalistic tone is instrumentalized by the neoconservative discourse as if it is in support of women's rights. On the other hand, paternalism is utilized to provide control over women in terms of violence and reproductive rights. Although gender justice has a rigid policy against violence against women and domestic violence in accordance with the legal implementations of JDP government, it is observed that the state makes a distinction in the distribution of justice according to women's sexuality. The patriarchal perception of women's sexuality and masculinity are not abandoned by neoconservatives as seen from the campaigns of KADEM.

Gender justice has common aspects of the religious fundamentalists of Islam and Christianity. Familialism and difference in gender roles are promoted with reference to religion and the creator by both spheres. Men are positioned as the breadwinners while women are burdened to be the caregivers in accordance with their delicate and nurturer nature. It is underlined that, it was the intention of the creator to create two different humans that complement each other and find their true essence. Although it grounds on religious references to Islam, gender justice resembles the equity approach of the Vatican and the antigender movements of Europe more than the balance approach Islamist fundamentalists. The approach promotes equal rights in harmony with the secular Turkish state, but advocates complementarity (difference) in gender roles.

As part of familial and protectionist policies, women's work, education and politics are constructed in relation to family. Women's employment is programmed to fulfill the primary duties of caregiving prior to building careers. Part-time jobs, incentives and maternal leaves are planned to make sure women satisfy their 'natural' duties within the family. Education is prioritized to guarantee a qualified nurturer for the next generations that will maintain the religious and traditional values of the society. Even the headscarf debate is instrumentalized in promoting paternalism and protectionism over women. The same paternalism is perpetuated within politics.

Women are encouraged to enter politics under the paternalist roof of neoconservative men, who are rigidly against legal incentives such as the quota system. The women supporting JDP are mobilized to propagate the presence of the party under the administration of men. When it comes to higher positions in state, they are limited with the construction of the family and children.

I argue that tradition, family and national identity are instrumentalized by the neoconservatives similar to New Right strategies to perpetuate political and social power. Similar to the antigender movements of Europe, gender justice positions women as the caregiver of the family, and family as the primary unit of the society with the sake of protecting the traditional and national identity. The New Right strategies and religion have conjugated in the antigender movements and gender justice approach. Gender justice is a concept that grounds on religion and traditionalism to promote the recognition of differences between men and women to reproduce and consolidate patriarchal gender roles and traditional family and society contrary to gender equality that eliminates discrimination or inequalities deriving from gender. The religious references, strategies and arguments of gender justice resemble various aspects of antigender movements of Europe and the equity approach of the Vatican.

All in all, gender justice is a concept designed by the neoconservative discourse in Turkey to promote the adoption of gender equality on women's issues, which is influenced by the Vatican's equity approach, however adopts certain applicable aspects of Islam into the formation. Nonetheless, the embracement of the neoconservatives of the religious contents do not root in similarity to Islamist fundamentalism but rather to their attribution with religion in their general ideology. The neglect of affiliation with religion in terms of subjects like abortion is a justification of the structure of the neoconservative discourse, especially the government. As being compared to the Christian Democrats of Europe, the promotion of gender justice of the JDP government is relevant and similar to the European anti-gender movements of Christian fundamentalists and their objectives on gender both by the strategies they utilize (eliminating gender centers, condemning international conventions, victimization against an enemy) and the

theoretical base (promoting complementarity, protecting the family and traditional values). The only difference signifies the difference in religion, one being Christianity and the other being Islam.

When the attitudes and policies of the neoconservative discourse and the JDP governments on women and women's rights are evaluated over the years, it is evident that policies have become more rigid and evolved towards a totalitarian level as their dominance expanded. JDP, which was found to resemble the Christian Democrats of Europe by many writers, began to focus more on religious references in accordance with the increase in totalitarianism in party policies. In its previous governments JDP has cooperated with international and intergovernmental organizations such as UN, Council of Europe and EU on women's issues and ratified their conventions such as the Istanbul Convention. Gender equality was embraced as the fundamental approach on women's rights and policies, which was followed by necessary measures to be taken by national legislation. However, as its power increased in the parliament and proportionally in the society, the policies of JDP government shifted consistently. The axis of party policies shifted towards religion and nationalism as the domination area grew in the parliament. The drift in the social and cultural policies have been realized on women's issues and the actors of civil society which were welcomed to cooperate with the government on committees for legal implementations in the early years of the government, were criticized rigorously.

Finally within the last five-six years gender equality has been positioned as a threat for the Turkish society idealized by the neoconservatives over the years. This shift in state policies is actually a common strategy for JDP. The party has utilized a strategy to firstly recognize and adopt an approach approved by the international arena, secondly to construct its own actors on the subject such as NGOs and finally to transform the common concepts in the field to create a new approach fulfilling its standards. Hence gender justice is the reflection of the transformation policy of JDP on women's issues. Ever since the party came into power, the representatives and MPs have been making declarations that position women in the private sphere. Although this identification has been contradicting with the reforms of the

government on improving women's rights such as the reforms in codes during the EU accession period and the ratification of Istanbul Convention, as JDP alienated from the Western allies, the party turned its back on the elimination of gender discrimination. Court decisions, public declarations and reforms on codes have been the subject of discussion on women's rights. I have highlighted in the study that JDP frequently instrumentalizes religion and family for stabilizing its political and social power. As the society adopted into the neoconservative community over the 16 years, women's policies have been transformed by the government.

The accomplishments of women's movement and legal regulations are discussed to be withdrawn such as the Istanbul Convention and new regulations in certain fields such as alimony are being drafted. Women's rights and liberation are only identified with their position within the family as mothers or wives. As the EU accession period is on hold and West is situated as a threat to national identity by neoconservatives, gender equality is targeted to infuse a danger against the Turkish traditional family. The future of women's rights and policies are vague, regarding the debates on gender equality which is the root of women's rights in today's conjuncture. For that reason, I have felt the necessity to focus on the transformation of women's policies and the distortion of gender equality. Despite the fact that it has been promoted by the neoconservatives with the support of JDP government, gender justice has not been studied or analyzed under a comprehensive source in terms of foundation and meaning. Also, the arguments put forward against gender equality were the indicators of a challenging process for feminist accomplishments.

I aimed to foreshadow the abandonment of the principle of equality for women with this study and draw attention to the background movements and approaches to provide a resource for further research and counter arguments. Although the approach does not promote a difference in rights or the abandonment of formal equality, regarding the hesitant nature of the neoconservative sphere on eliminating gender discrimination in the private sphere, it is likely that the abandonment of gender equality will deteriorate women's rights in the society. Furthermore, the ambivalent declarations of the neoconservatives generate a vague ground for the strategies and policies designed on gender justice approach. The current discussions

on Istanbul convention, for instance, imply a deeper conflict between the neoconservative sphere in the future. While I was finalizing the study, a debate has emerged between neoconservative journalists and the representatives of KADEM on the ratification of the Istanbul Convention and its implementation as a threat to heteronormativity and traditional Turkish family. As I have found contradiction between the views of neoconservative women and men on work and domestic labor within the discourse analysis, the disputes have already begun. The severe attitude of neoconservative men on eliminating gender discrimination do not seem to ease and therefore the future of gender justice is ambiguous. However, if gender justice proceeds to be implemented as the fundamental state policy on women's rights, the prime acquisition of women in the Turkish society, has an ambiguous prospect.

Especially taking into account the neoconservative ideology of the party and the increasing authoritarianism in the state, it is not hard to foreshadow the retrogression on women's rights and equality. Gender equality is not only a concept but a symbol of women's equality in the secular system of Turkey. The government's choice of an approach which grounds on theological references for the relationship between men and women over gender equality that is constructed on human rights and modern social science is the reflection of the neoconservatives' interpretation of women. Although 'equivalency' is promoted only for gender roles not rights, the declarations and implementations of the government imply a new era for women. Considering that the acquisitions in women's rights are gradually going backwards, it is conceivable that the concept of gender will moderately be removed in coordination with the equity approach of the Vatican, which is the founding institution of gender justice. For as much as the concept of gender has already been addressed solely in a heteronormative perspective. As it has been seen with many bill drafts during the rule of neoconservatives, the acquisitions of women's movements have been aimed to be transferred step by step within present discourse. Hence it is crucial to underline the efforts on the transformation of gender equality and foreshadow the threats near to come on the gender discourse and women's movement.

Gender justice, although lacking a solid theory or argument, is a crucial concept to be studied especially for feminist researchers. Bearing in mind, the consistency of the impact of neoconservatives on state policies, the fundamental concept of their approach should be analyzed and investigated further. I had certain limitations conducting this study, such as the difficulty in tracing a background for the approach which I could only relate with the equity approach of the Vatican. The multidimensional strategies used by the approach challenged me to provide deeper analysis for every different movement, considering this is a master's thesis. Nevertheless, this study is a comprehensive resource for presenting the origin of gender justice and its relation to international approaches, that might be practical for further studies. A research on the conflict between the neoconservative sphere on gender and legal implementations especially on domestic labor and work would be prosperous and convenient on gender justice. Also the relation of Islam and gender justice could be studied in detail, maybe compared to other approaches of fundamentalists. More in depth assessments of feminist figures on gender justice would comprise an inclusive research. I would recommend to enhance the historical, sociological and political knowledge of the researcher setting about the study to conduct an on to point analysis on a specific aspect of gender justice.

In conclusion, I have focused on the currently formed concept of gender justice that is likely to be the fundamental axis of gender and women's policies in Turkey for the next few years. Gender justice, is the reflection of the patriarchal and authoritarian ideology of the neoconservative discourse on women, designed to promote the abandonment of gender equality. It is based on the equity approach of the Vatican and frequently adopts the strategies of the antigender movements of Europe and New Right policies against gender equality. Although it claims to provide social justice and empowerment of women within the society, in point of fact gender justice reproduces the patriarchal and hegemonic gender roles assigned to men and women. Furthermore the approach justifies the traditional roles such as motherhood or caregiving in the private sphere with references to religious notions and natural and biological differences. Women are positioned within the family instead of situated as independent individuals or citizens and institution of motherhood is glorified to perpetuate the patriarchally attributed gender roles.

Gender justice is a concept originated to provide a substitute of gender equality on women's policies, that stems from the argument of women and men's difference in biological and natural roles. Thus the approach of gender justice, in contrast to gender equality reproduces the traditional gender roles attributed to men and women by the patriarchal society, instrumentalizing religion and family.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Toplumsal cinsiyet eřitlięi, modern dnyada bařta ayrımcılık ve řiddet olmak zere kadınla ilgili konularda anahtar kavram rol oynamaktadır. Her ne kadar kavramın kendisi yzyıllar ncesine dayanmasa da grece kısa tarihine raęmen kadın hareketinin etkisi ve abaları sonucu uluslararası kurumların kavramı benimsemesiyle toplumsal cinsiyet eřitlięi evrensel bir etki yaratmıřtır. Kadın konusundaki tartıřmaların esas aktr olan toplumsal cinsiyet eřitlięi, her ne kadar evrensel olarak temel teori kabul edilse de Trkiye’de son yıllarda ortaya ıkartılan toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramı tarafından dnřtrlmeye alıřılmaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eřitlięinin dnřtrlmesi gereklilięi kavramın kadına karřı yapılan ayrımcılıęa engel olamaması ve gerek anlamda eřitlięi saęlayamaması fikrine dayanır. Bu baęlamda eřitlikle ilgili farklı feminist yaklařımların tartıřmalarına gz atmamak ihtiyaı doęmuřtur. Toplumsal cinsiyet eřitlięini, karřıt kavram olarak ele alan yenimuhafazakar yaklařıma gre eřitlik, aynılık anlamına gelmektedir. Bir bařka deyiřle eřitlik, ancak iki aynı kiři veya varlık arasında tahsis edilebilecek bir statdr. Zira bu anlayıř her řart, durum, davranıř ve fırsatın birebir aynı olması ve uygulanmasını eřitlik kavramı olarak kabul etmiřtir. Eřitlik, bu baęlamda yalnızca formal eřitlik ve mutlak eřitlik tanımıyla ele alınmıřtır. Oysa bu alıřma eřitlięin aynılık olarak tanımlanamayacaęı, dolayısıyla aynılar arasında gerekleřtirilebilen bir stat olmadıęını savunmaktadır. Bu baęlamda eřitlięin esaslarının daha iyi anlařılması iin konuya iliřkin eřitlik eřitleri incelenerek eřitlięin aynılıktan te bir deęer olduęu gsterilmiřtir.

Eřitlięin aynılık tesinde bir kavram olduęu ile birlikte toplumsal cinsiyet eřitlięinin kadın mcadelesinde neden ve nasıl esas aktr olduęunun net anlařılması aısından

tarihi ve ortaya çıkışından bahsedilmiştir. Fransız Devrimi ile başlayan tarihteki özgürlük ve eşitlik hareketlerinde kadınların katılımının önemi ve fakat devamında göremediği değer ve elde edemediği haklar sonucunda oluşturulan ilk dökümanlardan ve kadın hareketinin temeli kabul edilen bu belgeleri yazan kadınlardan bahsedilmiştir. Her ne kadar henüz toplumsal cinsiyet kavramı oluşmamış olsa da feminizmin temelini oluşturan ve kadın hareketinin fitilini ateşleyen birinci dalga feministlerin kanuni eşitlik bağlamında verdiği mücadele ve haklar incelenmiştir. Bazı feminist yazarlar tarafından günümüzün feminist söyleminin temelini oluşturan ikinci dalga farklı yaklaşımlar bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Farklılık ve eşitlik yaklaşımları arasında gelişen ‘Wollstonecraft İkilemi’, günümüzde kullanılan anlamıyla toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin şekillenmesinde etkili olmuştur. Eşitlik feminizmi birinci dalgadan itibaren geliştirilmiş olan formal eşitlik ve kadın ve erkeğin eşit vatandaş olma fikrine dayanan bir yaklaşım olarak karşımıza çıkar. Farklılık feminizmi ise ikinci dalga feminist hareket tarafından geliştirilmiş ve kadın ve erkeğin farklılıklarının var olduğunu, kadınların farklılıklarının değerinin bilinmesi gerektiğini savunmuştur. Eşitlik feministlerinin formal eşitlik üzerinde yoğunlaşarak, kadın ve erkek arasındaki farklılıkları yok sayması, farklılık feminizminin ise farklılıkları tek başına ele alması eleştirilen yönleri olmuştur. Her iki anlayışın da eleştirilen noktaları dikkate alınarak dönüştürücü yaklaşım geliştirilmiş ve üç yaklaşım birlikte benimsenmiştir. Dönüştürücü yaklaşım bu noktada ortaya çıkmış ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılığın ortadan kaldırılması için formal eşitlik ve tanınma politikaların yanı sıra kurumsal ve stratejiler bağlamında dönüşümün benimsenmesi gerektiğini savunmuştur. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği eşitlik, farklılık ve dönüştürücü yaklaşımların üçünü de içeren, uygulanabilir ve geliştirici olma özelliğini taşıyan bir kavram olarak şekillenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği kavramının feministler tarafından benimsenmesiyle hareketin artık salt bir formal eşitlik meselesi olmadığı, kadın ve erkek kavramlarının biyolojik temellerinin ötesinde toplumsal kod ve rollerden de etkilendiği anlaşılmıştır. Böylece kadın hareketinin eksenini hak kazanımından

toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin değişimine ve toplumsal cinsiyet temelli ayrımcılığın ortadan kaldırılması mücadelesine dönüşmüştür¹³⁹.

Globalleşme ve medyanın yükselişiyle birlikte üçüncü dalga öncekilerden daha hızlı ve etkin bir şekilde evrenselleşmiş, sahip olduğu davranış, değer ve tutumlardan ötürü onlardan bariz bir şekilde ayrılmıştır. Üçüncü dalga feminizm, çok yönlü, feminist kalıpları ve önyargıları yıkan, kapsayıcı bir hareket olarak yayılmıştır. Daha önce ihmal edildiği iddia edilen ırk, etnisite ve sınıf gibi kavramların tanınması ile birlikte feminizm tabana yayılmış ve farklı feminizmlerin oluşması ile sonuçlanmıştır. Hatta karşıt hareketlerin etkisiyle zayıflatılmaya çalışılan ikinci dalga feminizmin devamlılığını siyahi feministlerin sağladığı konuşulmuştur. Üçüncü dalganın en önemli getirilerinden biri kadın meselesine batı merkezli bakış açısı dışında yeni bir soluk getirmesi ve farklı bölgelerde, farklı etnisite ve inançlardaki kadınların hak ve özgürlük mücadelelerinde varlık göstermesi olmuştur. Bu bağlamda tek tip kadın olmadığı, dolayısıyla tek tip talep olamayacağı gibi ayrımcılığın da tek boyutlu olmadığı fikri kabul edilmiş ve kesişimsellik kavramı doğmuştur. Özellikle siyahi feministlerin etkisiyle kadına karşı yapılan çok boyutlu ayrımcılık tanınmış, uluslararası mücadele kesişimsellik ve farklılıkların tanınması boyutuyla şekillenmeye devam etmiştir.

Üçüncü dalganın globalleşme ekseninde gerçekleştiği, dolayısıyla uluslararası kurumlarla işbirliği içinde varlığını güçlendirdiği de bir gerçektir. İşte bu işbirliği ile toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği sadece sokak hareketlerinde veya feminist çevrede kalmamış, devlet ve kurum politikalarına da aktarılmıştır. Feminist mücadele ve kadın hareketinin etkisinde kalan uluslararası kurumlarda kadınlara yönelik ayrımcılık ile ilgili yapılan düzenlemeler, gölge rapor ve ekler ile genişletilmiş ve devlet politikalarına empoze edilmiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği'ne ilişkin görüşmeler sırasında, kavram gelenekselci ve muhafazakar birçok çevre tarafından tartışmaya açılmış ve yine bu çevreler tarafından karşıt olarak konunlandırılmıştır. Ancak bu itirazlar, destekler kadar etkili olmamış ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği başta

¹³⁹ Her ne kadar 1960 ve 1970'lerde şekillenen ikinci dalga feminizm, lgbti hak ve meselelerini de içine alsada, çalışmanın konusu olan söylem bu çevreyi ele almadığından bu çalışmada hareketin o boyutuna değinilmeyecektir.

Birleşmiş Milletler olmak üzere bir çok devletlerarası kuruluş tarafından esas politika kabul edilip üye devletlere empoze edilmiştir.

Birleşmiş Milletler'in toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini devletlere uygulatma politikası yalnızca bir tavsiyeden öte onlara bu ilkeyi formal ve toplumsal olarak da benimseyecek şekilde düzenlemeler getirerek zorunluluk haline getirmiştir. BM tarafından programlanan ve dört ayrı konferans olarak ele alınan kadın konusu ile ilgili yasal düzenlemelerin başında 1976 yılında düzenlenen CEDAW gelmektedir. CEDAW günümüzde hala toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği bağlamında düzenlenmiş en kapsamlı sözleşme olmakla birlikte, kabul eden ülke sayısı bakımından en geniş çapta etkiye sahip olandır. CEDAW'ı zamanla tavsiye kararlar izlemiş, ülkelerin sözleşmeye uygun olarak kanunlarında düzenlemeye gitmesiyle toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin içselleştirilmesi amaçlanmıştır. İlk düzenlendiği ve kabul edildiğinde toplumsal cinsiyet yerine kadın kavramını benimseyen CEDAW, tavsiye kararları ile daha sonra toplumsal cinsiyet kavramına adapte edilmiş ve bu kavramı politikalarının temeli kabul etmiştir. 1990'lardan itibaren BM, toplumsal cinsiyetin anaakımlaştırılmasını resmi politikası olarak kabul ederek kuruluşları aracılığıyla devletlere de teşvik etmiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyetin anaakımlaştırılması her ne kadar bir çok feminist yazar tarafından küreselleşmenin etkisiyle kadın hareketinin radikalliğini ve sokaktaki özgürlüğünü kısıtlamış olmakla itham edilse de, ülkelerdeki yasal uygulamaların toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği bağlamında şekillenmesinde, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılığın ortadan kaldırılmasında ve kadının toplumsal konumunun yükseltilmesi bağlamındaki pozitif ayrımcılık uygulamalarını zorunlu hale getirmesiyle etkili olmuştur.

Tarihte, her ortaya çıkan kavramın beraberinde karşıt hareketlerin ve itirazların oluşması da olağandır. Genel geçer olarak toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği de tarih boyunca karşıt hareketler ve saldırılarla karşılaşmıştır. Bu hareketler ikinci dalga feminizmden başlayarak dönemsel olarak günümüze kadar uzanmıştır. İkinci dalga feministlerin mücadelesi sonucunda karşılaştıkları yoğun karşıt hareketler ERA etrafında yoğunlaşıp, özellikle ABD'de kürtaj karşıtlığı ekseninde şekillense de üçüncü dalgaya kadar kadın hareketinin feminizm adından uzaklaşmasında önemli bir etken olmuştur. Bu durum kadın haklarını benimseyen birçok kadının kendini

feminist olarak tanımlamaktan çekinmesine de sebep olmuştur. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine yönelik ulusal ve uluslararası bir karşıtlık ve dönüştürme politikası geliştirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda 1970'lerin sonundan başlayıp özellikle 1980'lerde varlığını güçlendiren Yeni Sağ hükümetlerin etkisi önemli olmuştur. Ekonomide neoliberalizm ekseninde ilerleyip özelleştirmeleri ve vergilerin azaltılmasını teşvik eden Yeni Sağ yaklaşımı, sosyal ve kültürel politika olarak muhafazakar ve geleneksel bir anlayışa sahiptir. ABD'de Reagan ve İngiltere'de Thatcher hükümetlerinin güç kazanmasıyla Yeni Sağ'ın etkisi yükselmiş ve sosyal devlet politikalarının yerine aile, millet ve toplum kavramları ön plana çıkartılmıştır. Yeni Sağ politikaların benimsenmesi kadınların başını çektiği, toplumun belirli kesimlerini doğrudan etkilemiştir. Bununla birlikte muhafazakar ve gelenekçi grupların karşıt hareketlerini izleyen dönemde uluslararası kuruluşların konferansları ve işbirliği devam etmiş, Birleşmiş Milletler'in dört büyük kadın konferansı 1970'lerden 1990'ların sonuna dek sürmüştür. Toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramı için büyük önem taşıyan bir karşıt yaklaşım Birleşmiş Milletler'in 1995 yılındaki konferansında geliştirilmiştir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine karşıt uluslararası platformda formüle edilen belirgin yaklaşımlardan biri Vatikan'ın bazı İslam ülkeleriyle işbirliği yaparak 1995 yılında BM Pekin Konferansı'nda ortaya attığı eşitlik yerine eşdeğerlik yaklaşımı olmuştur. Vatikan'ın yaklaşımı kadın ve erkeğin doğuştan farklı yaratıldığını savunarak eşitlik temelli yaklaşımlar yerine tamamlayıcılığı savunan bir anlayışı ön plana çıkarmıştır. Bu yaklaşıma göre kadın ve erkek insan olarak eşit değere sahip olsalar da yaradılıştan gelen farklı özlere sahiptir. İnsanların doğuştan eksik yaratıldığının ve kadın ve erkeğin ancak evlilik, aile gibi kurumlarla özlerini tamamlayabileceğinin altı çizilmektedir. Bu bağlamda kadının annelik ve bakıcılık rolü yüceltilmekte ve çocukların varlığı hem dini ve geleneksel değerlerin devamı hem de insan yaradılışının temel sebebi olarak teşvik edilmektedir. Vatikan'ın 1995 yılında uluslararası platformu tanıştırdığı bu eşdeğerlik yaklaşımının asıl sebebinin doğum kontrolü karşıtlığı ve üreme politikalarının kısıtlanması olması sebebi olduğu ve kendisinin bu nedenle sık sık aile ve ebeveynlik gibi değerleri yücelttiği görülebilir. Kadınların iş hayatında yer alması veya güçlendirilmesi açısından herhangi bir itiraz veya karşıtlık ileri sürmeyen eşdeğerlik yaklaşımı, ataerkil güç ilişkilerinin

devamını kadınların birincil görevini biyolojik indirgemeciliğe dayandırarak belirlemiştir. Buna göre kadın birincil görevi olan annelik ve bakıcılık görevlerini yerine getirdiği sürece toplumsal alanda yer almasında bir sınır gözetilmemektedir.

Vatikan'ın biyolojik indirgemeciliğine benzer bir yaklaşım İran'ın köktencileri tarafından denge yaklaşımı olarak anlatılmıştır. Kadın ve erkeğin doğuştan farklı yaratıldığına dikkat çeken bu yaklaşım toplumsal, yasal ve ekonomik politikaların tamamıyla bu farklılıklara göre şekillendirilmesi gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Bu açıdan kadının çalışma hayatı, oy ve boşanma hakları gibi yasal haklarına da sınırlama getirerek Vatikan'ın yaklaşımından uzaklaşmakta, daha totaliter bir perspektife sahip olmaktadır. İslam'a yapılan referanslar ve erkeğin kadının koruyucusu olarak resmedilmesi Türkiye'deki toplumsal cinsiyet kavramı açısından benzerlik göstermektedir. Ancak Türkiye'de tanıtılan toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramına temel oluşturabilecek hareket ve yaklaşımlar İslam dünyasından çok Batıdaki toplumsal cinsiyet karşıtı, 1980'lerden beri sosyal devletin terkedilmesiyle güçlenmeye başlayan Yeni Sağ hareketler olarak gösterilebilir.

Neoliberalizm ve yenimuhafazakarlık kesişimiyle şekillenen yeni-sağ, ekonomide sınırlı devlet kontrollü liberal ekonomiyi, sınırlı vergiyi ve devlet kurumlarında küçülmeyi özelleştirmeye savunurken, toplumsal ve sosyal politikalarda gelenekçi ve muhafazakar bir bakış açısına sahiptir. Yeni Sağ bir ideoloji olmaktan çok faydacı bir yaklaşım olarak değerlendirilmekte, bu nedenle Yeni Sağ hükümetler farklı ideolojilerin farklı özelliklerini ihtiyaç halinde politikalarına adapte edebilmektedirler. ABD'de Reagan, İngiltere'de Thatcher gibi hükümetlerin iktidara gelmesiyle yükseliş gösteren Yeni Sağ, sosyal devletin eksikliğini kapatmak amacıyla aile ve ailecilik politikalarını teşvik etmiş, bu bağlamda bakım politikaları kadınlara yüklenmiştir. Böylece kadın özel alanda konumlandırılmış, yeni-sağ hükümetler tarafından annelik ve geleneksel aileyi yücelten ve teşvik eden devlet politikaları kabul edilmiştir. Yeni Sağ yaklaşımı din, milliyetçilik ve gelenekselliği ekonomik ve politik gücünü devam ettirmek ve sağlamlaştırmak için araçsallaştırmıştır. Kadınların temelinde yer aldığı bu gelenekçilik ve ailecilik politikalarına tehdit olarak kabul edilen toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği kavramı, Yeni Sağ hükümetlerin ve grupların birincil hedefi olmuştur. 1995'te Vatikan'ın dini

öğelerle süslediği ailecilik ve kutsal annelik, 2010'lu yıllara değin değişik formlar göstererek ilerlemiş, ancak son yıllar içerisinde özellikle Batı dünyasında yükselişe geçmiştir. Yeni Sağ'ın populist dil ve stratejilerini kullanan bu hareketler, varlık gösterdikleri her ülkede o toplumun hassas değer ve inançlarına yönelik olarak bir planlama gerçekleştirmiştir. Örneğin, laikliği içselleştirmiş Fransa'da Fransız kimliği ve milliyetçilik üzerinden şekillendirilen toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği karşıtlığı, Ukrayna'da geleneksel ailenin korunması ve Polonya, İtalya gibi ülkelerde dini değerlerin korunması altında toplanmıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği yeni Sağ politikalarla toplumun bam teline değen bir kavram olarak sunulmuş ve karşıt hareketler ülkeden ülkeye yayılma göstermiştir.

Avrupa'da günden güne etkisini arttıran toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği karşıtı hareket son yıllarda yenimuhafazakar AKP hükümetinin de destekleriyle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Kadın ve erkek eşitliği resmi olarak cumhuriyet döneminde uluslararası söylemden ilk defa bu kadar uzaklaşma eğilimi göstermiştir. Türkiye'de kadın hareketi cumhuriyet döneminde feminist hareket olarak anılmaya başlanmadan önce kanuni eşitliğin getirdiği ekseninde şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Cumhuriyet ile birlikte gelen seçme, seçilme hakkı gibi temel vatandaşlık haklarının yanı sıra medeni kanunun kabulüyle elde edilen eşit yasalar kadın haklarının taleplerinin oluşmasına temel oluşturmuştur. Her ne kadar kadın hareketi cumhuriyetin ilk dönemlerinden itibaren sürse de 68 kuşağı ve dünyadaki özgürleştirici öğrenci hareketlerine kadar bir gelişme gösterememiştir. Dünyadaki ikinci dalga feminist hareket Türkiye'de 1970'lerin sonu 1980'lerin başı gibi etki sağlamaya başlamış, ancak çoğu yazarın da içinde bulunduğu bu hareketi tanımladığı üzere orta sınıf, eğitimli kadının ilgi alanı olarak sınırlı kalmıştır. İkinci dalga feministlerin bilinç yükseltme gruplarından etkilenen bu kadınlar, aralarında toplantılar düzenleyerek kavram sorgulamaları yapmışlar, zamanla bu toplantılar giderek büyümüştür. 1990'lara yaklaşıldığında Türkiye'de kadının en belirgin ve acil sorunlarının başında gelen şiddet, her sınıftan kadını bir araya getirmiş ve "Dayağa Karşı Yürüyüş" ile Türkiye tarihindeki en büyük kadın hakları eylemine dönüştürmüştür. Aile içi şiddet ve kadına yönelik şiddet'e ilişkin düzenlenen bu toplanma 1990'ların sonuna gelindiğinde bir çok sivil toplum örgütünün yer aldığı güçlü bir kadın hareketine dönüşmüştür. Uluslararası söylem ve kurumlarla paralel

giden bu hareket, içinde farklı unsurlar barındırdığından gruplara dağılsa da şiddet ve hak kazanımı söz konusu olduğunda bir araya gelerek yasal reformlar için ciddi bir baskı oluşturmuştur. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin kabul edilmesi 1990'ların sonundan başlayıp 2000'lerin başına dek süren AB uyum sürecinin ve feminist hareketin güçlenmesinin de etkisinde kalarak kanunlarda yapılan değişiklikler ile gerçekleşmiştir. Bu yasa reformları sayesinde akademik çevrede varlığını sürdüren toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği kavramı devletin kurum, kuruluşları ve mahkemeler tarafından benimsenerek bütüncülleşmiştir. Bu bağlamda AB uyum süreci ile ortadan kaldırılan cinsiyetçi ve kadını birey olarak kabul etmeyen yasal reformların ele alınması, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği kavramının Türk kanun ve kurumları önünde kadının konumu güçlendirme ve geliştirmede etkisini sergilemek açısından önemlidir.

Türkiye'de 2002 yılından beri tek başına iktidar olarak hakimiyetini sürdüren AKP'nin etkisiyle, yenimufazakarlık ve neoliberalizm esaslarına dayanan bir söylem yükselmiştir. Bu söylem ilk yılları ile son yılları arasında, partinin toplumsal, politik ve ekonomik hakimiyet düzeyine dayanarak farklılık göstermiştir. İktidarın ilk yıllarında kadın politikalarında uluslararası anlaşmalarda destekçi olarak yer alan bu yaklaşım, son yıllarda temel kavram olan toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini karşıt politika olarak konulandırmıştır. Yenimuhafazakar anlayışın sivil toplumdaki temsilcileri tarafından toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği yerine kadın politikalarında kabul edilmek üzere toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramı formüle edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada yenimuhafazakar söylemin yakın zamanda toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini yetersiz ve türk toplumuyla uyumsuz bularak eşitlik yerine tamamlayıcılık ekseninde gelişen toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramını adapte etme süreci yakından incelenmiştir.

Gerek devlet temsilcileri, hükümete yakın fikirlere sahip gazeteciler, yenimuhafazakar akademisyenler, gerekse hükümet destekli sivil toplum örgütlerinin söylemlerine göre toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği yaklaşımı eşitliğin kadın ve erkek doğasına aykırı, yaratılıştan gelen özellikleri gözardı eden, kadın ve erkeği rakip haline getiren bir yapıya sahiptir. Toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramı, bu sebeple türk toplumunun değer ve inançlarına uygun, yaratılıştan gelen özellikleri benimseyen ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin adil dağıtımını sağlayan böylece kadına

toplumda adil bir değer sağlayacak bir anlayıştır. Kavramı ortaya çıkaran yenimuhazafakar anlayışın savunucuları sık sık fitrat'a değinerek dinden örnekler vermekte ve kadın ve erkek arasındaki ilişkiyi her alanda yaradılışçı bir yaklaşımla düzenlemektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramının içeriği incelendiğinde kadın ve erkek arasındaki biyolojik farklılıkların sürekli olarak ön plana çıkarılması sonucu bir dikotomi yaratıldığı ve böylece mevcut olan ataerkil yapının ve güç ilişkilerinin yeniden üretiminin söz konusu olduğu görülmektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramına göre kadın ve erkeği eşit değildir aksine, erkek 'primus inter pares' özelliğe sahiptir. Buna göre kadın ise yaradılıştan korunmaya muhtaç konumlandırılmakta ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin adil dağıtımı adı altında ataerkil toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri yeniden üretilmektedir. Bu çalışmada toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği'nin aynılar arasında uygulanabilecek bir kavram olduğu iddiası çürütülerek, eşitlik temelli yaklaşımların kadına dezavantaj yarattığına karşı çıkılmış, bunun yanı sıra söylem tarafından hedef alınan eşitlik çeşidinin yalnızca formal eşitlik olduğu yinelenmiştir. Bununla beraber toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği'nin gerek uluslararası kuruluşlar, gerekse söylem tarafından benimsenen günümüzdeki tanımının farklılıkları benimseyerek sağlanacak eşitlik olduğu, yani kesişimselliği tanıdığı ve bu unsurları gözeterek hem formal hem de toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri bakımından eşitliği sağlamayı amaçladığı gösterilmiştir.

Din ve toplumsal değerler çerçevesinden kadın ve erkek yapısına bakan yenimuhafazakar anlayış, toplumsal rollerin tahsisinde eşit olmayan fakat adil anlayışı biyolojik etkenlere bağlayarak annelik ve aile gibi kurumlarla temellendirmeye çalışmıştır. Oysa toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği fikri kadına pozitif ayrımcılık gibi aracı kullanarak erkek ile eşitlemeyi hedef alan, bu bağlamda toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini, ona sağladığı dezavantajı göz önüne alarak ortadan kaldırmayı amaçlayan bir kavramdır. Bu anlayış kadının dezavantajlı konuma gelmesinde baştaki sebep olan toplumsal rol ve ataerkil yargıları elimine etmeksizin, adil bir toplumsal rol dağıtımı altında var olan hegemonik ve ataerkil rolleri, kadının korunmasının yaradılıştan gelen bir ihtiyaç ve erkeğin görevi olmasına dayandırarak yeniden üretmektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği'nin kadın ve erkeği rakip olarak konumlandığı ve yaradılıştan gelen tamamlayıcılık prensibine karşı çıktığı algısı bu patriarkal rolleri dönüştürmek yerine başka bir boyut veya kostüm altında

saklayarak pekiştirmek amacı taşımaktadır. Söylemin analiz edilmesi sonucu bu amaç özellikle annelik ve aile kurumları üzerinden kimi zaman açıkça belirtilse de kimi zaman saklı anlamlarla kamufle edilmiştir.

Annelik ve ailenin yüceltilmesi kadının birey ve vatandaş olarak ele alınmasına karşı yenimuhafazakar söylemin Yeni Sağ stratejilerinden sıkça kullandığı bir yaklaşım olmakla birlikte Avrupa'daki toplumsal cinsiyet karşıtı hareketler ve Vatikan tarafından da sık.a kullanılmıştır. Anneliğin kadın için vazgeçilmez bir değer olduğu ve çocukların insanların yaratılıştan gelen eksikliği tamamlayacağı savunulmuştur. Kısacası kadının birincil görevi annelik ve evlilikten doğan sorumluluklar olarak yansıtılmıştır. Erkeğin aksine kadın önce anne olarak konumlandırılmış ve kadın politikaları kadını birey yerine bir kurumun parçası ve ögesi şeklinde ele almıştır. Kadının güçlendirilmesi, eğitimi ve çalışması sırayla aile ve toplumun güçlendirilmesi ve geliştirilmesiyle bağdaştırılmış, bir nevi araç olarak görülmüştür. Kadını araçsallaştıran bu yaklaşım rollerin dağılımında adalet kavramı üzerinden yürümüş, adaleti yaratıcı tarafından dağıtılan en önemli değer ve erdem olarak sunmuştur. Eşitliğin aksine adalet kutsanmış ve adalet olmaksızın eşitliğin de olamayacağı belirtilirken, eşitliğin ancak yaratılıştan aynı olanlar arasında savunulabileceği belirtilmiştir. Her ne kadar kadının farklı yaratılmasına rağmen erkeğe karşı ikincil konumda olarak kabul edilmediği iddia edilse de anlayışın temsilcileri tarafından erkeğe kadını koruma görevi verildiği ve 'primus inter pares' olarak nitelendirildiği açıkça belirtilmiştir. Erkeğe yaratılıştan verilen bu sorumluluklar, verilen kanuni ve toplumsal ayrıcalıkların mazereti olarak gösterilmiştir.

Bu çalışma, son yıllarda sıkça kullanılan ve geliştirilen toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramının içeriğinin ve kadını nasıl konumlandığını incelemesi ve sunması açısından önem taşımaktadır. Türkiye'de yıllar boyunca toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği üzerinden yürütülen kadın hareketinin, dönüştürülmesi sonucunda oluşan bu kavramın yenimuhafazakarların iktidarı süresince kadına ilişkin konuların temel politikası olduğu ve olacağı göze alındığında, onu inceleyen kapsamlı bir çalışmaya ihtiyaç duyulacağı kesindir. Bu bağlamda, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği perspektifi ve feminist yaklaşım ile, adalet temelli olduğu ve kadının konumunu geliştirmeye ve

yükseltmeye hizmet edeceği iddia edilen kavramın incelemesini sunmak, oluşturulabilecek kavram karmaşalarını önlemek açısından önemlidir. Toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti ile ilgili gelecekte yapılabilecek çalışmalar açısından kavramın temellerini ve içeriğine ilişkin yapıları bütünlük içinde incelemesi bu çalışmanın güçlü yanını teşkil etmektedir. Ve fakat kavramın yeni oluşmuş olması ve muhafazakar çevrelerle sınırlı kalması sebebiyle net olarak anlam, içerik ve kendine özgü bir literatüre sahip olmaması çalışmanın yürütülmesini sınırlamıştır. Bunun yanı sıra bahsedilen amaçlar ve kavramlar ile gerçekleştirilen politika ve söyleşilerin çelişki göstermesi, grubun bakış açısının ve kavramın kafada şekillenmesini güçleştirmektedir. Genel olarak özetlemek gerekirse, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine karşı Vatikan'ın eşdeğerlik yaklaşımından etkilenecek oluşturulmuş ve Avrupa'daki toplumsal cinsiyet karşıtı hareketlerin stratejilerini kullanarak yenimuhafazakarların çeşitli platformlarındaki söylemleri aracılığıyla yayılmış, fakat güçlü bir teori veya temele dayanmayan toplumsal cinsiyet adaleti kavramı, kadına atfedilen ataerkil toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini pekiştirmektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet adaletinin anahtar kavram kabul edilmesiyle Türkiye'nin kadın hakları ve eşitliğine ilişkin politikaları uluslararası söylemden farklı bir boyuta geçecektir. Bu tez yenimuhafazakar çevre tarafından oluşturulan toplumsal cinsiyet adaletinin kavramsal incelemesi ve söylem analizini birlikte kullanarak daha geniş bir çalışma sunmaktadır.

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Adı / Name : Elif

Bölümü / Department : Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları

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