

IMPACT OF GENDER AND SOCIAL CLASS IN USAGE OF MUNICIPAL  
SERVICES: TUZLA MUNICIPALITY CASE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

KÜBRA GACAL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC  
ADMINISTRATION

APRIL 2017











Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ  
Director

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

---

Prof. Dr. Ayşe AYATA  
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.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay YAVUZ  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Prof. Dr. Ayşe AYATA	(METU, ADM)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay YAVUZ	(METU, ADM)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Ahu SUMBAS	(H.U, SBKY)	_____









**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 : Kübra GACAL

Signature :

## ABSTRACT

### IMPACT OF GENDER AND SOCIAL-CLASS IN USAGE OF MUNICIPAL SERVICES: TUZLA MUNICIPALITY CASE

Gacal, Kübra

M. S., Department of Political Science And Public Administration

Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay Yavuz

April 2017, 198 pages

Local politics is closer to citizens in both social and spatial sense than central politics. Citizens' daily lives are directly influenced by local policies so local governments have significant potential to make effective and efficient policies in order to solve local residents' problems and to meet their expectations. Similarly, importance of local governments in providing gender sensitive public policies has been frequently highlighted. Municipalities as the main carriers of local services have been regarded as significant institutions in emancipating women from gender burdens, because gender inequalities occur with their most tangible forms in daily life practices, that is, at the local level. Since many women spend most of their times around their neighbourhoods, insufficiently provided services at the local level mostly influence women. Accordingly, municipal services carry a different meaning and more importance for women in comparison with men. At this point, mainstreaming gender sensitive approach into whole local services is crucial. This

emphasis has been made in the related literature by mainly focusing on women's needs and interests different from men. On the other hand, the argument that women experience gender inequalities in different conditions and at different levels, therefore needs, expectations and problems differ among women themselves as well as from men is another matter emphasized in the feminist theory. According to that, gender inequalities and needs can be analyzed truly only when other factors' effects are taken into account. This emphasis has also been reflected on the gender equality policy debates. Such an approach is important because it both avoids homogenizing women's needs and provides a comprehensive framework for developing more suitable gender sensitive policies. In this context, this thesis tries to reveal similar and different expectations, needs and problems of women about the municipal services, and effects of those services on women coming from different conditions. For this, it focuses on the interrelated effects of social-class and gender on the interaction between women and municipal services. Around this aim, it makes a comparative analysis by studying two neighbourhoods located in the Tuzla District municipality, namely Orhanlı and Postane. Findings from the in-dept interviews with women having different socio-economic situations are evaluated.

**Keywords:** Municipal Services, Gender, Social Class, Gender Sensitive Approach.

## ÖZ

### BELEDİYE HİZMETLERİNİN KULLANIMINDA TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYETİN VE SINIFIN ETKİSİ: TUZLA BELEDİYESİ ÖRNEĞİ

Gacal, Kübra

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi Ve Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi : Doç. Dr. Nilay Yavuz

Nisan 2017, 198 sayfa

Yerel siyaset hem toplumsal hem de mekansal olarak vatandaşlara ulusal siyasetten daha yakındır. Vatandaşların gündelik hayatları yerel politikalardan doğrudan etkilenir. Bu nedenle yerel yönetimler, yerel halkın sorunlarını çözmek ve beklentilerini karşılamak amacıyla etkili ve etkin politikalar üretmede önemli bir potansiyele sahiptir. Benzer şekilde, toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı kamu politikaları sunmada yerel yönetimlerin öneminin sıklıkla altı çizilmektedir. Yerel hizmetlerin ana taşıyıcısı olan belediyeler, kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet yüklerinden kurtulmasında önemli kurumlar olarak görülür. Çünkü toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri en somut biçimiyle gündelik yaşam pratiklerinde yani yerel düzeyde meydana gelir. Kadınlar çoğu vaktini ikamet ettikleri mahallelerde geçirdiğinden yerel düzeyde sunulmayan ya da eksik sunulan hizmetler daha çok onları etkiler. Dolayısıyla, belediye hizmetleri erkeklere kıyasla kadınlar için daha farklı bir anlam ve daha fazla önem taşır. Bu noktada, toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı yaklaşımı tüm

yerel hizmetlerde yaygın hale getirmek hayati öneme sahiptir. İlgili yazında bu vurgu, daha çok kadınların erkeklerden farklı ihtiyaçları ve çıkarlarına odaklanarak yapılır. Öte yandan, kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini farklı koşullarda ve düzeylerde yaşadığı bu nedenle de ihtiyaçların, beklentilerin ve sorunların erkeklerden olduğu kadar kadınların kendi içinde de farklılaştığı argümanı feminist teori içinde vurgulanan bir diğer husustur. Buna göre, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri ve ihtiyaçları yalnızca diğer faktörlerin etkisi de göz önünde tutulduğunda tam olarak analiz edilebilir. Bu vurgu aynı zamanda toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği politikaları tartışmalarına da yansımıştır. Böyle bir yaklaşım önemlidir çünkü hem kadınların ihtiyaçlarını aynılaştırmaktan kaçınır hem de bu hususta daha elverişli politikaların geliştirilmesi için geniş bir çerçeve sunar. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmada kadınların belediye hizmetleriyle ilgili farklı ve benzer beklentileri, ihtiyaçları ve sorunları, bu hizmetlerin farklı konumlardan gelen kadınlar üzerindeki etkileri ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunun için, toplumsal cinsiyetin ve sınıfın kadınların belediye hizmetleriyle ilişkisi üzerindeki karşılıklı etkileri üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu amaç etrafında, Tuzla ilçe belediyesinde yer alan iki mahalleyle çalışılarak karşılaştırmalı bir analiz yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonunda, farklı sosyo-ekonomik koşullardan gelen kadınlarla yapılan derinlemesine mülakatların sonuçları değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Belediye Hizmetleri, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Sınıf, Toplumsal Cinsiyete Duyarlı Yaklaşım.



*To all women...*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many valuable people to thank for encouraging and helping me during my thesis. First of all, I would like to express gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay Yavuz. During this study, she consistently and patiently encouraged me with her invaluable support and helped me whenever I ran into a difficulty. This thesis would not have been completed without her guidance, support and instructive comments.

I am also thankful to the members of my thesis committee, Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ayata and Assist. Prof. Dr. Ahu Sumbas. Especially, I am deeply indebted to Assist. Prof. Dr. Ahu Sumbas for inspiring me to choose this topic. Through my undergraduate term in Hacettepe University, she guided me academically with her studies. My first enthusiasm to study on the topic of “Local Governments and Gender Sensitive Policies” began with her lecture. Her invaluable contribution to me about this topic is the main source of this thesis. Furthermore, I wish to thank all instructors I had chance to take their lectures during both my undergraduate and graduate term. All critical aspects of this study were made step by step during these lectures. I am really lucky for being student in both Hacettepe and METU.

In addition, I am grateful to all the female interviewees for sparing their times to me. It would be impossible to reach crucial implications of this study without their narratives. I owe them a debt of gratitude for not only sharing their comments with me but also hosting me during the interviews. Also thanks to Derya Bacacı, municipal councilor in Tuzla District Municipality, for her valuable support to find women interviewed with.

I would like to thank my friends I met in Hacettepe and METU. Firstly, thanks to Pınar Tursun and Feyza Çıkınlar, my best friends, for your heartfelt friendship and

motivations. I also wish to express my gratitude to my fellow graduate student and kind-hearted roommate, Cansu Çeliker, for her support and irreplaceable friendship.

I wish express my very profound gratitude to my family. My mother, Safiye Gacal, my father, Şaban Gacal and my sister, Gülşah Gacal, encouraged me throughout my all education life. They do not refrain to their spiritual support on me through writing of this thesis. Without my mother's unique efforts and compassion, I could not have been managed to overcome many difficulties. They are always source of endless support and love for me.

Finally, the biggest and deepest thanks go to Tarık Davutoğlu for his countless love, unfailing support and encouragement. In every process of this study, he always made me feel that his support and concern with me. From the beginning to the end of this thesis, he has become one of my advisor and work hard with me. His motivation and effort was the biggest assistance in completing my thesis. I have no doubt this will never change in my all life.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION .....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	xi
LIST OF TABLES .....	xv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xvii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	xviii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. DEBATES ON DIFFERENT FORMS OF WOMEN’S OPPRESSION AND GENDER IN FEMINIST THEORY .....	7
Introduction .....	7
2.1 Early Period Debates of Feminist Theory on Women’s Oppression and Gender. ....	9
2.1.1 Main Arguments and Critics of Liberal Feminism.....	10
2.1.2 Main Arguments of Radical Feminism and the Emergence of the Term of Gender.....	12
2.1.3 Critics of Radical Feminism.....	15
2.1.3.1 Universal Generalization and Tendency to Essentialism .....	16
2.1.3.2 Biological Reductionism and New Understandings of Gender .....	19
2.2 Rethinking Class from Feminist Perspective.....	23
2.2.1 Overview of the Classical Class Theories .....	24
2.2.2 Feminist Critiques of the Classical Class Theories .....	26

2.2.3	Class Analysis in Feminist Theory .....	29
2.2.3.1	Marxist and Socialist Feminism .....	30
2.2.3.2	United Women as a Class or Divided Class Interests among Women .....	34
2.2.4	New Tendencies and Approaches to Class in Feminist Thought.....	38
2.3	Toward More Inclusive Perspective: Intersection Theory .....	41
2.3.1	Historical Background and Definitions for the Term of “Intersectionality” .....	42
2.3.2	Intersection Theory: Main Assumptions .....	43
2.3.2.1	Simultaneity or Presence of Race, Class and Gender.....	44
2.3.2.2	Multiplicative Relationships.....	47
2.3.2.3	Attempts to Move Beyond Pure Pluralism.....	51
2.3.3	Methodology for Intersectional Analysis .....	52
2.4	Last Remarks on the New Directions of Feminism .....	55
	Conclusion.....	59
3.	GENDER-DIVERSITY SENSITIVE APPROACHES IN PUBLIC POLICIES AND THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS .....	61
	Introduction .....	61
3.1	Gender and Diversity Perspective in Public Policies .....	62
3.1.1	Gender Perspective in Public Policy .....	63
3.1.1.1	Women’s Interests .....	67
3.1.2	Gender Equality Strategies .....	70
3.1.3	Toward Diversity Perspective in Public Policy: Diversity Mainstreaming.....	73
3.1.3.1	Intersectional Approach in Public Policies: Diversity Mainstreaming.....	76

3.2	Importance of Local Politics in Eradicating Gender Inequality .....	79
3.2.1	The Centrality of Local Services in Women’s Lives .....	82
3.2.2	Gender Sensitive Policies at the Municipality Level.....	86
	Conclusion.....	89
4.	FIELD RESEARCH.....	91
4.1	Designing and Implementation of the Field Research.....	91
4.1.1	Aim of the Study and Limitations in the Literature.....	91
4.1.2	Population and Sample .....	93
4.1.3	Methodology.....	95
4.2	Demographic and Socio-Economic Features of the District and the Neighborhoods .....	97
4.2.1	Tuzla District Municipality .....	97
4.2.2	Orhanlı and Postane Neighborhoods .....	101
5.	RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	106
5.1	Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents .....	106
5.2	Usage and Expectations about the Municipal Services Specific to Women .....	109
5.3	Problems, Expectations and Satisfaction of Women with the General Municipal Services .....	116
5.4	Coping Strategies of Women in Relation to the Neighborhood Problems .....	137
5.5	Applying to the Municipality to Report Problems and Needs.....	144
6.	CONCLUSION .....	151
6.1	Evaluation of the Findings.....	151
6.2	Theoretical and Policy Implications .....	155
6.3	Limitations of the Study and Future Directions .....	157

REFERENCES ..... 159

APPENDICES

A. Interview Questions ..... 169

B. Quotations in Turkish ..... 173

C. Turkish Summary ..... 185

D. Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu ..... 198



## LIST OF TABLES

### TABLES

Table 1 The Three Highest Populations and Their Rates within the District according to Dwellers' Birth Places, 2015 .....	98
Table 2 The Three Highest Immigrant Populations and Their Rates within the District according to the Farthest Cities From İstanbul, 2015.....	98
Table 3 The Three Lowest Populations and Their Rates within the District according to Dwellers' Birth Places, 2015 .....	98
Table 4 Female-Male Populations and Their Rates within the Tuzla District Municipality, 2010-2015 .....	99
Table 5 Members of Municipal Council in Tuzla according to 2014 Local Election Results.....	99
Table 6 Results of Municipal Council Election in Tuzla according to 2014 Local Elections .....	100
Table 7 Results of Mayoral Election in Tuzla according to 2014 Local Elections.	100
Table 8 Total Populations of Orhanlı and Postane Neighborhoods, 2010-2015.....	102
Table 9 Population Rates of Orhanlı-Postane Neighborhoods in Tuzla District, 2010-2015.....	102
Table 10 The Three Neighborhoods with the Lowest Population in the District, 2015 .....	103
Table 11 Distribution of Votes according to Political Parties in Postane Neighborhoods, 2014 Local Election Results .....	104
Table 12 Distribution of Votes According To Political Parties in Orhanlı Neighborhoods, 2014 Local Election Results .....	105
Table 13 Age of Participants .....	106
Table 14 Household Income of Participants .....	107
Table 15 Education Level of Participants.....	107
Table 16 Profession of Participants from Orhanlı, low-income group.....	108

Table 17 Profession of Participants from Postane, high-income group.....	108
Table 18 Frequency Distribution of the Household Size .....	109
Table 19 Residence Periods of Participants in Tuzla.....	109
Table 20 Neighborhood Comparison of the Usage of Municipal Services Specific to Women.....	111
Table 21 <i>“How satisfied are you with services Tuzla District Municipality offer?”</i> .....	117
Table 22 <i>“Is there any service that the municipality provides insufficiently for you?”</i> .....	117
Table 23 <i>“According to you, who is responsible for meeting your needs and solving problems about your living area or the neighborhood?”</i> .....	118
Table 24 Main Problems of the Neighborhood for Participants .....	119
Table 25 Transportation Problems in Tuzla According to the Participants .....	123
Table 26 <i>“Which activities would you want to attend if they were provided?”</i> .....	128
Table 27 <i>“If you were the mayor, what services would you provide towards your neighborhood?”</i> .....	129
Table 28 <i>“In which places you mostly feel anxiety of the harassment or rape danger in your district?”</i> .....	133
Table 29 Necessary Municipal Services to Ensure Local Security According to the Participants .....	133
Table 30 <i>“Have you ever applied to the municipality about your problems before?”</i> .....	145
Table 31 Participation Mechanisms and Reasons of Application to the Municipality .....	145
Table 32 Numbers of Participants Who Trust and Distrust the Municipality .....	148
Table 33 <i>“Do you believe that when you contact with the municipality about your problems, it will be interested in your problems effectively and find solutions to them?”</i> .....	149

## LIST OF FIGURES

### FIGURES

Figure 1 Location of Tuzla in İstanbul .....	97
Figure 2 Neighborhoods of Tuzla District.....	101
Figure 3 Mayoral and Municipal Council Election Results in Postane/ Orhanlı Neighborhoods according to 2014 Local Elections.....	104



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party
AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development
BBP	Great Union Party
CHP	Republican People's Party
EU	European Union
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
HDP	People's Democratic Party
IBPA	Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis
KADER	Association to Support and Educate Women Candidates
ME	Mayoral Election
MEDAS	Central Dissemination System (Merkezi Dağıtım Sistemi)
MCE	Municipal Council Election
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SP	Felicity Party
SSPS	Election Results Sharing System (Seçim Sonuçları Paylaşım Sistemi)
TEPAV	Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu)
UN	United Nations
YSK	Supreme Election Board (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu)

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Many virtues universally accepted such as equality, freedom, justice have no means when they are only put under protection in legal system. For a substantive democratic system, it is necessary to make these virtues visible in daily-life practices. Along with being entitled to legal rights, citizens should also benefit from these acquired rights concretely. Governments have to ensure a system in which citizens do not exposure to any unequal treatment. In this regard, public policies and decisions at local level carry a crucial meaning for citizens since they encounter many problems or exposed to inequalities firstly in their daily live practices. Policies and services at local level shape citizens' living areas so it is closely related with the quality of living conditions. It is possible to tackle with inequalities in many areas firstly beginning with local problems. Closeness of local authorities to citizens in both spatial and social terms give significant capacity to these institutions in both ensuring a democratic system and solving problems efficiently and effectively. Because of these reasons, forming local policies sensitive to needs and expectations of local people is the primary necessity in putting these virtues into daily-life practices.

Based on these premises, the importance of local politics and governments has frequently been highlighted in comparison with central authorities. It is believed that local institutions are the most suitable mechanisms through which different interests can be represented and transformed to policies. They have more capacity to enhance citizens' living conditions and provide them more equitable environment. At this point, determining local people's different needs and forming local policies sensitive to those needs is significant.

From the feminist perspective, local policies influence women differently because they do not experience local environment in a similar way with men. Their interests

and needs differentiate from men's at also local level as well as in many areas. Women face with different problems and obstacles in local areas such as neighborhoods, streets and districts due to gender inequalities. Moreover, they spend much more time in those areas when compared with men. Impediments to participation of women in paid employment, political life, social activities begin with the problems they encounter in their living areas. When necessary local services are not provided or provided at insufficient level, this gap is usually compensated by women. This situation leads to increase burden of gender roles and prevent women from taking active role in many areas. Thus, they are confined to the boundaries of their home. At the best, they prefer to use their neighborhoods for out-of home activities. For example, when transportation services are inadequate, generally women give up participating education or working life. Usually women try to look after children, elders or persons in need of care if the municipality does not provide free or low-cost nursing services. Deficiencies in infrastructural system, cleaning services and environmental arrangements increase daily burdens undertaken mostly by women. As a result, local services carry a significant and different meaning for women. Those services are not especially important for women to reduce their daily gender burdens but also to transform their secondary positions in society as citizens. Because, they have capacity to empower women's conditions in the long term by emancipating them from gender inequalities. It is possible to struggle with violence against women, to increase awareness about gender inequalities, women's rights in the local community and to ensure women's active participation in public life through effective local policies. In this regard, municipal services come to the forefront in eliminating gender inequalities at other levels. For this reason, it is advocated that gender sensitive approach is especially essential for municipalities. According to this, municipalities should consider gender relations in forming their all policies, in both women specific services and other local services.

Although these arguments about the specific importance of local services for women have often been embraced in the literature, this issue has been studied mostly in

terms of women's low political representation and participation rate in local politics. These studies generally examine either the reasons of this problem or how the existence of female politicians affects decision-making process at local level. For certain, low representation and participation problem is an important and worth-stressing issue. But, as it is mentioned above, obstacles women encounter in daily-life arising from gendered relations are located at the centre of this problem. Women's heavy domestic work burden, danger of violence, harassment or rape, widespread gendered attitudes in society regarding secondary and passive position of women are one of these obstacles. Trying to cope with firstly those daily restrictions will resolve obstacles women face with in other areas. No doubt, the woman who is not exposed to any gendered inequality in daily-life, supplied with nursing services by local government and does not have heavier domestic work responsibility than men would be active and visible in all domains. On the other hand, it is difficult to meet these conditions in the short-term. But yet, the first step which should be taken for this is to provide gender sensitive local services. For this reason, it can be said that the issue of how local services are provided is the corner stone of representation and participation issues. Besides that, studies which focus on local service issue have emphasized mostly the point of women's different needs and interests from men. They do not mention women's varied problems, needs and interests among themselves. But, revealing women's different interests, needs and expectations among themselves as well as from men is another important point in forming gender sensitive services. In order to reveal those interests in a comprehensive way, it is necessary to take different living conditions of women into consideration. Because, these different conditions show how women experience gender inequalities differently. This situation will reflect on women's expectations from the municipality, their needs and problems regarding to municipal services. This variety is significant because it gives clues about whether the current local services have the same effect on all women or not. Through this way, it will be possible to form more efficient local policies which are sensitive to varied needs of women.

Embracing a different perspective from the literature, this study aims to present a comparative analysis about women coming from different socio-economic situations on their attitudes and behaviors regarding municipal services. In general, the main research question of this study is “How are the relations of women with municipal services affected by both gender and social-class factors? Specifically, it tries to answer “What are the expectations, problems and needs of women concerning their neighborhoods and municipal services?, At which points their interests about all municipal services coincide with and differentiate from each other?, “Which strategies do they use when municipal services are insufficient?, and “Which mechanisms do they prefer to apply municipality and around which concerns?.

While examining these questions, this study paid attention to focus both women specific municipal services and other services. Because, it is significant to consider that only providing services specific to women are not enough to mainstream gender perspective into all local policies. General services such as transportation, environmental arrangements, infrastructural services etc. have specific impacts on women and this situation is also influenced by both gender and social-class factors. Accordingly, examining only one aspect of municipal policies is not sufficient to make a complete analysis regarding to women’s needs at local level.

With the aim of investigating these research questions, this study focuses on municipal services provided by Tuzla District Municipality. Two neighborhoods in the district are selected to find women interviewed with. These neighborhoods, Orhanlı and Postane, are the two neighborhoods in which their residents’ socio-economic situation is respectively low and high. Dept-interviews were conducted with female residents in these neighborhoods individually. Field research was completed in September-October 2016. The data were analyzed comparatively and qualitatively.

Theoretical frame and field research part of this thesis was presented in three chapters. In order to understand how differences among women have been theorized, it is necessary to look firstly feminist theories about the gender concept. Due to that, social-class factor is another important issue along with gender for this study, it is also needed to examine feminist theories regarding to it. For this reason, following the introduction, chapter two will mention how gender and social-class factor have been explained in feminist theory and how reasons of women's oppression have been theorized differently. In addition, assumptions of intersection theory was discussed in this chapter because this theory is significant to remind that gender oppression can not be truly analyzed without considering other factors such as class, race, ethnicity and etc.

These theoretical debates about women's oppression have been also carried to the public-policy discussions. Third chapter was aimed to focus on this issue and organized in two parts. The first part will try to mention how gender and diversity approach was dealt with in these discussions. Firstly, it will explain main concepts such as women's interests, gender sensitive approach and gender equality in public policies. Then, it will specifically focus on how gender mainstreaming strategy was introduced and criticized in public-policy discussions. These debates are also important for this study because they provides explanations about why public policies should consider other factors to be more effective in ensuring gender equality. More specifically, the second part will focus on the importance of local politics in struggling with gender inequalities. It will try to explain why local services and especially municipalities have specific importance for women.

Field research will be explained with more details in the fourth chapter. In this chapter, firstly the methodology of the study will be explained. In this part, what the main aims of this study are and reasons behind the selection of Tuzla District Municipality with Orhanlı and Postane neighborhoods will be detailed. After that, field research results will be analyzed in the fifth chapter. The data will be evaluated in fifth steps: demographic characteristics of interviewees, relations with local

services specific to women and with other local services, coping strategies of women and application to the municipality.

Consequently, the conclusion chapter will present a summary of the research findings and evaluate them in terms of future research and policies.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **DEBATES ON DIFFERENT FORMS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION AND GENDER IN FEMINIST THEORY**

#### **Introduction**

In feminist thought, debates on women's oppression in patriarchal societies and gender have remained a controversial issue on which feminist thinkers did not build consensus. Although it is widely accepted that many women around the world experience patriarchal oppression, some questions related with this issue such as how women are oppressed by men, which reasons underlie subordination of women, how those experiences of women are explained, which concepts and theories can be useful in order to grasp both latent and explicit dimensions of patriarchal oppression and which liberation policies contribute to women's emancipation have not been solved around one unified framework in feminist theory. Similarly, debates on gender show a diversified character in feminist theory and since the concept of gender was developed, its meaning has been exposed to questioning. However, different assumptions developed around those questions and the meaning of gender give an important and new insight to later explanations in feminist theory. Each new era in feminist thought owes its new ways of thinking to the previous term and its theoretical explanations even though it seems to proceed by rejecting all previous assumptions. Thus, it can be said that recent feminist knowledge have been developed in a cumulative manner and each feminist thinker has crucial and unique role within this process.

This chapter will try to form a brief framework of this process in order to look theoretical assumptions about whether women's interest and way of experiencing oppression are similar and unified phenomenon. The reason of forming such a chapter lie behind the aim of dealing with starting questions of this thesis study by

firstly looking at debates existed in feminist theory. These starting questions are about how women's interests and their expectations from local services differ from other women and at the same time how they coincide with each other, on which issues their interests unified with or separated from each other's and how gender and class affect these patterns interrelatedly. Theoretical debates in feminist thought about differences among women and criticism of early feminist era's essentialist approaches such as term of sisterhood, understanding of unified womanhood and same gender experiences due to being woman are closely related with those starting questions. Besides that, theoretical debates about the effect of class on patriarchal system, feminist analysis of class theories and which factors apart from gender have been incorporated into women's oppression by feminist thinkers worth to be looked at in order to grasp importance of class and multiple factors on women's experiences and interests. All these readings can be helpful to find theoretical explanations from feminist thought to the starting questions of this thesis. They can present a logic which underlies different or similar interests and expectations of women from local services.

Taking these aims into consideration, this chapter includes four different parts. First part will try to focus on basic assumptions of early feminist thoughts on women's situation within patriarchal system and critics of their ideas. Second part includes feminist analysis on class system and will try to give a new framework by rethinking the term of class from the feminist perspective. In order to give such a framework, assumptions and critics of existing Marxist class system analysis developed by Marxist and socialist feminists will be used by looking at how they interpret women's situation in patriarchal system with including class analysis of women's both paid and unpaid labor. At the same time, the issue of whether women all around the world form a class due to having same conditions will be tried to deal with within this part. The following part will focus on the ideas of intersectional theory. In this part, it will be tried to understand how gender as a single-handed factor is insufficient in order to explain and recognize all aspect of women's oppression and their different

experiences. At this point, intersectional theory will give important insights for thinking women's interest and experience as a phenomenon which includes multiple and interlocked patterns. The fourth and last part of this chapter will be formed around the questions of how feminist politics can be maintained while it use deconstructed understanding of womanhood and pay attention to the differences among women as well as their same experiences.

At the end of the chapter, a theoretical frame will be presented in order to explain findings gained from the part of the field study. All debates in feminist thought mentioned above will give important insights to interpret how gender and class are apparent and interlocked with each other in the comparison of local service expectations and problems of women who came from different socio-economic positions.

## **2.1 Early Period Debates of Feminist Theory on Women's Oppression and Gender**

Classification of different periods within the feminist thought have been made by paying attention to the assumptions on women's oppression and related liberation politics developed by feminist thinkers but the process of attributing varied names to those different periods of feminist thought is not an identical issue. Labels which have been used to classify those periods vary from one author to another. Some use the name of gender reform feminism and resistance feminism in order to label early period feminist theory while other use the name of time of writing and new wave feminism (e.g., Lorber 2005; Ramazanoğlu 1989). On the other hand, division of feminist thought into three waves is widely used to label different periods of feminism (e.g., Çaha & Şahin 2013; Weedon 1999; Kayhan 1999). Common feature of these different labels is that they classify contemporary feminist thought in reference to different accounts on reasons of women's oppression with their related liberation politics and they include liberal, radical and Marxist-socialist feminists to the early period of feminist thought, in other words, to the first and second-wave

feminism. In this part, it will be preferred to use the name of early period debates of feminist thought as a whole instead of using labels mentioned above separately because it is interested neither with all detailed theoretical debates in different periods of feminist thought nor with the question why these labels have been attributed to those periods. Rather, it aims to look at the explanations about women's oppression developed in early period of feminist thought very briefly in order to present a better framework which can be helpful to make sense its critics. Further, it is also tried to mention how the meaning of gender and womanhood varies with inclusion of new insights and accounts in those early debates. Thus, it aims to give a substantial insight to grasp fundamental theories on which intersectional theory were built. Having said these aims, general assumptions of liberal and radical feminism and their main critics will be formed fundamental matters of this part. Marxist feminism and socialist feminism which are widely included within the second-wave or early period of feminism will be analyzed in the following part about the feminist analysis of class system.

### **2.1.1 Main Arguments and Critics of Liberal Feminism**

At the beginning of the feminist thought, liberal feminism has central place in women's movement and struggle for women's right. This early period of feminism existed within a system in which there were widely accepted and supposed to be proved scientifically accounts on women's inferiority to men. These assumptions based on biological differences between women and men in order to claim women's natural weakness and inability in achieving some tasks. Due to the fact that these accounts about women's situation built on their claims by using some terms such as biological or natural weakness of women, they set important limits for women to achieve some rights in public life such as education, suffrage, property rights. Moreover, they also contribute to unquestionable nature of these claims by attributing them to biological constant features of differences. This is also based on dichotomous thinking. In this way of thinking while some features such as being emotional, daring, illogicality, endurance were attributed to women, other features

such as aggressiveness, being rational, competitiveness were attributed to men. By using this way of understanding, women were confined to domesticity and some roles such as motherhood, being wife were regarded as most suitable roles for them (Weedon, 1999: 6-7). In the eighteenth and nineteenth century such assumptions paved the way for development of liberal feminism. Some thinkers such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Judith Sargent Murrey, Olympe de Gouges, Frances Wright and Sarah Grimke can be shown as pioneers of liberal feminist thought (Kayhan, 1999: 37-38). In general, works which mentioned the main assumptions of liberal feminism have focused on two common matters. One of them is the claim of sameness and another is the struggle for women's equal rights. By questioning previous attributes grounded on biological differences between women and men, liberal feminists firstly argue that women and men are not different and they have same rational capacities. So, difference of women from men resulted from unequal education not from natural reasons. Because men and women are not different and unequal human beings, laws should give same rights to women as it gives to men. Under these fundamental claims, struggle for women's equal rights such as education, suffrage, employment and wages forms crucial liberation politics in liberal feminist thought (Lorber, 2005: 27; Bryson, 1999: 46; Weedon, 1999: 10-14; Walby, 1990: 4).

Critics of liberal feminism have been mostly developed by radical feminists and based on two main issues. Firstly, they have been criticized due to their sameness assumptions with men. It is argued that in order to attain same equal rights with men, liberal feminists take masculine traits and values as normal instead of feminine attributes such as nurturance, care and being emotional. Thus women are expected to behave like men in order to be visible in public arena (Lorber, 2005: 40). Secondly, it is argued that liberal feminism fails to grasp deeper roots of women's subordination to men and to question dominant power relations embedded in some areas such as norms of femininity and masculinity, sexual relations and family. Changes in legal system or gaining equal rights, it is assumed, are not enough to solve these complicated power relations and to transform patriarchal system (Ramazanoğlu,

1989: 16; Weedon, 1999: 15-16; Walby, 1990: 5). On the other hand, assumptions of sameness with men can be interpreted from different perspective. Although it fails to question power relations, it can be said that claims of sameness in liberal feminism was important in drawing attention to the issue that women have same rational capacity or potential with men to cope with any issue instead of being identical with them. This assumption is also crucial in struggle for women's equal rights and legal status with men. For example, according to Deborah L. Rhode (1992: 150-151) focusing on both sameness and differences have advantages because women can enjoy same status with men to the extent that they are the same as men and their different experiences and concerns have a distinct place in laws or public policies to the extent that they are different from men. Consequently, as it is mentioned in the introduction part, feminist thought proceeds in a cumulative manner and critics of its old assumptions owe important acquirements to those previous assumptions. Claims of liberal feminism about the sameness and its struggle for an equal legal system can be also evaluated from this positive perspective.

### **2.1.2 Main Arguments of Radical Feminism and the Emergence of the Term of Gender**

With the critics of liberal feminism, assumptions of radical feminism about the reasons of women's oppression have begun to emerge with deeper investigation of current patriarchal social system. In general, it can be said that arguments of radical feminism are based on four fundamental claims. One of them is about the emergence of the term of gender and deeper investigation of the patriarchal system. This process began with rejecting the idea that women can gain independence from men only through transforming the current legal system into the new system in which women and men are entailed to equal rights and legal status. Radical feminists were suspicious about that transforming patriarchal system can be managed with such a one dimension of struggle and they widely argue that inequalities between women and men have deeper roots embedded in every dimension of social life and its daily interrelations. Debates on the meaning of gender began to emerge with the famous

phrase of Simone de Beauvoir: *“One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”*. This quotation makes a clear distinction between sex and gender. According to this, while sex represent a biological fact which is invariant and anatomically distinct, gender represent a cultural meaning or socially constructed term that is built on this biological fact or sex (Butler, 1986: 35; Bora, 2005: 37; Bryson, 1999: 46). According to some authors, in radical feminism, gender is regarded as the source of elaborate system of male domination and the term of patriarchy is used in order to explain universal system of male oppression. Moreover, although the term of patriarchy has been used in some way by all forms of feminism, radical feminists regard this term as a widespread phenomenon which pervades all dimensions of social life and as it can be found in all cultures and in all periods of the history. Thus, radical feminism expanded the meaning of patriarchy by seeing it a worldwide system in which women are oppressed by men (Weedon, 1999: 20; Lorber, 2005: 118).

Secondly, with this theoretical background, radical feminists question the separation of private and public domain by claiming that roots of women’s subordination lies not only in the public domain but also in intimate relations within the private area. Thus, they open to scrutinize all personal relations and domestic area with the slogan of ‘the personal is political’ (Walby, 1990: 3; Ramazanoğlu, 1989: 13). This fundamental assumption leads to the emergence of third aspect of radical feminist debates. In order to understand latent and deeper dimensions of women’s subordination which are embedded in these intimate relations, radical feminists question sexuality. They claim that main source of male supremacy and women oppression is resulted from their sexual exploitation through using their body and reproduction capacity as an object by men. They criticize all means through which women’s body are depicted as a sexual object such as movies, advertisement and TV. They argue that threat of being victims of rape, battering, violence, prostitution is present for all women. For example, one of the radical feminists, Catherine MacKinnon (1987: 85) advocated that specifically four issues: rape, sexual

harassment, pornography and battery are an example of violence against women which reunify them. All these assumptions contribute to the development of another famous term within radical feminism: “the term of sisterhood”. The claim of patriarchy as a worldwide system and shared oppression of women based on above experiences irrespective of other factors such as class, race or culture give rise to the notion of sisterhood which meant to unification of women all around the world in the struggle of patriarchal system (Weedon, 1999: 26). On the other hand, radical feminism did not regard female body or being feminine as only a negative connotation and source of being inferior to men. This strand which valorizes feminine attributes within radical feminism is sometimes mentioned with the name of difference feminism (e.g., Bryson, 1999: 48; Lorber, 2005: 306) and sometimes with the term of gynocentrism (e.g., Nicholson, 1995: 53-54). Feminists who take part in this strand use all characteristics which are attributed to women throughout history as more valuable than characteristics of men. While they criticize liberal feminist claims of sameness with men, they accept that women are different from men but this difference is interpreted from the positive perspective instead of seeing it as a source of being inferior.

As a result, main assumptions of radical feminism can be summarized around four different stages even though they are not assumed to exist respectively or chronologically as it is mentioned here. This classification is only formed in order to piece its all aspects together. In the first aspect, it developed understanding of gender as the basis of women’s oppression and patriarchy as a widespread oppression system. In accordance with those concepts, in the second stage, they began to question the distinction of public-private area with the claim of “personal is political”. Then, in the third stage, they saw deeper roots of women’s subordination as embedded in more personal and intimate relations and approach sexual relations and female body as the main sources of women’s oppression by men. All these explanations established the claim of sisterhood which led to assume that women experience common patriarchal oppression due to having identity of woman all

around the world. On the other hand, they interpret female attributes such as being emotional, nurturance, caring, sharing in a reverse manner than previous one. They valorize all these female characteristics and rank them as more valuable than male characteristics which are widely accused for the reason of wars, rapes, sexual abuse. This different evaluation of femininity formed last stage of radical feminism.

Main arguments of radical feminism are important because it opens new ways of analysis. It transcends investigation of reasons underlie women's oppression in only legal system and draw attention to latent sources of patriarchal oppression. They also contribute to uncover deeper roots of this oppression within the more intimate or personal relations and social structures. Thus they bring up some important issues such as rape, sexual harassment, battery, sexual abuse as issues of violence against women in to the political agenda and struggle against them. Beside that, they gain value to the female attributes which have usually been used as a means of reproducing women's secondary position before. In addition to these positive acquisitions carried by radical feminism, they are also exposed to many criticisms especially developed by black and post-modernist feminists or third wave feminists. In the following part, those criticisms will be tried to mention through making a brief summarization.

### **2.1.3 Critics of Radical Feminism**

The question of how women differentiate from each other and whether there are also power relations among women who came from different conditions are embedded within the critics of main assumptions developed by radical feminism. Essentialist ideas in assuming the static and invariable 'womanhood' identity which lead to claims of solidarity around the term of 'sisterhood', universal generalization of 'women experiences' to all women irrespective of other factors such as race, class and ethnicity and biological reductionism or determinism are most controversial arguments of radical feminism. These arguments have been exposed to many critics by many feminist who take part in feminist thought generally gathered under the roof

of third-wave feminism. In this part, those critics will be tried to summarize with two titles. Before presenting those titles, it is important to keep in mind that these titles and critics within them are not mutually exclusive. Although those critics will be mentioned under the different titles here, in reality, they are related with each other and it is not easy to see one of them as being separated from another. Given this premise, this part will include two titles. One of them is ‘Universal Generalization and Tendency to Essentialism’ and another is ‘Biological Reductionism and New Understandings of Gender’.

### **2.1.3.1 Universal Generalization and Tendency to Essentialism**

Tendency to make essentialist and universalistic ideas can be seen evidently in some arguments of radical feminism. As it is mentioned earlier, radical feminists see patriarchy as a system of women’s oppression which is common to all women all around the world. So, they believe that all women have common oppression experience because of their gender. This emphasis on common oppression and experience bring with the term of sisterhood and assumption that all women can unify in order to struggle against patriarchy. But women who have also experience other forms of oppression because of having other identities such as race, class and ethnicity began to recognize that they need different accounts for their unique oppression. Then some important questions have been posed by those women. These questions began to be developed around the issues of what the meaning of the term of womanhood is, whether it is a stable term or not, whether all women experience patriarchal oppression in the same way, how radical feminism claim to speak for all women when they ignore different experiences of women came from different social positions. First of all, question about what the meaning of womanhood is based on rejecting the claim of women’s common oppression and experience. Many authors question the meaning of womanhood and criticize tendency to see it as a non-problematic and unitary or stable category. For example according to Caroline Ramazanoğlu (1989: 19-35), when diversity of women’s lives and their oppression experiences are explored by moving beyond the treating women as only biological

and non-problematic category, it is recognized that claim of sisterhood or defining oppression in general is a very limited tendency. Conception of woman as a universal category resulted from the assumption of patriarchy as a universal system in which all women have same relations with men or they all oppressed by men in the same way. In a similar manner, Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonne Thornton Dill (1996: 57) see roots of the false universalism about women's shared oppression within the conceptualization of woman. For them, examining gender and categories of women in the context of other social divisions are important in recognizing of differences. Beside that, rejecting the one dimensional understanding of womanhood is not a recent phenomenon. The phrase of 'Ain't I a Woman' which is also known as Sojourner Truth was emerged in nineteenth century with the struggle of one black women in USA both against slavery and women's right. It is one of the early examples which challenge the idea of ahistorical and essentialist notions of 'woman' (Brah & Phoenix, 2004: 76).

Secondly, based on those insights, it has been argued that universalist and essentialist assumptions of radical feminism about understanding of womanhood and common patriarchal oppression are based on limited experiences of some women. Furthermore, those limited experiences of oppression have been seen as the reflections of White and middle-class women's experiences. Because of that, it has been claimed that liberation politics or political agenda of radical feminism ignore the needs and interests of other women who locate in different social positions. For example, one of the critics is that the meaning of being woman or womanhood mostly reflects the characteristics of White-middle class women. According to Patricia Hill Collins (1993: 49) characteristics which have been attributed to all women and men represent exclusively White-middle class women and men in reality. Those supposed universal categories with which radical feminism is also bound up does not include poor or working class women and men as well as Black women and men. Similarly, Bryson (1999; 50) argue that gender roles and attributes are not static and invariable as radical feminist claim because they have fluid features

which are variable both over time and among different cultures or groups. For example while in the nineteenth century the idea of ‘woman’ who is in need of male protection and frail represented White middle-class women, poor women and black women were perceived in a different way from this general idea. Those different ways of perceiving working class women have been also mentioned in the study of Aksu Bora. Bora (2005: 53-56) showed how fictions of ideal womanhood carry class basis by presenting some works of feminist historians. As those works revealed, women from working class were usually received as being strong, rough and healthful which is opposed to attributes of White working class women such as being frail, weak and courteous. Thus, she contended that there is a difference between bodies of working class women and their womanhood, that is, as if they have body and womanhood which came from different class.

In addition to emphasis on those different meanings of womanhood, it is also argued that experiences of White-middle class women have been generalized as if they represent all women’s situation. As a result, many issues which are relevant with the interest of poor, working-class or black women have been made invisible in mainstream feminist movement. For example, radical feminist’s slogan of “the personal is the political” formed around the oppression of sexism but black women’s experiences in ‘the personal’ does not include only sexual inequalities but also multiple inequalities resulted from race and class. Assaults on family, motherhood and advocacy of female separatism also contradict with values of black feminists. On the other hand, sometimes white feminist economic concerns do not touch on the lives of poor and working-class women. Some issues which are mostly related with the conditions of those women such as transportation, limited health care, issues of welfare stay in the periphery within the feminist political agenda (King, 1988: 27-30). When Patricia Hill Collins (1999) criticizes the tendency of making universal generalization, she says;

*If the absence of women is critical in the production of scientific knowledge, then the absence of racial, ethnic and social class diversity*

*among women must have an impact on the knowledge produced. Whether intentional or not, feminist scholarship on scientific knowledge seems wedded to the experiences of White, Western and economically privileged women. If the experiences of a relatively narrow group of women become normative for gender theory, then critiques of science are also compromised (1999: 267).*

Thirdly, essentialist tendency in radical feminism also surface when they try to valorize 'feminine' attributes. It is argued that when they take those attributes such as caring, sharing, being emotional as valuable and superior characteristics, they reify them as if there were no difference in displaying such behaviors within each sex. Moreover, this perspective has also been criticized since it has potential to invoke traditional reasons which are used to keep women away from public arena (Bryson, 1999: 48; Lorber, 2005: 135). This issue is also related with the critics of biological reductionism or determinism directed towards radical feminism and debates on gender. Because of that, it will be mentioned again in the following part.

### **2.1.3.2 Biological Reductionism and New Understandings of Gender**

Realization of diverse dimensional structure of women's oppression with questioning invariable and stable understanding of womanhood accompany to the critics of biological reductionism and new understandings of gender. Firstly, it can be said that critics of biological reductionism fundamentally based on the sex-gender distinction. As it is mentioned earlier, the concept of gender was understood in radical feminism as socially constructed phenomenon which its basis located in biological sex. Both in appointing sources of women's oppression and valorizing female attributes, biological differences or sex differences between women and men are regarded as fundamental realities by radical feminists. This tendency of radical feminism to apply biological factors in explanations of social relations between women and men has been labeled in different ways. According to Ramazanoğlu (1989: 29-31), arguments of radical feminism have been widely based on biological explanations in order to understand women's oppression. Within its two main approaches which are accusing male nature for women's oppression and celebrating female nature, it is assumed that women share an essential female nature which is different from men

and provide common interests with all women. This tendency of biological reductionism is problematic because of ignoring both historical variations in gender relations and preventing hopes for changes in human affairs. She also uses the label of biological determinism in order to call this tendency. Based on similar reasons, Heidi Hartmann (1981: 22-24) criticizes radical feminism due to the fact that their studies which try to explain women's situation in patriarchal society focused excessively on the matters of biology such as reproduction, sexuality. She called this tendency as a biological overemphasizing. On the other hand, it should be noticed that radical feminism marked a new epoch by recognizing the social constructed characteristics of gender. Thanks to this conceptualization, it paved the way to ignore biological causes of personality. Without missing out this contribution of radical feminism, Linda Nicholson describes this tendency of biological explanation by using the label of biological foundationalism. According to her (1995: 42-49), radical feminism have an understanding of sex identity as both socially constructed and cross-cultural phenomenon which enable to think biological commonality across culture. She labels this tendency as biological foundationalism instead of biological determinism because she advocates that these two concepts are different from each other. Although this label includes presumption of commonalities across cultures which is one of the features of biological determinism, it is not equivalent to it due to recognizing social constructionism of personality.

All these critics on the nature of sex-gender distinction and biological explanations on social relations or women's oppression lead to new understandings of gender. Those new accounts on gender have begun to separate itself from the dichotomous ways of thinking. Firstly, by questioning the term of sex or the nature of biology, it has been argued that biology is also a socially constructed term. For the post-modern accounts, even biological differences are not essential to suppose binary division basis between men and women. Some indicators such as having vagina, giving birth, sexual relations with men, having determinant hormones which are widely used to differentiate female body from men are not invariable and constant. Because there

are also many people who have two sexual organs and have mix of hormones or it is not true that all women have babies (Bryson, 1999: 49). According to Yanagasiko and Collier (1987), as many ethnographic studies showed, differences among sexes vary one society to another just as gender show cultural diversity. For example in Nepal, it is believed that all people have both womanhood and manhood in different degree (quoted in Bora, 2005: 38-39). Same understanding is also adopted as ethnomethodological viewpoint which see sex categories as socially constructed rather than biological facts (e.g., West & Fenstermaker, 1995: 72). Based on same logic, Linda Nicholson (1995) explain this situation as:

*We need to understand social variations in the male/female distinction as tied not just to the limited phenomena many of us associate with gender but also to culturally various understanding of the body, and to what it means to be a woman and a man. In this alternative view the body does not disappear from feminist theory. Rather, it becomes a variable rather than a constant (1995: 43-44).*

Secondly, dichotomous thinking has been also criticized because of not seeing intersectional nature of gender. Patricia Hill Collins (1999: 263-275) argues that although mainstream feminist thought is opposed to male centered scientific knowledge in which gendered dichotomous logic is dominant, same fault is repeated by feminists themselves because they fail to see raced nature of all modernity discourses and scientific knowledge as well as its gendered nature. Thus, she proposed a new understanding of gender: “viewing gender within a logic of intersectionality”. This perspective does not regard gender as being separate from other factors such as class and race. Rather, she describes it as: “*constellation of ideas and social practices that are historically situated within and that mutually constructed multiple systems of oppression*” (1999: 263).

These debates on gender mentioned above accompanied the question of how the concept of woman should be treated appropriately. New accounts on this issue have been also developed from feminist thinkers. For example, Linda Nicholson (1995: 60-61) argue that we should treat the term of woman as a concept whose meaning

can not be founded by assigning some specific characteristics to it but it can be formed through exploration of complex networks. It should be regarded as ‘a map of intersecting similarities and differences’. In such an understanding, ‘meaning is found rather than presupposed’ and this is accomplished with dialogue. In a similar manner, Iris Marion Young (1995) conceptualize ‘gender as seriality’ in order to avoid to presuppose some characteristics for women. From this conceptualizing, gender refers to specific kind of social collectivity and social series which are different from group identity or group. According to Young, such an understanding allows thinking about women as a social collective but it makes this without claiming that all women have common attributes or situations. She treats this collectivity as a unity but passive unity, she explain this as the following:

*There is a unity to the series of women, but it is a passive unity, one that does not arise from the individuals called women but rather positions them through the material organization of social relations as enabled and constrained by the structural relations of heterosexuality and the sexual division of labour. The content of these structures varies enormously from one social context to the next. Saying that a person is a woman may predict something about the general constraints and expectations she must dealt with. But it predicts nothing in particular about who she is, what she does, how she takes up her social positioning (1995: 208).*

As it can be understood from above quotation, her classification do not reject that there may be similar conditions for women but it also allow reserving a place for subjective autonomy in dealing with those conditions. It is related with viewing gender or womanhood as a constructed process in which subjects also take interactive part within it. These new suggestions on the meaning of gender and womanhood have also been developed in order to solve ‘dilemma of feminist politics’. Those problems will be mentioned again with more details in the last part of this chapter.

Thus far, it was tried to make sense how claims of diversity among women was developed in general. Based on this aim, liberal and radical feminism were examined closely with their critics. As this analysis shows, unity among women around the

term of sisterhood, claims of having same oppression experiences and common interests, stable understanding of womanhood and gender are contentious issues within feminist thought. In reality, recognizing variables in meanings of womanhood and gender leads to question dichotomous ways of thinking and reified female and male attributes. Thus, the idea that women are different from each other as well as from men has begun to be used against the essentialist and universalist assumptions of radical feminism. These main critics located at the centre of explanations on which intersectional theory is based. Because of that, this part is important to understand accurately assumptions of intersectional theory which will be mentioned in the third part of the chapter. This is also important to look at the term of gender from a different perspective which can be useful in studying expectations of women based on gender interests from local services. On the other hand, since those expectations of women from local services and their problems about the local area will not be evaluated with only gender perspective but also with class relations in this study, the following part will include class theories in feminist thought.

## **2.2 Rethinking Class from Feminist Perspective**

The notion of class is not a concept in which there is one correct definition or measure in determining its patterns. Rather, although theories sometimes use similar argument to define it, it is one of the controversial issues in social theories and there has been no consensus on its meaning. In a similar manner, there is no one perspective which uses class analysis invariably for accounts of women's oppression in feminist theory. It can be argued, therefore, that the notion of class along with class analysis used in explanations of social inequalities has no particular and stable place in both social theories and its feminist analysis. There are two main aims of this part. One of them is to understand how the concept of class has been evaluated from the feminist perspective, in other words, how the classical class analysis has been revised in order to grasp women's oppression properly in the feminist theory. Another is to how class interests or divisions among women have been discussed against the claims of women as a united class. Based on this aim, this part will

include four titles. In those titles, the issues of what the arguments of classical class theories are, which critiques against those classical theories have been developed by feminists, how Marxist and socialist feminist theory use class analysis for women's unique situation and which new assumptions on class have been existed will be mentioned respectively.

### **2.2.1 Overview of the Classical Class Theories**

The reason of the forming such a title is not to mention all theories on class broadly but to give a brief summary in order to grasp both what the meaning of social class is and feminist critiques of classical class analysis properly. On the other hand, the name of the 'classical theories' is used for the title because it will mainly include most known or commonly used definitions of class and arguments about it.

In general, it can be said that traditions of class analysis or definitions of class have been mostly based on two theoreticians. One of them is Karl Marx and another is Max Weber. In the former tradition, class is mostly treated in an abstract manner and defined as an economic category. In Marxists sense, class is determined according to relationship with the means of productions in a particular historical context. For example in a capitalist society, there are two main classes: the proletariat who is lack of the possession of means of production and sells his-her labor power, and the capitalist who is the owner of the means of production. In addition to this, it is assumed, in the classical Marxist tradition, these two classes are in a conflict with each other and class conflict is a driving force of history. On the other hand, Weber used the concept of class by moving beyond this conceptualizing and described it within the theory of stratification. According to this, each individual have a social position which is determined according to some factors such as skill, education and occupation as well as ownership. Thus, he enlarged the concept of class by including other factors such as different lifestyles and not looking at only the situation of ownership or relations of production (Crompton, 1989: 567-568; Bryson, 1999: 55; Landry, 2007: 115; Ramazanoğlu, 1989: 97-98; Walby, 1990:11; Weedon, 1999:

135-136). Further, it is argued that Weber incorporated non-manual white-collar workers into his stratification system and class theory distinctly from Marx. While for the classical Marxist tradition those workers have not special space in the class analysis since there was few non-manual workers in the time of his period, Weber divides workers according to their occupational position. In this understanding, non-manual and manual workers hold distinctive positions in which some standards such as rewards of income, life chances, living standards or job security are totally distinctive for each other. Since same or similar occupational status can form a distinctive class, occupation is the measure of class position for Weberian tradition (Landry, 2007: 115). Along with this classical separation, there are also some studies which point out commonalities between these two traditions. According to these studies, they both agree that class refers to an individual's position within the economy and it is the important social force in historical change. Both traditions have been regarded as 'grand theories' which have explanations for societal change. Beside that, they also have usually been regarded as gender-blind theories from feminists (e.g., Crompton 1989; Walby 1990; Bryson 1999; Hartmann 1981).

In relation to those general classical understandings implied above, there are also some classifications of class definitions or approaches in general. Although it can be said that these classifications mention similar issues with each other, they have made it by giving two or three uses of class. Some of them give two uses of class: one of them is the class as an economical concept defined from the Marxist perspective mentioned above and another is the class as a classification system in which people are ranked according to their social status, life style, education, income etc. (e.g., Ramazanoğlu 1989). Others point three uses such as socio-economic situation or rank, objective economic category and perceived economic relationship with an organization or a sense of identity by labeling them differently (e.g., Bryson 1999; Weedon 1999). However, it can be said that all these studies accept the diverse nature of class which can change over time. On the other hand, according to Bryson (1999: 55), most popular usage of class often refers to groups of people who share a

common social and economic position determined by some factors such as income, education, occupation or life-style.

As above discussions imply, although the definition of class and its related class analysis varies, it alternate between two classical traditions in general. Either it has been based on these classical traditions strictly or it has been adopted as a mix of these two traditions. However, this does not mean that all understandings of class are necessarily derived from these two traditions. There are also studies which adopt a different understanding of class by inspiring from different theoreticians (e.g., Skeggs 1997). Beside that, these theories mentioned here have not usually been adopted as non-problematic. Feminist critiques of those classical theories on class can be seen as an example of these critical perspectives.

### **2.2.2 Feminist Critiques of the Classical Class Theories**

One of the important contributions of feminist perspective is the inclusion of women within the scientific knowledge area which has mostly focused on male experiences and takes a male-centered perspective for its inquiry or theory in explaining a particular social phenomenon. This tendency within the science has been exposed to many feminist critiques and accused of making women's experiences invisible (for these critiques, see Collins 1999 and Ramazanoğlu 1989). The feminist critiques of classical class analysis are one of the examples of this contribution. With this effort, feminists have tried to both make women's different situation or oppression in class system visible by showing deficiency of classical class theories and develop new understandings of class analysis available for women's situation. The former issue will be tried to elaborate under this title.

It can be argued that feminists have questioned classical class theories and analysis by revealing its deficiency in different levels. However, this deficiency has widely been described by feminists with the common label of 'gender blindness' (e.g., Acker 1999; Crompton 1989; Hartmann 1981). The reason of why this label is attached to classical class theories has been explained with some arguments. First of

all, it has been claimed that class theories, whether it is Weberian or Marxists, fail to recognize gender inequalities and women's different situation or even their greater subordination from men who came from the same class position. Further, they could not develop a class analysis which includes different conditions in women's paid and unpaid work properly. Their attempt to explain systematic social inequalities is not sufficient to explain gender inequalities. As opposed to what is believed, therefore, class theories are far from being able to explain social inequalities and class concepts are not gender neutral (Acker, 1999: 45; Delphy & Leonard, 1986: 72-73; Crompton 1989: 569). For example, according to Ramazanoğlu (1989: 104-105), Marxist class analysis did not give a comprehensible framework in order to understand women's contradictory place which is composed of home and labour market within capitalism. It did not make a connection between housework and the system of social class. Secondly, Heidi Hartmann reveals this situation by focusing on different issues. She (1981: 4-10) stated that there are some attempts in Marxist tradition to explain women's subordinate position to men but they remained insufficient to enlighten the issue of 'how and why women are oppressed as being woman'. In his book named as "The origin of the family, private property and the state", Engels based the reason of women's subordination to men on capital and private property when he tried to explain it. For him, emancipation of women could be attained completely through both their participation into labour power and proletariat revolution for which they take equal part with men in struggle. At this point, Hartmann questions his solution. She advocates that the only reason of women's oppression is not private property. So, the abolishment of this system is not adequate alone in ensuring women's emancipation. She argued, therefore, that Marxists fail to touch on differences between women and men within the capitalist system.

Thirdly, claims of deficiency in explaining gender inequalities have also been emphasized in other points. The way of dealing with the issue of division of labour in class theories is one of them. For example, Crompton (1989: 571) points out that both neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian studies based their class schemes on division of

labor determined only with the impact of market forces and production relationship. But sexual division of labor, as one of the most universal forms of it, was not included within these schemes. In a similar manner, Walby (1990: 10) and Delphy & Leonard (1986: 73) argues that class theories did not give explanations for the division of labour within the household and inequalities in the domestic area so they have deficiency in understanding social inequalities as a whole. In addition to sexual division of labour in the household, division of labor within the occupational classifications has also been regarded as gendered due to their ignorance of sex segregation and women's employment. According to these critiques, occupational categories can not be applied properly to women's job because of this ignorance. It has been also believed that occupational segregations are shaped by gender. So, within the same occupational structure, there may be status difference between works which are held generally by women and men (Acker, 1999: 45; Crompton, 1989: 571-572). It can be said that this situation is related with the claim of Heidi Hartmann about Marxist class concepts. She (1981: 20) points out that capital produce empty places but it is indifferent about the issue of who fills those places or which places filled predominantly by women or men so Marxist categories are gender blind. This assumption has also been repeated by Crompton (1989: 572) with her further argument: "*Gender affects not only what kinds of jobs people do, but also the kinds of rewards accruing to the occupation in question.*"

As the last reason of the 'gender blindness' label, some feminists emphasized the question of how the class position of women is determined. This debate emerged around some questions such as if a particular conjugal unit based on dual-earner, which class position of individuals, male or female, will be determinant in attaching class position of the household and whether non-working women's class position can be derived from her husband's class position or not. Critics about these questions has been emerged against some studies which describe women's class position according to men (for these studies, see Walby 1990 and Crompton 1989). To give an answer, some feminists highlighted the women's level of consumption and the standards of

life chances which are different from her husband's (e.g., Crompton 1989: 571; Walby 1986: 31). Additively, some studies countered to this male-centered perspective since it overlooks both increasing importance of women's employment within the household and the diversity of the household structure apart from male-breadwinner (Walby 1990: 9-10).

By taking those critics on class theories into consideration, many feminists also use the term of class in a Marxist sense and adjust its methodology and arguments by renewing them to the analysis of women's oppression (e.g., Ramazanoğlu 1989; Acker 1999; Hartmann 1981). Under the following title, diverse feminist class analysis and various usages of the notion of class in feminist works will try to be mentioned.

### **2.2.3 Class Analysis in Feminist Theory**

In the light of feminists critiques on class analysis, different assumptions about the relations between class and gender inequality or women's secondary position have been theorized in feminist thought. These debates has been formed around some issues such as whether women formed a class, how women can fit into the understandings of the class, how domestic labour contribute to the capitalist system, whether patriarchy and capitalism are two interrelated or divided system and can we think one of these two systems as more important than another (Bryson 1999: 55). These different issues around which feminist class analysis has been developed led to the emerging of various theories on class. Those theories have been formed by different strands of feminist thought. The theoretical debate on economic dimension of housework and patriarchy-capitalism system can be included within the assumptions of Marxist and socialist feminists. On the other hand, the issue of women as a class has mostly been claimed by radical feminists. Under this title, the former will be mentioned firstly and then the latter will be debated with its critics which focus on division of class interests among women.

### **2.2.3.1 Marxist and Socialist Feminism**

Efforts of including women's situation within the class analysis by making relations with capitalist system have mostly appeared in the studies of Marxist and socialist feminism. In the Marxist feminist tradition, different positions of women within the capitalist system has been tried to make visible and this aim led to rethink classical class understandings in Marxist theory and adaptation of class analysis to women's oppression. In spite of some deficiencies in Marxist class theory, many feminists continue to use its basic concepts and logic in order to analyze women's oppression. Because it is seen as the suitable theory in order to analyze any system of domination or exploitation and its methodology provide a materialist basis to the historical development (e.g., Acker 1999; Hartmann 1981). But these new usages and analysis show differences between Marxist and Socialist feminism. While the former gives more emphasis to capitalist system for gender inequalities, the later avoids reducing sources of gender inequality to the capitalist system and focusing on patriarchy as well as capitalism.

First of all, Marxist feminism sees the roots of gender inequality as being embedded in the capitalist system and advocate that women's oppression will be disappeared with its abolition. Because of that, they assume that class struggle with men will also contribute to the emancipation of women from gender inequalities. Under this logic, Marxists feminists try to theorize women's paid labour in the marketplace and unpaid labour in the home according to capitalist relations. In other words, they try to reveal how capitalists system need gender inequalities in both home and workplace for its continuation and how women's paid and unpaid labour is closely related with the function of this system. It can be said that housework or women's unpaid labour in the household has been located at the central place for examination in Marxist feminism. This tendency has been named sometimes as political economy of housework theories or economic theory of gender inequality (e.g., Acker, 1999: 46; Lorber, 2005: 59). Marxist feminist analysis has been named as such, whether in this way or another, because it gives economic value to the housework which has not

been included within the class analysis before by ignoring this economic value. According to Marxist feminists, housework is vital for capitalism because it produces both usage and surplus value by participating in social reproduction. This unpaid labour of women produces these values by providing basic needs of workers for their maintenance and reproducing next generation. Thus, exploitation of women's unpaid labour contributes to produce surplus value and capitalist system needs women's labour for its continuation. On the other hand, it is claimed that women are the part of a reserve army of labour for capitalist system because they have potential to work with minimal wages when the system needs their labour power. At this point, maintenance of gender inequalities and identities are essential for capitalism because it guarantees low-paid female workforce (Acker, 1999: 46-47; Lorber, 2005: 46-47; Weedon, 1999: 143). These debates on housework also open a place within the class struggle for women by considering them as producers of surplus value and part of the working class (Hartmann 1981: 16).

Critics of Marxist theories have been formed by focusing different aspects. Firstly, they are criticized because it focused too much on housework and it is not clear about whether capitalists pay family wage to workers for unpaid labour or they pay less since the cost of worker's reproduction is eliminated by women's unpaid labour in the home. On the other hand, it is claimed that although these debates make domestic labour visible and valuable, they fail to form a new concept of class in which women's work is central (Acker, 1999: 47-48). Secondly, they are criticized because of its reduction of gender relations to the capitalist system. By claiming that gender inequality will disappear with the abolishment of capitalist system, they fail to recognize independence of gender relations (Walby, 1990:4). For example Heidi Hartmann (1981) describes attempts in integration of Marxism and feminism as 'unhappy marriage'. According to her, these debates are not sufficient because they tend to decrease importance of feminist struggle by including it within the struggle against capitalism which is regarded as more important relatively. Studies of Marxist feminism regard women's oppression as another aspect of class oppression and they

mostly focus on the capitalist relations instead of the relations between men and women. In fact, according to her, there are different interests and aims between women and men. Women's domestic labour has been exploited by men as well as by capitalists. Therefore, reproduction of housework is also crucial in order to maintain the system of patriarchy. Because of these reasons, she advocated that neither only Marxist analysis nor feminist analysis is appropriate in order to understand women's oppression. Rather, both two analyses should be used.

These critiques of Marxist feminism paved the way for the theories which focus on both capitalist and patriarchal system in explaining women's oppression, rather than give more importance to one system than another. These theories form fundamental assumptions of socialist feminism and dual-system theories.

Socialist feminists enlarge the assumptions of Marxist feminism and advocate that gender inequality does not derive only from women's unpaid and paid works, rather, it is a complex dynamic and something more than one dimensional characteristics. It accepts the material bases of gender practices but also claim that it is interrelated with other factors such as race (Lorber, 2005: 64; Weedon, 1999: 146). Realization of both systems' importance in structuring gender inequalities is visible in many works of feminists. For example, Hartmann (1981: 36-37) advocate that societies should be regarded as not only capitalist, patriarchal or racist. Rather, one society can be described with all these systems at the same time. In a similar manner, Nancy Fraser (2003) determine gender as a two dimensional category rooted in economic structure and the status order of society. In the former sense, gender is regarded like a class division because it is a basic organizing principle within the economic structure. In the later sense, gender refers to status differentiation and this dimension of gender is related with the androcentric values and practices pervaded within the society. Because of these two dimensional structure of gender, both perspective, described as redistribution and recognition respectively by her, should be tackled with in order to redress gender injustice. She believes that this method has been

named as 'cross-redressing' contribute reciprocally to redress gender inequalities related with both maldistribution and misrecognition.

This focus on both patriarchy and capitalism as two important systems in structuring gender relations contributes to the development of dual-systems theories. Place of those theories within the feminist thought has been assigned differently. While some place those theories into somewhere between Marxist and radical feminism by regarding them as a synthesis of two feminist strands (e.g., Walby, 1990: 5), others evaluate these theories under the Marxist feminist tradition (e.g., Lorber, 2005: 47). On the other hand, they also regarded as assumptions of socialist feminism (e.g., Acker, 1999: 46; Cockburn, 1986: 81). Under this title, dual-systems theories are also included within the assumptions of socialist feminism because its claims are closely related with the critiques of socialist feminism against Marxist feminism. But, it is also sensible to think these theories as the synthesis of Marxist and radical feminist theory if it is considered that they began to develop with the recognition of patriarchal system's importance which has widely emerged in radical feminists' studies.

Dual system theories focus on the combination of patriarchy and capitalism but this combination has been evaluated in different ways. On the one hand, relationship between capitalism and patriarchy has been regarded as one unitary system and described with the name of capitalist patriarchy. On the other hand, two systems have been seen as analytically distinctive and different levels of social relations were allocated to the two systems (for these theories in details, see Walby, 1990: 5-7). These different ways in analyzing relationship between patriarchy and capitalism have been also seen as problematic. Assumptions of unitary system have been questioned because of its potential to overlook male supremacy for the sake of emphasis on class (Cockburn, 1986: 81). On the other hand, forming analytically separate and independent system has been criticized for its supposition that as if there were clear distinction between class and gender relations. It has been regarded as

problematic in that it fails to recognize that many gender relations are also class relations and vice versa (Acker, 1999: 47-48).

The notion of class has not been used only within the Marxist and socialist feminist analyses. Radical feminists have also evaluated this notion from a different perspective and use it in order to assign commonalities among women by thinking them as a class. These assumptions and their opposed claims will be analyzed with more details in the following title.

### **2.2.3.2 United Women as a Class or Divided Class Interests among Women**

The notion of class and Marxist materialist method has not been used by only Marxist feminists. Rather, this analytical concept and method has been also used and evaluated by radical feminists in order to explain women's situation but in a different way. As mentioned earlier, while the issue of women's oppression have been tried to include within the debates of existing Marxist class analysis in the Marxist feminist tradition, radical feminists have tried to reveal differences between women and men by theorizing women as a united class. In order to assign commonalities to all women, they have tried to answer the question of whether women constitute a class and on which foundations the class of women can be built.

The main assumption of this tradition is that women form a distinct class. This formulation makes the claims that women and men do not share same class positions and interest possible (Ramazanoğlu, 1989: 101). On the other hand, the issue of which foundations can be used in order to theorize women's class have been based on different conceptualization. For example, Shulamith Firestone described women as a sex class by attempting to use the concept in a Marxist sense. She claimed that women and men constitute different classes which are based on their sex and this is the most basic division in the history. Dialectic of sex, she claimed, is the basic historical dialectic and this system is maintained by the reproduction roles of women. According to her, subordinate position of women is resulted from these roles. Thus, some issues such as childbirth, childcare, breast-feeding have been theorized by

Firestone as the basic sources in claiming women's sex class (Bryson, 1999: 56; Hartmann, 1981: 24, Ramazanoğlu, 1989: 101, Walby, 1990: 12). In addition to this, Christine Delphy has also conceptualized women as a sex-class but she has based this theory on the different foundation. She evaluated sex-class of women by focusing on the unit of domestic production and the situation of women as unpaid workers in the household. According to her theory, women have been exploited in the patriarchal mode of production in a similar manner with capitalist mode of production. At this point, she focused on the unpaid labour of women in the domestic area and she theorized this unpaid labour which is common to all women as the basic source of women's sex class. Delphy argued that although women have different situations or relations with domestic works, they are dependent upon their husbands because they can receive maintenance in return for their unpaid labour in the home and this situation contributes to theorize women as a sex-class (Bryson, 1999: 56; Walby, 1990: 11). In a similar manner, Delphy and Leonard (1986) focused on the relations within the family as a hierarchical system in order to make visible inequalities between women and men within this unit by using class analysis. They describe family as follows "*a social system in which subordinates work unpaid for a head, generally a husband/father, and are in return maintained by him*" (1986: 62). By making similarities between head of family and managers in the market labour, they classified works done by women and men in the family according to their low or high status. They claimed that there is a 'division of jobs, of labour' within the family instead of tasks and this is explained by them as:

*In general in the family, prestigious tasks are reserved for men... certain tasks are intrinsically of higher prestige, for example breadwinning, because they are functionally more important to the family... It is not a question of women cooking and cleaning and caring for children and men never doing these things. Such tasks are 'women's work', are not valued highly, and are often invisible; but men sometimes do them. Rather, domestic work is women's work in the sense that the status, the conditions of doing it, the relations of production of this work are now nearly specific to wives. What makes it wives' work is not the tasks, but their particular organization. There*

*is not a division of tasks, but a division of jobs, of labour-tasks plus their conditions of performance and remuneration and status* (1986: 63).

As it is seen above theoretical debates, some radical feminists have regarded women as a sex-class by using class conceptualization in a Marxist sense. In contrast to Marxist feminists, instead of trying to open a place for women's oppression in a capitalist system and evaluating capitalist system as the main enemy for women's oppression, these works have been devoted to form commonalities among women against men by using the conceptualization of sex class. However, it can be said that they are also similar with Marxist feminists' works in concerning with the concept of class and materialist method of class analysis in a Marxist sense. For example, according to Cockburn (1986: 83) materialist method has been used in theories of sex class but it has been interpreted differently by these theories. While Firestone interpreted material as biological by seeing sources of class differences in sex caste and reproduction roles, Delphy interpreted material as economic by seeing the reason of women's oppression as their labour's exploitation by men. As related with this issue, some writers also separated Delphy's study from radical feminists' work due to its emphasis on economic base of sex-class and acknowledging that sex class existed alongside social classes (e.g., Bryson, 1999: 58; Ramazanoğlu, 1989: 101).

However, in addition to the studies which evaluate the situation of women with the concept of class in a Marxist sense, there are also some studies which conceptualize women and men with the Weberian concept of status. According to these studies, sexual division of labour or gender inequalities can be evaluated with the Weberian terminology of status group or status stratification. Differences between women and men and commonalities among women have not usually resulted from economic bases, other factors such as ideological constrains, lack of some opportunities and priorities possessed by men are also important in assigning commonalities among women and differences from men. So, men and women can be evaluated as status group in a Weberian sense and gender inequalities can be regarded as status determined (e.g., Lockwood, 1986: 19-20; Walby, 1986: 35-36).

What about differences among women? Can we assume that all women have same interests and experiences due to their united sex-class? Is there any differences or power relations existed also within the group of women according to their economic situations? Is it possible to think all women as a class by overlooking some factors which divide them? These questions which are related with each other have been asked against the arguments of women as a sex-class. It can be said that critics of these theories have been derived from one main assumption. This assumption is sex-class theories, whether it is based on reproduction role of women or economic base of women's housework, are wrongly generalized to all women. Authors claimed that Delphy's study fails to recognize that not all women are housewives and increasing number of women begin to gain their economic independence, so many family do not based on solely male-breadwinner model (e.g., Bryson 1999, Walby 1986). In addition to this, differences among women derived from some factors such as economic position and race identity have also been emphasized in order to reveal tendency of wrongly generalization of women's experiences in those theories. For example, according to Bryson (1999) although it is true that women still remain as primary responsible person for housework and they have also common experiences of sexism, they are experiencing these conditions differently. Women's different situations have been shaped by their different economic position or resources and gender. She claims as follows:

*There is a huge differences between cleaning the house for one's own family, being paid to clean someone else's and supervising the employment of a cleaner...It is clear at one level that a woman who has been raped or one who is bleeding to death from an illegal abortion is suffering as a woman. The first woman may, however, have been raped as a black woman by a man who would not dream of touching a 'respectable' white woman; the second may be dying in a society in which women with money or contacts have no problem in terminating an unwanted pregnancy (Bryson, 1999: 58,64).*

The same emphasis has been also made by Caroline Ramazanoğlu. As opposed to failure of recognizing class division among women within the sex-class theories, Ramazanoğlu (1989: 102) claimed that women's class interests can divide women's

common interests in fighting for women's oppression. There is a division of interests among women who came from different economic conditions, so it is difficult to suggest that there is unity among women based on their sex class. She argued this division among women as follows:

*Some are worked to death, some are directly exploited, some are much less clearly exploited, and some clearly benefit at the expense of other women... Women clearly stand in contradictory relations to each other and do not have the same interests in the transformation of society... Women of the west can benefit directly from the labour of third-world women working very long hours in very poor working and living conditions... The relations between western and third-world women cannot be understood in general as one oppressive relationship in which men oppress women. Women's lives, for example as Saudi Arabian princesses, as British immigrant public toilet cleaners, as African peasants, as Wall Street executives... as white South African housewives... indicate some of the complexities of the interrelations of class, work and gender which carry different dimensions of oppression. Women's lives are affected by class and work relationships in ways that give some women power others, in which some women benefit from the exploitation of others and in which women have different interests. (Ramazanoğlu, 1989: 104, 108, 111, 112).*

These assumptions which emphasize power relations and class differences among women have also reflected on the theoretical bases of some case studies. There are studies which were conducted with maids and their employers in order to reveal class differences and power relations between these women who encounter with each other and experience this division in their day-to-day life (e.g., Bora 2005; Özyeğin 2002; Fidan & Özdemir 2011; Suğur et al. 2008). On the other hand, there are also some studies which indicate different effects of some policies regarded as woman-friendly on women's economic interests by trying to reveal how socio-economic differences affect gender interests of women, in other words, how gender interests vary among women from different classes (e.g., Shalev 2008).

#### **2.2.4 New Tendencies and Approaches to Class in Feminist Thought**

As mentioned earlier, new experiences of women and changes in patriarchal relations have crucial impact on the meaning of gender and the efforts of the developing more

comprehensive theories about gender relations in order to understand these changes properly. In a similar manner, with the rapid changes in the capitalist production and penetration of capitalism as a global system into all areas of our lives and overseas places accompany to the changes in socio-economic situation of people all around the world. This situation has also contributed to the questioning of what the meaning of class is and whether or not old abstract definitions or patterns of class can be used in order to analyze these alterations within the system and conditions people experience properly. These new questions led to emerge some attempts in broadening the meaning of class and measures used its analysis.

Some feminists attempts, discussed above, which try to include increasing women's participation into occupational structures which was only shaped by men before and their unpaid labour in recent conditions within the analysis of class can be given as an example of these attempts. However, it is also claimed that recent feminist works avoid to use class as a theoretical tool or ignore its importance. According to Skeggs (1997: 6-7), class tends to be disappeared from feminist analyses and there are some possibilities which cause this retreatment tendency of feminists from class in their analysis. It may be occur because 'class itself is a difficult concept to define' or 'in the past the majority of the feminist debates on class have focused on only analysis of the family, the labour market and the domestic labour or 'it is not possible to measure class accurately'. She believed that this retreat from class in feminist studies in reality does not mean that class does not exist any more. Contrary, it contributes to make some experiences and lives silenced so to claim that class is not important is only useful for people who do not affected by deprivations and inequalities class produces. The same assumption about the retreat from the concept of class has also argued by Chris Weedon but with different grounds. According to Weedon (1999: 131-134) reasons of why class became the least fashionable concept in studies can be related with some issues such as 'increasing postmodern skepticism towards general theories', perception of 'socialism as an failed experiment' and 'demise of popular forms of working class identification'. On the other hand, Joan Acker (1999: 44-53)

evaluates this situation from a different perspective and suggests that in 1980s, some feminist studies which focused on the intersections of gender, class and race began to emerge. But, although these studies use the term of class as an analytical concept, they treat it as non-problematic by using it uncritically. Within these studies, while the meaning of race and gender were transformed with the assumptions regarded them as socially constructed and variable terms, the term of class remained as untouched. Studies which use the term of class as an analytical tool identify the subjects as middle class or working class but the issue of what the meaning of being working or middle class is not given. Thus, these abstract definitions have been seen as taken for granted and this situation overlooks the old feminist critiques against the meaning of class itself by continuing to use its old meanings which exclude many groups of people's experiences such as women and racial minorities.

These debates have been carried to new agenda of feminism about class question and the issue of how the meaning of class can be revised in that it enable to theorize many alterations in women's situation resulted from expansion of global capitalist system. According to Ramazanoğlu (1989: 100-101) due to the massive expansion of capitalism and technological change, women's lives transformed and two classes of capitalism are no longer easy to identify. There are also new emerging classes such as service, technical and professional and the numbers of employed women within the white-collar or service jobs instead of factories increase. So, the impact of class divisions on women can not be understood without considering these changes properly. In a similar manner, Acker (1999) draws attention to the rapid changes within the capitalist system and use the metaphor of 'mutating monster' for the development of capitalism as a global system. In order to understand changes in classes within such a system, she prefers to use 'a fluid view of class' which refers to the understanding of class as an 'active practices' instead of abstract definitions and as an 'ongoing production of gender and racially formed economic relations'. Under this conceptualization, it is argued that class relations can not be understood properly without taking gender and race into account. So, any understanding of class relation

should be derived from the different perspectives of ‘differently located people’. These new ways of thinking class, she claimed as ‘dynamic and multifaceted picture of class’, are different from class approaches which starts with assigning people to the categorical class positions. This also do not deny the importance of the idea of class and of such categories in making sense of relations, but this new understanding of class is more appropriate to include ‘unpaid, mostly women, workers outside the labour force and unemployed people’ for her. However, although she proposed to new ways for rethinking class and class relations, she did not attempt to create a new concept of class.

All these new approaches to class and gender relations along with the increasing emphasis on differences among women have been closely related with the assumptions of intersectional theory in feminist thought. It can be formed a close relationship between these debates and this theory. Because its main assumption is that gender, race and class can not be analyzed as independent systems from each other. Thus, both emphasizes interrelated nature of these factors and pays attention to the different experiences of women’s oppression shaped by race and class simultaneously in a similar manner. In the third part, assumptions of intersectional theory will be given with more details.

### **2.3 Toward More Inclusive Perspective: Intersection Theory**

Debates on womanhood, gender and class in feminist theory, explained in details above, shows that it is not sufficient to focus on merely gender issue in order to comprehend the sources of women’s oppression and women’s interests but at the same time taking other factors which affect and shape closely gender relations into account is necessary. In a similar vein, intersection theory has been built on the similar arguments brought into agenda by those debates. Beside that, it also gives an insight for how these different women’s oppression experiences and multiple relations should be understood and studied with, thus it provides a framework and methodology to the studies which aim to reveal those multiple relations in a

particular context. This part aims to analyze intersection theory, firstly mentioning its emergence process along with meanings attributed to it and then explaining its main arguments and methodology.

### **2.3.1 Historical Background and Definitions for the Term of “Intersectionality”**

The emergence of ‘intersectionality’ perspective is related with the critics of one-dimensional approaches to social identities which focus on merely one factor. It begins to emerge with the recognition that individual lives and experiences do not shaped by only one factor, rather the impacts of their social locations constituted by multiple identities such as gender, class, race, ethnicity and so forth are present in shaping experiences. Focusing only one factor such as gender, class and race fail to capture whole picture and make some groups’ interests and experiences marginal. In such a setting, intersectionality perspective is needed in order to reach a more comprehensive grasp (Landry 2007; Shields 2008; Yuval-Davis 2006).

The first usage of the term ‘intersectionality’ was introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) in order to pay attention different oppression systems to which black women are exposed (Styhre & Eriksson-Zetterquist 2008: 570; Yuval-Davis 2006: 193). Crenshaw (1994) introduced the term of intersectionality as a framework for analysis which indicate ‘multiple grounds of identity’ by claiming as:

*Intersectionality is not being offered here as some new, totalizing theory of identity... My focus on the intersections of race and gender only highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed (Crenshaw, 1994:3, quoted in Styhre & Eriksson-Zetterquist 2008: 571).*

Other usages of the intersectional perspective have been constructed in a similar manner with its first usage. For example, Collins (1993: 51; 1999: 265) regards gender, race and class as an ‘interlocking categories of analyses and oppression systems’ and ‘intersecting dimensions of social organization’. She claims that such an understanding is crucial in order to keep away from the one-dimensional approach which imagine gender or race as pure concepts and not shaped by each other and to

grasp how these oppression systems function in connection with each other. In a similar vein, Shields (2008: 301-302) describe intersectionality as ‘the mutually constitutive relations among social identities’ and elaborate this definition as follows:

*Intersectionality is that social identities which serve as organizing features of social relations, mutually constitutive, reinforce, and naturalize one another. By mutually constitute I mean that one category of identity, such as gender, takes its meaning as a category in relation to another category. By reinforce I mean that the formation and maintenance of identity categories is a dynamic process in which the individual herself or himself is actively engaged. We are not passive “recipients” of an identity position, but practice each aspect of identity as informed by other identities we claim. By naturalize I mean that identities in one category come to be seen as self-evident or “basic” through the lens of another category. (2008: 301-302)*

On the other hand, because of the emphasis on mutually constituent structure of identities, Styhre & Eriksson-Zetterquist (2008: 571) called intersectionality as a ‘transdisciplinary’ term which does not reduce one framework to another.

As all these definitions of intersectionality show, individual identities are shaped by their particular social locations determined by some factors such as gender, race and class. These factors can not be evaluated separately from each other as if they function as fixed and invariable patterns. To attain a more comprehensive framework in analyzing oppression system and particular experiences, the perspective of intersectionality as a tool of analysis is necessary according to these new understandings. Implications provided by these definitions for intersectionality perspective form a theoretical basis of intersection theory. Under the following title, intersection theory will be explained in more details by presenting its main arguments.

### **2.3.2 Intersection Theory: Main Assumptions**

In the lights of emphasis on interrelated relations between oppression systems such as sexism, racism and classism, intersectional theory focus on the multiple relations in a particular context without reducing one system to another. Bart Landry (2007:1-

6) evaluates it as “*not yet a theory but a set of assumptions or hypotheses that are being tested through the efforts of many researchers*” and claimed that Black feminist’s works and assumptions are dominant in the intersection theory. In a similar manner, some Black feminists also advocate that analyzing gender, race and class simultaneously and focusing on all these three systems without concentrating on only one is a central tendency of Black feminists (e.g., Brewer 1993; King 1988; Zinn & Dill 1996).

Classification of intersectional theory’s main assumption has generally been made around two closely interrelated issues (e.g., Landry 2007; Shields 2008). One of them is about the recognition that not only one system can be sufficient in order to understand a particular experience rather factors such as class, gender and race are simultaneously effective in shaping our experiences and forms of oppression. This is called as simultaneity or presence of all these factors at the same time in a particular context. Another is about the issue of how the relationships among these factors should be approached, whether it should be seen as separated or interlocking. Although this is called with different labels by feminists, that will be mentioned later, it is widely supposed multiplicative or interlocking nature of relationships rather than additive. These general classifications will be also used in here, but in addition to these assumptions, attempts to keep away from pluralism will be given as the third main assumption of intersection theory. These three assumptions will be elaborated in the following subtitles respectively.

### **2.3.2.1 Simultaneity or Presence of Race, Class and Gender**

*If you are female, life sucks. Only at least we were smart enough to know that it is not just being female, but also being a person of color or class, which makes life a quicksand trap* (Langston, 1988: 124).

The claim of the intersection theory that gender, class and race simultaneously structure individual experiences has been based on the questioning of the essentialist ideas about women’s experiences within the early debates of feminist thought. Statement of Donna Langston cited above which emphasize the simultaneity of other

factors along with gender in women's lives was made against the patronizing tendency of white feminism and it can be said that it clearly reflects such a questioning. Critics that ideas about the womanhood and women's oppression in mainstream feminist thought carry the White-middle class nature so its theories generally represent limited experiences of women by marginalizing some groups such as poor or black prompted especially black women to think about other oppression systems which are also present in shaping their experiences and lives. Questioning the nature of gender and essentialist ideas about women's oppression or patriarchal system are closely similar with the critics toward the assumptions of radical feminism which were mentioned in the first part of the chapter (for these critics, see Brewer 1993; Collins 1993; King 1988; Lorde 1984; Zinn & Dill 1996; Zinn et al. 2000).

Intersection theorists have widely advocated that gender, race and class still matter in shaping our lives because they continue to structure all power relations, opportunities, institutions and so forth. In order to comprehend complicated structure of social inequalities, it is essential to deconstruct partial knowledge developed by focusing those essentialist ideas and to replace them with the knowledge produced by also focusing different experiences. Further, one dimensional approach which focus on particular oppression structures, it is argued, will lead 'a bad social policy which reproduce rather than solves' inequalities or it will provide short term policies rather than ensuring a radical social transformation (Andersen & Collins 2007; Collins 1993). In contrast, simultaneously thinking is capable to conceptualize social reality as a phenomenon which function in many areas by grouping different or even competing subject positions in action and have multiple dimensions rather than one dimension (Styhre & Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2008: 577).

On the other hand, along with the claim of presence of these factors simultaneously, it is also argued that one oppression system can not be seen as more important than other systems or the effect of a particular oppression on people's lives is greater than another. As a result of such a reductionist approach, King (1988: 23-36) points out

that black women can not find a proper place for their experiences and interests within the both feminist and anti-racist movements as well as class struggles. Because these movements have a monist approach for their liberation politics which focus on only one dimension by seeing a particular domination as reason of other oppression systems. Thus, black women remained as marginal within these struggles due to the tendency of reducing importance of one system to another. According to King, white feminist's claims of that anti-sexist movements will demolish racist discrimination is naive and as a result of the incapability of all these movements in providing a comprehensive framework for grasping social relations, black feminists recognize the necessity of 'multiple jeopardy politics'. In a similar manner, Brewer (1993: 40-41) pays attention to the necessity of theorizing gender, race and class as 'simultaneous forces' and advocate that "*gender as a category of analysis cannot be understood decontextualized from race and class ... In turn, practice and struggle must be anti-sexist, anti-classist, anti-racist and anti-homophobic*" (1993: 41, 42). Zinn and Dill (1996: 56) also repeat the same emphasis about the situation of black women within different struggles by making a quotation from Frankenberg and Mani (1993):

*Speaking simultaneously from within and against both women's liberation and antiracist movements, we have insisted on the need to challenge systems of domination, not merely as gendered subjects but as women whose lives are affected by our location in multiple hierarchies* (Frankenberg and Mani, 1993).

The necessity of thinking gender, race and class as simultaneous factors in shaping individuals' experiences and domination systems without reducing one of them to another has also been emphasized similarly by other intersection theorists (e.g., Andersen & Collins 2007; Collins 1993; Yuval-Davis 2006).

In addition to these similar arguments on the presence of these three factors, intersectional theorists sometimes evaluate the situation of simultaneity in various ways. For example, Collins (1993: 46, 47) advocates that;

*In certain contexts...racial oppression is more visibly salient, while in other contexts...social class oppression may be more apparent...The recognition that one category may have salience over another for a given time and place does not minimize the theoretical importance of assuming that race, class and gender as categories of analysis structure all relationships (1993: 46,47).*

In a similar vein, King (1988: 20-21) emphasizes the possibility that importance of one factor is not 'absolute' but rather it is 'dependent on the social phenomenon or reference groups under consideration'. On the other hand, Zinn and Dill (1996: 59) points out that these categories can be experienced differently according to individuals' social locations by assuming that;

*People of the same race will experience race differently depending upon their location in the class structure as working class...in the gender structure as female or male and in the structures of sexuality as heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual (1996: 59)*

As it is shown in the discussions above, main focus has widely put around three factors: race, gender and class within the intersection theory. It is argued that although there are other important factors such as age, disability, sexuality, ethnicity, religion and so forth in shaping individual's experiences, in the U.S. where the intersection theory emerge these three factors are more salient in shaping people's lives so more emphasis has been given to them instead of other factors (Andersen & Collins 2007: 6; Landry 2007: 2; Yuval-Davis 2006: 201; Shields 2008: 303). But it does not mean that these other factors are not relevant or can not be used for intersectionality analysis, there are also feminist theorists who use other dimensions in their analysis (for these studies, see Yuval-Davis 2006: 202).

### **2.3.2.2 Multiplicative Relationships**

*In the case of much feminist thought we may get the impression that a woman's identity consists of a sum of parts neatly divisible from one another, parts defined in terms of her race, gender, class, and so on... On this view of personal identity (which might also be called pop-bead metaphysics), my being a woman means the same whether I am white or Black, rich or poor, French or Jamaican, Jewish or Muslim (Spelman, 1988: 136, quoted in Amott & Matthaei, 1996: 285).*

Assumption of simultaneity does not reveal only the situation that different factors are present in a particular social process or oppression experience but also question what the nature of relationships among these factors is. The issue of whether effects of race, class and gender on a given social outcome can be evaluated separately as if one factor does not shape the other when they simultaneously active in a particular context has been also located at the centre of debates within the intersection theory. Spelman (1988) interpreted the problem of seeing these factors as being separate from each other instead of interrelated by using the metaphor of 'pop-beads on a necklace of identity' (Amott & Matthaei, 1996: 285; Zinn and Dill, 1996: 59). Based on the same claim with Spelman, the assumption of multiplicative or constitutive relationship rather than additive points out that recognition the presence of these factors simultaneously in shaping a given social phenomenon is not enough. This recognition should also follow the approach based on the multiplicative relationship among these factors.

Emphasis on the difference between multiplicative and additive approach within the intersection theory has been widely made against the theories of 'double/ triple jeopardy or oppression'. These theories introduced dual or triple discriminations and assume that Black women suffer oppression as Blacks, women and working class. Sometimes homophobia is added as fourth oppression (King, 1998: 18; Yuval-Davis, 2006: 195). Intersectional theorists are against the claims of these theories due to their additive approach. For example, King (1998) interprets assumptions of these theories as 'mathematical equation such as racism + sexism + classism' and suggests that they are simplistic since in such a formulation it is supposed that each factor has an independent effect on the social phenomenon. In contrast, King argues, this does not reflect the real situation that these systems are interactive with each other and instead of this proposes a new formulation as: 'racism x sexism x classism'. In a similar manner, Yuval-Davis (2006: 194-195) advocate that in reality there is no such oppression as 'triple oppression' theories suggest. Further, she also suggest that additive ways used in understanding oppression systems essentialize being women,

Black or working class and therefore, they ironically fall within the narratives of identity politics which is criticized by them due to its tendency to marginalize experiences of other groups.

Positioned against the additive perspective, the multiplicative relationships approach of the intersection theory has paid attention to two relevant issues: interrelated nature of gender, race and class and power relationships among them. Firstly, as closely related with the above critics toward double/triple oppression theories, intersection theorists emphasize the situation that gender, race and class can not be understood as being different and independent concepts from each other since conceptualization of each factor change when others are considered or included within the analysis. This assumption combines with the critics both against the essentialist tendency which regards categories of race, class, gender and so forth as fixed factors and monist liberation politics mentioned above. Because in a similar manner with those critics, multiplicative approach points out different experiences of individuals from people with whom they share same identity such as being woman, working class or black. For example intersection theorists claim that *“being black and female is different from being generically black or generically female”* (King, 1988: 18); *“the working class is not homogenous in terms of race or gender”* (Langston, 1988: 123); *“gender is no longer viewed simply as a matter of two opposite categories of people, males and females, but a range of social relations among differently situated people”* (Zinn et al. 2000: 153); *“since racial-ethnic and class domination have differentiated the experiences of women, one can not assume that all women have the same experience of gender oppression”* (Amott & Matthaei 1996: 286). These assumptions about multiplicative and constitutive nature of relationships rather than additive parallels to the distinction between linear and interactive relationships in the statistics according to Bart Landry (2007: 12-13). While multiplicative perspective is similar to interactive relationships which imply conditional relations, additive approach is similar to linear relationships which represent same consequences regardless of other factors.

Secondly, along with the above assumptions about interlocking nature of different categories, intersection theorists also claim that these factors can not be evaluated separately from the power relations. They can assign both opportunities and disadvantages to people according to their social locations since one people can be both oppressor and oppressed at the same time (Collins, 1993: 46; Zinn and Dill 1996: 60). To illustrate, many intersectional theorists emphasis the power relations among women and their different situations in experiencing gender relations. Donna Langston (1988: 123) says that;

*Working class women have seldom had the luxury of choosing between work in the home or market. We've generally done both, with little ability to use purchase services to help with this double burden. Middle- and upper-class women can often hire other women to clean their houses, take care of their children, and cook their meals...Working a double or triple day is common for working class women (1988: 123).*

Similarly, Zinn et al. (2000: 153-154) draws attention to both opportunities and disadvantage of some women by arguing that;

*Some women derive benefits from their race and class position and from their location in the global economy, while they are simultaneously restricted by gender. In other words, such women are subordinated by patriarchy, yet their relatively privileged positions within the hierarchies of race, class and the global political economy intersect to create for them an expanded range of opportunities, choices and ways of living. They may even use their race and class advantage to minimize some of the consequences of patriarchy and/or to oppose other women (2000: 153-154)*

Although all intersection theorists use both the terms of simultaneity and multiplicity together for the social relations within the multiple oppression system, as it can be clearly seen from the above assumptions, they have also labeled this system with different names. These are the 'matrix of domination' (Andersen & Collins 2007), 'multiple jeopardy' or 'interactive model' (King 1988), 'multiracial feminism' (Zinn & Dill 1996) and 'prism of difference' (Zinn et al. 2000).

### 2.3.2.3 Attempts to Move Beyond Pure Pluralism

In association with the above assumptions, intersection theorists also separate their perspective from the post-modernist assumptions on diversity. The recognition that race, class and gender are not fixed categories but they can change in terms of different contexts, they argue, is only beginning for more inclusive perspective. Further, it is also crucial to recognize that these concepts are not only individual features but they also make power relations so they are closely related with the power structures. For example, according to Andersen & Collins (2007) matrix of domination model is different from difference or diversity frameworks because it also focuses on ‘the structural systems of power and inequality’ as well as criticizes existing power and inequality systems. Therefore, listening to other voices which are silenced before and ‘valuing cultural pluralism’ is an important step for forming an inclusive perspective about relations of race, class and gender but it is not sufficient. In a similar vein, Zinn et al. (2000: 153-154) have tried to solve the problem of ‘spiraling diversity’ and the trouble of becoming meaningless due to the fragmentations in the categories such as ‘women’. Standing against these ideas, they advocate that their position is different from ‘empty pluralism’ and use the metaphor of ‘patchwork quilt’ for overly emphasis on diversity. They advocate the difference of this model from their perspective as follows:

*It is clearly time to go beyond what we call the ‘patchwork quilt’... This approach too often amounts to no more than ‘adding difference and stirring’. The result may be lovely mosaic, but like a patchwork quilt, it still tends to overemphasize boundaries rather than to highlight bridges of interdependency. In addition, this approach too often does not explore the ways that social constructions of femininities and masculinities are based on and reproduce relations of power. In short, we think that...research that has done on various groups and subgroups needs to be analyzed within a framework that emphasizes differences and inequalities not as discrete areas of separation, but as interrelated bands of color that together make up a spectrum (2000: 153-154).*

This distinctiveness from the perspectives which only recognize and include differences and their failure to consider power relations resulted from these

differences has also been repeated by Zinn & Dill (1996). They separate the 'multiracial feminism' from these perspectives as follows:

*...differences are crucial, we argue, not as individual characteristics (such as being fat) but insofar as they are primary organization principles of a society which locates and positions groups within that society's opportunity structures... difference is often reduced to mere pluralism: a live and let live approach... The major limitation of these approaches is the failure to attend to the power relations that accompany difference... Multiracial feminism, in our views, focuses not just on differences but also on the way in which differences and domination intersect...go beyond the mere recognition and inclusion of difference (1996: 57 ,61).*

Thus far, it has been tried to mention what the meaning of intersectional analysis or perspective is and which main assumptions have been developed for the theoretical basis for this perspective. These definitions and assumptions mentioned above are important because they provide a theoretical framework in order to understand how a particular social phenomenon should be analyzed from the intersectional perspective. Last but not least, the issue of how these theoretical assumptions can be translated into an empirical research is crucial in order to reveal relationships in a given context under consideration. Since there are no given or assumed effects of these factors on a particular social phenomenon, it is necessary to conduct an empirical research. The issue of how a research can be conducted from intersectional perspective constitutes the matter of methodology. In the following part, methodological steps for the intersectional analysis will be tried to elaborate.

### **2.3.3 Methodology for Intersectional Analysis**

*One approach to developing intersectional analysis consists of selecting a specific social location, social practice, group history, or topic, and subjecting it to an intersectional analysis. This approach means choosing a concrete topic that is already the subject of investigation and trying to find the combined effects of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation, where before only one or two interpretive categories were used (Collins, 1999: 278).*

In Collins' statement quoted above, it was presented one strategy for conducting a research from the intersectional analysis: choosing a topic which is already

investigated by focusing on one or two categories and trying to find combined effect of other factors which were not focused on before. It can be said that this suggestion provides a substantial starting point for conducting a research with intersectional perspective but it is not enough. In addition, it is necessary to know how all assumptions of intersection theory can be translated into empirical analysis by using which rules and studying with which groups of people. At this point, Bart Landry (2007) presents a comprehensive framework of steps and rules which can be followed in order to put main assumptions of intersection theory into practice for both researchers who plan to use qualitative and quantitative methods in their studies. In this part, since qualitative methods and intersectional analysis are planned to use for this thesis, rules for qualitative approaches developed by Landry will be presented.

Firstly, the issue of how the simultaneity assumptions can be translated into a research was discussed by Landry. According to him (2007: 106), in the ideal form, a sample of research requires to include black and white, males and females, and working class and middle class individuals. But this ideal form can not be attained in the real world and also, as it is mentioned above, intersections theorists claims that although all three factors shape social relations, sometimes one factor can be more salient than others and this can be changed according to context under consideration. Landry expand this assumption by arguing that “*even that one category may not exist in a given situation*”. Therefore, he (2007: 108) summarizes two rules for the assumption of simultaneity. In an ideal form, a research design should have a sample which includes all eight race/class/gender locations. If the one category is not included within the research, the sample includes two identities and their four social locations such as ‘Black working class females, Black middle class females, Black working class males and Black middle class males’ in the situation that race does not vary. On the other hand, although researches which are conducted with two locations were not included within these rules by Landry, there are also some studies which are included within the intersectional analysis by him (e.g., Luttrell 1999). Landry

(2007:178) suggested that the reason of making the perspective of Luttrell's study which was conducted with Black-working class women and White-working class women intersectional is its comparison of black and white working class women. Because this comparison based on the intersection of race and class even though class does not vary according to him.

Secondly, according to Landry (2007: 109-112) the assumption of multiplicative relationships implies methodologically that it is not enough to include only gender, race and class categories in the research design. Since intersection theory also emphasizes the interactive nature of these identities along with their presence simultaneously, an empirical research conducted with intersectional perspective should also reveal these interrelated relationships among these identities. This assumption was paralleled to the statistical notion of interaction by Landry, as mentioned before, so he suggest that the conduct of intersectional research which use statistical technique should reveal the interactions among independent variables. This rule should be changed when the methods of a qualitative research such as semi-structured and depth- interviews are considered according to Landry. Because its data usually based on the quotation from interviews and summaries instead of statistical tables and also sometimes it can be difficult to make distinction between dependent and independent variables in qualitative studies. On the other hand, according to Landry methods of qualitative research can be useful since they have potential to provide in-depth information about the relationships and effects even though they can not make generalization due to the their small samples.

In addition to this framework of rules presented by Landry, it can be argued that the third assumption of intersection theory focused on power relations along with the opportunities and disadvantages provided by different social locations, which was mentioned in this part as a distinct assumption itself, should be also revealed with the questions used in interviews as well as relational effects or consequences.

There are also other particular methodologies used in particular context. To illustrate, Yuval-Davis (2006: 203) stated that intersectional analysis has been included to human rights area as part of 'gender mainstreaming' approach and mentioned a particular intersectional methodology for the area of human rights policy in her article. Consequently, keeping these methodologies also in mind, it can be said that the methodology presented by Landry, elaborated above, provides a general framework of rules and steps for an intersectional analysis.

#### **2.4 Last Remarks on the New Directions of Feminism**

*...dilemma for feminist theory. On the one hand, without some sense in which 'woman' is the name of a social collective, there is nothing specific to feminist politics. On the other hand, any effort to identify the attributes of that collective appears to undermine feminist politics by leaving out some women whom feminists ought to include (Young, 1995: 188).*

New directions of feminism come into existence with the debates on issues placed at the core of feminist thought such as the meaning of womanhood and gender, unity among women derived from the common oppression experiences in the patriarchy and so forth. These debates, elaborated with details in this chapter before, have been seen as necessary by the group of women who have different social locations which in turn lead to different consequences and experiences of oppression. With the recognition of that arguments within the mainstream feminist thought are far from to represent those women's different conditions and interests, the necessity of a more comprehensive and inclusive framework have begun to surface. Focusing on the nearly same critics which are explained in the previous parts of the chapter, feminist writers have tried to develop such a framework which theorize new directions to understand diverse experiences and interests among women. In addition to this attempt, they have also tried to develop new solutions in order to keep the feminist politics and knowledge away from becoming meaningless due to the overemphasis on diversities. These solutions have been presented in various ways by feminists who believe the need of a more inclusive perspective in feminist theory and politics.

However, while presenting these solutions, they also intersect with each other at some points. In this part, solutions presented by those feminists for the future of an influential feminist politics will be tried to mention briefly.

Firstly, related with the issue of sameness-differences, the importance of equality and equity approaches for feminist politics has been tackled with. Although some writers focus on the needs of both equality and equity approach (e.g. Lorber 2005; Rhode 1992), others argue that equality approach is the less capable to eliminate relations of domination than justice due to its denial of differences (e.g., Flax 1992). On the other hand, they also came together in emphasizing the need of focusing on disadvantages. For instance, according to Rhode (1992: 153-154) since most women experience similar problems such as family responsibilities, sexual violence etc. by being differently situated to them, the analysis should begin with the discourse of difference but not end with it. At this point, Rhode's alternative form of analysis less focus on differences and more on disadvantages accompanying these differences, as well as it tries to reveal variations in women's interests. In a similar vein, Flax (1992: 193-194) locates the aim of ending domination instead of differences at the centre of feminism and suggest that the issue is about the matter of how and why gender cause disadvantages rather than about the matter of differences. It can be said that these suggestions which draw attention to power relations and different interests among diversities parallels to the attempts to move beyond pluralism within the intersection theory (e.g., Andersen & Collins 2007; Zinn & Dill 1996; Zinn et al. 2000). In addition to the capability of disadvantage framework in revealing inequalities, it is also suggested that it able to recognize non-fixed nature of the term of 'woman' and women's interest (Rhode, 1992: 155-156). This suggestion is comply with the underlying logic of new approaches toward the term of womanhood in feminism which was developed in order not to fall within both an essentialist tendency and overemphasis on diversity.

Secondly, new emerging perspectives about the diverse nature of gender relations and the meaning of the term of womanhood have accompanied the heated debates in

feminism. Some questions about the future of feminist politics have begun to be asked with these debates: how feminist politics can stand if feminists does not unite around even the meaning of 'woman' on which its theories ground, how it is possible to come together in order to take action without a 'sisterhood' approach and by arguing diversity of women's experiences instead of common oppression notion. These questions have tried to solve in various ways without losing the importance of diversity approach by feminists. For instance, some feminists argue that recognition of diverse gender relations intersected with various social locations does not imply the lack of any common experience and interest of women. Bryson (1999: 58-59) explained this issue as follows:

*Economic class as more conventionally understood can cut across 'womanly experiences'. This does not mean that women do not ever have common interests; it does mean that these interests cannot be assumed and that women can also have interests that divide them* (1999: 58-59).

The same focus on the need of considering diversities when common experiences of women are mentioned has also been repeated by Judith Lorber. Lorber (2005: 316-317) stated that feminist politics should take women's different social locations shaped by class position, education, race and so forth into consideration when common core to women's experiences are mentioned. It is necessary to work with both these diverse experiences and woman's point of view for an inclusive feminist movement. Moreover, these multiple identities, she advocated, are not weakness for feminist politics as it is supposed as long as they can be used for the basis of coalitions.

It can be said that even though coalition politics which include different experiences and interests of women are presented as one solution to the problem of feminist movement by Lorber, it did not mention another important question of how such a coalition can be achieved under which conditions. This question has been tried to be solved by some feminists in part. Young (1995), as it is shown from her statement quoted at the beginning of the part, named the situation of alternating between the

danger of finding nothing specific to feminist politics with the deconstructed meaning of womanhood and of falling in essentialist claims as the dilemma of feminism. She proposed to the notions of 'gender as seriality' and 'woman as serial collective', explained in details before, in order to emancipate from this dilemma and make coalition politics attainable. According to Young (1995: 212), since the notion of 'women as serial collective' is not described by any common attributes and identities but 'by a set of structural constraints' and is formed in a different manner from the concept of group, it enables women to come together not because of their womanliness but of 'other concrete details of their lives'. This understanding enables to both come together with and enquire '*the facts of the series beyond us*'. On the other hand, Linda Nicholson (1995) changed the meaning of coalition politics in order to make coming together with the different groups of people attainable. She proposed a new understanding coalition as follows:

*Normally when we think of 'coalition politics', we think of groups with clearly defined interests coming together on a temporary basis for purposes of mutual enhancement. In such a view, coalition politics is something that feminists enter into with 'others'. But we could think about coalition politics as not something merely external to feminist politics but as that which is also internal to it. This means...feminist politics as the coming together of those who want to work around the needs of women where such a concept is not understood as necessarily singular in meaning or commonly agreed upon (Nicholson, 1995: 62).*

As it can be understood from above quotation, Nicholson form a close relationship between the perspective which approach the concept of woman as well as the women's interests or needs as not-fixed and possibility of making coalitions. It can be also argued that her arguments about the concept of 'woman' and the meaning of it as 'found instead of presupposed' share the similar implications with both Young's and Bryson's approach.

Consequently, all attempts mentioned here tried to keep in contact with a feminist politics which do not fall into the essentialist or general claims while it continues to work with coalitions. Even though they presented new perspectives to attain such a

politics in various ways, they also intersect with each other at many points by adopting similar logics underlines their suggestions: recognition of diverse gender relations shaped by social locations along with the patriarchal structures which many women can encounter and understanding of womanhood as not-fixed category.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter tried to explain how the term of gender and class has been approached in different tenets of the feminist theory in general. By keeping this aim in mind, it was formed around four different parts. These parts tried to elaborate these questions respectively: how the issue of women's oppression and the notion of gender along with the differences among women has been theorized by different traditions of feminism, how feminists have both criticized and drawn from classical class theories in developing new class analysis to understand both gender relations in patriarchal system and divided class interests among women, which insights brought by previous debates in feminist thought have also constituted the theoretical basis for intersection theory, how main assumptions of this theory can be transformed a methodology for an empirical research and what the new directions of feminist theory for the more robust and inclusive feminist movement or politics are.

When the research question of this thesis, mentioned in the introduction part of the chapter, is considered, titles which mainly focus on the debates about the different meanings for the notion of gender and womanhood, different class interests among women and their diverse oppression experiences with different gender relations and the part of intersection theory which was formed by embodying all these claims within its scope and provided a methodology for an empirical researches can be seen as the most relevant parts at the first sight. But, it is essential firstly to know and understand previous theories in order to grasp new developed perspectives and theories properly. As it was stated in the introduction part, since feminist theory proceeds in a cumulative manner, each assumption produced before has crucial contributions on the following ones. Because of this reason, in order to understand

accurately new developed perspectives on the meanings of gender and womanhood, it is needed firstly to comprehend radical feminists' essentialist ideas which generalize women's oppression experiences by regarding them as common in every patriarchal society within the framework of 'sisterhood'. In a similar vein, looking firstly the issues of how the concept of class have been dealt with and interpreted by feminist theorists and in turn which new methods of conceptualization and analysis have been introduced by them to the notion of class is essential before analyzing the arguments which emphasize different class relations and interests among women in contrast to the claims of unity among women under the 'sisterhood' flag. In addition to this, such an overview gives us some clues about how the class concept should be understood in a particular feminist study by taking which critics developed by feminists previously into consideration. Moreover, when it is considered that main assumptions of intersection theory has been built around the similar logic with debates on gender or womanhood and class in feminist theory, it can be seen clearly the contribution of such a general overview to these debates in understanding the setting in which intersection theory emerged. Because of all these reasons, parts which mentioned the main arguments of liberal and radical feminism and class debates within the feminist thought carries importance for both the integrity of the whole chapter and grasping accurately theoretical arguments within the intersection theory which are closely related with the topic of this study.

## CHAPTER 3

### GENDER-DIVERSITY SENSITIVE APPROACHES IN PUBLIC POLICIES AND THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

#### Introduction

Assumptions about gender specific needs, problems and experiences within the frame of intersection theory in the feminist thought have some important reflections in the public policy debates. At the international level, the issue that gender should be considered in a different way in the public policy making process has been widely accepted now. This main acceptance has been supported and sometimes forced through some important international mechanisms such as international conventions, conferences, adjustment laws for European Union and so on for many years. All these mechanisms basically aimed to ensure that governments all around the world have a gender sensitive approach in their public-policy making process and thus, they enable to eradicate negative consequences of those policies on women. Recently, this widely accepted issue has been influenced by the growing concern with intersectionality debates in the feminist theory and the necessity of taking gender into consideration in all the public policy processes such as creating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating has been extended. As a result, demands that not only gender but also other interrelated factors such as race, class, disability, age, ethnicity etc. should be paid attention in the public policy processes became to be heard at the international political arena. Thus, along with gender perspective, diversity perspective has also gained importance and needed in these processes.

Since this study focus specifically on public policies or services provided at municipal level in order to examine intersectional effects of gender and class on women's relations with those policies, this chapter primarily include two main parts. While the first part is interested with the issue of how gender and diversity approach reflects on public policy debates at the international level, the second part includes

debates about the importance of local governments in providing gender sensitive policies or services. The first part will generally give some details about the processes mentioned briefly above in order to understand what the meaning of gender and diversity perspective in public policy is, why these approaches are important and how they have been developed under which circumstances. On the other hand, second part will try to present reasons for why local services have been chosen as a central focus of this study. However, the ultimate goal of this study is to reveal main arguments of intersection theory on the basis of local services instead of providing assumptions about what kind of policies should be adopted at local level according to intersectional approach. Because of this reason, the first part of the chapter briefly aims to mention the process of how debates about gender and intersection theory, presented in the previous chapter, have been carried to the debates of public policy. Thus, it is aimed to present reasons about why this study is planned to be conducted in the way of placing arguments of intersection theory in both feminist thought and public policy debates to the centre. Following these main bases, second part of the chapter will also mention why local services and local governments are crucial in influencing women's lives in general.

### **3.1 Gender and Diversity Perspective in Public Policy**

The issue of how disadvantages citizens encounter in their daily life can be eliminated in a most efficient way is a contested issue for governments. Addressing those disadvantages through the public policies necessitates determining and paying attention different conditions of citizens. This also requires analyzing public policies in terms of how they affect citizens' lives differently due to their varying living conditions and identities. These two important premises imply that it is crucial to take some factors into consideration when public policies are designed, implemented and evaluated. Gender is the one of these factors which is widely accepted at international arena to make public policies more efficient in eliminating disadvantages women encounter. This situation brings the requirement of having gender perspective into the public policy debates as an important determinant of

social justice. Having gender perspective in public policies is not an isolated process which can be understood without some references to other concepts. Rather, it is closely related with the gender equality, gender sensitive policy and women's interest concepts. In order to grasp this process sufficiently, it is necessary to make sure which implications these concepts evoke when they are used. On the other hand, recent debates on gender perspective in public policy have integrated assumptions of intersection theory in this process. These debates mainly question whether only taking gender into consideration in public policy processes can be sufficient without any consideration of other important factors such as race, class, disability, age etc. They make such a questioning because they believe that disadvantages women encounter due to the gender roles can not be understood precisely without these other factors which are intertwined with gender. As a result, in public policy debates other factors came into existence along with gender factor but not in an isolated way so gender perspective has begun to be supported with diversity or intersectional perspective.

These processes mentioned briefly above are main themes of this part. They can be useful to provide some clues about how gender and intersectionality debates mentioned theoretically in the previous chapter reflected on public policy debates. These debates will give important reasons for why this study take both class and gender factors on the basis of evaluating local public services. They also give some implications about how some important conceptualization for this study such as women's interest, gender and diversity perspective, gender sensitive policy have been approached in public policy debates.

### **3.1.1 Gender Perspective in Public Policy**

When we ask the questions of what the meaning of gender perspective is and why this approach is needed in public-policy making processes, it is inevitable to look into some important concepts in order to answer them. Gender sensitive policy approach, women's interests and gender equality are concepts which should be

analyzed to understand what, how and why questions about gender perspective in public policy. Under this title, these main questions will be tried to answer.

It is mentioned before that the necessity of having gender perspective in public policy is widely-accepted issue and it is supported, sometimes forced, through international agreements, commitments and adjustment laws. Under this international political environment, it is important to understand what the meaning of gender perspective or approach in public policies is and how policies include it. Firstly, it can be said that the necessity of gender perspective in public policies emerge from the premise that women and men have different demands, interests and problems because there are power relations between them due to the gender inequalities. Because of this situation, it is believed that governments should be aware of these inequalities, different demands or interests through making their policies more sensitive towards gender relations and its different consequences on women and men. Only under such a condition, it is stated that, policies can bring equal and fair outcomes to all citizens and eliminate gender inequalities. This understanding has been usually defined as “gender sensitive policy approach” (Alkan 2005; Sumbas 2013). At this point, gender analysis is determined as a first step to take gender perspective in public policies. It is described as a determining process of “differences in conditions, needs, access to resources and development, etc., between women and men due to their assigned gender roles” (International Training Centre of The International Labour Organisation, 2009: 5). Thus, it is seen as a “systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences in order to identify, understand and redress inequities based on gender” (Reeves & Baden, 2000: 6). On the other hand, it is also advocated that recognizing other issues such as socioeconomic condition, age, ethnicity, etc., is essential while analyzing gender issues due to the fact that men and women are not homogenous groups (International Training Centre of The International Labour Organization, 2009: 5). This issue will be examined with more details later under the title which include diversity perspective in public policy debates.

As it can be seen in above discussion, determining different conditions, interests and demands between women and men is a crucial first step to have gender perspective in their policies for decision-making authorities. At this point, the way of describing what the women's interests are is an essential issue to discuss. This discussion is also important since it is one of the important conceptualization of this study. So, it will be mentioned later under a specific title.

Thus far, questions that what gender perspective is and how policies include it analyzed briefly. Another important question at this point is the question of why public policies include gender perspective or what the aim of taking such a perspective is. It can be said that the main answer of this question lie behind the premise mentioned above. Eliminating gender inequalities and recognizing different interests are the main reasons for having gender perspective in public policies. This issue is closely related with the concept of gender equality since the main purpose of this understanding is to ensure gender equality in many areas of society.

Gender equality has been placed as a strategic goal in global political agenda in order to ensure both social justice and good governance. Being embraced with this global goal, governments have introduced institutional mechanisms in order to create an environment in which women's political participation rates are equal with men and the interests of women are incorporated into policy-making process (Squires, 2007a: 1). There are common global patterns in which gender inequality exists such as violence against women, weak rates of women's political participation, sex trade, insufficient economic opportunities for women, etc. But, even under these common global patterns and the situation of gender equality goal is widely embraced by governments around the globe through international agreements and commitments, there is no consensus on the issue about what the meaning of gender equality is and how this goal is achieved (Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 2002:1; Crespi, 2009: 174). It is argued that this uncertainty stems from the different assumptions on the reasons of gender inequality and proposed strategies to cope with those inequalities in feminist theory. According

to Lombardo et al. (2009; 1-14) gender equality is hotly contested concept since it is open to different discursive debates about what gender and equality is. There are multidimensional realities and aspects on both gender and equality in theory so its meaning is the arena of contestation. It changes historically according to which discursive strand actors adopt in defining it and under which context it has been defined. Sylvia Walby (2009: 48) used the label of ‘contested signifier’ rather than ‘empty signifier’ for gender equality in order to define its not-fixed nature. In a similar vein, Breitenbach et al. (2002: 3-15) describe the process of creation gender equality and its meaning as a ‘state of flux’ by taking similar factors into account. They also believe that changes in international political sphere have capacity to shape politics of gender equality along with ‘domestic government philosophy’. Furthermore, it can also fits into existing policy frames by being broadened or submitted to other goals (Verloo et al., 2007: 281). Fitting into existing policy frames has been described by Kardam & Acuner (2003, 101-102) as symbolic commitment of governments to gender equality since it is manipulated for political leaders’ own interests and based generally on socio-political context. According to them, the reason of this situation is the lack of any stable political perspective of governments in which gender equality is regarded as a priority area.

The debates on sameness/difference dichotomy in feminist theory, it is argued, also give rise to the ambiguity for the meaning of gender equality. The question of whether women should be treated alike or differently from men shapes the ways of how gender equality goal is achieved. As a result, issues of whether only equal rights can be sufficient to attain gender equality or deeper measures which recognize gender roles and treat women differently from men are also needed have important impacts on both meaning and strategies of gender equality. This is also about the debates on formal and substantive equality concept and the distinction between equality and equity notions (for more details about equality/equity and sameness/difference dichotomy debates see Crespi 2009; Rai 2003: 16 Reeves & Baden, 2000: 10; Verloo & Lombardo, 2007).

According to Crespi (2009) there is a flaw in difference/sameness dichotomy debates. Gender equality is the “opposite of gender inequality not of gender difference”. At this point, the main objective for attaining gender equality should not to only ensure equality in a strictly statistical sense but also to promote change in gender relations which create inequality. In a similar vein, Council of Europe (1998:7-8) separated the meaning of gender equality from being synonymous with sameness;

*Gender equality means an equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life... Gender equality is not synonymous with sameness, with establishing men, their life style and conditions as the norm... Gender equality means accepting and valuing equally the differences between women and men and the diverse roles they play in society (quoted in Walby, 2005: 327).*

These debates shape also different gender equality policies or strategies. These strategies will be mentioned with its underlying logics later on.

In order to make public policies gender sensitive, the notion of women’s interests is another important concept which should be focused on. As it can be seen before, the emphasis on the recognizing different women’s interests emerge in almost all assumptions about the necessity of having gender perspective in public policies. But what are the women’s interests? How can we determine different interests of women from men in order to incorporate gender issues into policy making processes? At this point, the answers of these questions are crucial in order to make gender equality strategies clear. Under the following title, the theme of how women’s interests have been defined theoretically will be tried to enlighten.

### **3.1.1.1 Women’s Interests**

How can we define the term of interest? What is the meaning of women’s interest concept? Which factors are influential in determining women’s interests and how these interests can be categorized? Can we assume that there are common interests of women due to the gender relations regardless of other factors? These questions are

influential to understand the concept of women's interests in a comprehensive way and this title will try to present answers of those questions from the literature.

To begin with, looking to the definition of the women's interest term can be useful. Rai (2003: 23) describes the term as follows:

*Interests can be defined as shared understandings and articulations of concern to an individual or group. The term includes both the objectives of the individual or group and the power of the individual or group to attract attention to those objectives (2003: 23).*

As it can be seen in this definition, there are two important expressions which should be examined carefully in defining the term of interest. These are "shared understanding and concern" and "individual or group" points. This brings us to investigate the questions of whether it is possible to claim "shared understanding and concern" as well as to assume the existence of a homogenized group. This investigation is also very important to deal with the concept of women's interests.

One of the important theoretical conceptualization about women's interests has been introduced by Maxine Molyneux. According to Molyneux (1985) in order to make a feminist evaluation of social policies on the basis of gender issues, the concept of women's interests is crucial. Making such an evaluation, it is essential to "specify in what sense the term of interest is being deployed". On the other hand, she advocates that the issue of women's interests is more complex than it is assumed. So, she tries to conceptualize this concept and begins with questioning women's interests in terms of gender. According to her, women's interests are not equivalent with gender interests because women have different social positioning due to their race, class, ethnicity, and etc. These factors make interests women have as a group complex and sometimes conflicting. In relation to this fact, in the feminist theory there is lack of a general theory about women's subordination from which a general conception of interest can be derived. Because of these situations, the concept of women's interests is highly contentious issue. At this point, it is essential to "specify how the various categories of women might be affected differently and act on differently on account

of the particularities of their social positioning” instead of generalizing their interests. So, recognizing difference instead of assuming homogeneity is essential for a theory of interests according to Molyneux. However, she claims that these assumptions do not deny the situation that women may have general interests or some interests in common. Taking these premises into account, she makes a distinction between gender and women’s interests by claiming that the latter is a wider concept than the former. She calls general interests women may have in common due to the gender attributes as gender interests and divide it into two categories: practical and strategic gender needs. According to her conceptualization; while the former includes needs which derive from the immediate demands of women because of the gender roles, the latter include needs which aims to transform patriarchal patterns and overcome structural subordination problems women encounter. The most important distinction between these needs is that strategic gender needs try to change existing patriarchal system but practical gender needs meet demands of women which exist in patriarchal society. On the other hand, this distinction is not clear according to Molyneux since practical gender needs have capacity to evolve into strategic gender needs in the long term.

Demands of providing basic needs, daily welfare, child care, housing, water, qualified infrastructural services and etc can be given as examples for practical gender needs according to Molyneux conceptualization (Rai, 2003: 24). Molyneux (1985: 233-234) also emphasized that practical needs are not independent from class effects; instead it is also shaped by class factor like broader concept of women’s interests. So, factors of class and gender are closely intertwined at this point and consensus on gender issues among women is not a given issue, instead such a unity can only be constructed for her.

In a similar vein, the influence of economic interests on differentiating women’s interests has been repeated by other theories on this issue. For example, according to Jonasdottir (1988), economic interests place women in a conflicted position with each other as well as with men due to gender relations. Thus, economic interests are

important factor in differences among women and placing them on the different side (quoted in Rai 2003: 24).

Maxine Molyneux's conceptualization on women's interests is important for this study because of two reasons. Firstly, it has been used by some studies as a determinant concept in evaluating public policies at local level in terms of gender sensitivity (e.g., Alkan 2005; Sumbas 2013; Wedel 2001). This conceptualization will be also helpful for this study while analyzing women's expectations from Tuzla district municipality. On the other hand, it is important because both this conceptualization and other debates on women's interest issue, as it can be seen above, have emphasized the importance of class effects on determining women's interests along with gender. But these studies in the literature on gender and local governments have mainly focus on the effect of gender, even though they also emphasized income situation of women (e.g., Alkan 2005). On the contrary, this study will try to analyze both class and gender effects on these gender needs. Therefore, it will try to question whether these two factors are intertwined as it has been claimed in above discussions on women's interests.

### **3.1.2 Gender Equality Strategies**

It is stated early that the meanings of gender equality and the ways how to achieve it is a contentious issue. Debates on sameness-difference dichotomy have influenced the strategies for gender equality as well as what its meaning is. Being influenced by these debates, three main strategies to achieve gender equality accepted and implemented internationally has been emphasized in many studies (e.g., Crespi 2009; Jalusic 2009; Rees 2002; Squires 2005, 2007a; Walby 2005; Verloo & Lombardo 2007). These are equal treatment and opportunity, positive actions and positive discrimination, and gender mainstreaming. According to Verloo & Lombardo (2007: 23) these strategies are derived from the different premises. Equal treatment or opportunity strategies are based on the approach of equality as sameness and see the solution of gender equality problem as inclusion of women into the public and

political areas without transforming male norm in those areas. On the other hand, positive action strategies criticize the situation that women have to imitate male norms in order to attain areas they have been usually excluded. According to those strategies, gender relations should be taken into account and treated differently in many areas such as employment, political participation and so on. In the final version, gender mainstreaming strategy questions all the nature of gendered world and aims to transform it. In this strategy, gender perspective is tried to be integrated into the all processes of all policies.

Different typologies have been used to describe three gender equality strategies by the authors. For example, Rees (1998) call these strategies respectively as “tinkering”, “tailoring” and “transforming” (quoted in Rees 2002: 48). Squires (1999) use typologies of “inclusion”, “reversal” and “displacement” (quoted in Squires 2005: 366) but later make a similar classification with different labels: “presence”, “voice” and “process” (Squires 2007a). With the same order, Booth and Bennett (2002) use the labels of “equal treatment perspective”, “women’s perspective” and “gender perspective” (quoted in Walby 2005: 326).

Although these strategies have been classified separately from each other, it is also stated that these are the parts of cumulative processes in assumptions of feminist theory so it is closely related with each other. For example, Squires (2007a: 13; 2005: 370) believe that each strategy mentioned above have crucial role in creating more sophisticated or comprehensive understanding of gender equality so it can be more helpful to think these strategies as to how they work together. These strategies are both “developed from and improved upon the earlier approaches”.

Gender mainstreaming strategy is more related with this study than other gender equality strategies, because this study does not only evaluate local policies which are planned especially for women’s needs. Rather, it also tries to evaluate other policies of Tuzla district municipality on the basis of gender. At this point, understanding of gender mainstreaming provides a wider framework in evaluating inclusion of gender

perspective in all public policies. On the other hand, critiques of this strategy and contributions of intersection theory to it have important implications on how the understanding of gender perspective or equality can be broadened with other factors. Moreover, they provide some reasons on how consequences of policies on different groups of women change when other factors are included.

Gender mainstreaming strategy has been developed as a result of increasing emphasis on gender sensitive approach. International conferences on women held worldwide have important pressure on governments to take women's situation into account in their policies. Since 1975, important steps have been taken in considering women's secondary position and measures have been introduced to ensure change in many areas. The first world conference on women in Mexico City, in Copenhagen and Denmark 1980, in Nairobi and Kenya 1985 are the parts of this process (Mahapatro, 2014: 311). The main message of these conferences is that gender equality issue should no longer limited to "isolated margins of separate policies" so gender sensitivity should be broadened to all policy areas instead of specific policies on women. It was claimed that existing institutions can not represent women's interests due to its already 'gendered' nature so it is essential to change them and institutionalize gender issues in all policies and planning. (Staudt, 2003: 40, 41, 55; Mahapatro, 2014: 311; Kardam & Acuner, 2003: 97).

Gender mainstreaming based on the premise that policies have different effects on women and men, and gender differences have also influence on policy processes and outcomes. In order to ensure that men and women benefit from all policies equally, they should be analyzed according to their gender impact in all stages. According to this approach, gender perspective should be taken even when policies have not direct effects on gender relations or gender issues does not seem relevant at first sight. Thus, it departs from the strategies which are interested with policies only about 'women's issues' and aims to mainstream gender perspective across all policy areas (Hankivsky, 2005: 977; True 2003: 369, 371; Squires, 2007a: 40). At this point, gender mainstreaming has been evaluated as a strategy of change and its attempt to

institutionalize gender sensitive practices in organizational culture, process and structures has been seen as its distinctiveness (Daly, 2005: 435,440).

In addition to above descriptions and explanations, global institutions also declared their understanding of gender mainstreaming strategy. The most frequently cited definition is of the United Nations and Council of Europe (e.g., Squires, 2005: 368; Squires, 2007a: 39, 40; Walby, 2005: 327; Hankivsky, 2005: 980). According to definition of UN (2002: 2);

*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 the 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* (quoted in Hankivsky, 2005: 980; Squires, 2007a: 39-40).<sup>1</sup>

Based on promises of gender mainstreaming strategy which appear in its above definitions, it is regarded as more transformative strategy than other gender equality strategies. Because, it promises revolutionary change in international and domestic policy process since it takes system analysis. It considers gender issues as a core factor for not only specific policies dealing with women and actors involved in it but also for all actors in all policies and in all stages of those policies. (Crespi, 2009: 180; Squires 2005: 370).

### **3.1.3 Toward Diversity Perspective in Public Policy: Diversity Mainstreaming**

As it has been stated early, theoretical propositions of gender mainstreaming strategy carry potential to transform or change existing 'gendered' system due to its comprehensive system analysis. This potential has been questioned by looking into its practical attempts in terms of whether it manages to transform existing system or remain within it in practice. This questioning also includes its critics.

---

<sup>1</sup> For more definitions about gender mainstreaming see Rai, 2003: 55-56; Walby, 2005: 327-328.

Firstly, it has been argued that gender mainstreaming remains as being a strategy bounded with dominant neoliberal concerns. Its transformative potential is limited because it both “challenges and reflects neoliberal agenda”. Since there is an inherent conflict between feminist goal of gender equality and neoliberal goals in market driven economy, ability of gender mainstreaming to bring change is constricted in this context (Eveline et al., 2009: 201; True, 2003: 371).

It has been also argued that gender mainstreaming remains an expert-bureaucratic and integrationist strategy since it is widely based on expert information about what women’s interests are and how gender equality can achieve. Thus, it adopts a technocratic way instead of democratic (Squires, 2007b: 46; Daly, 2005: 436).

Secondly, theoretical stance of gender mainstreaming towards the gender and gender equality issues has also been evaluated. Its transformative potential has been questioned in terms of its capability to attain gender equality goal in a complete way or not. It can be said that debates on the necessity of taking other factors into account when gender equality goal is considered place at the centre of this evaluation. The understanding of gender equality which is present and intersects with other inequalities has been embraced recently. It is claimed that a perspective of gender equality which do not pay attention to these other factors which intersect with gender is limited. When it reduces to one particular understanding, gender equality can lose its dynamic structure as well as some voices can be excluded through homogenization of gender relations. Since gender is not only aspect which leads inequalities and it is bounded up with other factors in an inseparable way, it is not possible to attain gender equality goal until other inequalities does not exist. Furthermore, the absence of intersectionality in gender equality policies leads limited understanding of gender and does not take mutually constitutive status of inequalities into account. Therefore, it has little potential to transform the system. Because of that, it is argued that only an intersectional analysis can bring social justice and provide more inclusive and qualitative equality policies (Lombardo et al., 2009; Lombardo & Verloo, 2009; Ferree 2009; Verloo & Lombardo 2007).

Under these premises, tendency of gender mainstreaming toward gender issue has been criticized. Its understanding of gender is still derived from the assumptions of second-wave feminism. It fails to recognize feminist theories of intersectionality, thus it keeps away from contemporary debates on gender and its interlocking relations with other factors. These recent concerns do not reflect on both strategies and definition of the gender mainstreaming strategy. It maintains to prioritize gender over other factors and there are weak analytical tools to understand women's diversity such as "how experiences of women will differ and influenced by poverty, colour, disability and etc." (Hankivsky, 2005: 986).

Because of these reasons, gender mainstreaming has been regarded as "inherently limited" strategy to gender equality (Eveline et al., 2009: 201; Squires, 2005: 367; Squires, 2007b: 45; True, 2003: 383; Hankivsky, 2005: 978, 986).

According to Lombardo & Verloo (2009: 69) EU policies have begun to embrace recent recognitions on multidimensional reality of inequalities in formulation more inclusive policies and make reference to intersectionality in their discourse. But, although there is an emphasis on intersectionality and other factors, these attempts remain minimal and are based on some bias and stereotypes. Many gender equality policies have tendency to treat women as a homogenous group. There is no emphasis on the issue of "*what their differentiated problems and needs are*" and this leads to "*solutions which address all women in an undifferentiated way*" (Lombardo & Verloo, 2009: 72-78; Verloo et al., 2007: 283). Beside that, it is also stated by some authors that although social class is strongly related with inequalities, it is not included to equality agenda of EU yet. Rather, contemporary equality policies in the west are primarily interested with cultural and political inequality issues (e.g., Verloo, 2006: 216; Squires, 2005: 376).

All these debates are influential in shaping this study's main focus. Taking these debates into account, main questions are formed by asking what the differential interests, needs and problems of women are at local level. Gender mainstreaming

enlarged with intersectional approach has been embraced in evaluating participants' answers. Accordingly, intersectional approach in public policy is significant in reminding which questions can be more effective to make a comprehensive analysis and reveal varied needs. Under the following title, assumptions of this approach will be detailed.

### **3.1.3.1 Intersectional Approach in Public Policies: Diversity Mainstreaming**

As a solution to the critics of gender mainstreaming above, incorporating assumptions of intersection theory into public policy processes has been widely supported. Intersectional perspective in public policy or intersectionality-based policy analysis (IBPA) has been called for recently in order to overcome current limits of gender mainstreaming policies (Association for Women's Rights in Development 2004; Palencia et al. 2014; Almen 2014; Atkinson & Donlevy 2014; Hankivsky 2012; Hankivsky & Cormier 2010; Verloo 2006). Intersectionality policy analysis is based on the premise that public policies are not neutral since they are experienced differently by all populations. Because of this situation, public policies should consider differences and concomitant needs in the development, implementation and evaluation processes. Intersectional perspective requires recognizing the fact that policies continue to remain as inefficient general policies as long as they fail to address multiple inequalities and diversity within social groups. For example, policies aimed elimination of violence against women should recognize that only gender perspective is not sufficient to determine their specific needs and solutions. As a result, demands of replacing gender mainstreaming with diversity mainstreaming which is based on intersectionality lens has been emerged (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2010: 2-3). The intersectional lenses implies looking with not only gender aspect, so integrating it into gender mainstreaming strategy and public policies means "works with gender but never with only gender". It has been argued that such an approach can provide more effective gender equality policies in which more people are included. It helps to see how policies and services which have influence on one dimension of our lives are also closely related with other

dimensions (Palencia et al., 2014: 4- 5; Almen, 2014: 5-6; Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2004: 2). There are also some suggestions about how an intersectionality-based policy analysis can be made in works. According to Palencia et al. (2014: 4, 8), IBPA aims to evaluate “*the differential effects of policy on population*” so research question for such a study must begin with the “*consideration which categories will be included by asking ‘who is being studied’ and ‘who is being compared to whom and why’*”. As similar with these questions, handbook prepared by AWID suggested that intersectionality analysis;

*Should aim to reveal how practices and policies shape the lives of those impacted, as compared to the lives of those not subject to similar influence” and “ask questions specifically about the experiences of those from different ethnic groups, migrants, poor women... (Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2004: 5-6).*

Similarly, Kittay (1998: 573) advocated that in order to transform mainstreaming strategy, the question of “*what women's needs are and which women's needs they are*” should immediately be asked (quoted in Hankivsky, 2005: 987).<sup>2</sup>

The necessity of taking an intersectional perspective in public policies led to the demands of creating new mainstreaming strategy. This strategy has generally been named as “diversity mainstreaming” by authors (e.g. Squires 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Eveline et al. 2009; Hankivsky 2005, Verloo 2006), even though sometimes different names have been also used such as “inequality mainstreaming” (Verloo, 2006: 224), “multistrand mainstreaming” (Palencia et al. 2014: 4) or “combined mainstreaming” (Atkinson & Donlevy, 2014: 5). The main feature of diversity mainstreaming conceptualizations is that they mainly embrace intersectional approach and its assumptions. However, these conceptualizations have also been developed by drawing on different theories and principles. For example, Squires (2005, 2007a, 2007b) benefited from both deliberative democracy and intersection theory in her claims about diversity mainstreaming. According to her, diversity mainstreaming

---

<sup>2</sup> For more details about guiding principles of Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis, see Hankivsky, 2012.

strategy should engage with both diversity concerns and inclusive deliberation processes which are informed by deliberative democracy theory. This new mainstreaming strategy can have transformative potential only if it manages to pursue equality in the context of diversity. This can be possible with integrating deliberative procedures which are both rational and inclusive into this new strategy. Therefore, diversity mainstreaming overcome the technocratic tendency of gender mainstreaming and includes different perspectives without reifying identities in political decision processes. Furthermore, it also adopts assumptions of intersection theory. According to Squires (2007b: 49), diversity mainstreaming should be a transversal model rather than additive. At this point, she (2005: 377) also warned against the situation that governments usually respond to these recent demands by introducing “diversity management” approach. But these attempts are different from claims of diversity mainstreaming since it is developed under the business concerns such as increasing productivity through managing diversity.

Having similar concerns, Hankivsky (2005) proposed a diversity mainstreaming strategy which is based on both the concept of “gender as seriality” introduced by Iris Marion Young and intersection theory. In this conceptualization, it was aimed to overcome both the tendency of prioritization gender over other factors and fixed-two categorical gender approach. She believed that “gender as seriality” notion is helpful to re-conceptualize gender mainstreaming approach which regards gender as a fixed term. It enables to recognize that all women can encounter similar “practico-inert realities” that construct gender such as verbal, visual representations, female bodies, clothes, cosmetics and etc. But although these realities constitute a “unity of collectivity” or “serial collectivity” among women, this collectivity occurs passively and women experience them differently. Therefore, this concept emphasized different experiences of women without giving up gender. In addition to this, assumptions of intersection theory are also helpful for Hankivsky’s diversity mainstreaming conceptualization. Because, it reminds us that gender is not the only one axis of inequalities or it is not more important than other inequality factors.

Similarly, Eveline & Bacchi (2005: 502) suggested “*thinking gender as a verb rather than as a noun*” in order to transform the tendency to treat gender as a fixed oppositional category embedded in gender mainstreaming (quoted in Eveline et al., 2009: 201).

In addition to these potential opportunities of diversity mainstreaming, it was also emphasized some threats in shifting from gender mainstreaming to diversity agenda. Marginalization of feminist agenda and gender issue in public policies, competition among different inequality strands to attain resources, losing many gains made by feminists and aiming to increase economic productivity through diversity agenda instead of social justice have been regarded as those threats (Squires, 2007b: 48). According to Squires (2007b: 48-50); when diversity mainstreaming is developed under the considerations of intersection theory and as not an additive model, it is possible to overcome fragmentations within different inequality strands. From a different perspective, Verloo et al. (2007: 284) saw the lack of sufficient resources to deal with inequality problems as the main reason of this competition thread and policy maker’s tendency of embracing only one factor.

### **3.2 Importance of Local Politics in Eradicating Gender Inequality**

Local services provided by municipalities have been selected as the main concern in this study for exploring different gender needs of women. This part will mention reasons of why especially local services and municipalities have been preferred for such a study. Following this aim, it will be tried to explain the importance of local politics for gender sensitive approach and centrality of local services provided by municipalities in dealing with gender inequalities.

Local politics can be defined as decision-making processes and all related issues in local areas in the strict sense. More broadly, it includes all issues related with the urban area and urbanization process. Issues at local area such as sheltering, education, cultural activities, political participation, improvement of physical environment and etc. are the main components of local politics. Thus, it can be said

that issues of local politics aim to improve quality of life (Çukurçayır, 2008: 23-24). Local governments are one of the main local political actors in delivering such services. These institutions are responsible to meet basic needs of citizens in local community, to provide public goods and services, and they are governed by bodies elected by those citizens (Yıldız, 1996: 3).

In many points, importance of local governments has been emphasized in comparison to central policies. This importance has been emphasized since it is believed that local governments are closer institutions to citizens than central institutions and its decisions. Because of this closeness, it is accepted that local governments can provide more opportunities to citizens in order to participate decision-making processes. It can use mechanisms to ensure active political participation of many groups and thus it can take more democratic decisions. In addition to this, citizens encounter local policies and services more frequently in their daily life experiences than central or general policies. These policies and services influence social groups' daily life conditions more directly. They get in closer contact with local institutions and their decisions than central institutions. Accordingly, it is claimed that local governments are most suitable institutions for both democratic practices and more efficient policies. (Çukurçayır, 2008: 26-27; Hanbay-Çakır, 2011: 75; Alkan, 2005: 58).

Local politics and local governments are also crucial in the context of “how citizens live”. Rights granted legally to citizens make no sense if they are not embodied in daily lives of citizens. Otherwise, basic gained legal rights such as equality, justice, freedom and etc. remain as abstract terms. At this point, the question of “how citizens live” is determinant in whether these rights are put into practice tangibly or not. The answer of this question appears as the most tangible form in local areas. (Alkan, 2006: 11-16).

Taking above reasons into consideration, the potential of local governments and their policies in eradicating gender inequalities has been emphasized in the literature.

According to these assumptions, gender inequalities have been experienced firstly and most concretely in daily life experiences which occurred in local areas such as streets, neighborhoods, districts and the cities. It is argued that problems about space are not only technical issues. Rather, they are also reflections of social, economic and political problems and inequalities since spaces are produced socially. In addition to this, spaces have capacity to reproduce those social inequalities and problems. One of the examples of this situation is gender inequalities. Gender inequalities are closely related with the organization of spaces and the urban planning issue because women and men do not use areas in a similar way. They have different experiences in similar spaces. For example, there are public spaces which are not seen as appropriate for women totally or at some period of time. Walking alone in desolate streets, wandering in the park alone, going out alone at night are not the same experiences with men for women. So, spaces have gender also. Yet, these spaces have generally been planned without considering these different experiences and needs of women. Knowledge about women's daily life experiences has been marginalized in the organization of spaces. Therefore, public spaces are based on the male hegemony and continue to reproduce gender inequalities by prioritizing male needs. (Alkan & Duru 2007; Saygılıgil 2013; Alkan 1999; Alkan 2006).

It has been mentioned before that gender sensitive policy approach is important in all aspect of politics to abolish gender inequalities. But, because of the reasons mentioned briefly above, responsibility of local governments to provide gender sensitive policies has been highlighted especially. Women spend more time in their neighborhoods and streets in comparison with men due to the gender roles. Their demands or problems have been shaped in those areas differently from men so they have different gender specific needs. Accordingly, making and implementing policies which are sensitive to those different gender needs and problems at local level is crucial. Thus, the necessity of gender sensitive approach should be highlighted for especially local governments due to its responsible service areas and capacity to affect citizens' lives directly. They have potential to provide services

which get women's daily life easier by facilitating their gender roles. Through such services, they can also enable women to participate public, political and economic life actively (Alkan, 2006: 11-23; Sumbas, 2013: 34-35).

In the following part, issues of why local services are preferred to be analyzed in this study, why local services are especially crucial for women and how their interests about local living areas shape differently from men will be dealt with broadly.

### **3.2.1 The Centrality of Local Services in Women's Lives**

As it has been mentioned in the previous part, there are some reasons why local politics and local governments have more potential to ensure democratic practices and to provide more efficient ways in bringing services to citizens and solving their problems in local areas. Closeness to citizens in terms of both spatial and social sense leads to increase concerns with local governments' functions. It is expected these institutions to be more effective and active in some areas. As a result, most fundamental responsibilities of local governments have been described around three functions. These are providing local public services according to local residents' interests and needs, representing local residents and providing mechanisms to participation of citizens directly to local decisions. In short, these can be labeled as local service, local representation and participation to local decisions (Alkan, 2005: 58; Sumbas, 2013: 35).

These three functions of local governments carry different meanings and importance for women. Women encounter several problems in these areas due to the dominant male hegemony and gender relations. There are some studies which focus on the problems about local representation and participation of women in local politics. These studies points out that there is a symptom of women's weak presence in local authorities as active political actors such as being mayors, city councilor and etc. in Turkey. Under-representation problem of women within local governments and local decisions has been regarded as an impediment to achieve a more just and democratic society. This situation was seen as the reflection of male-dominant practices in

formal political arena. In order to abolish these impediments, some solution suggestions were also provided. However, it was also stated that only numerical presence of women is not enough to ensure their participation and representation in local decisions. It is also necessary to provide some mechanisms through which women can transmit their problems, demands and needs to local authorities. In addition to this, political actors in local authorities, whether they are women or men, should be sensitive to gender and able to include these different interests into local political agenda. In this process, they should also work actively and coordinately with civil society organizations and women's organizations when they form local political decisions (Alkan 2005, 2009; Çaha 2010).

Without doubt, women representation and participation in local arena are crucial issues to consolidate democracy and make women's interests visible in local decisions. But, instead of evaluating representation and participation functions of local governments in terms of women's situation, this study preferred to focus on the function of local services. There are two interrelated reasons for this preference. Firstly, according to Ayten Alkan (2006: 11-25), gender equality policies are generally focus on issues such as unequal representation of women and men before laws, weak participation of women into political, economical, educational and social arenas and low women representation rates in assemblies. In fact, these issues are intertwined with problems which women encounter in their daily live practices. But, this interactive relation has usually been overlooked. In addition to this, although some important concepts such as equality, freedom and democracy have been generally associated with representation and participation issue, same link has been formed rarely with providing public services issue. In contrast to this disregard, gender inequality occurred foremost in our streets, neighborhoods, districts and cities as its most tangible forms. Empowerment and freedom of women starts firstly from living areas, neighborhoods and cities. Most concrete precautions should be taken at local level because these policies have potential to eradicate other inequalities at different levels. Accordingly, local services have crucial importance in empowering

conditions of women. This study also adopts this assumption. It accepts that the issue of how local governments provide public services and deliver public goods to citizens by prioritizing which group's interests is fundamental to cope with impediments against women representation and participation at local level.

Related to above premise, second reason is about the specific importance and meaning of local services for women population. Delegating decision making right to elected officials through periodic elections which are based on equal and secret vote is not enough for substantial representation of citizens. In addition to this, it is necessary to provide public services and goods to citizens in an equal way. This requires considering different interests and needs of social groups without prioritizing any groups' interests to others in delivering public services (Alkan 2005, 2006). At this point, it is important to see specific needs and interests of women in their living local areas. As it is pointed in the previous title, women and men do not use their similar living areas such as cities, neighborhoods, districts and villages in a similar way. Moreover, women usually spend more time in such areas due to the dominant gender relations and practices in a patriarchal society. Experiences in similar public spaces are different and they are gender-loaded practices for women and men. Due to these factors, impacts of local policies and the organization or planning way of public areas on women and men are not same. As a result, this situation leads to differentiate women's needs, interests, expectations and problems in local arena from men's (Alkan, 2004).

Based on these fundamental explanations, specific importance of local services for women has been determined in some points. Firstly, services provided at local level are used most frequently by women due to gender roles. Since local services are about collective consumption goods towards re-production practices, they have direct effects on women's daily lives (Şahin, 2011: 24). So, when these local services are not provided or provided at insufficient level, this gap is usually completed by women. This leads to increase women's daily works burden which are based on traditional gender roles. For example, insufficiency in providing basic local services

about environment pollution, infrastructural problems, elderly and child caring, health and etc. get women's daily life practices heavier. When these services are insufficient or not provided, women usually are the people who care elderly, children or patients, cope with cleaning problems in the household, try to compensate works which can not be done because of the electricity and water cuts and etc. (Alkan 2004, 2006). In a similar vein, Castells (1997: 221) points out that existing urban system operate properly thanks to women's unpaid works which compensate public service gaps. Because, gender roles and women's secondary position enable to minimize investments on public services. If women only stop to provide this unpaid works or to compensate these gaps, then whole urban structure will be incapable of fulfilling its basic functions. Because of that, subversive feature of feminist movement is coming not from demanding more nurseries but from its rejection to care anything anymore.

Secondly, these gaps are not only important because they increase women's burden but also because they narrow women's activities. All these local services influence directly opportunities of women to take part in activities outside the home such as education, participation in paid-employment or their cultural and social activities. So, it is necessary to consider women's double work burden in planning how local services are provided at which level (Alkan 2006, 2004; Hanbay-Çakır 2011).

Thirdly and lastly, some local service areas have also specific importance for women. These services are related with the urban security problem. Urban security issue carries more importance and different meanings for women from men. Because, as it is mentioned before, similar public spaces and using these spaces at night have different meanings for women from men. Spatial arrangements, sufficient lighting services in streets, planning and decisions towards transportation affect men and women differently. Due to this difference, these local service areas should be arranged by considering this specific meaning of urban security for women. Additive precautions should be taken in order to prevent any violence, abuse or rape dangers against women occurred in public areas. On the other hand, urban security problem

for women is not only about public places. Domestic violence is another danger for women and this issue is also related with urban security issue. But, this relation is always ignored since this problem is usually regarded as private area trouble. In fact, domestic violence is another part of urban security issue because when women encounter any form of violence in domestic area, they are not damaged only as being individual in private areas but also as being citizens. Because of that, there should be local public mechanisms to which victims of domestic violence can apply (Alkan, 2005: 54-55; 2006: 27).

Based on same premises explained above, this study aims to analyze local services in terms of gender needs. It accepts that women and men have different experiences in similar streets, neighborhoods, districts and etc. So, they have different interests about local areas and expectations from local services. From a different insight, the main hypothesis of this study is that women's experiences in the same district also differentiated from each other due to the different socio-economic conditions they have. There can be different demands, interests, needs, expectations among women towards local services. It is possible that while some women are much more dependent on local services mentioned above, other women are not. Therefore, effects of not-provided or insufficient provided local services can also differentiate among women themselves. As a result, this study aims to explore women's interests but it tries to do that by focusing on the question of 'which women's interests they are'.

The next title will try to explain why municipalities are more important in comparison with other local governments to deliver such services. It also includes the issue of which local services municipalities should provide in the context of gender sensitive public policies.

### **3.2.2 Gender Sensitive Policies at the Municipality Level**

This study will try to examine its main hypothesis explained above by focusing on a district municipality instead of other local governments. Because of that, the issue of

why municipalities are important will be examined in this part. Then, it will try to mention some policy suggestions for municipalities in the literature so as to adopt gender sensitive policy approach in their politics. These suggestions are important because they form the main frame as to which local policies are included in the interview questions.

As is known, there are three forms of local governments in Turkey. These are municipalities, provincial special administration and villages. It is advocated that municipalities have special space in comparison with these other local administrative institutions. Growing urban population which lives in the borders of both metropolitan and district municipalities is one of the reasons for this special importance. On the other hand, local residents think municipalities firstly when it comes to local officials, delegates and administration. Because, provincial special administration includes the city centre, districts and villages within itself so it is an administration of geographical area rather than of local community. Rather, municipalities are the main institutions which have significant responsibilities in providing local services according to local community's needs (Alkan, 2006: 23-24).

Along with these general factors, municipalities carry special importance for women. Main responsibility areas of municipalities are public works, transportation, urban infrastructure services such as water, electricity, sewerage system, roads and etc., environmental planning and cleaning, housing, health and caring services, arrangement of economic and cultural activities and so on. These services overlap local services mentioned earlier which affect women in a specific way. For this reason, municipalities have potential to eradicate gender inequalities and burdens in those areas if they carry out these responsibilities by mainstreaming gender sensitive approach (Sumbas, 2013: 31, 39).

In addition to this, municipalities are also emphasized frequently in the legal framework as the responsible institutions in developing strategies and policies so as to resolve gender inequalities. After 2000s, this emphasis on the responsibility of

local governments and officials, specific to municipalities, has begun to increase in Turkey. In this way, municipalities are called for taking some steps towards gender sensitive policy and undertaken some responsibilities. Providing child and elderly care services such as nursing homes and children's nursery, organizing courses such as literacy and vocational courses to ensure women's active participation in public and economic life, providing market places for women to sell their products, forming preventive, protective and supportive services for women exposed to violence such as opening women's shelters , free psychological, legal and health consulting centers, gender-awareness campaigns and gender sensitivity educations and etc. are examples of these gender sensitive policy responsibilities (Sumbas, 2013: 36-42; Koyuncu-Lorasdağı & Sumbas, 2012: 11, 2015: 8). These services are now considered to be among the conventional municipal services.

It can be said that special importance of municipalities in making gender sensitive policies includes all municipal services. In the literature, it is claimed that municipalities should focus on all service areas in order to make their services gender sensitive and women-friendly. General policies should also be arranged by considering gender inequalities and different gender needs of women. For these reasons, mainstreaming gender in all local policies and services is necessary for a complete and substantial gender sensitive policy approach. (Alkan, 2005: 64; 2006: 29-30; 1999: 22-23).

Embracing these reasons, this study focuses on local services provided by Tuzla district municipality. In evaluating those local services in terms of gender needs, it puts emphasis on both local services towards women and other policies of the municipality. Thus, interview questions are about both two local service areas. As it is mentioned earlier, it embraces assumptions of gender mainstreaming perspective but it adopts its more comprehensive form which is expanded by intersectional approach. This form informs the main focus of the study: exploring different interests of women and emphasizing the necessity of more comprehensive gender perspective broadened by other factors in local public policies.

## **Conclusion**

Beginning from the general to the specific, this chapter includes two parts. The first part looked at the processes how gender and intersectional approach have been included in public policy debates. By this way, it aimed to provide a general framework about how public policy discussions in terms of gender issue has been developed and enlarged in the course of time. It tried to explain how gender sensitive policy approach came to the international political agenda and with which assumptions it both formed and enlarged. Thus, gender mainstreaming and its more comprehensive form enlarged with intersectional approach, named as diversity mainstreaming, are the main themes of this part. Looking at these strategies is important for this study since it informs us about what the meaning of gender sensitive public policy is and which assumptions have been developed to achieve more substantive form of gender equality. More specifically, while gender mainstreaming informs us about why gender relations should be considered in all public policy areas, all levels of decision-making processes and all institutions along with gender specific policies and institutions, diversity mainstreaming reminds us to necessity of considering gender relations with other factors' effects such as class, ethnicity, disability, race and etc. Both strategies are important for this study because it analyzes local policies which are general and women specific simultaneously in terms of women's needs. By doing this, it also based on the assumption that women's needs and expectations from local services can be shaped differently by socio-economic conditions. At this point, critics of gender mainstreaming and contributions of intersectional approach to it are instructive.

The second part carried these discussions to the more specific area. It tried to mention how gender sensitive policy approach has been brought into local politics. Local politics and governments are the main themes of the second part because this study aims to make an evaluation, mentioned briefly above, by analyzing local services provided by Tuzla district municipality. For this reason, the second part included assumptions in the literature about the centrality of local governments,

especially municipalities, and their services in eradicating gender inequalities. Besides that, it mentioned which policy suggestions have been made to municipalities in order to provide gender sensitive and women-friendly local services. It can be said that there are two remarkable emphases in the related literature. The first one is women and men have different needs and interests about local services due to the gender roles. The second one is that gender sensitive policy approach can be embraced totally only if municipalities achieve to mainstream gender approach in all local policies along with providing women's specific services. This study also adopts these two assumptions. But, in addition to this, it also claims that there can be different interests and needs about the local services among women themselves. It believes that exploring such differentiated needs of women can be helpful both to avoid homogenizing women's interest and to develop more comprehensive gender sensitive public policies. Thus, it embraces a gender mainstreaming approach which is extended by intersectional assumptions.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **FIELD RESEARCH**

This chapter tries to explain how field research is planned to be conducted in general. In this context, designing and implementation process of the study will be mentioned firstly. Secondly, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the municipality and its neighborhoods will be introduced.

#### **4.1 Designing and Implementation of the Field Research**

In this part, the aim of the study and which limitations literature has will be explained firstly. Secondly, it will try to elaborate how its population and sample is formed. Lastly, it will mention which methods and questions are preferred to conduct such a research. After these explanations, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the municipality and its neighborhoods will be introduced in the following part. This part provides reasons behind the selection of the population and sample of the study.

##### **4.1.1 Aim of the Study and Limitations in the Literature**

Research question of this study is what the relations of women coming from different socio-economic positions with services provided at municipal level are, how class and gender have interrelated effects on those relations? More specifically, at which points those women's expectations from local services, problems about their local living areas and effects of local politics on their lives differentiate and coincide with each other? These main questions shape the main aim of this study. As it is tried to be explained in the previous chapters, there is a growing emphasis on that gender relations can not be analyzed without taking other factors into account in the literature on intersection theory. Because, women differentiate from each other among themselves and they live under varied conditions. These conditions are affected by other factors such as age, class, race, ethnicity, disability and etc. as well

as gender. These factors and its impacts are interrelated with each other so it is not possible to claim one form of inequality. Rather, inequalities carry these factors simultaneously within themselves. Each inequality relation has unique characteristic. In fact, people, seemed to be exposed same inequality due to the same factors, do not experience this inequality in the same way. Still, this does not reject the possibility that people have also similar inequality experiences due to the same factors. Accordingly, in order to make a complete analysis, it is necessary to look in a comprehensive way by focusing on both different and similar patterns of any event. This assumption is valid for gender relations. This study aims to reveal those both similar and different experiences of women resided in Tuzla district municipality. In this way, it tries to make a comparative analysis by adopting intersectional perspective. Reason behind this relevance is the weak emphasis on this issue in the related literature. There is a lack of studies which focus on different interests among women and analyze women's relations with local services comparatively in the same district municipality. However, some studies accept that along with gender, other factors such as class, race, ethnicity and etc. have also impacts in shaping social relations and they should be considered in local policy making processes (e.g., Sumbas, 2013; Alkan, 1999, 2005). But, even in these studies, the emphasis remains mainly on the gender as an independent factor from other factors. They mainly embrace the claim that women have different interests from men at local level.

In order to reveal differences among women, this study selects to focus on social-class factor instead of others such as ethnicity, age, disability and etc. along with gender. This does not mean that these factors are not important as much as class. Rather, there are some reasons for such a preference. First of all, as it is mentioned earlier, economic interests and class effects in determining women's interests have been emphasized frequently in the conceptualizations about women's interest notion (e.g., Jonasdottir 1988; Molyneux 1985). This informs that one of the main sources of differences among women is class factor. On the other hand, it is also pointed out that although social class is an important indicator of social inequalities, this issue

has been overlooked in most studies and equality policies (e.g., Verloo 2006; Squires 2005). This shows that there is a need for such an analysis focusing on social-class differences.

Secondly, “feminization of poverty” is an important concept for this preference. According to this concept, poverty is not same for women and other members in the household. It has deeper negative consequences and burdens on women and their lives. It has specific effects on women because they have to cope with poverty and frequently use mechanism to eliminate its negative effects on the behalf of family members. On the other hand, generally women are the members who have no income or low income status in the household. Moreover, rates of being property owners are low among women in comparison with men. So, they have limited authority in auditing income of the household. Due to all these factors, “women poverty” is not synonymous with the “household poverty” and it should be considered from a specific perspective (Çamur-Duyan, 2010: 19; Alkan, 2005: 101). In a similar vein, this study supposes that negative effects of poverty on women shape their daily-life experiences and burdens of gender roles with their necessities and problems in their neighborhoods. This situation draws a line between poor and wealthy women in their demands, problems and expectations because they do not experience burdens of gender roles in the same level and conditions. As a result, this study expects that municipal services have not same effect on all women and local service expectations of those women differentiated among themselves due to socio-economic conditions.

However, this study does not reject the idea that women have also similar interests due to gender. It also aims to reveal at which points those women’s expectations, demands or problems are coincided with each other in the district regardless of class effects.

#### **4.1.2 Population and Sample**

Taking above aims and limitations in the literature into account, it is planned to analyze research question by comparing two neighborhoods located in the same

district municipality. It is paid attention to specify these two neighborhoods according to their dwellers' socio-economic situation in order to make a comparative analysis.

Based on this premise, research topic is tackled in the context of Tuzla district municipality. There are same reasons behind selection of this district. Tuzla is not a district which only attracts people as the biggest shipyard region. It is also preferred by wealthy dwellers because it provides better living conditions away from the crowded city. Because of that, it can be said that in Tuzla there is a considerable difference among local peoples in terms of socio-economic situation. No doubt, it is possible to find socio-economic differences among dwellers of any district municipality in İstanbul. But, for this study, this gap should be visible highly in order to make a remarkable comparison between female dwellers, and Tuzla has capacity to provide this essential condition. Tuzla District municipality includes both neighborhoods in which owners of shipyard, factories resided in and the neighborhoods which have gained neighborhood status recently. This situation is the most important factor laid behind the selection of this district municipality. However, there is no statistical or numerical information which shows the education or income level of dwellers in Tuzla. Along with this, being not studied for such a research topic before makes Tuzla District Municipality main focus of this thesis and this situation makes this research unique.

The population of the research is determined as poor and wealthy women resided in the neighborhoods of this municipality. As it was stated above, main aim of this study is to reveal those women's varying needs in the same district. In order to achieve this aim, the sample is formed as women resided in Orhanlı and Postane neighborhoods but this is also limited to twenty women in total. These two neighborhoods are selected because both they are the neighborhoods of the same district municipality and their dwellers strictly differentiate from each other in terms of socio-economic situation.

### **4.1.3 Methodology**

The research topic of this thesis is analyzed by using qualitative methods. In order to collect research data from women, it is planned to make dept-interviews held in one-to-one meetings with women. Questions used in these interviews are both open-ended and questionnaire questions. Qualitative methods are preferred in tackling the research topic because they are more helpful for this study than quantitative ones. It aims to obtain deep and detailed data about women's expectations and ideas regarding to local services in the district instead of statistical results. In this context, qualitative methods seem to be more suitable for getting more comprehensive results. Although statistical results are also used to evaluate answers of questionnaire questions, the main core of the research findings and their evaluations are mainly based on qualitative explanations formed with women's comments.

Gender and social-class effects in women's expectations from local services are selected as the main analysis points. So, it can be helpful to explain briefly how these two notions are approached throughout the research. In this study, understanding of gender informed by intersection theory is adopted. Similarly, it embraces Young's gender conceptualization: "gender as seriality". Because, such an approach enables to avoid homogenizing women's experiences even though it accepts that practico-inert realities women encounter are specific to them due to the gender relations. Thus, it enables to claim that women's experiences can differentiate both from men and among themselves simultaneously. On the other hand, social-class notion is regarded as socio-economic situation in this study. Because, it is believed that income level and education level is related with each other. Not only income level but also education level is significant in determining class position and economic conditions. So, while participants from Orhanlı have generally low education level, other participant group from Postane have high education level. In accordance with this, the sample of women is formed via the method of quota sampling. Two groups of women who have low and high income level are different subsets of the research's sample. Twenty women in total are distributed to these two sub-groups half-and-half

according to their income level. The method of quota sampling is used for two reasons. Firstly, there are two significant indicators to select women for interviews: high income and low income level. So, it is suitable to divide sample into subgroups within itself according to these indicators. Making such subsets is also helpful because this study based on a comparative analysis. Secondly, since both time and budget are limited in the research, this sampling method is preferred.

Interview questions include both local services specific to women and other services provided by Tuzla district municipality. With these questions, it is tried to learn women's opinions about these local services in the district. It is also aimed to reveal both different and similar expectations, problems and needs of women about their neighborhoods. In addition to questions concerning local services, questions such as whether women can participate in local decision-making process or not, for which issues they need to participate and which participation mechanisms they frequently use are also added. These questions are included in the interviews because social-class effects can be also determinative along with gender in participation obstacles, issues and mechanisms women use. But, the main focus of questions is on the local services in Tuzla.

Answers of these questions are tried to be evaluated comparatively under the five different titles listed below:

1. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents
2. Usage and expectations about the municipal services specific to women
3. Problems, expectations and satisfaction of women with the other municipal services
4. Coping strategies of women in relation to the neighborhood problems
5. Applying to the municipality to report problems and needs.

At the beginning of the study, it is predicted that dependence level on the municipality's services is not same for all women interviewed. So, it is possible that women's expectations from the municipality can be differentiated among themselves as well as from men simultaneously. In this context, at the end of the study, it is expected to find that gender and social-class effects intertwine each other in emerging gender needs.

## 4.2 Demographic and Socio-Economic Features of the District and the Neighborhoods

Under this title, Tuzla District and Orhanlı-Postane neighborhoods will be tried to explain in terms of demographic and socio-economic indicators. These indicators can be helpful to understand why this study selected Tuzla District Municipality and these two different neighborhoods as its main focus. Firstly, Tuzla District will be dealt with some details about its location, population, dweller's socio-economic conditions. After that, Orhanlı and Postane neighborhoods will be introduced according to same indicators.

### 4.2.1 Tuzla District Municipality

Tuzla is one of the municipalities in the province of İstanbul. It is the southernmost district of the city and located in the Asian side of the province. Location of the district is shown below.



**Figure 1:** Location of Tuzla in İstanbul.

Tuzla has the biggest shipyard area of Turkey. It is known for deaths of shipyard workers who work in illegal and bad working conditions. These incidents and strikes of workers brought up the district to the agenda frequently in 2008. The industry, especially shipbuilding industry, has also grown quickly in Tuzla since at end of the 1980s. This growth attracted people to the district for new employment opportunities.

Cities from which most people migrate to Tuzla are Kocaeli, Samsun and Giresun respectively. But, the farthest cities the district attracts immigrants from are Erzurum, Bingöl and Erzincan respectively. The numbers of immigrants according to cities are shown in tables below.

**Table 1:** The Three Highest Populations and Their Rates within the District according to Dwellers' Birth Places, 2015 <sup>3</sup>

<b>Birth Places</b>	<b>Population In the District</b>	<b>Population Rates Within the District</b>
<b>Kocaeli</b>	7.761	% 3.31
<b>Samsun</b>	7.618	% 3.25
<b>Giresun</b>	6.925	% 2.95

Source: TÜİK-Address Based Population Registration System Results.

**Table 2:** The Three Highest Immigrant Populations and Their Rates within the District according to the Farthest Cities From İstanbul, 2015

<b>Cities Migrated From</b>	<b>Immigrant Population</b>	<b>Immigrant Population Rates Within The District</b>
<b>Erzurum</b>	5.908	% 2.52
<b>Bingöl</b>	4.323	% 1.84
<b>Erzincan</b>	4.173	% 1.78

Source: TÜİK-Address Based Population Registration System Results.

**Table 3:** The Three Lowest Populations and Their Rates within the District according to Dwellers' Birth Places, 2015

<b>Birth Places</b>	<b>Population in the District</b>	<b>Population Rates Within the District</b>
<b>Hakkari</b>	95	% 0.041

<sup>3</sup>The unknown birth place population in Tuzla is 3661 according to 2015 data. This number is included in the total population of the district while calculating immigrants' population rates.

**Table 3 (continued)**

<b>Şirnak</b>	99	% 0.042
<b>Burdur</b>	112	% 0.048

Source: TÜİK-Address Based Population Registration System Results.

According to 2015 population census results, total population of the district is 234.372. Rates of female and male dweller populations within the total number are % 48.50 and %51.50 respectively. Numbers and rates about the total population of Tuzla along with female/male populations are detailed in tables below according to last five years.

**Table 4:** Female-Male Populations and Their Rates within the Tuzla District Municipality, 2010-2015

<b>Years</b>	<b>Female Population</b>	<b>Male Population</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>
<b>2010</b>	88.732	97.087	185.819	%52,25	%47,75
<b>2011</b>	93.291	103.939	197.230	%47,30	%52,70
<b>2012</b>	95.562	102.095	197.657	%48,35	%51,65
<b>2013</b>	100.940	107.867	208.807	%48,34	%51,66
<b>2014</b>	107.031	114.589	221.620	%48,29	%51,71
<b>2015</b>	113.669	120.703	234.372	%48,50	%51,50

Source: TÜİK-Address Based Population Registration System Results.

According to 2014 Local Election results, Tuzla District Municipality has a male mayor, Şadi Yazıcı, from AKP. The Municipality has also male mayors for last five election periods. Similarly, in the municipal council, it can be seen the low rates of female members compared with male members. The numbers and rates are shown below.

**Table 5:** Members of Municipal Council in Tuzla according to 2014 Local Election Results

<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Number of Female Members In The Municipal Council</b>	<b>Number of Male Members In The Municipal Council</b>	<b>Total Number of Members In The Municipal Council</b>	<b>Rate of Female Members In The Municipal Council</b>	<b>Rate of Male Members In The Municipal Council</b>
<b>AKP</b>	2	17	19	% 6.45	% 54.84
<b>CHP</b>	2	10	12	% 6.45	% 32.26
<b>Total</b>	4	27	31	% 12.90	% 87.10

Source: The Center for Local Administrations.

In both municipal council and mayoral election results, Justice and Development Party (AKP) is the first party with the highest vote rates according to 2014 Local Election Results. These rates are %46.86 and %48.06 respectively. Table 6 and Table 7 shows election results with more details by including other political parties.

**Table 6:** Results of Municipal Council Election in Tuzla according to 2014 Local Elections <sup>4</sup>

<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Number Of Votes</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>AKP</b>	57.346	46.86
<b>CHP</b>	45.910	37.51
<b>MHP</b>	8.010	6.54
<b>HDP</b>	4.589	3.75
<b>SP</b>	2.906	2.37
<b>BBP</b>	2.118	1.73

Source: The Center for Local Administrations.

**Table 7:** Results of Mayoral Election in Tuzla according to 2014 Local Elections

<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Number of Votes</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>AKP</b>	58.918	48.06
<b>CHP</b>	48.461	39.53
<b>MHP</b>	6.256	5.10

<sup>4</sup> Parties which receive votes under the number of 1.000 are not included in both mayoral and municipal council election results.

**Table 7 (continued)**

<b>HDP</b>	4.160	3.39
<b>SP</b>	2.272	1.85
<b>BBP</b>	1.618	1.32

Source: The Center for Local Administrations.

Tuzla District Municipality provide services specific to women in various areas. These services are included into the questions of interviews to indicate women's different and same relations with those services. These services include care services, educational, economic and social activities. Literacy courses, vocational courses, nursing and health services towards elders, educations about commerce, work opportunities in house, care services for children, financial assistance of municipality toward needy women and etc. are one of these services. They are asked in interviews one by one and analyzed in terms of to what extent interviewees are in need of these municipal services.

#### **4.2.2 Orhanlı and Postane Neighborhoods**

Tuzla District Municipality has seventeen neighborhoods in total. Orhanlı and Postane are one of these neighborhoods. Locations of these neighborhoods in the district are shown below.



**Figure 2:** Neighborhoods of Tuzla District.

As it is explained earlier, the main reason of their selection is socio-economic differences between dwellers resided in these neighborhoods. But, there is no statistical data in TÜİK which shows this difference or economic situation of the residents on neighborhood basis. So, it can be only reached to data concerning to populations of the neighborhoods. Apart from that, it was tried to attain information about demographic characteristics of the residents by talking with municipal officials. Demographic features of the residents explained below are based on this gathered information.

First of all, these two neighborhoods differentiate from each other in terms of their population density within the district. In comparison with Postane, Orhanlı has lower population number and it is one out of the three neighborhoods with lowest population in the district. It has also included within the municipal boundaries recently with the Municipality Law enacted in 2008.<sup>5</sup> These are other factors behind selection of Orhanlı neighborhood. Population numbers and rates of the neighborhoods within the district are shown below.

**Table 8:** Total Populations of Orhanlı and Postane Neighborhoods, 2010-2015

<b>Years</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>	<b>Postane</b>
<b>2010</b>	1.991	14.829
<b>2011</b>	1.932	15.326
<b>2012</b>	1.844	15.305
<b>2013</b>	1.870	16.829
<b>2014</b>	1.924	17.829
<b>2015</b>	1.867	19.000

Source: TÜİK-Address Based Population Registration System Results.

**Table 9:** Population Rates of Orhanlı-Postane Neighborhoods in Tuzla District, 2010-2015

<sup>5</sup> Municipality Law no. 5747, retrieved from <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2008/03/20080322M1-1.htm>.

<b>Years</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>	<b>Postane</b>
<b>2010</b>	% 1.07	% 7.98
<b>2011</b>	% 0.98	% 7.77
<b>2012</b>	% 0.93	% 7.74
<b>2013</b>	% 0.90	% 8.06
<b>2014</b>	% 0.87	% 8.04
<b>2015</b>	% 0.80	% 8.11

Source: TÜİK-Address Based Population Registration System Results.

**Table 10:** The Three Neighborhoods with the Lowest Population in the District, 2015<sup>6</sup>

<b>Neighborhoods</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>Population Rate Of The Neighborhoods Within The District</b>
<b>Anadolu Neighborhood</b>	883	% 0.38
<b>Fatih Neighborhood</b>	992	% 0.42
<b>Orhanlı Neighborhood</b>	1.867	% 0.80

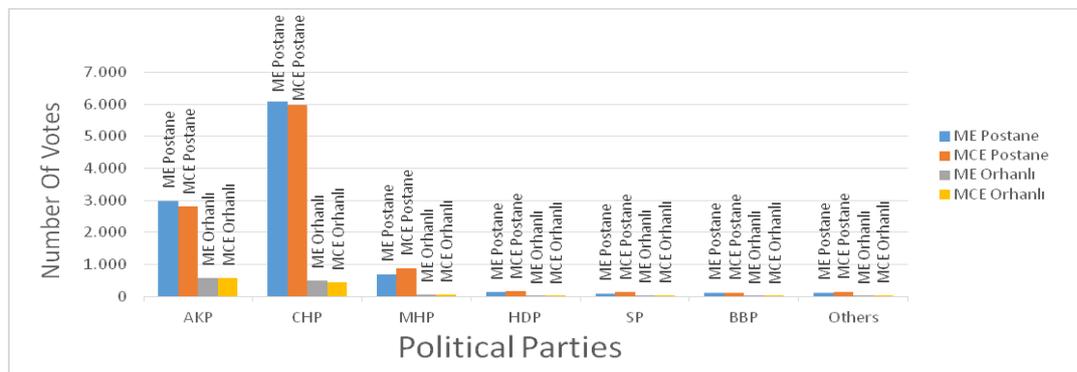
Source: TÜİK-Address Based Population Registration System Results.

Secondly, residents of these neighborhoods have different demographic and socio-economic features. As it is stated in the previous part; while Orhanlı is one of the low-income neighborhoods in Tuzla, Postane has high-income status according to socio-economic situation of the residents. Orhanlı has a population which migrates mostly from Eastern cities in Turkey for low-cost labour. In relation to this, there is a ghettoization within the neighborhood so hometown is a strong factor in getting residents together. Religion and traditional relations are also dominant among residents. On the contrary, population of Postane has usually includes people with high-income status. Residents are aware of how they get contact with the municipality on problems. Especially women take part in municipal activities

<sup>6</sup> Total population number of Tuzla is 234.372 according to 2015 data.

actively and most female volunteers in campaigns toward women organized by the municipality are residents from Postane.

Thirdly, local election results are also different in Orhanlı and Postane according to distribution of votes to the political parties. While AKP is the first party which have the highest vote rates in both mayoral and municipal council elections in Orhanlı, CHP is the first party in Postane according to the 2014 local election results. 2014 Election results on these two neighborhood basis are shown below.



**Figure 3:** Mayoral and Municipal Council Election Results in Postane/ Orhanlı Neighborhoods according to 2014 Local Elections.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 11:** Distribution of Votes according to Political Parties in Postane Neighborhoods, 2014 Local Election Results<sup>8</sup>

	AKP	CHP	MHP	HDP	SP	BBP	Others
<b>Mayoral Election</b>	% 29.27	% 59.75	% 6.78	% 1.21	% 0.79	% 1.13	% 1.07
<b>Municipal Council Election</b>	% 27.42	% 58.60	% 8.66	% 1.50	% 1.26	% 1.12	% 1.44

Source: YSK- SSPS: Election Results Sharing System.

<sup>7</sup> Drawn by the writer based on information from YSK- SSPS: Election Results Sharing System.

<sup>8</sup> Number of valid votes for mayoral election is 10.197, participation rate is %90.52; number of valid votes for municipal council election is 10.205, participation rate is %90.51.

**Table 12:** Distribution of Votes According To Political Parties in Orhanlı Neighborhoods, 2014 Local Election Results<sup>9</sup>

	<b>AKP</b>	<b>CHP</b>	<b>MHP</b>	<b>HDP</b>	<b>SP</b>	<b>BBP</b>	<b>Others</b>
<b>Mayoral Election</b>	% 49.91	% 43.15	% 4.48	% 0.35	% 1.32	% 0.53	% 0.26
<b>Municipal Council Election</b>	% 51.11	% 39.57	% 4.53	% 0.35	% 1.69	% 1.06	% 1.69

Source: YSK- SSPS: Election Results Sharing System.

<sup>9</sup> Number of valid votes for mayoral election is 1.138, participation rate is % 94.19; number of valid votes for municipal council election is 1.127, participation rate for both elections is % 94.19.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### 5.1 Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

In this part, it is tried to present demographic characteristics of women interviewed with. In order to analyze different answers of interviewees, it is significant to look at some characteristics of women such as age, income and education level, occupation, marital status and information about the pattern of household. These data helps to see different profile of interviewees and these profiles make evaluation of answers more understandable. All these features presented here are influential in shaping relations of women with municipal services.

First of all, in order to ensure variety, it is paid attention to select interviewees from different range of ages. The oldest interviewee is 90 from Postane neighborhood and the youngest interviewee is 18 from Orhanlı. Ages of female participants according to the neighborhoods are shown in table below.

**Table 13:** Age of Participants

	<b>Younger than 20</b>	<b>20-30</b>	<b>30-40</b>	<b>Older than 40</b>
<b>Postane-High Income</b>	–	1	5	4
<b>Orhanlı-Low Income</b>	1	1	4	4

Secondly, the most important indicator for this study is education and income level of female interviewees. These indicators reflect socio-economic profiles of interviewees. So, it is paid attention to select women who have both high and low education-income level in order to reveal different patterns among women concerning to municipal services. While education level of women ranges from illiteracy to post graduate,

income level ranges from 1.300 to 15.000 and above among women. The tables below show income and education level of participants.

**Table 14:** Household Income of Participants<sup>10</sup>

<b>Household Income</b>	<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
<b>15.000 and above</b>	2	-
<b>10.000-15.000</b>	1	-
<b>5.000-10.000</b>	5	-
<b>2.000-3.000</b>	1	1
<b>1.000-2.000</b>	-	9

**Table 15:** Education Level of Participants

	<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
<b>Illiteracy</b>	1	1
<b>Primary Education</b>	1	4
<b>Secondary Education</b>	-	2
<b>High School</b>	3	2
<b>Higher Education and Undergraduate</b>	-	1
<b>Graduate</b>	4	-
<b>Post Graduate</b>	1	-

As it is seen above, only household income was asked to participants because most interviewees from Orhanlı do not work in a paid-employment and have no own-income. Only 3 female participants from this group participate in paid-employment and other 6 participants are housewives (one participant is student). On the contrary, while 7 participants from Postane have own income, 3 female participants do not

<sup>10</sup> One participant from Postane did not give information about her household income.

work in a paid-employment. Professions of female participants from low and high income groups are shown in Table 16 and Table 17 respectively.

**Table 16:** Profession of Participants from Orhanlı, low-income group

<b>Profession</b>	<b>Participants</b>
<b>Caretaker in Nursery</b>	1
<b>Clerk</b>	1
<b>Cook</b>	1
<b>Housewife</b>	6
<b>Student</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	10

**Table 17:** Profession of Participants from Postane, high-income group

<b>Profession</b>	<b>Participants</b>
<b>Academician</b>	1
<b>Accounting Office Owner</b>	1
<b>Family Company Owner</b>	1
<b>Housewife</b>	3
<b>Manager</b>	1
<b>Pre-school Owner</b>	1
<b>Shop Owner</b>	1
<b>Teacher</b>	1
<b>Total</b>	10

Thirdly, apart from these characteristics mentioned above, marital status of participants and the pattern of the household such as household size, whether there is a family member necessitates domiciliary care or not, number of children are also significant factors which shape participants' expectations and problems about municipal services. So, it is also paid attention to ensure variety in these characteristics. In low-income group, 7 participants out of 10 are married and 3 participants are single. But, one married participants stated that she live apart from

her husband and they have not divorced yet. In high-income group, while 9 participants out of 10 are married, 1 participant is single. In total, number of single participants is 4 and married is 16 out of 20 women interviewed with. The household size of participants is shown below.

**Table 18:** Frequency Distribution of the Household Size

	<b>1-2 individuals</b>	<b>3-4 individuals</b>	<b>5-6 individuals</b>
<b>Postane-High Income Group</b>	4	6	–
<b>Orhanlı-Low Income Group</b>	–	7	3

While 3 participants in the low-income group stated that there is a family member who necessitates domiciliary care in the household, there is no family member who necessitates domiciliary care in all high-income participants.

Before analyzing usage and expectations of the participants about the municipal services, it is also critical to look how long participants have resided in Tuzla. The table below shows residence periods of the participants.

**Table 19:** Residence Periods of Participants in Tuzla

	<b>For 1-10 years</b>	<b>For 10-20 years</b>	<b>For 20-30 years</b>	<b>For more than 30 years</b>
<b>Postane Neighborhood</b>	3	5	–	2
<b>Orhanlı Neighborhood</b>	5	3	2	–

## **5.2 Usage and Expectations about the Municipal Services Specific to Women**

In this part, participants' answers are analyzed in terms of usage and expectations about the municipal services specific to women provided by Tuzla District Municipality. Evaluations are made in three steps. They are evaluated according to interviewees' awareness of municipal services specific to women, reasons and

impacts of using these services and expectations of female participants from the municipality apart from provided services.

Firstly, participants from low-income and high-income group differentiate each other in terms of awareness of municipal services specific to women. When two groups are compared, it is seen that high-income groups are more aware of those services. While 5 out of 10 participants from this group stated that they are aware all municipal services specific to women, only one participant in low-income group stated she aware all these services. It can be said that this gap enlarges when other participants' answers are considered. Because, while other four participants<sup>11</sup> in high-income group reported one or two services they have not heard before, number of services that have not been heard increase in low-income group.

The reason of this situation can not be explained with the single factor. When some participants' answers from Postane are considered, it is found that either they participate actively in organizing process of these services or they have surroundings which take part in these organizations voluntarily. For example, one participant (Interview 1) mentioned that she has been involved within these services already, since she takes active part in municipal activities and aid campaigns towards women. Other participants (Interview 2, Interview 6, Interview 7, Interview 8) from the same group stated that they aware the process due to their friends who take part in these activities as being volunteers. Beside that, different mechanisms through which women use for receiving information about provided services can be influential in creating this difference. At this point, getting information individually or being informed by political parties can be two important factors. For example, 4 participants from Orhanlı stated that they are informed about these services by members of women's branch in mostly election periods. On the other hand, there is no participant from Postane who are informed by members of women's branch. Instead of this, four participants mentioned that they follow municipal services through social media networks individually.

---

<sup>11</sup> One out of residual five participants did not give answer to the related question.

However, participants from the two groups also give same answers to this question. “*Friends and surroundings*”, “*brochures*”, “*posters*”, “*boards of the municipality*” are these same answers of participants from both low and high-income groups. All answers of the participants concerning the question of “*How they hear about municipal services toward women?*” are grouped below:

- friends and surroundings (4 responses from Orhanlı, 1 response from Postane)
- brochures, posters, boards of the municipality (2 responses from Orhanlı, 2 responses from Postane)
- through members of women’s branch (4 responses from Orhanlı)
- through voluntary friends (4 responses from Postane)
- social media such as facebook, instagram (4 responses from Postane)
- text messages received from the Tuzla District Municipality (2 responses from Orhanlı)
- İSMEK (1 response from Orhanlı)
- as being volunteer (1 response from Postane).<sup>12</sup>

One of the most important differences between two groups comes to the forefront in using of these services. According to this, although high-income group hear about almost all municipal services toward women, they do not prefer to use these services individually. In contrast to low-income group, 9 participants from Postane stated that they have not benefited from these services before. Only 1 participant answered that she attended fashion design course and participated travel organizations of the municipality. When the same question was asked to low-income group, it is seen that there is a different tendency. Other than 2, all participants from Orhanlı benefited from municipal services toward women in some way. Services these participants commonly used are Gönül Elleri project (financial aids provided by municipality to needy families and women), vocational courses, visiting day activities (mechanism women can carry their demands to the mayor face to face) and care services toward children and elders. Services used by the participants are categorized below.

**Table 20:** Neighborhood Comparison of the Usage of Municipal Services Specific to Women

---

<sup>12</sup>Participants gave multiple answers to this question in the interviews.

<b>Municipal Services specific to women</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>	<b>Postane</b>
Visiting day activities	5 out of 10 participants	-
Gönül Elleri Project (financial aids provided by the municipality to needy families and women)	4 out of 10 participants	-
Tuzla District Municipality Women's Centre	3 out of 10 participants	1 out of 10 participants
Vocational Course	3 out of 10 participants	-
Fashion Design Course	-	1 out of 10 participants
Play clubs towards 3-6 years children	2 out of 10 participants	-
Education programs towards disabled children	1 out of 10 participants	-
Medical home services towards elders necessitate domiciliary care	1 out of 10 participants	-
Mutlu Yaşam Project (seminars conducted by the municipality with psychologists on family)	1 out of 10 participants	-

When the table 20 is examined, it can be seen that municipal services low-income group prefer are generally related with economic needs. As it can be understood from the using ratios, two groups are not dependent on these services at the same level. All women from the high-income group said that they are not affected if municipality does not provide these services. While these services have significant impacts on women from low-income group, high-income group thinks that they have not any contribution to their life. They believe that services towards women provided by the municipality are out of their “*style*”, “*personal interests and needs*” and “*preference*”;

They are not included in my needs, if they were, I would use. (Interview 1)

Municipal activities are not my type; they do not suit my style. I have a job and earn my money so I do not need them. I am bored of current activities of the municipality. I do not like painting, needlework and etc. (Interview 2, Postane)

There is nothing to contribute me in terms of profession. They are not for me personally. (Interview 4, Postane)

I think they have not contribution to my daily-life. Provided services do not satisfy my needs. (Interview 5, Postane)

I do not need, it is a matter of preference. For example, my child goes to the private course instead of the municipal course. (Interview 6, Postane)

It is about being not interested in. Instead of going to the children's nursery of the municipality, our child goes to the private nursery for instance. (Interview 8, Postane)

In contrast to these answers, participants from Orhanlı think that these services have important impact on their social and economic life. According to interviewees, these services provide opportunity them to participate social activities out of home, working life and learn something different. Due to the financial constraints, these services also meet their needs they can not afford. At this point, vocational courses, services toward children and financial assistance of the municipality carry crucial importance for them;

Instead of staying home, you improve yourself. I attended vocational course before and this became a pastime for me because I do not work. Instead of staying at home for my child, it became a pastime for me. You learn something and meet new friends. Municipal service vehicle comes and brings you to the course, this is something very good. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

I eased both materially and morally. My disabled child did not know anything. She did not know even the name of orange, tomato; because we could purchase hearing aid when she was seven years old. She attended education course towards disabled children provided by the municipality... Now, my other daughter is a student in university; I live in a rented house. I have a really hard time but I receive financial support from the municipality. Because of that, these services are important. (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

I used vocational courses. I attend computer, English and needlework courses. You became more active, they provide yield to yourself, contribute something to you. It is beneficial for becoming socialized. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

I received pre-accountancy education. But later, I had to drop out because I gave birth. I selected this service in order to work, for job opportunity. (Interview 17, Orhanlı)

The municipal service I use mostly is the clubs toward children; this helps me materially and morally... If this was not provided, we could not enroll our child in the private one due to the financial constraints. (Interview 18, Orhanlı)

I received food aid and school materials for my children from Gönül Elleri project. This eased me very well because I can not afford these needs otherwise. My daughter wanted a bike, and I talked with the mayor face to face in visiting day. 15 days later, the bike was brought to our home. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

In addition, participants from Orhanlı also stated that they do not use some services even though they hear about them. But, in contrast to the high-income group, they generally believe that services they do not use would be an impact on their life if they could attend them. They mentioned some constraints as response of the question *“why do not you use other services even though you hear about them?”* Almost all reasons they explained are about gender factor;

My husband was so jealous. He came everywhere that I want to go together with me. I could not go anywhere. He allowed me to go nowhere. I did not use other services because I could not go to anywhere without his permission. (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

Because I have no time. If I were able to use, other services would contribute to my life exactly. Because, for example, if I could attend to ribbon course, I would sell them as marriage portion. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

I care my mother-in-law, I have no time. She is so old, like a baby. I spend all my time to her care. I can not go out due to this reason. If there was no elder necessitates care, I would think to attend. For example, I can not go to even the hospital, I am illiterate and due to this reason, I am getting difficult whenever I go out. I would want to join social life... (Interview 11, Orhanlı)

Due to the children, I do not have much time except of the school. I spend my rest time to the house, cleaning, cooking, so and so... (Interview 15, Orhanlı)

I do not use due to my children. Once I wanted to apply psychological counseling service of the municipality but I could not convince my husband and I did not go. For example, my husband works with minimum wage and this does not suffice us. So, I would want to benefit from work opportunities at home. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

As it can be seen above quotations, there is a different tendency among participants. They are not depended on municipal services towards women at the same level. They do not need these services similarly. At this point, social class factor is effective in creating this difference. Because, participants from the high income group do not believe that these services contribute them or get easier their life. They did not relate these services to their economic needs. Instead, according to them, this is a matter of “taste”, “style” or “preference”. It is known that all these expressions are related with class difference. As Pierre Bourdieu (1984) advocate, preferences does not emerge as a result of “personal tastes”, instead they emerge as a result of class position. Accordingly, issues such as living styles, tastes and etc. should be evaluated as indicators which show class differences (quoted in Bora, 2005: 52, 66). On the other hand, when the responses of low-income group are considered, it is seen that economic factors are dominant in shaping their needs. They benefited from these services because they can not afford their needs without municipal support. But, economic needs are not only factor which shape their interests. The effects of gender factor are also more prominent in responses of this group compared to high-income. Their dependency on municipal services and needs are affected also by gender factor. Because they see these services as crucial in order to emancipate from domestic area. Municipal services are means of the ‘socialization’ for them. Beside that, reasons of not using some services are also about gender relations. In short, it can be said that reasons stated by participants from Orhanlı are not about personal tastes or styles. Instead, their responses have patterns intertwined with both gender and class effects. Both importance of municipal services for them and reasons of not using include gender and class factors simultaneously. As intersection theory advocate, it is not possible to divide effects of these factors or analyzing them separately to make a comprehensive analysis. At the same time, focusing only one factor is insufficient to understand which factor shape their needs.

This difference was also seen in participants’ expectations concerning to the municipal services toward women. Participants gave also different responses to the

question of “*which services other than these current ones would you want to use, if the municipality provided it?*” While economic and gender factors are prominent in the expectations of low-income group, expectations about leisure time activities are more dominant in high-income group. Moreover, low-income group have more confidence towards municipal services. They believe that its services have potential to enhance their current living conditions. These conditions also contain both gender and economic constraints. But, this reliance is a lot fewer among high-income group participants;

I would want to be shopkeeper. But I would want to do this work consciously. If the education about this work were provided, I would want to attend it. I would want to have my own business. If they taught to us how we make a profit and loss, or at least they gave information about commerce and instilled confidence to us, I would want to work in my own business. If this was done, I would believe in myself and open a shop on my own. But I can not do that now. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

If there was a culinary course, I would want to attend it. It is not opened here; it is opened in big courses. If it was opened, I would able to cook very well and work in a pastry shop anytime I want. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

If it provided work opportunities in nearby places or if I could work at home... (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

For example, women who have to look after their children want to work at home. I can not benefit from work opportunities at home. I want to do something after I make my baby sleep. There should be municipal service vehicles which transport people to these works. (Interview 17, Orhanlı)

I do not use municipal facilities frequently, but if there were sports activities, I would attend. Something likes swimming, tennis and etc. (Interview 2, Postane)

I did not think that before. I do not believe the municipality to do something. It just talks. It did not do things that I demand from it. For instance, Beyaz Masa. It does not take seriously; they do not take even notes. (Interview 5, Postane)

I went to Kafkale Sport Center previously. I attended swimming and pilates training in there. But now, it discontinued providing these services and there is no alternative of them. If there was, I would attend. (Interview 8, Postane)

### **5.3 Problems, Expectations and Satisfaction of Women with the Other Municipal Services**

During the interviews, questions about other local services are asked to the participants. This section analyzes answers of these questions to reveal what the relations of participants with other municipal services are. It tries to show participants' problems and expectations concerning other services provided by the Tuzla District Municipality. Answers are evaluated according to different issues. These issues are classified as problems and expectations concerning the neighborhood, transportation and local security.

First of all, the question of “*How satisfied are you with services Tuzla District Municipality offers?*” is answered by the participants differently. Answers given by the participants according to the neighborhoods are shown below:

**Table 21:** “*How satisfied are you with services Tuzla District Municipality offers?*”

	<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
<b>very satisfied</b>	2 participants	1 participants
<b>satisfied</b>	5 participants	6 participants
<b>not very satisfied</b>	3 participants	2 participants
<b>not satisfied at all</b>	-	1 participants

According to the participants, there are some services the municipality insufficiently provided. In the question of “*Is there any service that the municipality provides insufficiently for you?*” participants gave both different and similar answers. These services stated by the interviewees are grouped below.

**Table 22:** “*Is there any service that the municipality provides insufficiently for you?*”

<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
Insufficient children's park	Not having a doctor in the community clinic
The problem of İSPARK, insufficient parking area	Not doing anything to develop the neighborhood

**Table 22 (continued)**

Insufficient infrastructure arrangements	Insulting behaviors of drivers in the public transportation vehicles
Insufficient transportation services	Insufficient transportation services
Environmental planning, protection of green areas	Not solving the problem of street animals
Not prohibiting people who make barbecue in the coast	Not providing drinkable tap water
Not obviating unpleasant smell that treatment facilities give off	Allowing factories to be established in places close to living areas
Insufficient municipal police service	
Allowing extreme settlement	

Participants gave also different answers to the question of “*According to you, who is responsible for meeting your needs and solving problems about your living area or the neighborhood?*” “Municipality”, “mayor” and “muhtar” (head of the neighborhood administration) were frequently repeated in responses of both two groups.

**Table 23:** “*According to you, who is responsible for meeting your needs and solving problems about your living area or the neighborhood?*”<sup>13</sup>

	<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
<b>Mayor/Municipality</b>	6 participants	3 participants
<b>Mahalle Başkanı, Muhtar</b>	3 participants	7 participants
<b>Police</b>	1 participant	-
<b>Total</b>	10 participants	10 participants

In order to reveal different problems and expectations, it was asked questions about the problems of their neighborhoods to the participants. As response to this question, participants stated different problems. It is seen that answers of the high-income group are mostly related with problems concerning the district instead of the

<sup>13</sup> Participant number of both Orhanlı and Postane is 10. In total, 20 women were interviewed.

neighborhood. The most repeated and only problem they stated about the neighborhood is insufficient parking areas. Other problems they mentioned are general and they are mostly related with the district. In contrast to that, participants from Orhanlı mentioned problems mainly about the deficiencies in their neighborhood. As the Table 22 shows, these participants' responses concerning the insufficient municipal services are also generally related with their neighborhoods. This shows that daily life activities of this group remain more limited to the boundaries of the neighborhood compared to other group.

**Table 24:** Main Problems of the Neighborhood for Participants

<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
Parking area problem in the streets (3 responses)	Time-worn children's parks in the neighborhood (3 responses)
Unpleasant smell in the district (2 responses)	Cement factories in the neighborhood and air pollution (2 responses)
Traffic problem (1 response)	Drinkable tap water problem (2 responses)
Inadequate roads (1 response)	Inadequate number of schools in the neighborhood <sup>14</sup> (2 responses)
Transportation problems (1 response)	Lack of green areas in the neighborhood (1 response)
Extreme settlement (1 response)	Transportation problem (1 response)
Inadequate green areas (1 response)	Pavement and road problems (1 response)
	Electric cut-outs (1 response)
	Street animals (1 response)
	Insufficient lighting (1 response)
	Inadequate shopping places such as bazaars, shops, dress shops and etc. (1 response)

<sup>14</sup> Some participants from this group stated that although primary education and secondary education should be separated from each other, due to the insufficient school number in the neighborhood their children take education in the same school.

As it is mentioned earlier, there is an assumption in the literature that local policies have different impacts on women due to the gender roles. Local services have different meaning for women compared to men since their activities are generally limited to the local areas. Insufficient services generally load more and different burdens on women. Therefore, due to the gender relations, deficiencies resulted from those services are generally filled by women. (for these assumptions, see Alkan, 2004,2005). In a similar vein, during the interviews it is seen that problems about the neighborhood and the district which are listed above have different impact on participants. Insufficient local services and problems affect participants from both two groups differently as being women. These problems increase mostly their daily-works. At this point, the effects of gender burdens and roles are visible in both high and low-income group;

My biggest problem is the opposite cement factory. I have had fill of dusts of the roads. Because of it, the front of my windows sucks. I have to sweep my house everyday but it is not worth cleaning... They all go to work or school; naturally I do all the running. But thanks to God, my daughter helps me. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

Women take care of everything. For example, I pick up my son from the school now... There is no children's park near to my house. When my son wants to go out, my husband says that weekend is enough; there is no need to take him out at nine in the evening. He has to wait the weekend. But I can not say this, take his bicycle and take him out in the evening. I can go out even at eight in the evening just for his happiness. But, if there was a park near to my house, I would not lose my time like this. (Interview 8, Postane)

Due to the factory in here, house gets dusty too much. Even our curtains seems like cement dust... My works in the house increase, I have to clean up... I have to clean my house because I am a woman. I can not wait for a man to do housework; he does not do it anyway. I was married for twenty-three years with my husband; he did not help me even once. (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

There is so much traffic in Tuzla. Roads are so crowded. The most important problem is parking area in my neighborhood... I am affected from this situation much more than my husband. Because I use the street more frequently compared to him. He goes in the morning and comes back in the evening... I have a maid but my husband wants me to cook, he does not want to eat meal someone else makes. Due to that, I come back home in a hurry to cook; I am restricted. (Interview 1, Postane)

As it can be seen above quotation, participants experience these deficiencies differently from their husbands and other family members. But it is not sufficient to make such a generalization. It is important to note that although gender effect is visible in both two groups, impacts of insufficient local services are not experienced by participants at the same level. There is also difference among participants themselves. Deficiencies are filled by women generally but their effects are not same for all participants. These effects can not be analyzed only with gender factor. Financial possibilities, in other words class effect, are significant factor here. For example, Interviewee 8 continued to explain how this problem affects her life as follows;

It is a big advantage of having my car. I take my son's bicycle, put it in the car and we go out. But not everyone has such an advantage. There are so many people who have to use IETT. If I had not my car, I could not do this. I could not go out in the dark.

In addition, it is seen that not all services carry the same importance for all participants due to the economic condition differences. While providing some local services insufficiently is significant for low-income group, this do not carry the same importance for high-income. For example, according to the participants from Orhanlı, drinkable tap water is one of the significant problems. It is one of the services that the municipality fails to provide. This problem, like other problems mentioned above, is tackled by generally women. But this issue does not carry the same meaning for participants from high-income;

We can not drink tap water. I can not afford to buy drinking water, we carry it. It is so difficult to carry water to the fourth floor...One day my mom came to me, she can not drink the water because it smell bad. I had to buy drink water that day... If the tap water was drinkable, we could use it. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

Even if the tap water was drinkable, I would not prefer to drink it. I could never trust and drink that water. (Interview 10, Postane)

I wish the tap water was drinkable. My sons have difficulty in carrying water to the house...We carry the water from Akfırat... I have shortness of breath so I

get tired immediately. But I have to carry the water to the house since my children work in the morning. (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

There is a bad and severe smell in Tuzla due to the leather shops, industries. The tap water smells like this. But fortunately we supply water from the building-complex we reside. (Interview 2, Postane)

At this point, Maxine Molyneux's assumption supports the narratives of participants. She claims that practical gender needs are not independent from class effect; instead they are shaped by class factor as well as gender. It is important to specify how different categories of women are affected differently. But this does not deny that women can also have some interest in common (Molyneux, 1985). In a similar vein, it is seen that problems and their effects on participants' daily life are intertwined with both gender and class effects. Women take different and more responsibility in coping with these problems due to the gender role. But, as intersectional policy approach advocates, public policies have also different effects among women themselves due to their different social positions as well as from men. In this regard, only gender factor is not enough to analyze these problems. It is necessary to consider its intersection with the class effect.

These assumptions in the literature do not only support findings concerning problems of the neighborhood and the district. Same difference is also visible in the transportation issue. Deficiencies in the transportation service are more dominant and primary for participants' lives from Orhanlı. But before analyzing these different effects, it is needed to look participant's problems about transportation services in Tuzla.

Difference begins with the issue of having a car. According to the findings, 9 of 10 participants from high-income group have a driving license. In low-income group, this number is less. 3 of 10 participants have a driving license. Only one participant has a car within those participants. However, she stated that her car has been confiscated. In contrast, those 9 participants within the high-income group have own

car. In this circumstance, transportation vehicles participants take frequently are different from each other. Almost all participants from Postane (9 participants<sup>15</sup>) stated that they prefer their own vehicle. Within those participants, 2 interviewees stated they also take metro and minibus. Other 10 participants from Orhanlı usually prefer to take different public service vehicles such as;

- municipality bus (9 responses)
- minibus (4 responses)
- own vehicle (1 response)

On the other hand, almost all interviewees have a trouble about transportation in Tuzla. These problems are grouped in Table 25.

**Table 25:** Transportation Problems in Tuzla According to the Participants<sup>16</sup>

<b>Postane<sup>17</sup></b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
Insufficient number of public vehicles, bus times are not frequent (1 response)	Bus times are not frequent, after at 10 p.m there is no bus to our neighborhood (5 responses)
Insufficient number of ferry (4 responses)	Number of bus is very few (2 responses)
Public service vehicles are so crowded (1 response)	Public services vehicles are so crowded, especially at schools' ending times (6 responses)
Traffic (1 response)	Threat of harassment and molestation in public service vehicles (3 responses)
Metro line has not been completed yet (1 response)	Minibus drivers are driving very fast (2 responses)
There are no enough options, for example sea bus (2 responses)	Buses and minibuses do not come nearby places to the neighborhood (2 responses)
	Minibuses are dirty (1 response)

<sup>15</sup> Other one participant's age is 90 and she stated that her children take her out with their own vehicle.

<sup>16</sup> Participants gave more than one answer to this question.

<sup>17</sup> 4 participants from the neighborhood stated that they have no idea about the issue since they do not prefer to use public transportation.

As it can be seen from the table 25, all participants get into trouble with public transportation system in Tuzla anyway. But, when it was asked to the participants how these problems affect their lives, it is seen that these deficiencies do not have same importance for the two groups. No doubt, transportation problems are experienced by women differently as compared with men. Those constrained by these problems are usually women due to the gender inequalities. However, during the interviews, it was also observed that those constrained are mostly women with low-income. Participants' answers to the question of "*how transportation problems affect your daily lives?*" reveal this difference explicitly;

The last time I got on the underground was about four years ago. I do not use it frequently. There is no bus station near to the villas... And also, you get on the bus from here; it goes around within Tuzla for half an hour. Who needs it? Of course, the people in there have right to go out but I think different buses should go to there, minibuses should be removed. (Interview 6, Postane)

I do not know, because I do not use public transportation...No, I am not affected and restricted. (Interview 9, Postane)

I know nothing about transportation or buses...I have nothing to do with public transportation. (Interview 1, Postane)

I do not restrict my activities due to these problems because I have my own car. (Interview 2, Postane)

I have no idea about this issue since I do not take public service vehicles frequently (Interview 7, Postane)

If I did not use my own vehicle, I would be affected so much. (Interview 8, Postane)

There is neither hospital nor shopping center, dress shop here. There is nothing. It is needed to go elsewhere but the transportation is very insufficient. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

For instance, I have something to do in the afternoon. There and back takes time. I return the home tired. Sometimes I go to the anyplace in an hour that normally it takes half an hour. I get so tired when I return the home. Wait the arrival, wait the departure; all day goes on. I got things to do in the morning but it is getting late until I return; I can not take my children from the school. (Interview 15, Orhanlı)

As it is seen above quotation, these problems restrict participants' lives from the low-income group more frequently. Insufficient transportation services have severe effects on their activities compared to high-income. In addition to this, it is also seen that those women experience gender inequalities more deeply due to this problem. Obstacles to going out of the neighborhood, participation in working and education life are closely related with transportation problems for those women;

I have a daughter who goes to the high school. She went to the school with the minibus for two days. After that, she said if I go to the school with minibus once again, I drop out the school. I do not go to the school like this, even if I am starved she said. I do not know what happened to my daughter. She goes with the school bus now, but I can not afford its cost. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

There is no vehicle to the here after ten in the evening. One day, my daughter called me crying. The school bus dropped her off in İçmeler and she asked me what I do here now. Her lesson finish at eight but it is twelve till she gets the home. If there was a bus from İçmeler to here, she could come back to the home earlier. When she gets home late, I can not sleep either. (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

Of course it restricts. I give up on going anywhere because of the transportation. I say who endure that crowd and the destination. I have no working opportunity due to the transportation. For instance, I was accepted for a job in Kadıköy but I could not begin it because of the transportation problem. Even if I accept it, how do I get home in the evening? (Interview 20, Orhanlı)

I hesitate to go out especially with children, it is so difficult. I found a job in İçmeler, for instance, it is a very nice job, but my husband did not allow because of the harassment incidents in public service vehicles. Because, at rush hours the buses are bursting at the seams. (Interview 17, Orhanlı)

I prefer not to go out alone. My husband gets permission from his job and he takes me out. I prefer to go near places. The nearest place to here is İçmeler, but it is also a small place. We can not go to the big places. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

I do not go to the anywhere I planned to go. It restricts. Due to the transportation, I can not get a job somewhere else out of the neighborhood for instance. (Interview 18, Orhanlı)

Normally, my friends can return their home in ten minutes. I have to leave from the house an hour before them. When I go out with my friends, my mother restricts me since I return to the home late. (Interview 16, Orhanlı)

As it is seen, all these effects they mention are related with gender factor. Restraints that transportation problems lead aggravate effects of gender inequalities in those

women's lives. However, this does not mean that participants from the high-income group are not affected by transportation problems differently due to the gender factor. It is also seen that gender factor is effective in the answers of those participants;

My husband has own business because of that he is not affected. But I am civil servant. I take my children to the school and it is so difficult, because generally I do not find a place to park my car...I am affected because I am a woman. When woman drive the car, men can behave you violently in the traffic. I am affected much more. (Interview 6, Postane)

I am the most active person; as being mother, in taking children from the school, buying the needs of the home. For instance, I am going to shopping but I can not park my car in front of my house when I return. Then, I have to carry the things that I buy with the children from the car to the house. I return with the stress of this. (Interview 5, Postane)

But when these answers are compared with the low income group, difference can be realized more explicitly. Gender inequalities they are exposed are more severe due to these problems for the participants from Orhanlı. According to their answers, either they are restricted by their husbands or they have to give up attending social activities they want. For those women, impediments to education, working life and urban mobility are closely related with transportation problems. At this point, class effect is effective along with gender factor. Transportation services have different impacts on them not only because they are women, but also these services are important due to the financial constraints. Their opportunities and decisions relied heavily on how transportation service is provided in the district. This situation came to light again when Interviewee 5 who is pre-school owner expressed how transportation problem affects her working life. She stated that she consider transportation issue when she employ teacher for her school;

I am affected as being a director of the institution, I am not affected personally. I have problem with the teachers in my school about transportation due to both time and route. I do not recruit teachers comes from different places. I try not to recruit from Orhanlı, Şifa or Aydınlı for instance. (Interview 5, Postane)

Not only insufficient local services aggravate gender inequalities low-income group face in their daily-lives. In addition to this, surrounding they live is another

significant factor. According to their answers, the neighborhood itself restricts their activities. Dominant attitudes in their milieu make their lives more difficult as being woman;

After my husband died, I never feel at ease. As if everyone's eyes are on me. I tried not to see and talk with even the men I know. I did not know what to wear; you always need to protect yourselves. If you get a bad reputation, things look bad for you; you have to go somewhere else in that case. I learned to drive in order that people do not see me. I work until late, return the home at night and they are looking me as if they asking what you are doing at this time of the night. If my husband lived, this would not happen. Because of that, I do not want to talk with anybody, even with the people I know. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

Attitude toward women is very different. Take my neighborhood, for instance. I cut a swath here because I am well-groomed. You have to restrict everything. I am always thinking that the clothes I wear are not tight or sleeveless. Due to these things, I get stressed. Your freedom is restricted. (Interview 20, Orhanlı)

At late hours, for example. I can not go out easily due to the men gathered at the street corner. They make a pass at. (Interview 16, Orhanlı)

Besides, they mentioned that their activities are also restricted due to the insufficient conditions in the neighborhood. According to them, there is no attempt to create alternatives they can benefit from or to develop these conditions;

There is nowhere to walk around here. There is no shopping center, store or any place to walk around. For instance, if there was a shopping store, although you would not buy anything, you could go there when you get bored. But there is nothing to do here. There are no transport facilities also. They do nothing to develop the neighborhood. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

Orhanlı has been the same for seventeen years. Nothing is done to develop here; there is no service for the neighborhood. Yet, even if there was a cafe in here, you could not go to there because you would get a bad reputation. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

When I go out of the neighborhood, for instance to Tuzla, Maltepe or Pendik, I see big green areas. But in here, even the park is skewed. You can not to do any activity. (Interview 16, Orhanlı)

Entertainment centers, shopping malls are far away from here. In winter, we can not go to anywhere with three children. I wish these places were close to here... (Interview 17, Orhanlı)

We have a small park, but we have not anything else other than it. There is no more activity in our neighborhood. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

There is no vehicle to even the nearest shopping mall from here. You have to walk about 1.5-2 kilometers from where the bus drops off. When I return the home from the shopping mall, I have to wait under the bridge. There are many tracks on that road, I feel uneasy. (Interview 20, Orhanlı)

In contrast, 6 women interviewed from Postane think that their neighborhood does not restrict their lives. Other 4 participants gave similar answers with problems about the neighborhood shown in Table 24. According to them, their neighborhood makes their lives more difficult due to the problems of “*parking area*” (Interview 2, 8), “*visual pollution*” (Interview 4), “*robbery and excessive buildings*” (Interview 6).

This situation also reflects on different expectations of the participants. They gave different answers to the question of “*Which activities would you want to attend if they were provided?*” and to its control question “*If you were the mayor, what services would you provide towards your neighborhood?*” Answers of these questions are shown in Table 26 and Table 27 respectively.

**Table 26:** “*Which activities would you want to attend if they were provided?*”

<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
Yoga course, sport activities such as swimming, aerobic.	Sport complexes for women near to the neighborhood
More sport complexes	Tea garden in the neighborhood
Bicycle tours, activities in which people come together such as shopping days, fairs	Everything which contribute to improve ourselves such as vocational courses, if they were opened here and we heard them, we would attend.
There is no activity that I want to attend (4 responses)	Courses which teach to play musical instrument for adults, they are generally opened only for children.
Theatre activities	Picnic areas, shopping mall in the neighborhood, free service vehicles to the shopping malls.

**Table 26 (continued)**

Sport halls and areas for children such as volleyball, football and ice-skating rink	Now that I can not go anywhere with vehicles, at least there is a walking trail or a sport complex in the neighborhood.
	Activities that help women to get rid of stress such as women's day, tours for women...
	Places belonging to women in which we can come together.
	Complexes or centers which include many activities within itself such as sport hall, Turkish bath, diabetes centers and etc. If they were close to here, you would go.

**Table 27:** *“If you were the mayor, what services would you provide towards your neighborhood?”*

<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
I would open more parking areas, would not discriminate among the neighborhoods, not behaving with voting concern.	I would protect children's, needy and elderly peoples' rights firstly; I would provide social security to them. I would improve health services.
I would solve traffic problem.	I would open a school and make a very big park to which also adults can go.
I would open places for rental bicycles, would have walking trails made, would give importance forestation issue.	I would put security cameras on the streets and have an animal shelter made.
I would be close with the local community.	I would help to homeless children in this neighborhood firstly. I would provide a warm accommodation to them.
I would ban drinking alcohol at the coast.	I would increase social activities in here. Why does my child have to go to the sport complex ten kilometers away from here?
I would take care environmental cleaning and help to needy people.	I would provide services to the local community. Firstly, I would provide financial aids to poor and older people.

**Table 27 (continued)**

I would not give green places for constructions, avoid loss of green places.	Woman need to have fun very much. Because of that, I would open places of entertainment for only women in order that they have fun without worrying who watch them. These places should be only for women in order to prohibit harassment events.
I would open playing places and sport areas for children excepting child parks.	I would have hospital, shopping mall and a high-school made in here.
	Firstly, I would have community clinic made in here.
	I would do anything to obviate cement factories; I would disallow big trucks to pass through within the neighborhood.

As it can be seen from the tables, expectations of women both differentiate and coincide with each other at some points. Issues such as sport activities, protecting green areas, child parks are similar concerns to which interviewed women give importance. On the other hand, it is observed that expectations of participants from Orhanlı are generally about their neighborhood. Differently from other group, they expect the municipality to do something for developing their neighborhood. At this point, it is seen that financial constraints along with limited facilities in the neighborhood are effective in shaping those expectations. Hospital, school, protecting firstly needy people's rights, more activity areas such as shopping mall, picnic areas are those expectations revealed as a result of these limitations. At the same time, gender effect is again more explicit in expectations of those participants. Their answers include demands especially towards women such as women's day activities, entertainment areas and complexes for women. By looking reasons they give, it can be said that these demands are shaped by gender oppressions they experience in daily-live practices. The statement of Interviewee 19 also proves this effect: *"I wish the mayor was woman because only your fellow can understand your trouble. That is exactly the same how your daughter listens and understands you."*

During the interviews, the issue of local security was also included in questions to analyze relations with other local services. As it is mentioned before, there is an emphasis in the literature that urban security is another significant policy area to eliminate gender inequalities. Because public places are viewed as reproduction mechanisms of gender inequalities. Based on this premise, questions about local security issue are included in the interviews.

Firstly, it was asked to participants whether they feel safe or not when they go out. This question was asked in terms of both general and night times. Total numbers of participants who give “yes” or “no” answers are different according to asked time. While 16 out of 20 participants stated that they do not feel safe when they go out at night, this ratio is 9 out of 20 when they go out in the daytime. When answers of high and low income group are examined separately, it is also seen that rates are different between two groups. According to the findings, while all participants from Orhanlı do not feel safe when they go out at night, this number is 6 out of 10 within the high-income group. Reasons of why they do not feel safe when they go out are generally about the feeling of insecurity against the milieu;

Nowadays, I think nobody feel safe. I am afraid even when I get in my car. Unfortunately, there is so much starvation and external migration. (Interview 7, Postane)

Tuzla is used to be so desolate, but now, you want to go for a walk but you do not go. You say there are different people in here now. (Interview 6, Postane)

Our neighborhood is not safe at all. It is so crowded, there are so many strangers. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

I think going out at night is not safe because here is more rural compared to other places. (Interview 17, Orhanlı)

At present, I do not feel safe at all. This neighborhood has disordered so much. Things you never expected can be happened in this neighborhood. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

We hear the events and we fear. In this neighborhood, the street lamp does not work; we fear at night. I do not go out of the house at night. I will not go out unless there is something to do. (Interview 11, Orhanlı)

I do not know what to do if someone comes my way. In the park, it is written that the park is watched by the security cameras but it is not. There is no security staff, no watchman. We do not live in a safe neighborhood already... In public transport vehicles, there is nobody at late hours, just me and the driver. In some buses there is an emergency button but we do not have. We should have it also. (Interview 16, Orhanlı)

Although answers of participants coincide with each other at the point of distrust against the milieu, reasons of interviewees from Orhanlı are limited to the conditions of their neighborhood. This difference also reveal in one participant's answer from Postane. She said "*If I resided in Orhanlı, I would never go out.*" (Interview 10, Postane)

Nevertheless, these insecure conditions, whether in the neighborhood or not, have different effects on participants due to the gender factor. Answers mentioned above reflect these effects. It is advocated that public spaces are not neutral in terms of gender. Streets, parks, going out at night and walking alone in these public areas are not same experiences with men for women. In those spaces, gender inequalities are reproduced (Alkan & Duru 2007; Saygılıgil 2013; Alkan 1999; Alkan 2006). These arguments support findings of this study. Interviewed women feel themselves insecure especially as being women;

I do not feel safe as being a woman. For instance, I do not feel safe at the coast because there is no lighting. The street of Cultural Centre is completely dark. At night, a woman can not walk in this street. (Interview 5, Postane)

Being woman, especially being widow, is so difficult in this country. It is even harder in this neighborhood. Everybody's eyes are on you. At eight in the evening you go out, for instance, but everyone is looking at you for where you are going. This is so difficult especially for me, because I lived abroad for many years. In there, you can come later than men. This is accepted as normal. But you shy when come back at night in here. It is enough to going out street. I think people should see women at streets. I think there is a starvation in this respect. (Interview 20, Orhanlı)

There are also common places in which participants feel themselves insecure. These places are shown in the table below.

**Table 28:** “*In which places you mostly feel anxiety of the harassment or rape danger in your district?*”

	<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
<b>In isolated and dark streets, roads</b>	4 responses	6 responses
<b>At the coast</b>	2 responses	-
<b>In public transport vehicles</b>	2 responses	4 responses
<b>In places that the street lamp does not work</b>	1 response	1 response
<b>In Aydınlı, Şifa and İçmeler neighborhoods</b>	1 response	-
<b>The pub street</b>	1 response	-

Table 28 and above quotations give clues about what the municipality can do to eliminate negative effects of security issue on women. According to the participants, there are some services that the municipality should provide to remove these insecure conditions. 15 out of 20 interviewed women think that the municipality can do something about this issue. However, according to 1 participant from Orhanlı and 2 participants from Postane, this issue is not relevant with the municipal services. Because police is mostly responsible for this issue instead of the municipality (Interview 5 and 10, Postane) and the municipality is not able to change people’s mentalities (Interview 20, Orhanlı)<sup>18</sup>. Other participants’ answers about which municipal services are necessary to ensure local security are shown in the table below. According to the interviewees; when these services are provided, they will feel more secure.

**Table 29:** Necessary Municipal Services to Ensure Local Security According to the Participants

<sup>18</sup> 2 participants from Postane did not give answer to this question.

<b>Postane</b>	<b>Orhanlı</b>
Sufficient lighting and camera system (2 responses)	There should be a police station in the neighborhood but polices also should be sensitive about this issue.
The pub street should be moved to the out of the district.	Security cameras, staffs such as watchman, police (4 responses), emergency buttons in public transport vehicles
Civil security staffs, disincentive punishments should be increased and complaints should be paid attention.	Private security is necessary in this neighborhood. We can go out when the lamps are put in the street because there will be a safety at that case.
Our neighborhood is light-well, but it can provide courses about combat sports for women.	Times of public transport vehicles should be more frequent (2 responses)
It should revive places in the district.	Public transport vehicles specific to women

Some answers in the table 29 are similar with each other. Participants' expectations coincide at some service areas, especially at more security staffs, security camera system and sufficient lighting. But this same tendency is not observed when the question of "*Which activities you have to limit due to this problem?*" was asked to the participants. While 4 out of 10 participants in high-income group give "no" answers to this question, all participants in low income group mentioned some activities they limit due to this problem. Differently from the high-income group, "*participation in working life*" (Interview 12, 14, 17 and 20) is one of the activities they said. It is seen that class factor intertwined with gender factor in different effects of this problem on women. This interrelated relation between two factors is more visible in how participants compensate security problems. But this issue will be evaluated in the following title.

However, it is seen that this problem also limits women similarly in terms of not going out alone. Participants from both two groups give attention to going out with mostly their husbands at night. Local security problem limit their activities similarly in this regard;

When I want to breathe in the evenings, I can not go out alone. Either I try to convince my husband to go out or my son. (Interview 5, Postane)

I do not go out at night unless it is compulsory, if my husband allow, I will go. (Interview 1, Postane)

I take my husband along with me when I go out. (Interview 4, Postane)

I try not to going out alone at night. If I go, I wait my husband. (Interview 18, Orhanlı)

I never go out at night or I call my husband to go out. (Interview 11, Orhanlı)

I do not go out except going to the hospital or I go out with my husband. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

According to Ayten Alkan (2005; 2006), domestic violence issue is generally ignored when urban security problem is tackled with. But, this problem is another part of urban security because women are damaged as being not only individual but also as being citizen. Based on this premise, domestic violence issue are included in the local security questions.

When it was asked “*To which authority will you apply firstly if you are exposed to domestic violence?*”, the authorities comes to interviewees’ minds are “police”, “prosecution office”, “the mayor” and “the court” respectively. The numbers are as follows,

- **police** : 11 participants
- **prosecution office**: 2 participants
- **the mayor**: 1 participant
- **the court**: 1 participant
- **Not apply to any authority**: 6 participants

As it is seen, the answer of “not apply to any authority” has the highest rate after the “police” answers. 6 participants (3 participants from Orhanlı, 3 participants from Postane) prefer to apply their families instead of any authority;

I would go to my mother’s side. I do not think that the municipality is interested in. (Interview 6, Postane)

I do not apply to any authority. I take shelter in my family. (Interview 2, Postane)

I go to my brothers' side. I do not trust anyone; do not apply to any authority. (Interview 11, Orhanlı)

The majority of the participants also think that women's shelter is necessary. Only 4 of 20 participants think that it is not (1 participant from Orhanlı and 3 participants from Postane)<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, almost all participants state that women's shelter alone is not enough to combat with domestic violence. There should be other policies for this problem according to the participants;

- Policies of reintegrating into the society (1 response from Postane)
- Providing work opportunities ( 1 response from Postane, 6 responses from Orhanlı)
- Woman's branches, the municipality, police and psychologists should work coordinately with each other ( 2 responses from Postane)
- Education to the men who use violence against the women (1 response from Postane, 1 response from Orhanlı)
- Women who are exposed to the violence should be protected (3 responses from Orhanlı)
- Family counseling service, families should be visited periodically (1 response from Postane)
- Right to litigation should be ensured (1 participant from Postane)
- The people who use the violence should be threatened with the system, disincentive precautions should be taken (1 response from Postane)
- Psychological support for women (1 response from Postane, 1 response from Orhanlı).

At this point, the most important difference reveals in whether women prefer to go women's shelter when they are exposed to domestic violence or not. None of the participants from Postane thinks that they benefit from women's shelter even if they are exposed to violence. At this point, economic freedom and financial opportunities are two reasons they frequently mention;

Thanks to God, I have financial opportunities. Such places are towards mostly needy and lonely women. (Interview 5, Postane)

---

<sup>19</sup> 1 participant from Orhanlı stated that she has not any idea about the topic.

I will escape or go to the abroad but yet I will not go to there. If I go, I will be probably depressed. (Interview 4, Postane)

If I had no economic freedom, I would apply to it but I can hold on to life on my own now because I have freedom. (Interview 6, Postane)

In contrast to this tendency, participants from Orhanlı lean to benefiting from women's shelter. Participants who prefer not to use it gave different reasons from above cited;

I would think to go. Since I would not safe in the home, it would be better to go there. But if you had financial possibilities, you would never go there; you could stand on your own legs. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

If I were lonely, I would have to go there. But if I had money, I could maintain my life on my own. (Interview 11, Orhanlı)

I have nothing to hold on to. I would go to there; at least I would make friends in there. (Interview 16, Orhanlı)

I would not think to go because I can not leave my children. Who makes their meal or does their cleaning? (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

If my father was not alive, where else could I go to? I would go there. (Interview 17, Orhanlı)

As it is seen, although domestic violence is a common threat which makes participants' expectations similar, the financial constraints also differentiate gender effects on women. Class effects put interviewees in the separate places in this regard. This issue is more visible in how participants cope with all these problems mentioned in this part and to what extent they think that the economic conditions are determinant factor in compensating these deficiencies. All these points will be evaluated in the following title.

#### **5.4 Coping Strategies of Women in Relation to the Neighborhood Problems**

In this part, it is tried to show how participants cope with these problems mentioned broadly about. It is aimed to reveal how similar deficiencies are compensated from women differently and to what extent social class factor is effective at this point. During the interviews, in order to reveal differences in experiencing similar

constraints, it was asked to the participants which strategies they use to cope with insufficient local services.

As it is mentioned in the previous part, insufficient municipal services affect women differently due to the gender factor. Their daily burdens increase as a result of these situations. But also it was seen that they experience these common constraints differently. This same difference also exists in coping strategies.

Firstly, in the previous part it is mentioned that problems about the neighborhood have specific impact on participants due to the gender roles. At the same time, these effects shape participants' daily lives differently. Economic situation is the determinant factor which leads to such a gap among participants came from different socio-economic conditions. This factor is also prominent at the point of how the participants cope with these problems. When the question of "*how you compensate problems in your neighborhood so as not to affect your lives?*" is asked to the participants, the low income group stated that either they prefer not to going out or they can not afford to compensate. In contrast, high income group cope with these problems through their own means;

The neighborhood is not very important for me because I do not spend much time in it. I do not spend time even in my house at all... (Interview 4, Postane)

We are going to other places in weekends. (Interview 5, Postane)

I compensate them with my own means. For instance, once we had a problem about the sewage; its pipe burst. Residents of the neighborhood came together and we had the street clean, deal with it by using our own means. (Interview 10, Postane)

I compensate it with my own means. For example, sport activities. I compensate it by attending the private courses. (Interview 2, Postane)

You have two options. Either you go to the İçmeler or Pendik, but you can go there only if you have a car. Otherwise, you can not go every time you need. If you have money, you will call a cab and go. If not, you have to be patient. (Interview 13,Orhanlı)

School building construction is left half finished. We can not send our children to other schools far away from here. Our financial possibilities fall short. (Interview 11, Orhanlı)

I prefer not to go out of the house. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

We cannot do anything. Sometimes we try to go other places, sometimes we can not compensate. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

As it is seen from the above quotations, class factor is prominent in achieving to cope with constraints in the neighborhood. In the previous part, it is mentioned that participants from the two groups face similar constraints as a result of these problems due to being a woman. However, it is not enough to only argue that women are affected differently due to the local service deficiencies. They also experience these deficiencies differently. In this regard, social class and gender factor mutually visible for two groups' experiences. While the low-income group can not cope with these problems due to the financial constraints, the other group has own opportunities to emancipate from negative effects of these deficiencies.

In a similar vein, it is analyzed previously that there are some common interests of participants. Those interests mostly reveal in the local security issue. It is seen that public places carry the similar meaning for participants. Going out at night, harassment or rape danger and domestic violence are specific conditions in which participants gather on the common ground. Similar public places carry the similar meanings for both two groups due to the gender factor. Assumptions in the literature about this issue are also observed in the findings of this study. But, these assumptions remain inadequate to make a further analysis. When it is asked that how their daily activities are affected and how they cope with these problems individually, it is seen that these common constraints are experienced differently. So, it is necessary to evaluate these common grounds with also differences within them.

Iris Marion Young (1995) advocate that women can encounter similar “practico-inert realities”. She accepted that these realities create “unity of collectivity” among

women but this unity is a passive unity. Because women tackled with these realities differently;

*“Saying that a person is a woman may predict something about the general constraints and expectations she must deal with. But it predicts nothing in particular about who she is, what she does, how she takes up her social positioning” (1995: 208).*

This emphasis made by Young also supports findings of this study. It is observed that local security issue is a common or general constraint for all participants as it is analyzed before. But at the same time, women cope with these problems differently. For example, one participant from Postane (Interview 1) stated that she has personal security guards when it is asked whether she takes any precaution against the harassment or rape dangers. Other participant (Interview 2) stated that she gets private taekwondo trainings. In contrast, participants from low-income group generally mentioned that they can not cope with these problems. According to them, only financial possibilities can help to overcome these constraints;

For example if I had a car, I would not depend on anyone. I would get in my own car, and then who can make a pass at me? (Interview 16, Orhanlı)

If you had own car, you would get in it for travel. But, we try to not go out because we have to use the bus. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

The same tendency is observed again against the domestic violence issue. Participants' coping strategies with this problem differ from each other. High-income group thinks that they can overcome this problem individually. At the point of how they cope with this trouble, their self-reliance is higher than the low-income group;

If I exposed to violence, I would commit the same violence against him. (Interview 4, Postane)

I think the women's shelter is not necessary for this neighborhood. I have not witnessed such an event here before. (Interview 2, Postane)

But, in the low-income group, women mentioned that they have to endure the domestic violence instead of coping with it. According to them, this situation

resulted from the socio-economic conditions and the negative effects of social milieu;

I was exposed to violence so much, but I did not apply to anywhere. I wanted to divorce but I did not want to raise my children without their father. He both beat up and cheated on me but I endured. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

I was exposed so many times but I did not apply to anywhere. I did not want anyone to hear this. I had to endure that for my children. (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

If you are woman, you have to shelter in anywhere. If our education level were high, we also would not have to shelter in anywhere. Education is necessary. Neither the milieu nor the husband can commit violence against the well-educated person...I am forty-five years old but still my mom does not allow me to go to the park alone. I experience what the meaning of being a widow is in here not in Germany. I have so many husbands here. (Interview 20, Orhanlı)

If my financial possibilities were good, I would divorce immediately. (Interview 16, Orhanlı)

All these narratives show that similar constraints or dangers are dealt with differently from participants. As Young advocate, different social positioning impact how women experience these general constraints. In this regard, harassment or rape danger, going out at night and domestic violence, in other words local security issue, can be evaluated as practico-inert realities theorized by Young. As it is explained in the previous part, participants have some common interests in eliminating those deficiencies so their expectations coincide with each other. But also, these problems do not carry the same meaning for all participants since they experience those constraints differently. At this point, gender and social class effects intertwine each other in shaping participants' experiences and expectations. Not only gender or class factor is enough to analyze these points. Instead, there is an interrelated relation between two factors as intersection theory claim.

Bryson (1999: 58-59) also explain this difference similarly as follows: "*Economic class as more conventionally understood can cut across 'womanly experiences'. This does not mean that women do not ever have common interests; it does mean that these interests cannot be assumed and that women can also have interests that divide*

*them*". In a similar vein with this assumption, it is observed that participants' experiences and interests are divided by economic class factor. Participants from high-income group see themselves as more advantageous. According to them, economic conditions are significant advantage in overcoming all the problems resulted from deficient municipal services;

Since your financial opportunities are good, you do not experience these problems. Both provided and not-provided municipal services are not important for me. For example, the municipality does not provide sport services. But I enrolled my child in a private sport school. (Interview 5, Postane)

I raised my children in Safari Park. The price of one jetton is 10-15 TL. Not everyone can afford this. There is a funfair within the Marina but its existence is 50 TL. Economic conditions are really important; anything that your child wants depends on money. For instance, if I had not my own car, my child would go to the school with the school bus. But, if I had not money, I could not afford it; I could not enroll him in a private school. I would also have to use IETT. (Interview 8, Postane)

Having a car is a crucial advantage against the harassment events... You have self-reliance. For instance, you can bang your fist on the 'Beyaz Masa'. (Interview 6, Postane)

I can deal with these problems in some way thanks to my financial opportunities. Economic situation is very efficient. (Interview 1, Postane)

In contrast, low income group thinks that they have to endure these problems due to the financial constraints;

If you have not money in your pocket, you are confined to the house. Sometimes I can not see anybody except my family. If my economic situation was good and I had a car, I would not be in need of dark streets. At that time, who cares the park here? I would firstly go to the Kumkapanı to have fun. (Interview 20, Orhanlı)

My son got his salary the day before, but it goes to the debts. One day my disabled daughter asked me why we do not go outside, but how could I take her out? For instance, if my economic situation was good, I would not have to carry the water; I could buy it. I have a shortness of breath so I need to live in a clean place. If I could afford, I would reside in a luxury and clean place. But now, I have to endure air pollution and factory problem in here. (Interview 13, Orhanlı)

Things such as shopping centers, going outside are not for us since all these things rely on money. (Interview 14, Orhanlı)

Everything is better when you have money. If I had, I would not have transportation problem; I could go to the everywhere with cab. (Interview 15, Orhanlı)

If I my financial possibilities were sufficient, why would I take a bus?; I would call a taxi. I could go to everywhere even to the distant places. Even the health depends on money now. If you have not money, you can not even get a good treatment. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

Financial opportunities make everything resolvable. If your economic condition is good, you do not have to take a bus, you call a cab and go. If you have not financial possibilities, you have to cope with everything on your own. (Interview 12, Orhanlı)

As it is seen above, it is difficult to say that all participants depend on municipal services similarly just for that they are women. Class factor make women's interests about the municipal services different. Municipal policies have differential effects on those women coming from different economic conditions. While insufficient and not-provided services are not crucial in high-income group's lives, living conditions of low-income group are constrained more severely by these deficiencies. Accordingly, as diversity mainstreaming strategy claimed, women's experiences or interests are not homogenous. Instead, they can be divided by many other factors other than gender.

These divided class interests are also seen in two groups' perspective about each other. When the question of "*Do you think that woman who have better/ worse financial opportunities are more lucky/unlucky than you in overcoming all deficient municipal services?*" were asked, participants from Orhanlı mentioned how economic class divide their conditions from the wealthy women's;

Firstly, if you have good financial conditions, you are a respectable person in the society. She did not deal with the municipality or did not contact with it individually when she has a problem. Because she solves everything; she is like a government on her own already. Why does she apply to the municipality? Why does she go to there when she has a problem? That woman does not know even the price of bread. You are respected as much as money you have in these times. That women were respected in everywhere. (Interview 19, Orhanlı)

They are lucky in every aspect. People who have money were prioritized in everywhere. There is no any problem, if you have money in your pocket. (Interview 15, Orhanlı)

She is superior to us with her dressing, living styles and etc. Their lives are easier than us, ours is difficult. (Interview 11, Orhanlı)

On the other hand, when the same question is asked to the high-income group, participants state that women with poor economic situation prefer to accept worse conditions instead of trying to overcome them;

Definitely yes, they are disadvantageous. They do not trust themselves. Due to the lack of self-reliance, they continue to live in those shameful conditions. They make mistakes after mistakes. (Interview 4, Postane)

That woman always accepts anyway. She is not interested in not-provided municipal services. She confines herself to the house. (Interview 1, Postane)

All the answers of participants about how they compensate local problems reveals that local policies have not same effect on their lives. Expectations and problems of women can not be assumed as homogenous since gender effects of not-provided municipal services are not same for all participants. These effects are also shaped by socio-economic conditions, in other words by class factor. At this point, as Kittay (1998: 573) advocate, it is important to ask both “*what women’s needs are and which women’s needs they are*” (quoted in Hankivsky, 2005: 987).

### **5.5 Applying to the Municipality to Report Problems and Needs**

Application to the municipality is significant issue in understanding whether the problems and expectations are transmitted to the local authorities and which mechanisms are used frequently in this process. It also reveals on which problems women apply to the municipality and whether they believe the municipality to remedy deficiencies they complain or not. Based on this premise, this part aims to explain whether participants apply to the municipality for their problems and expectations mentioned broadly in the previous parts. Participation mechanisms they use, reasons of not applying to the municipality and to what extent they believe the municipality to consider their complaints are analyzed respectively in this part.

Firstly, it was asked to the participants whether they have conveyed their problems and expectations to the municipality before. Percentage of “yes” answers to this question is higher compared to “no” answers within the all participants’ answers. While almost all participants from the high-income group have applied to the municipality before, this number is half-and-half in low-income group. Numbers are shown in detail below.

**Table 30:** “Have you ever applied to the municipality about your problems before?”

Neighborhood	Yes	No
Postane	8 participants	2 participants
Orhanlı	5 participants	5 participants
<b>Total</b>	13 participants	7 participants

Mechanisms through which participants convey their problems to the municipality are also various. It is seen that participants from high-income group use more various mechanisms compared to the low-income group such as “social media”, “Beyaz Masa”, “demonstration”, “letter of application” and etc. But, low income group mostly prefer to convey their problems through the Visiting day activities (Halk Günü Etkinliği)<sup>20</sup>. Beside that, application reasons of the two groups are also different from each other. Both mechanisms participations have used and their application reasons are grouped in Table 31.

**Table 31:** Participation Mechanisms and Reasons of Application to the Municipality

	Interviewee	Participation Mechanism	Application Reason
	I-1	Beyaz Masa E-mail Letter of Application	Parking problem, I apply to the Beyaz Masa for my neighbor’s complaint.

<sup>20</sup> Through this mechanism participants convey their problems to the mayor face to face.

**Table 31 (continued)**

<b>Postane</b>	I-2	Letter of Application Demonstration Facebook	I take part in demonstrations organized by different organizations against the partisan policies of the municipality; I apply with the letter of application for the coast and parking problem.
	I-4	Telephone Face to face	Visual pollution, traffic and the coast problem.
	I-5	Letter of Application Contacting with the mayor face-to-face	Problems about the neighborhood, parking area.
	I-6	Beyaz Masa E-mail	Unpleasant smell and construction problem in the neighborhood.
	I-8	Internet E-mail Beyaz Masa	For more walking trails, assigning a bicycle road.
	I-9	Telephone	For disinfection and parking area problem.
	I-10	Letter of Application	For sewage problem in the street.
<b>Orhanlı</b>	I-13	Visiting Day Activities (Halk Günü Etkinliği) Beyaz Masa	I wanted hearing aid for my disabled daughter; I apply to the municipality several times for financial aids.
	I-14	Beyaz Masa Visiting Day Activities (Halk Günü Etkinliği)	I wanted a bicycle for my daughter, and apply to the municipality for food aid (gıda paketi) and financial aids for my children's school expenses.
	I-17	Visiting Day Activities (Halk Günü Etkinliği)	I applied for a child's park in the neighborhood.
	I-18	Visiting Day Activities (Halk Günü Etkinliği) Mahalle Başkanı	My house was burned in fire; I applied to the municipality to help me financially.

**Table 31 (continued)**

	I-19	Visiting Day Activities (Halk Günü Etkinliđi)	I apply for financial aids and my children's education.
--	------	---	---

As it is seen, reasons are shaped by different local problems and expectations of participants mentioned in the previous parts. In relation to this, application reasons are different for two groups. Financial constraints are the most effective factor in contacting with the municipality for low-income group. As distinct from this, high-income group apply to the municipality on more general issues about the district. Accordingly, it can be said that these reasons are also affected by class factor.

Although more than half of the participants have applied to the municipality before, some participants stated that they have not contacted with the municipality about their problems. As a reason of this situation, they generally stated that they do not believe the municipality to take their complaints into consideration. Their reasons of not applying are summarized as follows;

- Do not trust the municipality to find solutions about the problems ( 1 response from Postane, 2 responses from Orhanlı)
- Do not feel the need to apply (1 response from Postane)
- I have no enough time (1 response from Orhanlı)
- I suppose that other people contact with the municipality about the same problems (1 response from Orhanlı)
- The municipality is far from here; if it was not, I would apply (1 response from Orhanlı)

More interestingly, tendency of distrust to the municipality is also dominant within the participants who have applied it before. Some participants do not believe that the municipality take their complaints into consideration and evaluate them seriously. According to them, either the municipality does not take any action for solving of the conveyed problems or it solves them very late. Table 32 shows numbers of the participants who trust and distrust the municipality in solving local problems. Table 33 summarizes the reasons of participants about this issue.

**Table 32:** Numbers of Participants Who Trust and Distrust the Municipality

Neighborhood	Yes	No	Uncertain
Postane	4 participants	5 participants	1 participant
Orhanlı	5 participants	3 participants	2 participants
<b>Total</b>	9 participants	8 participants	3 participants

**Table 33:** “Do you believe that when you contact with the municipality about your problems, it will be interested in your problems effectively and find solutions to them?”

	Interviewee	Answer	Why?
<b>Postane</b>	I-1	Yes	I take part in municipal activities as being volunteer
	I-2	No	They are just listening you but do not take any action, we only pay tax. They pretend to being interested in your problems. I do not trust the municipality because it provides services with partisan considerations.
	I-3	Yes	They always come to my house and ask my problems, municipal officials meet my needs.
	I-4	No	I believed that they solve but it turned up false.
	I-5	No	I do not believe that the municipality does. It only promises; it does not do things I demand. For instance Beyaz Masa, it does not take your demands serious, it does not take even notes.
	I-6	No	They do not take notice of you. If they did, they would not give reconstruction permission for the place near to the school.
	I-7	No	It does not find solutions.

**Table 33 (continued)**

	I-8	Yes	I believe because they generally answer my questions when I apply on to internet.
	I-9	Uncertain	They did not solve parking problem but they send their workers for disinfection when I apply.
	I-10	Yes	I believe because I think that problems are monitored seriously by the local authorities via Beyaz Masa. Although they are not solved, I am sure the municipality takes them into consideration.
<b>Orhanlı</b>	I-11	Uncertain	I do not know because I have not applied before
	I-12	No	I do not suppose that they are interested in. If they really wanted to do something, they would do already. If they do not want, it does not matter even many people apply.
	I-13	Yes	They were interested in me so much when I applied.
	I-14	Yes	They sent all things that I demand.
	I-15	Yes	I think it gives confidence. I have been in here for three years and the neighborhood has changed a lot in this process. We could not walk due to the mud earlier; the municipality changed all these things.
	I-16	No	Because we applied it for the transportation problem before but they are not interested.
	I-17	Yes	They did the child's park a little late, but they did.
	I-18	Yes	He is interested in but I do not know that he can find solution. But yet, I trust our mayor.
	I-19	No	Nothing is like it seems. You are precious only if you have contact with any officials in the municipality. For instance "Halk Günü", you have to go to the municipality very early and wait the mayor. People who wants to talk with the mayor go there with buses, they have no own car. If you cannot talk with the mayor in that day, your all day is wasted. Those people are suffered

**Table 33 (continued)**

	I-19 (continued)		already, they go there ashamedly. You talk with the mayor, but he listens to all people's problems at the same time and all people in there hear your problem. It is really a "Halk Günü", everybody hear your problem. Due to that, I was very shy when I conveyed my demands to the mayor.
	I-20	Uncertain	I only take soldier salary from the municipality. I do not demand anything expect from this. I do not know to what extent it takes our demands seriously so I can not say anything about that

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### 6.1 Evaluation of the Findings

This study aims to indicate different and similar expectations and problems of women about municipal services. It tries to reveal intersected effects of gender and social-class on women's needs towards local services. In this context, local services provided by Tuzla District Municipality are analyzed and in-depth interviews were conducted with female residents in two different neighborhoods of the district; Orhanlı and Postane. Tuzla was selected for this study because it is suitable with the main aims of the study in terms of its population's socio-economic situation. It both attracts wealthy people who prefer to live away from the crowded city and provides work opportunities as being shipyard region to the people who immigrate to İstanbul. Thus, its population includes both owners of shipyard, factories and people who employ in these industries. Orhanlı and Postane are one of the neighborhoods in the district which are different from each other in terms of its dwellers' socio-economic conditions. They represent low and high income population in the district respectively.

As discussed with details in the theoretical part, local policy area carry the different importance for female population. Since it touches on daily-life experiences and problems, it has potential to emancipate women from gender inequalities they usually encounter in their daily activities. Deficiencies at local level such as transportation problems, insufficient lightened streets, inadequate public care services and etc. both increase women's burden and restrain them from taking part in many areas. Accordingly, eliminating those local inequalities pave the way for solving gender inequalities faced with at the different level. At this point, gender sensitive approach is crucial in forming policies which take women's different experiences and problems into consideration.

One of the premises of this study is that gender factor is not enough to analyze women's needs. These needs can not be homogenized because they are differentiated from each other among women themselves due to the effects of other factors. Social-class factor is one of them. The findings obtained from the field research shows that municipal services in Tuzla have different effects on female participants as it is advocated in the literature. Deficiencies in that area are mostly completed by them differently from men. At this point, participants' experiences coincide with each other due to the gender factor. On the other hand, it is seen that economic conditions are also dominant in shaping participants' local needs. Participants from high-income and low-income group are affected by deficiencies in municipal services differently from each other.

Firstly, it is observed that participants from Orhanlı and Postane differentiate from each other in usage of municipal services specific to women. While almost none of the participants from Postane prefer to use these services, most participants from Orhanlı benefited from them. These services have also different effects on participants' lives. According to the high-income group, municipal services specific to women do not suit with their personal interests or preferences. They think that these services have no contribution to their daily-life, so it does not matter whether they are provided or not. In contrast, according to the low-income group, these services are significant because they provide crucial opportunities to them such as working, education and socialization. Beside that, it is seen that municipal services those participants benefited from are mostly about their economic needs. These findings show that class factor is effective along with gender in determining participants' interests about the municipal services specific to women.

The same difference appeared in relations with the other municipal services. Problems and expectations stated by the participants are also shaped by class and gender factor simultaneously. While high-income group mentioned problems mostly about the district, low-income group stated problems mostly about their neighborhood. According to the participants from Postane, the most important

problems are insufficient parking area, traffic, unpleasant smell and extreme settlement in the district. In contrast, it is seen that problems stated by the participants from Orhanlı are more limited to the neighborhood. Cement factories and air pollution in the neighborhood, inadequate child's park area, drinkable tap water problem and lack of shopping places are one of the those problems. Taking those answers of the participants into consideration, it can be said that women's activities from Orhanlı are more limited to the boundaries of their neighborhood. However, as it is mentioned in the literature part, these deficiencies affect participants differently as being woman and increase their daily burden due to the gender factor. During the interviews, both participants from high-income and low-income group mentioned that they experience these problems differently as being mother and woman. But, this is not enough to make a comprehensive analysis. Although those deficiencies are tackled with women generally, they are also experienced differently among women themselves. It is seen that their effects on participants' lives are not same. At this point, economic conditions, in other words class factor, cut women's experiences. Transportation problem is one of the issues which this situation becomes clear. Inadequate number of public vehicles, infrequent bus times, and crowded public vehicles are the most stated complaints in the low-income group. According to the participants from Orhanlı, these problems restrict themselves to participate in many areas. Their answers reveal that obstacles to going out of the neighborhood, participation in working and education life are closely related with transportation problems. In contrast, most participants from Postane stated that they do not prefer to use public vehicles, so these problems do not affect their activities substantially. These findings show that not all local problems have similar effects on women. Instead, they lead to more severe gender effects on the low-income group compared to the high-income group.

Different effects of not-provided or insufficiently provided municipal services reflect on the participants' expectations. There are both similar and different expectations of women. These expectations coincide with each other at some points such as more

sport activities, child parks, and protecting green areas. Nevertheless, participants from Orhanlı expect the municipality to provide some services for developing limited conditions of their neighborhood.

It can be said that there are also similar experiences and problems of women. The most similar problems arise in the local security issue. The findings show that almost all participants feel themselves insecure in the similar times and public places. Going out at night, walking alone in the dark streets, parks are the most frequently stated experiences of participants from both high and low income group. Their expectations from the municipality for more secure local area coincide with each other. Security staffs and cameras, sufficient lighting are one of those similar expectations. However, it is observed that class factor is also visible in this issue along with gender. Although local security is a common threat which makes participants' experiences similar, it has also more severe effects on women from the low-income group again due to the financial constraints.

This study also expected to find that socio-economic differences are visible in women's coping strategies in relation to all these local problems. In a similar vein, the findings show that women from high-income group tackled with the problems by using their financial opportunities. In contrast, low-income group limits their activities. According to them, financial possibilities are significant advantages to eliminate negative effects of deficiencies in municipal services.

This study focus on both gender and social-class factor in order to reveal these different and similar women's needs summarized above. In evaluating answers of the participants, income level is mostly highlighted instead of education level. But, as it is seen from the socio-economic profiles of interviewees, women who have higher household income have also higher education level compared to low-income group. So, it can be said that along with income, education level also makes preferences of women different. It also impacts existing different tendencies in usage, satisfaction and expectations from the municipal services among participants. On the other hand,

although the rate is low, there are also some participants who have lower and higher education level within the high and low-income group respectively. But, those participants' expectations and problems coincide with other participants from their income groups. This also shows that income level is more effective in shaping participants' preferences about the municipal services and their local needs compared to education level. However, it can be said that education level is effective mostly in emerging different application ways to the municipality about needs and problems. But, income level effect comes to the forefront again in reasons of application to the municipality.

## **6.2 Theoretical and Policy Implications**

In the subject of gender sensitive policy in local governments, main studies in the literature reveal that local policies are significant and carry different importance for especially women compared to men due to the gender inequalities. Local governments are closer to citizens and have potential to touch their problems and needs more effectively so they are important in forming policies sensitive to dominant inequalities. As it is mentioned in the theoretical part, studies based on the feminist perspective advocated that women and men do not live in similar conditions so their demands, expectations and problems are different from each other. Local services are important especially for women because they have different effects on them. Furthermore, gender inequalities firstly emerge at the local level. Due to these reasons, revealing women's different needs and considering their specific problems in forming policies and providing services are crucial. In this regard, gender sensitive policy approach should be taken, especially from the local governments, in order to provide equal conditions for all citizens. Likewise, findings of this study reveal that municipal services and deficiencies at local level carry the different importance for women. It is seen that participants are affected and restricted by not-provided or insufficiently provided local services differently as being woman in some way. But findings of this study are not limited to reveal only similar demands and problems of

women. It contributes the literature to analyze this issue by adding more comprehensive perspective.

The most important theoretical contribution of this thesis is to consider other factors along with gender in trying to reveal women's needs. In doing this, it takes recent debates on gender issue into consideration. Intersectional theory and its reflections on public policy area are considered in analyzing participants' expectations and problems at local level. It tries to understand women's expectations and problems by not only focusing on gender factor; instead it tries to look from a more comprehensive perspective and consider its intersection with socio-economic conditions. Therefore, it aims to avoid homogenize women's needs and shows differences along with similarities among women. According to the findings of this study, women coming from different socio-economic conditions experience deficiencies in municipal services not similarly. This does not mean that they have not any common interest in this issue as being women. Instead, this thesis shows that effects of local policies are also not same among women themselves. So, their demands and priorities which form their expectations from the municipality differentiate from each other. These findings and premises make this study different from the previous ones which do not focus on other factors except from gender and not include intersectional approach in their theoretical debates.

Along with these theoretical contributions, there are also some policy implications of this thesis. As intersectionality based policy analysis and diversity mainstreaming approach advocate, in order to form more solid gender sensitive policies, it is needed to ask different experiences of women having from different socio-economic conditions. Comparing these different and similar experiences helps to recognize varying needs. Determining these varied needs contributes to develop more comprehensive policy solutions. In this way, it is possible to make gender sensitive approach more dominant and effective in local governments' political agenda. Likewise, findings of this study show that effects of local policies are different on women so instead of homogenizing women's experiences it is crucial to determining

varying aspects of needs. This approach can be more beneficial before determining policy solutions and it can make these solutions more comprehensive.

### **6.3 Limitations of the Study and Future Directions**

This study has several limitations which can be instructive in opening new areas for the future researches. These limitations are about both the sample and the main focus of the research. First of all, this research includes only Orhanlı and Postane neighborhoods instead of all wealthy and poor neighborhoods in the Tuzla district municipality. In addition to this, all women in these two neighborhoods can not be included within the research. The number of women interviewed with is twenty in total. Nevertheless, those selected neighborhoods and women are significant in representing different socio-economic conditions of female dwellers in Tuzla. Because, they are selected according to the differences in economic conditions between both the neighborhoods and female residents.

Secondly, as it is mentioned before, it focuses on social class effect along with gender. Other factors such as ethnicity, disability, age and etc. are not included within the research. Thirdly, according to the methodology for making an intersectional analysis, four sample groups at least are seen as sufficient. But, due to the some limitations, a comparative research which tries to reveal intersection effects of two factors by studying with two groups have been also seen as an intersectional analysis (e.g. Landry, 2007). Similarly, this thesis tries to reveal intersectional effects of social class and gender on women's needs. It aims to reveal different needs and interests of women among themselves due to the social-class effect but it also focuses on interests which differentiate from male dwellers due to the gender effect. Doubtless, if the sample of the research included male residents in the neighborhoods and the same questions were also asked to them, then research findings would be more comprehensive. In that situation, it would be possible to provide a more complete comparative analysis. But, in this study, such an analysis is tried to make

by studying only with two groups: wealthy and poor female residents in the neighborhoods.



## **REFERENCES**

### **PRIMARY RESOURCES**

- Interview 1 Postane Neighborhood, held on 27.09.2016
- Interview 2 Postane Neighborhood, held on 27.09.2016
- Interview 3 Postane Neighborhood, held on 27.09.2016
- Interview 4 Postane Neighborhood, held on 27.09.2016
- Interview 5 Postane Neighborhood, held on 04.10.2016
- Interview 6 Postane Neighborhood, held on 04.10.2016
- Interview 7 Postane Neighborhood, held on 04.10.2016
- Interview 8 Postane Neighborhood, held on 04.10.2016
- Interview 9 Postane Neighborhood, held on 04.10.2016
- Interview 10 Postane Neighborhood, held on 04.10.2016
- Interview 11 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 06.10.2016
- Interview 12 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 06.10.2016
- Interview 13 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 06.10.2016
- Interview 14 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 06.10.2016
- Interview 15 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 06.10.2016
- Interview 16 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 06.10.2016
- Interview 17 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 07.10.2016
- Interview 18 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 07.10.2016
- Interview 19 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 07.10.2016
- Interview 20 Orhanlı Neighborhood, held on 07.10.2016

## SECONDARY RESOURCES

Acker, Joan. "Rewriting Class, Race, and Gender: Problems of Feminist Rethinking." in *Ferree, Myra Marx, Lorber, Judith, and Beth B. Hess (eds.) Revisioning Gender, USA: Sage Publications, 1999.*

Alkan, Ayten. "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Ve Kent Planlaması.", *Ankara SBF Dergisi*, 1999.

Alkan, Ayten. "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Ve Kent Planlaması.", *Ankara SBF Dergisi*, 1999. Alkan, Ayten. "Yerel Siyaset Kadınlar İçin Neden Önemli?", *Birikim*, 2004.

Alkan, Ayten. "Yerel Yönetimler ve Cinsiyet: Kadınların Kentte Görünmez Varlığı.", *Dipnot Publications*, 2005.

Alkan, Ayten. "Belediye Kadınlara Da Hizmet Eder: Kadın Dostu Belediye Hizmetleri: Neden, Nasıl?", *Ankara: KA-DER*, 2006.

Alkan, Ayten, and Bülent Duru. "Türkiye'de Kent Çalışmalarının İzinden Giderken 'Toplumsal Adalet, Eşitsizlik ve İktidar' Nereye Düşer?" in *Mengi, Ayşegül (ed.) Ruşen Keleş'e Armağan, III. Kitap: Kent ve Politika, Ankara: İmge*, 2007.

Alkan, Ayten. "Gendered Structures Of Local Politics In Turkey.", *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 2009.

Almen, Mikael. "Gender Mainstreaming With an Intersectional Perspective", *Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research*, 2014.

Amott, Terasa, and Julie Matthaei. "Race, Class, Gender, and Women's Works", *Boston: South End Press*, 1996. In *Andersen, Margaret, and Patricia Hill Collins. (eds.) Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology, USA: Thomson Wadsworth*, 2007.

Andersen, Margaret, and Patricia Hill Collins. (eds.) "Why Race, Class, and Gender Still Matter.", "Systems of Power and Inequality." in *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology, USA: Thomson Wadsworth*, 2007.

Association for Women's Rights in Development. "Intersectionality: A Tool For Gender And Economic Justice.", *Women's Rights and Economic Change*, 2004

Atkinson, Ian, and Vicki Donlevy. "Discussion Paper on Intersectionality and Gender Mainstreaming.", *The European Community on Practice of Gender Mainstreaming, Thematic Group On Equality, European Social Fund*, 2014.

Bora, Aksu. "Kadınların Sınıfı: Ücretli Ev Emeği ve Kadın Öznelliğinin İnşası.", *İstanbul: İletişim Publications*, 2005.

Brah, Avtar, and Ann Phoenix. "Ain't I A Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality.", *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2004.

Breitenbach, Esther, Alice Brown, Fiona Mackay, and Janette Webb. "Introduction: The Changing Politics of Gender Equality." in *Breitenbach, Esther, Alice Brown, Fiona Mackay, and Janette Webb (eds.) The Changing Politics of Gender Equality in Britain, Palgrave*, 2002.

Brewer, Rose M. "Theorizing Race, Class, and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and Black Women's Labor.", *Routledge*, 1993. In *Landry, Bart (ed.) Race, Gender and Class: Theory and Methods of Analysis, Pearson Education*, 2007.

Bryson, Valerie. "Feminist Debates: Issues of Theory and Political Practice.", *Macmillan Press*, 1999.

Butler, Judith. "Sex and gender in Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex.", *Yale French Studies*, 1986.

Castells, Manuel. "Kent, Sınıf, İktidar.", *çev. Asuman Erendil, Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat*, 1997.

Castells, Manuel. "Kent, Sınıf, İktidar.", *çev. Asuman Erendil, Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat*, 1997.

Collins, Patricia Hill. "Toward a New Vision: Race, Class, and Gender as Categories of Analysis and Connection", 1993. In *Landry, Bart (ed.) Race, Gender and Class: Theory and Methods of Analysis. Pearson Education*, 2007.

Collins, Patricia Hill. "Moving Beyond Gender: Intersectionality and Scientific Knowledge" in *Ferree, Myra Marx, Lorber, Judith, and Beth B. Hess (eds.) Revisioning Gender. USA: Sage Publications*, 1999.

Crespi, Isabella. "Gender differences and equality issues in Europe: Critical Aspects of Gender Mainstreaming Policies.", *International Review of Sociology—Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 2009.

Crompton, Rosemary. "Class theory and gender.", *British Journal of Sociology*, 1989.

Çaha, Ömer. “Women and Local Democracy in Turkey.”, *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, 2010.

Çaha, Ömer, and Bican Şahin. (eds.) “Siyasal İdeolojiler.”, *Ankara: Orion Publications*, 2013.

Çamur-Duyan, Gülsüm. “Yoksulluğun Kadınlaşması: Altındağ Örneği.”, *Aile ve Toplum Eğitim-Kültür ve Araştırma Dergisi*, 2010.

Çukurçayır, M. Akif. “Yerel Demokrasi Ve Yerel Siyaset.”, *Yerel Siyaset: Okutan Yayınları, Sempozyum Konuşması*, 2008.

Daly, Mary. “Gender mainstreaming in theory and practice.”, *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *Oxford University Press*, 2005.

Delphy, Christine and Diana Leonard. “Class Analysis, Gender Analysis, and the Family” in *Crompton, Rosemary and Michael Mann. (eds.) Gender and Stratification*, *Cambridge: Polity Press*, 1986.

Eveline, Joan, Carol Bacchi, and Jennifer Binns. “Gender Mainstreaming Versus Diversity Mainstreaming: Methodology as Emancipatory Politics.”, *Gender, Work & Organization*, 2009.

Ferree, Myra M. “Inequality, Intersectionality and The Politics of Discourse: Framing Feminist Alliances.” in *Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo (eds.) The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality*, *Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science*, 2009.

Fidan, Fatma, and M. Çağlar Özdemir. “Ev Hizmetlerinde Çalışan Kadınlar ya da Evlerin Kadınları.”, *Journal of Labour Relations*, 2011.

Flax, Jane. “Beyond Equality: Gender, Justice and Difference.” in *Bock, Gisela and Susan James. (eds.) Beyond Equality and Difference*, *London: Routledge*, 1992.

Fraser, Nancy. “Redistribution, Recognition, and Cross-Redressing.”, 2003. In *Lorber, Judith. “Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics.”*, *Roxbury Publishing Company*, 2005.

Hanbay-Çakır. “Kadın İstihdamında Yerel Yönetimlerin Rolü, Görevleri ve Sorun Alanları”, *TEPAV: Kadın Emeği Konferansı: Kadın İstihdamı Ve Sorun Alanları*, *Ankara, Konferans Konuşması*, 2011.

Hankivsky, Olena. "Gender vs. Diversity Mainstreaming: A Preliminary Examination of The Role and Transformative Potential of Feminist Theory.", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 2005.

Hankivsky, Olena, and Renee Cormier. "Intersectionality and Public Policy: Some Lessons From Existing Models.", *Political Research Quarterly*, University of Utah, 2010.

Hankivsky, Olena. (ed.). "An Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis Framework.", *Vancouver, B.C. Canada: Institute for Intersectionality Research and Policy*, Simon Fraser University, 2012.

Hartmann, Heidi. "The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Towards a more progressive union." *Capital & Class*, 1981.

International Training Centre of The International Labour Organization, "Training Module: Introduction To Gender Analysis and Gender-Sensitive Indicators.", *Gender Campus*, 2009.

Jalusic, Vlasta. "Stretching and Bending The Meanings of Gender in Equality Policies." in *Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo (eds.) The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality, Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science*, 2009.

Kardam, Nükhet, and Selma Acuner. "National Women's Machineries: Structures and Spaces." in *Rai, Shirin M. (ed.) Mainstreaming Gender, Democratizing the State? Institutional Mechanisms For The Advancement of Women*, Manchester University Press, 2003.

Kayhan, Fatma. "Feminizmler Dizisi.", BDS Publications, 1999.

King, Deborah K. "Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a Black feminist ideology.", *The University of Chicago Press*, 1988. In *Landry, Bart (ed.) Race, Gender and Class: Theory and Methods of Analysis*, Pearson Education, 2007.

Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, Berrin and Ahu Sumbas. "The Role of Female Mayors in Combating Violence Against Women: The Case of 2009 Local Elections in Turkey.", *IPSA: Reshaping Power, Shifting Boundaries, İspanya: Madrid*, Sözlü Sunum, 2012.

Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, Berrin and Ahu Sumbas. “Türkiye’de Yerel Siyaseti Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği Üzerinden Düşünmek: Kadına Yönelik Şiddetle Mücadelede Belediyeler.”, *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, 2014.

Landry, Bart. “The Theory of Intersectional Analysis.”, “The Methodology of Intersectional Analysis: Qualitative Approaches.” In *Race, Gender and Class: Theory and Methods of Analysis (ed.)*, Pearson Education, 2007.

Langston, Donna. “Tried of Playing Monopoly?”, 1988. In *Andersen, Margaret, and Patricia Hill Collins. (eds.) Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology, USA: Thomson Wadsworth*, 2007.

Lockwood, David. “Class, Status and Gender.” in *Crompton, Rosemary and Michael Mann. (eds.) Gender and Stratification, Cambridge: Polity Press*, 1986.

Lombardo, Emanuela, and Mieke Verloo. “Stretching Gender Equality to Other Inequalities: Political Intersectionality in European Gender Equality Policies.” in *Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo (eds.) The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality, Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science*, 2009.

Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo. “Stretching and Bending Gender Equality: A Discursive Politics Approach.” in *Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo (eds.) The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality, Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science*, 2009.

Lorber, Judith. “Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politics.”, *Roxbury Publishing Company*, 2005.

Lorde, Audre. “Age, Race, Class, And Sex: Women Redefining Difference.”, *Crossing Press*, 1984. In *Andersen, Margaret, and Patricia Hill Collins. (eds.) Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology, USA: Thomson Wadsworth*, 2007.

Luttrell, Wendy. “Working-Class Women’s Ways of Knowing: Effects of Gender, Race, and Class.”, *Sociology of Education*, 1999. In *Landry, Bart (ed.) Race, Gender and Class: Theory and Methods of Analysis, Pearson Education*, 2007.

MacKinnon, Catharine A. “Sex and violence: A Perspective.” in *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law. Harvard University Press*, 1987.

Mahapatro, Meerambika. “Mainstreaming Gender: Shift From Advocacy to Policy.”, *Vision: The Journal of Business Perspective, Sage Publications*, 2014.

Molyneux, Maxine. "Mobilization Without Emancipation? Women's Interests, The State, and Revolution In Nicaragua.", *Feminist Studies*, 1985.

Nicholson, Linda. "Interpreting gender." in *Nicholson, Linda and Steven Seidman (eds.) Social Postmodernism, Cambridge University Press*, 1995.

Office of The Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. "Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview.", *New York: United Nations*, 2002.

Özyeğin, Gül. "The Doorkeeper, The Maid, and The Tenant: Troubling Encounters in The Turkish Urban Landscape." in *Kandiyoti, Deniz, and Ayşe Saktanber. (eds.) Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey. Rutgers University Press*, 2002.

Palencia, Laia, Davide Malmusi and Carme Borrell. "Incorporating Intersectionality in Evaluation of Policy Impacts on Health Equity: A Quick Guide.", *SOPHIE*, 2014.

Rai, Shirin M. "Institutional Mechanisms For The Advancement of Women: Mainstreaming Gender, Democratizing The State?" in *Rai, Shirin M. (ed.) Mainstreaming Gender, Democratizing the State? Institutional Mechanisms For The Advancement of Women , Manchester University Press*, 2003.

Ramazanoglu, Caroline. "Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression.", *Routledge*, 1989.

Rees, Teresa. "The Politics of 'Mainstreaming' Gender Equality" in *Breitenbach, Esther, Alice Brown, Fiona Mackay, and Janette Webb (eds.) The Changing Politics of Gender Equality in Britain, Palgrave*, 2002.

Reeves, Hazel, and Sally Baden. "Gender and Development: Concepts and Definitions.", *BRIDGE, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex*, 2000.

Rhode, Deborah L. "The Politics of Paradigms: Gender Difference and Gender Disadvantage." in *Bock, Gisela and Susan James. (eds.) Beyond Equality and Difference, London: Routledge*, 1992.

Saygılıgil, Feryal. "Mekânın Cinsiyeti.", *Sosyal Ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi*, 2013.

Shalev, Michael. "Class divisions among women.", *Politics & Society, Sage Publications*, 2008.

Shields, Stephanie A. "Gender: An intersectionality perspective.", *Sex Roles*, 2008.

Skeggs, Beverley. "Formations of class & gender: Becoming respectable.", *Sage Publications*, 1997.

Squires, Judith. "Is Mainstreaming Transformative? Theorizing Mainstreaming In The Context of Diversity and Deliberation.", *Social politics: International Studies In Gender, State & Society*, *Oxford University Press*, 2005.

Squires, Judith. "The New Politics of Gender Equality", *Palgrave Macmillan*, 2007a.  
Squires, Judith. "Diversity Mainstreaming: Moving Beyond Technocratic and Additive Approaches.", *Femina Politica: Zeitschrift Für Feministische Politikwissenschaft*, 2007b.

Staudt, Kathleen. "Gender Mainstreaming: Conceptual Links to Institutional Mechanisms." in *Rai, Shirin M. (ed.) Mainstreaming Gender, Democratizing the State? Institutional Mechanisms For The Advancement of Women*, *Manchester University Press*, 2003.

Styhre, Alexander, and Ulla Eriksson-Zetterquist. "Thinking The Multiple in Gender and Diversity Studies: Examining The Concept of Intersectionality.", *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 2008.

Suğur, Nadir, Serap Suğur, and Temmuz Gönç Şavran. "Türkiye'de Orta Sınıfın Mazbut Hizmetkarları: Kapıcılar, Gündelikçiler ve Çocuk Bakıcıları.", *Journal of Ankara University SBF*, 2008.

Sumbas, Ahu. "Toplumsal Cinsiyete Duyarlı Politika Yaklaşımı Çerçevesinde Türkiye'de Belediyelerin Hukuksal ve Siyasal Durumları", *Journal of Hacettepe University Faculty Of Law*, 2013.

Şahin, Funda. "Kadınların Siyasal Katılımları Çerçevesinde Kadın Meclislerinin Yerel Siyasetteki Etkinlikleri Ve Üye Profilleri.", *T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Expertise Thesis*, 2011.

True, Jacqui. "Mainstreaming Gender In Global Public Policy.", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 2003.

Verloo, Mieke. "Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and The European Union.", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *Sage Publications*, 2006.

Verloo, Mieke, and Emanuela Lombardo. "Contested Gender Equality and Policy Variety in Europe: Introducing a Critical Frame Analysis Approach." in *Verloo*,

Mieke (ed.) *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality: A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe*, Central European University Press, 2007.

Verloo, Mieke, Emanuela Lombardo and Maria Bustelo. "Conclusions on Framing Gender Inequality As a Policy Problem in Europe" in Verloo, Mieke (ed.) *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality: A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe*, Central European University Press, 2007.

Walby, Sylvia. "Gender, Class and Stratification: Towards a New Approach." in Crompton, Rosemary and Michael Mann. (eds.) *Gender and Stratification*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986.

Walby, Sylvia. "Theorizing patriarchy.", *Basil Blackwell*, 1990.

Walby, Sylvia. "Gender mainstreaming: Productive Tensions In Theory and Practice.", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

Walby, Sylvia. "Beyond The Politics of Location: The Power of Argument In Gender Equality Politics" in Lombardo, Emanuela, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo (eds.) *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality*, Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science, 2009.

Wedel, Heidi. "Siyaset Ve Cinsiyet: İstanbul Gecekonduklarında Kadınların Siyasal Katılımı.", *Metis Yayınları*, İstanbul, 2001.

Weedon, Chris. "Feminism, Theory, and The Politics of Difference.", *Blackwell Publishers*, 1999.

West, Candace, and Sarah Fenstermaker. "Doing difference.", *Gender & society*, 1995. In Landry, Bart (ed.) *Race, Gender and Class: Theory and Methods of Analysis*, Pearson Education, 2007.

Yıldız, Mete. "Yerel Yönetimler Ve Demokrasi.", *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler Dergisi*, 1996.

Young, Iris Marion. "Gender as Seriality: Thinking About Women As a Social Collective." in Nicholson, Linda and Steven Seidman (eds.) *Social Postmodernism*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Intersectionality and feminist politics.", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 2006.

Zinn, Maxine Baca, and Bonnie Thornton Dill. "Theorizing Difference From Multiracial Feminism.", *Feminist Studies*, 1996. In *Landry, Bart (ed.) Race, Gender and Class: Theory and Methods of Analysis*, Pearson Education, 2007.

Zinn, M., Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, and Michael Messner. "Sex And Gender Through The Prism of Difference." in *Andersen, Margaret, and Patricia Hill Collins. (eds.) Race, class, gender: An Anthology, USA: Thomson Wadsworth*, 2007.

#### **Websites:**

Supreme Electoral Board

<http://www.ysk.gov.tr>

<https://sonuc.ysk.gov.tr>

The Center for Local Administrations

[http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/belediyeler/belediye\\_secimsonuclari.php?belediyeid=129855](http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/belediyeler/belediye_secimsonuclari.php?belediyeid=129855)

[http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/belediyeler/belediye\\_bm\\_secimsonuclari.php?belediyeid=129855](http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/belediyeler/belediye_bm_secimsonuclari.php?belediyeid=129855)

[http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/belediyeler/belediye\\_baskanlar.php?belediyeid=129855](http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/belediyeler/belediye_baskanlar.php?belediyeid=129855)

Turkish Statistical Institute

<http://www.tuik.gov.tr>

<http://www.turkstat.gov.tr>

<https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas/?kn=95&locale=tr>

<https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas/?kn=95&locale=en>

Tuzla District Municipality

<http://www.tuzla.bel.tr/>

#### **Complementary Sources:**

Municipality Law no. 5747, retrieved from <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2008/03/20080322M1-1.htm>

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

#### Interview Questions

**Age:**

**Educational Status:**

**Marital Status:**

**Number of household member-number of children:**

**Number of dependant people:**

**Monthly income:**

**Occupation:**

1. How long have you been living in this neighborhood/district?
2. Here in below municipal services specific to women are ranged.

**Are you aware?      Are you using?**

- Literacy Courses
- Vocational Courses
- Fashion Design Courses
- Mutlu Yaşam Project (seminars conducted by the municipality with psychologists on family)
- Gönül Elleri Project (financial aids provided by the municipality to needy families and women)
- Business opportunity at home (sales of goods which women produce at home by favor of municipality to the factories. Wedding candy, braid etc.)

- Ab-1 Hayat Bazaar (Shops rented by municipality with low value to the women who want to merchandise and the seminars and trainings given to these women.)
- Elderly centers (centers for elders in which they can spend time)
- Mother Child Education Centre
- 3-6 age oriented children clubs (play, art, language, science and nature, musical activities)
- Education programs towards disabled children (painting, music etc.)
- Medical home services towards elders necessitate domiciliary care
- Tuzla District Municipality Women's Centre (educational seminars, tour organizations, meetings with NGO's, directing demands and requests to White Table, if necessary, directing to Municipality Consultancy)
- Visiting Days (Activities in which women can express their problems directly to the Mayor.)

**3.** How did you be aware of these services?

**4.** Can you tell us which of these services you mostly and minimum take advantage of?

**5.** Why these service/services you choose are important for you?

**6.** Can you explain us how these service/services you are using affect your life?

**7.** You mentioned you are not taking advantage of some services. Can you explain the reasons? Do you think these services don't make any contribution to your daily life or make few contribution? Why?

**8.** Which services other than these current ones would you want to use, if the municipality provided it?

**9.** How satisfied are you with services Tuzla District Municipality offers

**10.** Is there any service that the municipality provides insufficiently?"

**11.** How do you compensates these insufficiently provided municipality services?

**12.** According to you, who is responsible for meeting your needs and solving problems about your living area or the neighborhood

- 13.** When you take into consideration the difficulties you face in your daily life and your personal experiences, what are the main problems of your neighborhood?
- 14.** How do these problems affect your daily life?
- 15.** Which activities you have to limit due to this problem/problems?
- 16.** How do you cope with all these problems not to affect your daily life?
- 17.** Are these problems increasing your work load more than your family members (your husband, your children, dependants elders etc.) How?
- 18.** Do you think that the roles and duties you have as being a women in your family make a contribution to affect you more than your family members? If yes, why?
- 19.** Do you think that not only your gender, your financial possibility also has importance in these problems' affecting your daily life? Why?
- 20.** Do you have a driving licence?
- 21.** What is the means of transport you mostly use?
- 22.** Are you satisfied with the transportation services in your municipality?
- 23.** According to you, what are the main transportation problem (deficiencies in public transportation, rare coming buses and minibuses, traffic, no busses passing close to your neighborhood, harrassments and molestation in public transport) ) in Tuzla district?
- 24.** How this problem affect your daily life? Does it limit your going out of neighborhood, return home late and participation to working life?
- 25.** Do you think there are places where you can make outdoor activities in your neighborhood or district? (cultural activities organized by the municipality, courses, parking areas, social facilities)
- 26.** Which activities would you want to attend if they were provided?
- 27.** Do you live any problems about your living environment-neighborhood, is it making your life difficult?
- 28.** If you were the mayor, what services would you provide towards your neighborhood?
- 29.** Do you feel safe when you go out?
- 30.** How safe you feel when you go out at night?

- 31.** In which places you mostly feel anxiety of the harassment or rape danger in your district?
- 32.** “Which daily activities you have to limit due to this problem?”
- 33.** Which services you wish the municipality serve for you to feel safer against these dangers?
- 34.** Which precautions you take against these harassment, rape, molestation, violence dangers you encounter? Do you have methods to cope with these dangers by yourself? If yes, what are they?
- 35.** To which authority will you apply firstly if you are exposed to domestic violence?
- 36.** Do you think women’s shelter is necessary?
- 37.** Do you think women’s shelter alone is enough to combat with domestic violence?
- 38.** Do you prefer to go women’s shelter when you are exposed to domestic violence? Why?
- 39.** If you were exposed to domestic violence, in what ways you expect from municipality to help you?
- 40.** If you had better economic conditions, how would you overcome these problems?
- 41.** To what extent you think that the economic conditions are determinant factor in compensating these deficiencies?
- 42.** Do you think that woman who has better/ worse financial opportunities are more lucky/unlucky than you in overcoming all deficient municipal services?
- 43.** Have you ever applied to the municipality about your problems before?
- 44.** If yes, which mechanisms you used? (by individually submitting a petition, face to face, telephone, survey, e-mail, social media (facebook,twitter), neighborhood councils, city council, local associations etc.)
- 45.** If not, what is the most important reasons behind you didn’t contact?
- 46.** Do you believe that when you contact with the municipality about your problems, it will be interested in your problems effectively and find solutions to them? Why?

## APPENDIX B: QUOTATIONS IN TURKISH

*“İhtiyaçlarım içinde değil, olsa kullanırdım” (Mülakat 1).*

*“Belediyenin aktiviteleri beni açmıyor, benim tarzıma uygun değil. Mesleğim var, kazancım var bu yüzden ihtiyacım yok. Belediyenin şu an ki aktivitelerinden sıkılıyorum, hitap etmiyor. Beni açmıyor. Resim, dikiş-nakış sevmem” (Mülakat 2).*

*“Mesleki açıdan bana katacağı bir şey yok, bana kişisel olarak uymuyor” (Mülakat 4).*

*“Günlük hayatıma katkısı olmadığını düşünüyorum. Verilen hizmetler benim ihtiyacımı karşılamıyor” (Mülakat 5).*

*“İhtiyaç duymadım, tercih meselesi. Çocuğumuz özel kursa gidiyor mesela, belediyenin kursuna değil” (Mülakat 6).*

*“İlgilenmemeye alakalı. Mesela çocuğum bunun yerine özel kreşe gidiyor” (Mülakat 8).*

*“Evde oturmakta kendini geliştiriyorsun. Daha önce meslek edindirme kursuna katılmıştım, bu benim için bir uğraş oldu, işe gitmediğim için. Çocuk için evde oturacağıma bir uğraş oldu. Arkadaş ediniyorsunuz, bir şeyler öğreniyorsunuz. Belediyenin servisi alıyor, götürüyor. Çok güzel bir şey” (Mülakat 12).*

*“Maddi yönden de manevi yönden de çok rahatladım. Engelli çocuğum hiçbir şey bilmiyordu. Portakal, domates hiçbir şeyin ismini bilmezdi. Çünkü yedi yaşında cihaz taktırabildik. Belediyenin kursunda eğitim aldı hep... Şimdi kızım üniversiteye gidiyor, evim kira. Gerçekten zor durumdayım ama belediyeden maddi açıdan destek alıyorum. Bu yüzden bu hizmetler önemli” (Mülakat 13).*

*“Meslek edindirme kursunu kullandım. Bilgisayar, nakış, İngilizce kurslarına gittim. Daha aktif oluyorsun, kendine getirisi oluyor, size bir şey katıyor. Sosyalleşme açısından faydalı” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Ön muhasebe eğitimi aldım ama daha sonra çocuğum oldu bırakmak zorunda kaldım. Çalışabilmek için, iş olanağı için bu hizmeti seçmiştim” (Mülakat 17)*

*“En çok çocuklara yönelik kulübü kullandım, maddi manevi her şekilde yardımcı oluyor. Eğer bu olmasaydı özel bir yere yazdıramazdık maddi imkânsızlıktan dolayı” (Mülakat 18)*

*“Gönül Elleri’nden gıda paketi aldım, çocuklarım için kırtasiye yardımı aldım. İhtiyacımı çok karşıladı, bunları alamayacak şeydeydim. Halk Günü’ne gittim, kızım bisiklet çok istiyordu. Bire bir belediye başkanı ile görüştim. 15 gün sonra bisiklet evimize geldi” (Mülakat 14)*

*“Eşim çok kıskançtı, gitmek istediğim her yere o da benimle gelirdi. Bir yere göndermezdi, ondan izinsiz gidemeyeceğim için kullanamadım” (Mülakat 13)*

*“Vakit olmadığı için. Kullansaydım diğer hizmetler de katkı sağlardı. Çünkü mesela kurdele işi kursuna gitseydim onları satardım çeyizlik” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Kayınvalideme baktığım için, vaktim yok. Çok yaşlı, bebek gibi... Tüm vaktimi onunla geçiriyorum bu yüzden dışarı çıkamıyorum hiç. Yaşlı olmasaydı, gitmeyi düşünürdüm. Mesela hastaneye bile gidemiyorum, okuma yazmam olmadığı için ne zaman dışarı çıksam zorlanıyorum. Topluma katılmak isterdim” (Mülakat 11)*

*“Çocuklardan dolayı okul dışında çok vaktim yok, onun dışındaki vaktimi de eve harcıyorum, yemek, temizlik falan” (Mülakat 15)*

*“Çocuklarım dolayısıyla çıkamadım. Bir keresinde belediyenin psikolojik danışma hizmetinden yararlanmak istedim ama eşimi gitmeye kandıramadım, gidemedim. Mesela eşim asgari ücret alıyor, yetmiyor. Evde iş imkânından faydalanmak isterdim” (Mülakat 14)*

*“Bilinçli esnaflık yapmak isterdim, buna ait eğitim verilseydi katılmak isterdim. Kendi işimi yapmak isterdim. Nasıl kâr yaparız nasıl zarar ederiz bunu öğretselerdi, en azından güven aşılarsalardı bize, bilgi verselerdi ticaretle ilgili kendi işimi yapmak isterdim. O zaman kendi başıma güvenip dükkân açardım ama şimdi güvenip yapamam mesela” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Aşçılık bölümü olsaydı gitmek isterdim ama burada yokmuş büyük kurslarda oluyormuş. Eğer olsaydı daha güzel yemekler yapardım, istediğim zaman pastaneye girer çalışırdım mesela” (Mülakat 12)*

*“Yakın yerlerde iş imkânı sağlansaydı, evde iş yapabileseydim...” (Mülakat 13)*

*“Çocuklarını bırakamayacak kadınlar evde çalışmak istiyor mesela. Evde iş imkânından faydalanamıyorum. Çocuğumu uyuttuktan sonra bir şeyler yapmak istiyorum. Belediyenin aracı olmalı bu işlere” (Mülakat 17)*

*“Belediyeye ait yerleri çok kullanmam. Sportif aktiviteler olsa kullanırdım. Tenis, yüzme gibi.” (Mülakat 2)*

*“Hiç düşünmedim. Belediyenin bir şey yapacağını düşünmüyorum, belediye lafta kalıyor. Talep ettiğim şeyleri yapmıyor. Beyaz Masa mesela, ciddiye almıyorlar, not bile almıyorlar” (Mülakat 5)*

*“Kafkale’ye havuza gittim, platese gittim. Şu an bu hizmetler yok, olsa devam ederim. Alternatif olsa giderim” (Mülakat 8)*

*“Benim en büyük sorunum karşıdaki çimento fabrikasının tozları. Yolların tuzundan bıktım usandım. Camlarımın önü berbat, günlük süpürge açmak zorunda kalıyorum ama temizlediğime değmiyor... Haliyle hepsi işe gidiyor, okula gidiyor; işlerin hepsi bana kalıyor. Allaha çok şükür kızım da yardım ediyor şimdi” (Mülakat 14)*

*“Çünkü her şeye bayanlar bakıyor. Mesela oğlumu alacağım okuldan şimdi... Evime yakın çocuk parkı yok. Oğlum dışarı çıkmak istediğinde eşime kalsa hafta sonu yeterli, saat 9’da çıkarmanın alemi yok. Hafta sonunu beklesin diyor. Ama ben böyle söyleyemiyorum, ilgileniyorum. Bisikletini alıp dışarı çıkarıyorum. Sırf onun gönlü olsun diye akşam 8’de bile dışarı çıkarım. Ama evimin yanında park olsaydı zamanım böyle gitmezdi” (Mülakat 8)*

*“Fabrikadan dolayı çok toz oluyor evler. Perdelerimiz bile çimento tozu sanki... Evde işim artıyor, temizlik yapmak zorunda kalıyorum... Kadın olmuşum temizliğimi yapmak zorundayım. Erkek iş yapacak diye bekleyemem; yapmaz da zaten. Ben eşimle 23 sene birlikteydim bir kere bile yardım ettiğini görmedim” (Mülakat 13)*

*“Tuzla’da çok trafik var. Yollar çok kalabalık. Mahalledeki en önemli problem park sorunu... Bu durumdan kocamdan daha çok etkileniyorum. Sokağı ben eşimden daha çok kullanıyorum çünkü. Eşim sabah gidip akşam geliyor... Evde yardımcım var ama eşim yemeği benim yapmamı ister, başkasının yaptığı yemeği yemez. Bu yüzden eve yetişip yemek yapmak için acele ediyorum, kısıtlanıyorum” (Mülakat 1)*

“Altımda arabamın olması büyük avantaj. Çocuğumun bisikletini alıp arabaya koyup gidebiliyorum ama herkesin böyle bir imkânı yok. İETT kullanmak zorunda olan çok insan var. Arabam olmasaydı yapamazdım, karanlıkta dışarı çıkamazdım” (Mülakat 8)

“Şebeke suyunu içemiyoruz. Dışarıdan suya para versem yetiştiremem, taşıma suyu içiyoruz. Dördüncü kata suyu taşımak o kadar zor ki... Bir gün annem geldi suyunu içemedi, kokuyor çünkü. O gün hazır su almak zorunda kaldım... Şebeke suyu içilebilir olsa içerdik” (Mülakat 14)

“Şebeke suyu içilebilir olsaydı da kullanmayı tercih etmezdim. Asla güvenip de o suyu içemezdim” (Mülakat 10)

“Şebeke suyu keşke içilse... Buraya kadar çocuklarım çıkaramıyor taşıma suyunu... Suyu Akfırat’dan getiriyoruz... Nefes darlığım var bu yüzden fazla yorulmaya gelmiyorum ama suyu çıkarmak zorundayım eve, çocuklarım çalıştığı için gündüz” (Mülakat 13)

“Tuzla’da çok kötü ağır bir koku var. Dericiler ve sanayi olduğu için sanki su da böyle kokuyor. Ama neyse ki oturduğumuz siteden kullanıyoruz suyumuzu” (Mülakat 2)

“Yaklaşık dört yıl önce metroya bindim en son. Fazla kullanmıyorum. Villaların orda bir otobüs durağı yok... Zaten buradan biniyorsunuz yarım saat Tuzla’da dolaşiyor, ne gerek var? Oradaki insanların da çıkma hakkı var tabii ama oraya farklı otobüs olsun, minibüsler kalksın” (Mülakat 6)

“Toplu taşıma kullanmadığım için bilmiyorum... Hayır, etkilenmiyorum kısıtlanmıyorum” (Mülakat 9)

“Haberim yok ulaşımdan, otobüsten... Toplu taşımayla ilgim yok” (Mülakat 1)

“Bu sorunlardan dolayı aktivitelerimi kısıtlamam, aracım var çünkü” (Mülakat 2)

“Pek kullanmadığım için ulaşım araçlarını bununla ilgili sağlıklı bir bilgim yok” (Mülakat 7)

“Eğer araç kullanmamış olsam çok etkilenirdim” (Mülakat 8)

*“Burada ne hastane var ne de işimizi görebileceğimiz alışveriş, mağaza. Hiçbir şey yok. Başka yere gitmek gerekiyor ama ulaşım çok yetersiz” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Mesela öğleden sonra işim var. Gidişim gelişim aksıyor. Yorgun geliyorum eve. Bazen yarım saatlik yolu bir saatte gittiğim oluyor. Eve geldiğimde çok yorgun oluyorum. Geliş bekle gidiş bekle tüm gün gidiyor. Sabah işim oluyor ama dönene kadar geç oluyor, çocuklarımı okuldan alamıyorum” (Mülakat 15)*

*“Liseye giden bir kızım var. İki gün minibüsle gitti kızım eğer bir daha minibüsle gidersem okula gitmem bırakırım dedi. İsterse aç kalayım beni okula vermeyin gitmem okula böyle dedi. Kızım ne yaşadı bilmiyorum. Servise vermek zorunda kaldım ama masrafını karşılayamıyorum” (Mülakat 14)*

*“Akşam saat 10’dan sonra araç yok buraya. Bir gün kızım ağlayarak beni aradı. Servis İçmeler’de bırakmış, şimdi ben burada ne yapacağım diye. Çocuğumun dersi akşam 8’de bitiyor ama eve gelene kadar saat 12 oluyor. İçmeler’den buraya otobüs olsa daha erken gelebilir. O gemleyince ben de yatamıyorum” (Mülakat 13)*

*“Kısıtlıyor tabi ki. Bir yere gitmekten ulaşım yüzünden vazgeçebiliyorum. Kim çekecek o yolu kalabalığı diyorum. Ulaşım yüzünden çalışma imkânım yok. Mesela Kadıköy’de bir işten kabul aldım ama ulaşım yüzünden gidemedim. Kabul etsem akşam nasıl döneceğim” (Mülakat 20)*

*“Dışarıya çıkmak konusunda çekiniyorum özellikle çocuklarla çok zor oluyor. İçmeler’de iş buldum mesela, çok güzel bir işti ama eşim izin vermedi toplu taşıma araçlarındaki taciz, sarkıntılıktan dolayı. Çünkü iş çıkış saatlerinde adım atacak yer olmuyor otobüslerde” (Mülakat 17)*

*“Tek dışarı çıkmamayı tercih ediyorum. Eşim işinden izin alıyor o götürüyor beni. Daha yakın yerlere gitmeyi tercih ediyorum. En yakın İçmeler orası da küçük zaten, büyük yerlere gidemiyoruz” (Mülakat 12)*

*“Gideceğim yere gitmiyorum. Kısıtlıyor. Mahalle dışında ulaşımdan dolayı hiçbir yerde çalışmam mesela” (Mülakat 18)*

“Normalde arkadaşlarım 10 dakikada evine dönebiliyor. Ben onlardan 1 saat önce çıkmak zorunda kalıyorum. Annem kısıtlıyor geç döndüğüm için arkadaşlarımla bulduğumda” (Mülakat 16)

“Eşimin kendi işi olduğu için etkilenmiyor. Ama ben devlet memuruyum. Çocukları okuldan ben alıyorum, çok zor oluyor çünkü park sorun oluyor... Kadın olduğum için etkileniyorum. Erkekler arabanın içine bindiği zaman sana şiddetkâr davranıyor. Daha çok etkileniyorum” (Mülakat 6)

“En etkin ben olduğum için, evin annesi olarak, evin ekmeğinin alınması, çocukların taşınması. Mesela alışveriş yapıyorum döndüğümde evimin önüne park edemiyorum. Aldıklarımla birlikte çocukları taşımak zorunda kalıyorum arabadan eve. Bunun stresiyle geliyorum” (Mülakat 5)

“Kurum müdürü olarak etkiliyor ama kendi adıma yok. Öğretmenlerimle ilgili sorunlar yaşıyoruz ulaşım ile ilgili saatler olarak da güzergâh olarak da. Uzak yerden öğretmen alırken almıyorum. Orhanlı Aydınli ya da Şifa'dan almamaya çalışıyorum.” (Mülakat 8)

“Eşim vefat ettikten sonra hiç rahat edemedim. Sanki herkesin gözü benim üzerimde. Tanıdığım erkekleri bile görmemeye konuşmamaya çalıştım. Ne giyeceğimi bilemedim, hep kendini koruman lazım. Adın çıksa yandın zaten başka yere gideceksin. Ben bu arabayı millet beni görmüyor diye öğrendim. İşten geçe kalıyorum, eve dönüyorum gece, bakıyorlar bunun ne işi var gece gece diyorlar. Eşim olsa böyle olmazdı. O yüzden kimseyle konuşmak istemiyorum, tanıdığım insanlarla bile” (Mülakat 19)

“Kadına bakış çok farklı. Kendi mahalleme bakarsam mesela burada ben göze batıyorum bakımlı olduğum için. Her şeyi kısıtlamak zorunda kalıyorsunuz giydiğim dar olmasın askılı olmasın diye. Bunlar da insanı geriyor, özgürlüğünüz kısıtlanıyor” (Mülakat 20)

“Geç saatler mesela. Sokak başlarında toplananlar yüzünden rahat rahat dışarı çıkamıyorum. Laf atıyorlar” (Mülakat 16)

“Gezme yönünden burada hiçbir şey yok. Mağaza yok gezme alanı yok. Mesela mağaza olsa sıkıldın mı almasan da çıkar gidersin. Burada yapacak hiçbir şey yok. Ulaşım imkânı da yok. Burayı geliştirmek amaçlı hiçbir şey yapmıyorlar” (Mülakat 12)

*“Burası aynı Orhanlı 17 senedir. Geliştirmek için bir şey yapılmıyor. Mahalleye hizmet edilmiyor. Gerçi burada çay bahçesi olsa gidemezsin adın çıkar o zaman” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Mahalle dışına çıktığım zaman mesela Maltepe’ye, Pendik’e, Tuzla’ya gittiğim zaman büyük yeşillik alanlar görüyorum. Ama burada park bile yamuk düz değil. Herhangi bir etkinlik yapamıyorsun” (Mülakat 16)*

*“Eğlence merkezleri, alışveriş merkezleri buraya çok uzak. Kışın hiçbir yere çıkamıyoruz üç çocukla. Keşke bu yerler buraya yakın bir yerde olsaydı...” (Mülakat 17)*

*“Küçük bir pakımız var ama başka da bir şeyimiz yok. Mahallemizde etkinlik yok fazla” (Mülakat 14)*

*“En yakın alışveriş merkezine bile ulaşım yok buradan. Otobüsün bıraktığı yerden 1.5-2 km yürümek zorunda kalabiliyoruz. Köprünün altında bekliyorum alışveriş merkezinden dönerken. Tırlar çok oluyor, rahatsız oluyorum” (Mülakat 20)*

*“Keşke belediye başkanı kadın olsa çünkü senin derdini sadece hemcinsin anlar. Kızın nasıl seni dinleyip anlıyorsa öyle” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Pek güvenli günümüzde kimse hissetmiyordur. Araca bindiğimde bile korkuyorum. Ne yazık ki açlık ve dış göç çok fazla” (Mülakat 7)*

*“Tuzla eskiden çok tenhaydı ama şimdi yürüyüş yapmak istiyorsun ama yürümüyorsun. Burada başka insanlar var diyorsun” (Mülakat 6)*

*“Bizim mahalle hiç güvenli değil. Çok kalabalık, yabancı çok var” (Mülakat 14)*

*“Akşam dışarı çıkmayı güvenli bulmuyorum çünkü burası diğer biraz kırsal kalıyor diğer yerlere göre” (Mülakat 17)*

*“Şu anda hiç güvenli hissetmiyorum. Çok karıştı mahalle. Hiç ummadığın şeyler olabilir bu mahallede” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Olayları duyup korkuyoruz. Bu mahallede sokak lambası çalışmıyor, karanlıkta korkuyoruz. İşim olmadıkça evden dışarı çıkmam akşam” (Mülakat 11)*

“Önüme biri çıksa ne yaparım bilmiyorum. Parkımızda güvenlik kamerasıyla izleniyor yazıyor ama yok. Güvenlik yok, bir bekçi yok. Sonuçta güvenli bir mahallede yaşamıyoruz... Toplu taşıma araçlarında geç saatlerde kimse olmuyor. Sadece şoför ve ben. Bazı otobüslerde, minibüslerde acil durum düğmesi var mesela ama bizde yok. Olması lazım bence” (Mülakat 16)

“Orhanlı’da otursam hiç dışarı çıkmam” (Mülakat 10)

“Kadın olarak güvende hissetmiyorum. Mesela sahilde kendimi güvenli hissetmiyorum, ışıklandırma yok. Kültür Merkezi’nin sokağı kapkaranlık, akşam oradan bir bayan yürüyemez” (Mülakat 5)

“Bu ülkede kadın olmak özellikle de dul olmak çok zor. Bu mahallede çok daha zor. Herkesin gözü üstünüzde. Akşam mesela 8’de dışarı çıkıyorum ama herkes bakıyor nereye gidiyor diye. Bu benim için daha da zor çünkü ben uzun zaman yurt dışında yaşadım. Orada erkekten daha geç gelebilirsin, normal karşılanır. Ama burada çekiniyorsun gece döndüğünde. Sokağa çıkman yeterli. Bence insanların kadınları sokakta görmesi lazım. Bir açlık var bence bu konuda” (Mülakat 20)

“Akşam nefes alacağım zaman tek başına olmuyor. Ya eşimi ikna edeceğim ya da oğlanı dışarı çıkmak için” (Mülakat 5)

“Zorunlu olmadıkça çıkmıyorum gece. Kocam izin verirse giderim” (Mülakat 1)

“Dışarı çıkacağım zaman eşimi yanıma alırım” (Mülakat 4)

“Akşam dışarı çıkmamaya çalışıyorum. Çıkacaksam eşimi bekliyorum” (Mülakat 18)

“Akşam asla dışarı çıkmam. Eşimi ararım ya da çıkmak için” (Mülakat 11)

“Hastane dışında dışarı çıkmıyorum ya da eşimle çıkıyorum” (Mülakat 12)

“Annemin yanına giderdim. Belediyenin ilgileneceğini sanmıyorum” (Mülakat 6)

“Hiçbirine başvurmam, kendi aileme sığınırım” (Mülakat 2)

“Ağabeylerimin yanına giderim. Resmi makama başvurmam, kimseye güvenmem” (Mülakat 11)

*“Allaha şükür maddi imkânlarım var. O tip yerler daha çok ihtiyaç sahibi ve kimsesiz kadınlara yönelik” (Mülakat 5)*

*“Kaçardım, ülkeyi terk ederdim yine de oraya gitmezdim. Ben oraya gidersem muhtemelen psikolojim bozulur” (Mülakat 4)*

*“Ekonomik olarak özgürlüğüm olmasaydı giderdim ama kendim hayata tutunurum şimdi çünkü özgürlüğüm var” (Mülakat 6)*

*“Gitmeyi düşünürdüm. Evde güvenli olmayacağım için oraya gitmek daha iyi olurdu. Maddiyatın olsa hiç gitmezsin ama. Kendi ayaklarının üzerinde durursun” (Mülakat 12)*

*“Kimsesiz olsaydım mecbur oraya başvururdum ama param olsa kendi kendime bakardım, ayaklarımın üstünde dururdum” (Mülakat 11)*

*“Tutunacak bir şeyim yok zaten, orada gider arkadaş edinirdim en azından” (Mülakat 16)*

*“Gitmeyi düşünmezdim çünkü çocuklarımı bırakamazdım. Bırakırsam onların yemeğini temizliğini kim yapacak?” (Mülakat 13)*

*“Babam olmasaydı başka nereye gidecektim? Oraya giderdim” (Mülakat 17)*

*“Çok fazla vakit geçirmediğim için mahalle benim için çok önemli değil. Kendi evimde bile vakit harcamam” (Mülakat 4)*

*“Hafta sonları başka yerlere gidiyoruz” (Mülakat 5)*

*“Kendi imkânlarımla telafi ediyorum. Mesela bir keresinde kanalizasyonla ilgili bir sorunumuz oldu, kanalizasyon borusu patladı. Mahalle sakinleriyle bir araya gelip sokağı temizlettik, kendi imkânlarımızla hallettik” (Mülakat 10)*

*“Kendi imkânlarımla. Mesela spor etkinliği. Kendim özel kursa giderek telafi ediyorum” (Mülakat 2)*

*“İki seçeneğin var. Ya İçmeler’e gideceksin ya da Pendik’e ama aracın varsa gidebilirsin. Yoksa her zaman gidemezsin. Paran olsa çağırırsın taksi gidersin, yoksa sabredersin” (Mülakat 13)*

“Okul inşaatı yarıda kaldı. Çocuklarımızı başka bir yere gönderemiyoruz, uzağa gönderemiyoruz. Maddi gücümüz yetmiyor” (Mülakat 11)

“Evden dışarı çıkmamayı tercih ediyorum” (Mülakat 12)

“Hiçbir şey yapmıyoruz. Başka yere gitmeye çalışıyoruz bazen, bazen de telafi edemiyoruz” (Mülakat 19)

“Mesela arabam olsa kimseye eyvallahım olmaz. Binerim arabama giderim, o zaman kim laf atabilir ki?” (Mülakat 16)

“Kendi araban olsa gezmek için biner gidersin, otobüslerle olunca çıkmamaya çalışıyoruz” (Mülakat 12)

“Şiddete maruz kalsaydım, ben de aynı şiddeti ona uygulardım” (Mülakat 4)

“Bence bu mahallede kadın sığınma evine ihtiyaç yok. Burada bu tarz bir olaya daha önce hiç tanık olmadım” (Mülakat 2)

“Çok şiddet gördüm ama hiçbirine başvurmadım. Boşanmak istedim ama çocuklarımı babasız büyütmek istemedim. Kadını da vardı şiddeti de vardı ama dayandım” (Mülakat 14)

“Çok maruz kaldım ama başvurmadım. Kimse duymasın dedim, millete rezil olmayayım dedim. Çocuklarım için katlanmak zorundaydım” (Mülakat 13)

“Eğer kadınsan bir yere sığınmak zorundasın. Bizim de eğitimimiz iyi olsaydı, biz de bir yere sığınmak zorunda kalmazdık. Eğitim şart. Eğitimli insana ne eşi ne de çevresi şiddet uygulayamaz... Ben 45 yaşındayım ama hala annem tek başıma parka gitmeme bile izin vermez. Dulluğu ben burada yaşadım, Almanya’da değil. Kaç kocam oldu burada” (Mülakat 20)

“Maddi olanağım olsa zaten direkt boşarım” (Mülakat 16)

“Maddi durumunuz daha iyi olduğu için bu sorunları yaşamıyorsunuz. Belediyenin verdiği vermediği hizmetler çok önemli değil benim için. Belediye spor hizmeti vermiyor mesela, ben çocuğumu özel spor okuluna gönderiyorum” (Mülakat 5)

*“Oğlum Marina’daki Safari Park’ta büyüttüm. Bir jeton 10-15 lira, herkes bunu karşılayamaz. Marina’nın içinde lunapark var ama giriş 50 lira. Maddiyat gerçekten önemli. Çocuğun bir şey istiyor hep maddiyata bakıyor. Mesela arabam olmasa oğlum servise vereceğim ama param yoksa veremem, özel okula veremem. Ben de İETT kullanmak zorunda kalırdım” (Mülakat 8)*

*“Taciz olaylarına karşı arabanın olması büyük avantaj... Özgüvenin oluyor, Beyaz Masa’ya yumruğunu vurabiliyorsun mesela” (Mülakat 6)*

*“Maddi imkânlarım dolayısıyla ben bir şekilde halledebilirim. Maddiyat çok etkili” (Mülakat 1)*

*“Cebinde paran yoksa eğer eve hapsoluyorsun. Zaman geliyor ailem dışında kimseyi görmüyorum. Maddiyat iyi olsa bir arabam olsa karanlık sokaklara muhtaç olmazdım. O zaman ne yapacağım buradaki parkı, ilk olarak Kumkapanı’na giderdim eğlenmek için” (Mülakat 20)*

*“Çocuğum önceki gün aldı maaşını o da borca gitti. Bir gün işitme engelli kızım benim hakkım yok mu neden dışarı çıkmıyoruz dedi ama nasıl götürerim? Mesela maddi olanağım iyi olsa parayla alırdım suyu. Nefes darlığım olduğu için daha temiz bir yerde yaşamam lazım aslında. Karşılatabilseydim daha lüks daha temiz bir yere giderdim. Ama şimdi hava kirliliğini, buradaki fabrika sorununu mecburum çekmeye” (Mülakat 13)*

*“Alışveriş merkeziymiş, gezmeymiş onlar bizde yok, bunlar parayla olduğu için” (Mülakat 14)*

*“Paran olunca her şey daha iyi oluyor. Ulaşımınla uğraşacağıma taksiyle giderdim her yere” (Mülakat 15)*

*“Maddi olanağım olsa otobüsle ne işim var, taksi çağırırdım. İstedğim her yere giderdim, çok ters kalan yerlere bile giderdim. Sağlık bile bu devirde paraya bağlı işte. Paran olmadığına güzel bir tedavi bile göremiyorsun” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Maddiyat oldu mu her şey ilerler. Durumun iyi olsa taksi çağırır gidersin, otobüse binmek zorunda olmazsın. Maddiyat olmayınca kendi imkânlarınla telafi etmeye çalışırsın her şeyi” (Mülakat 12)*

*“Maddi olanakların iyiye toplumda saygıdeğer biri olursun bir kere. Bir işi olduğunda o kadın kendi gidip belediyeye muhatap olmaz. Çünkü kendisi halleder her şeyi. Başlı başına o bir hükümet zaten belediyeyi ne yapsın? Problemi olduğunda ne diye gitsin? O kadın ekmek fiyatını bile bilmez. Parana göre itibar görüyorsun bu devirde. O kadına el pençe divan dururlar her yerde” (Mülakat 19)*

*“Yani her açıdan şanslılar. Parası olana daha çok öncelik tanınıyor çoğu yerde. Para cepte olunca sorun olmaz hiçbir şey” (Mülakat 15)*

*“Giymesi olsun gezmesi olsun daha üstün bizden. Hayatı daha kolay olur bizim zor” (Mülakat 11)*

*“Kesinlikle evet, dezavantajlılar. Kendilerine güvenmiyorlar, güven yoksunluğundan kendilerini o çirkin yaşama alet ediyorlar. Hata üstüne hata yapıyorlar” (Mülakat 4)*

*“O kadın her zaman bir şekilde kabullenir. Belediyenin vermediği hizmetle o kadın ilgilenmez. Kendini eve hapseder” (Mülakat 1)*

## APPENDIX C: TURKISH SUMMARY

Vatandaşların sorunlarına duyarlı ve beklentileriyle uyumlu politikalar üretmek günümüzde en önemli demokratik yönetim koşullarından biri olarak kabul görmektedir. Bir politikanın oluşturulurken vatandaşın isteklerinin, beklentilerinin, sorunlarının ve günlük hayatta karşılaştığı engellerin göz önünde bulundurulması, kuşkusuz bu politikanın sonuçlarını da etkili kılacaktır. Bu bağlamda, yerel yönetimlerin ve yürüttükleri yerel hizmetlerin/yerel politikaların önemi çok büyüktür. Yerel yönetim mekanizmalarının ulusal siyasetin araçlarına kıyasla halka daha yakın olması, yürüttükleri politikaların halkın bire bir gündelik hayat pratiklerine dokunması ve bu nedenle etkilerinin daha görünür ve daha hissedilir olması, yerel yönetimlerin önemini oluşturan başlıca unsurlardır. Demokrasinin gelişmesinde ve daha eşit bir yaşam alanı sunmada, sorunlara duyarlı politika anlayışının yereldeki yansımaları, uzun dönemde genel politikaları da etkileyecektir. Yerel yönetimlerin daha adil, eşitsizlikleri barındırmayan bir yaşam alanı sunmadaki potansiyeli, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerinin giderilmesinde yerel politikalara ve hizmetlere yönelik ilgiyi de arttırmaktadır. Yerel alanda sunulan, sunulmayan ya da eksik sunulan hizmetlerin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri nedeniyle kadınlar üzerindeki etkisi yadsınamayacak bir etkiye sahiptir. Özellikle belediyelerin sundukları yerel hizmetler ve bu hizmetleri nasıl sunduğu sorunsalı erkek ve kadın nüfus üzerinde farklı etki yaratmaktadır. Hakim olan toplumsal cinsiyet pratikleri yüzünden, mahalle kadınlar için daha büyük bir öneme sahiptir. Yerel alanda yürütülen politikalar ve eksiklikler en çok kadınların gündelik hayatını kısıtlamakta, dahası yerelde karşılaştıkları engeller ve eşitsizlikler kadınların birçok alana katılmaları önündeki engellerin de temel kaynağını oluşturmaktadır. Eğitim, iş hayatına katılma hatta siyasette aktif olarak yer almanın önündeki engellerin hepsi aslında yerelde gündelik hayatta karşı karşıya kalınan sorunlarla başlamaktadır. Örneğin, çocuk kreşi ve yaşlı bakım hizmetinin belediye tarafından sunulmaması, kadının bakım görevini üstlenmesine ve bu da gündelik iş yükünün daha da

artmasına neden olmaktadır. Ulaşım imkânlarının düzgün bir şekilde sunulmaması, yetersiz güvenlik önlemleri, karanlık sokaklar ve parklar kadınların kent içi hareketliliğini sınırlamaktadır. Tüm bunlar kadın nüfusunu daha da çok yerele hapsederken, birçok alanda özellikle de kamusal alanda kadınları görünmez kılmaktadır. Dahası tüm bu eksiklikler kadınların birer vatandaş olarak kent içi güvenliğini tehdit etmektedir. Bunların dışında kadına yönelik şiddet, taciz, sunulmayan ya da eksik sunulan hizmetlerin daha çok kadınlar tarafından giderilmeye çalışılması, iş imkânlarının yerelde desteklenmemesi gibi birçok sorun belediyelerin sundukları hizmetler ile yakından ilişkilidir. Tüm bu nedenler, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerine duyarlı politika anlayışını yerelde elzem bir hale getirmektedir.

Yerel yönetimlerin, özellikle de belediyelerin, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini gidermede ve nüfusun yarısını oluşturan kadınların birer vatandaş olarak yerel düzeyde eşit ve adil bir şekilde temsil edilmesindeki önemi, feminist bakış açısının benimsendiği tüm yerel yönetim çalışmalarında vurgulanan bir olgudur. Yazın, yerel yönetimlerde kadınların hem siyasal aktörler hem de yerel vatandaşlar olarak katılım ve temsil sorununu ele almıştır. Çalışmalar ağırlıklı bir şekilde kadınların yerel yönetimlere siyasal aktörler olarak katılımlarını, bu bağlamda Türkiye’de kadınların yerel düzeyde eksik temsil oranlarını ve bunun sebeplerini araştırmıştır. Bunun yanında, yerel yönetimlerde kadınların karar mekanizmalarında yer almasının önemi ve buradaki kadınların siyasal gündemi nasıl değiştirdikleri üzerine de çalışmalar mevcuttur. Fakat yerel politikaların ne derecede toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerine duyarlı oldukları, yerel hizmetlerin kadınların gündelik hayatını nasıl etkilediği ve eksik sunulan hizmetlerin hangi sorunları ve eşitsizlikleri beslediği konusu üzerinde çok fazla durulmamıştır. Öte yandan, bu sorunsala odaklanan çalışmalar ise kadınlar arasındaki farklılıkları yeterince sorgulamamıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerinin yaş, eğitim, sınıf ve etnisite gibi diğer faktörlerle birleştiğinde nasıl farklılaştığı ve farklı sosyo-ekonomik konulardan gelen kadınların bu eşitsizlikleri nasıl farklı deneyimledikleri, bu alandaki çalışmaların temel sorusu olmamıştır. Bu farklılık

önemlidir çünkü kadınların farklı deneyimleri sorunlarına yansımakta, bu da onların yerel hizmetlerden beklentilerini ve yerel ihtiyaçlarını şekillendirmektedir. Bunun sonucunda, mevcut yerel politikaların kadın nüfusu üzerindeki etkisi erkeklerden farklı olduğu gibi, kadınların kendi arasında da farklı olacaktır. Dolayısıyla, toplumsal cinsiyet ile birlikte sorunları ve beklentileri şekillendiren diğer faktörler ve tüm bunların karşılıklı etkilerinin göz önünde tutulması, toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı politika anlayışını daha da sağlam kılacaktır.

Bu öncüller temel alınarak, çalışmada üç temel araştırma sorusu üzerinde durulmuştur. Bunlardan biri, aynı belediye sınırları içerisinde yaşayan ve farklı sosyo-ekonomik koşullara sahip kadınların belediye hizmetlerine yönelik beklentilerinin, yereldeki sorunlarının ve ihtiyaçlarının hangi noktalarda birbirleriyle benzerlik gösterdiği ve hangi noktalarda birbirinden farklılaştığıdır. Bununla bağlantılı olarak, mevcut olan belediye hizmetleriyle birlikte sunulmayan ya da eksik sunulan hizmetlerin farklı yaşam koşullarına sahip kadınlar üzerindeki farklı etkilerini saptamak ve tüm bu eksikliklerle kadınların nasıl başa çıktığını ve bunları nasıl telafi etmeye çalıştıklarını ortaya koymaktır. Kısacası, kadınların yereldeki toplumsal cinsiyet çıkarlarının oluşumunda, sınıfın ve toplumsal cinsiyetin karşılıklı ve birlikte etkileri saptanmaya çalışılmıştır. Son olarak, kadınların hangi katılım mekanizmalarını kullanarak ve daha çok hangi sorunlar üzerine belediyeye başvurdukları sorusu da incelenmiştir.

Araştırma sorularının ışığında, kadınların belediye hizmetleriyle ilişkileri, Tuzla İlçe Belediyesi sınırları içinde yer alan Orhanlı ve Postane mahallelerinin kadın sakinleri gözünden incelenmiştir. Çalışmada, veri toplama metodu olarak derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanılmıştır. Bu mahallelerden toplamda temsili olarak seçilen 20 kadın katılımcı ile 27 Eylül-7 Ekim 2016 tarihleri arasında yüz yüze görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşmelerin çoğu katılımcıların kendi evinde ya da kadınların belirlediği farklı mekânlarda yürütülmüştür. Görüşmeler sırasında kadınlara, hem belediyenin kadınlara yönelik sunduğu hem de genel olarak yürüttüğü hizmetler hakkında sorular sorulmuştur. Kadınlara bu hizmetlerden haberdar olup olmadıkları,

daha önce hangilerinden yararlandıkları ve bu hizmetlerin yaşamlarına ne gibi katkıları olduğu sorulmuştur. Bunun yanında, mahalledeki ve ilçedeki problemlerin neler olduğu, eksik sunulan hizmetlerin hayatlarını nasıl etkilediği, yaşadıkları ilçenin ve mahallenin onlara göre ne kadar güvenli olduğu ve tüm bu sorunlarla nasıl başa çıktıkları öğrenilmeye çalışılmıştır. Son olarak, hangi sorunlar üzerine daha önce belediyeye başvurdukları ve bunun için hangi katılım mekanizmalarını kullandıkları sorulmuştur. Bunun sonucunda, araştırma bulgularının, mevcut yerel politikaların kadınların gündelik yaşamlarına çeşitlilik gösteren etkilerini ortaya koyması ve böylece kadınlar arasındaki farklılıkları da göz önünde bulunduran daha kapsayıcı bir politika anlayışının benimsenmesine katkı sağlayacağı beklenmektedir.

Vatandaşların sorunlarına duyarlı, eşitsizlikleri ortadan kaldırarak yaşam koşullarını herkes için adil ve eşit kılan politikalar, demokratik bir düzenin en önemli öncüsüdür. Kadınların birçok alanda görünmez hale gelmesi, karar alma mekanizmalarında temsil oranlarının yok denecek kadar az olması, kuşkusuz oluşturulan politikalara da yansımaktadır. Temsil olunamayan ve birçok alanda görünür olmayan kadın nüfusu, sosyal alanda olduğu gibi siyasal alanda da adına karar alınmalıdır. Üstelik bahsedilen nüfus, toplumun azınlığını değil yarısını oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğine duyarlı politika anlayışı hem yerelde hem genelde, soyut olarak herkes tarafından kabul görmüş, eşitlik, adalet, demokrasi gibi değerlerin somut olarak gerçek yaşama indirilmesinde önemli bir adımdır. Bu anlayışın benimsenmesi yerel siyaset için daha çok öneme sahiptir çünkü daha önce de belirtildiği gibi yerel mekanizmalar vatandaşların hayatına bire bir etki etmektedir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin hayata geçirilmesi amacıyla geliştirilen en önemli stratejilerden biri ise “toplumsal cinsiyetin ana akımlaştırılması” anlayışıdır. Bu stratejiye göre, toplumsal cinsiyet duyarlılığı politikaların çepherine itilen ve sadece kadınlara özel politikalarda benimsenmesi gereken bir olgu olmamalıdır. Bu anlayışın tüm politikalara, politikaların tüm aşamalarına ve araçlarına hakim hale getirilmesi ve yayılması gerekir. Çünkü herkes için görünen birçok genel politika aslında kadın ve erkek nüfusu üzerinde farklı etkilere sahiptir. Etkileri bakımından

tarafsız olarak görülen politikaların sonuçlarını herkes için adil kılmanın en önemli koşulu, bunların toplumsal cinsiyet etkilerini ortaya koymaktır. Bu etkilere duyarlı olarak oluşturulan, yürütülen ve denetlenen politikalar mevcut durumdaki eşitsizliği de ortadan kaldıracaktır.

“Toplumsal cinsiyetin ana akımlaştırılması” anlayışı, feminist yazındaki “toplumsal cinsiyet” üzerine yapılan tartışmalardan etkilenecek geliştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, en çok kullanılan görüşler, feminist teoride toplumsal cinsiyet kavramını sorgulayan argümanlardır. Feminist yazındaki bu savunular, erken dönem feminist hareketlerini, kadınlar arasındaki farklılıkları görmezden geldikleri ve kadınların deneyimlerini aynılaştırdıkları için eleştirmiştir. Böylece, “toplumsal cinsiyet” kavramı, kadınlar arasındaki farklılıkları da içine alacak şekilde tekrardan incelenmiştir. Sınıf, etnisite, ırk, yaş gibi diğer faktörlerin etkisi, kadınların karşı karşıya kaldıkları toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği pratiklerini de farklılaştırmaktadır. Dahası, ne toplumsal cinsiyetin ne de diğer faktörlerin bu pratikler içindeki önemi bir diğerinden daha üstün değildir. Bu koşulların etkileri, birbirlerinden ayıramayacak derecede iç içe geçmiştir. Örneğin, yoksul bir kadının karşı karşıya kaldığı eşitsizlikler hem kadın olmasının hem de içinde bulunduğu ekonomik şartların bir uzantısıdır. Aynı şekilde siyahî bir kadının maruz kaldığı her türlü şiddet sadece siyahî olması ya da kadın olması ile açıklanamayacak bir olgudur. Siyahî olmak, yoksul olmak, engelli olmak ya da aynı etnik kökene sahip olmak nasıl kadınlar için erkeklere kıyasla farklı deneyimler barındırıyor, tüm bu faktörler kadınlar arasında da farklı toplumsal cinsiyet pratiklerinin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, kadınların sorunları, beklentileri ve ihtiyaçları analiz edilirken sadece tek bir faktör üzerinde durmak, bütünsel bir çerçeve sunmayacak ve diğer etkileri görmezden gelmeye neden olacaktır.

Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerinin diğer faktörlerle birlikte ele alınması gerektiğine dair savunular, toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı politika anlayışına yeni katkılar sağlamıştır. Bu noktada, “toplumsal cinsiyetin ana akımlaştırılması” stratejisinin toplumda var olan eşitsizlikleri dönüştürücü potansiyeli sorgulanmış, bu anlayışın

toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini tam olarak gerçekleştiremeyeceği öne sürülmüştür. Çünkü bu strateji, analizine sadece toplumsal cinsiyet boyutunu katmakta, diğer faktörlerin etkisini ise gözden kaçırmaktadır. Oysa tüm bu faktörlerin etkisi birbiri içine geçmiştir ve biri diğerinden kolayca ayrıştırılamaz. Dolayısıyla, tek bir boyuta odaklanmak, sorunun analizini ve onun sonucunda oluşturulan politikayı da eksik kılacaktır. Bunun sonucunda ise bazı farklı deneyimler görünmez hale gelirken, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği amacı tam ve eksiksiz olarak yerine getirilemeyecektir.

Yukarıda kısaca bahsedilen eleştiriler, farklılıklara duyarlı politika anlayışının benimsenmesinde büyük bir rol oynamıştır. Farklı deneyimlerin, eşitsizliklerin ve bunları oluşturan birçok etmenin etkilerinin birlikte incelenmesi, bu bağlamda kamu politikalarının oluşturulma sürecini yeniden mercek altına almıştır. Sorunun sadece tek bir boyutuna odaklanan cinsiyet eşitsizliğine duyarlı kamu politikaları, tıpkı herkes için tarafsız olarak görülen genel politikaların sonuçlarını doğuracaktır. Bu nedenle, tüm kadınların ihtiyaçları ya da çıkarları gibi bütünsel bir yaklaşım yerine, kadınların farklılaşan ihtiyaçları ve sorunları göz önünde tutulmalı ve ortaya konmaya çalışılmalıdır. Böyle bir yaklaşım, politikaların farklı koşullara sahip kadınlar üzerindeki farklı etkilerini incelemeyi elzem kılmaktadır. Bu etkilerinin saptanması ve daha geniş bir analizin sunulması için araştırma sorularının öncelikle *“Kadınların ihtiyaçları neler?”* ve *“Bunlar hangi kadınların ihtiyaçları?”* sorularıyla başlaması önerilmiştir (bk. Hankivsky, 2005).

Bu çalışmada, tüm bu argümanlar Tuzla Belediyesinin sunduğu hizmetler üzerinden incelenmiştir. Belediyenin sunduğu hizmetlerin, ilçedeki farklı ekonomik koşullara sahip kadınların gündelik hayatına etkileri karşılaştırmalı bir analiz yapılarak ortaya konmuştur. Evren Tuzla İlçe Belediyesi içinde yer alan tüm yoksul ve varlıklı mahallelerdeki kadın nüfusu olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Orhanlı ve Postane mahalleleri araştırmanın örneklemini oluşturmaktadır. Tuzla ilçesi rastgele seçilmemiş, ilçenin sosyo-ekonomik ve demografik özellikleri göz önünde tutulmuştur. Özellikle 80’lerden sonra artan sanayileşme ve ilçenin tersane bölgesi olarak hızla gelişmesi, ilçeye işçi göçünü arttırmıştır. Bunun yanında, kent

merkezinden ve kentin kalabalığından uzak oluşu, kentten izole ve daha nezih bir yaşam sunması, Tuzla'yı üst gelir grubunun tercih ettiği, İstanbul'daki gözde yerleşim mekânlarından biri haline getirmiştir. Bu iki etmen, ilçe nüfusunun, sosyo-ekonomik açıdan önemli derecede farklılaşmasına yol açmıştır. Bu farklılık, çalışmadaki temel araştırma soruları açısından önem teşkil etmektedir. Aynı şekilde, mahallelerin seçilmesinde de aradaki sosyo-ekonomik farklılığa dikkat edilmiştir. Mahalle sakinlerinin, gelir düzeyleri arasındaki farkın gözle görülür derecede olmasına önem verilmiştir. Fakat ilçedeki mahallelerin gelir düzeyleri üzerine TÜİK'in elinde veri bulunmamaktadır. Bu nedenle, mahalleler seçilirken öncelikle belediye çalışanlarıyla görüşülüp, mahallelerin gelir düzeyleri hakkında bilgiler alınmıştır.

İlk olarak, Postane ve Orhanlı mahallelerinin sakinleri arasında ciddi bir gelir farkı bulunmaktadır. Postane, daha çok yüksek gelirli kişilerin oturduğu bir mahalleyken, Orhanlı'daki sakinlerin çoğu düşük gelirlidir. Orhanlı Mahallesi, ucuz işgücü dolayısıyla ilçedeki iç göçü en çok alan mahallelerden biridir. Bununla bağlantılı olarak, mahallede gettolaşma eğilimi görülürken, hemşerilik mahalle sakinlerini bir araya getiren güçlü bir etmendir. Postane'ye kıyasla bu mahallenin ilçe merkezine uzaklığı daha fazladır. Ayrıca 2008'de çıkarılan 5747 sayılı Kanun ile belde belediyesi olmaktan çıkarılıp Tuzla Belediyesi sınırları içine katılmıştır. Bu iki mahalle aynı zamanda ilçe içindeki nüfus yoğunlukları açısından da farklılık göstermektedir. Orhanlı Tuzla'daki en az nüfusa sahip ilk üç mahalle içerisinde yer alırken, Postane mahallesinin nüfusu ona kıyasla çok daha fazladır. 2015 verilerine göre Orhanlı'nın nüfusu 1.867 iken, Postane Mahallesi'nde bu rakam 19.000'dir. Mahallelerin nüfuslarının ilçe içindeki payları ise, yine 2015 verilerine göre sırasıyla %0.80 ve %8.11'dir. Postane Mahallesi, ilçe merkezine daha yakın olmakla birlikte, nüfus yoğunluklarından da anlaşılacağı üzere Orhanlı'ya göre daha büyük bir mahalledir. Orhanlı Mahallesi'nin aksine, sakinleri daha çok üst gelirlidir. Belediye çalışanlarının aktardığına göre, yoksul kadınlara yönelik belediyenin yürüttüğü yardım kampanyalarında gönüllü olarak katılan kadınların çoğu, bu mahallenin

şakinleridir. Tm bu faktrler, arařtırmanın ulařmaya alıřtıęı sonular aısından nemlidir. Bu nedenle, Tuzla ilesinde yer alan toplamda 17 mahalle ierisinden bu iki mahalle rneklemler olarak seilmiřtir.

alıřma kapsamında, Postane Mahallesi'nden 10 ve Orhanlı Mahallesi'nden 10 olmak zere toplamda 20 kadınla grřlmřtr. Bu kadınlar seilirken, eęitim ve hane halkı gelir dzeylerine dikkat edilmiřtir. Orhanlı Mahallesi'nden seilen kadınların hane halkı gelir dzeyi 1.000-2.500 lira aralıęındayken, Postane Mahallesi'nde bu aralık, 5.000-15.000 ve zeri řeklinde-dir. Eęitim dzeyleri aısından da aynı farklılıęa dikkat edilmiřtir. Orhanlı'daki katılımcıların eęitim dzeyleri, Postane'deki katılımcılara kıyasla daha dřktr.

alıřmada derinlemesine mlakat teknięi kullanılarak kadınların cevapları karřılařtırmalı bir řekilde analiz edilmiřtir. Bu karřılařtırma, hem toplumsal cinsiyet hem de sosyal sınıf faktrleri ve bunların karřılıklı etkileri dikkate alınarak yapılmaya alıřılmıřtır. Toplumsal cinsiyetin yanında dięer faktrler yerine sınıf faktrnn seilmesi de rastgele deęildir. Sınıf faktrnn alıřmaya dahil edilmesinin en nemli sebebi, ilgili yazında kadınlar arasındaki farklı ekonomik ıkarılara yapılan vurgudur. rneęin Maxine Molyneux (1985), toplumsal cinsiyet ıkarılarını aıklarken, kadınlar arasındaki sınıf farklılıklarının bu ıkarıları etkileyen ve řekillendiren en nemli etken olduęunu, dolayısıyla toplumsal cinsiyet ıkarılarının sınıf etkisinden baęımsız olmadıęını vurgulamıřtır. Buna benzer olarak, ekonomik ıkarıların ve sınıf farklılıklarının kadınlar arasındaki farklı deneyimlerin en nemli kaynaklarından biri olduęu da sıklıkla vurgulanmıřtır (bk. Bryson 1999, Ramazanoęlu 1989). Fakat bu farklılıkların vurgulanması, kadınların hibir řekilde ortak ıkarılarının ve deneyimlerinin olmayacağı anlamına gelmemektedir. Aksine, bu ıkarıların ve deneyimlerin nceden belirlenebilir ve her durumda genel geer olmadıęını hatırlatmaktadır. Kadınların mlakatlar sırasında verdikleri cevaplar ve anlatılar, tm bunların ışıęında analiz edilmiřtir.

Katılımcılarla yüz yüze gerçekleştirilen mülakatlarda, belediyenin kadınlara yönelik sunduğu hizmetler, diğer hizmetler ve belediyeye başvuru ile ilgili toplamda 46 soru sorulmuştur. Mülakatlar önce Postane Mahallesi'nden katılımcılarla 27 Eylül-4 Ekim, daha sonra Orhanlı'dan katılımcılarla 6-7 Ekim 2016 tarihleri arasında yürütülmüştür. Görüşmelerin temel amacı, yüksek ve düşük gelire sahip kadınların belediye hizmetlerinden nasıl yararlandığını, bu hizmetlere dair beklentilerinin neler olduğunu, yerel hizmetlerin gündelik yaşamlarını nasıl etkilediğini, yereldeki sorunların hayatlarını ne derecede kısıtladığını, bu eksiklikleri hangi yöntemlerle telafi etmeye çalıştıklarını ve belediyeye daha çok hangi sorunlar üzerine başvurduklarını saptamaktır. Görüşmeler sırasında yöneltilen toplamda 46 soru beş başlık altında oluşturulmuştur: Kadın katılımcıların sosyo-ekonomik ve demografik özellikleri, belediyenin kadınlara yönelik sunduğu hizmetlerden yararlanma ve beklentiler, belediyenin diğer hizmetlerinden memnuniyet, beklentiler ve yereldeki problemler, kadınların mahalledeki problemlerle baş etme yöntemleri, problemlerin ve ihtiyaçların iletilmesi üzerine belediyeye başvuru.

İlk olarak kadınlara, belediyenin kadınlara yönelik sunduğu hizmetlerle ilgili sorular yöneltilmiştir. Öncelikle, belediyenin bu hizmetleri sıralanarak bunlardan haberdar olup olmadıkları, daha sonra o hizmeti daha önce kullanıp kullanmadıkları sorulmuştur. İki grubun cevapları karşılaştırıldığında, bu hizmetlerden haberdar olma ve hizmetleri kullanma sonuçları birbirinden farklılık göstermektedir. Yüksek gelir grubundan 10 kadından 5'i bu hizmetlerin tamamından haberdar olduğunu bildirirken, düşük gelir grubunda tüm hizmetlerden haberdar olduğunu söyleyen sadece bir katılımcı olmuştur. Hizmetlerden yararlanma oranları ise bunun tam tersidir. Postane'de 10 katılımcıdan 9'u bu hizmetlerden yararlanmadığını belirtirken, Orhanlı'da 10 kadından 8'i bu hizmetlerden yararlanmaktadır. Düşük gelir grubunun yararlandığı hizmetler, belediyenin yoksul kadınlara yardım amacı güden Gönül Elleri Projesi, meslek edindirme kursları, belediye başkanıyla bire bir görüşebildikleri Halk Günü Etkinliği, çocuklara yönelik etüt merkezleri ve yaşlılara yönelik evde bakım hizmetidir. Buradaki en önemli sonuçlardan biri ise bu

hizmetlerin katılımcıların hayatını nasıl etkilediğidir. Yüksek gelirli kadınlar bu soruya daha çok “İhtiyaçlarım arasında değil”, “tarzıma uygun değil”, “mesleki anlamda bana katacağı hiçbir şey yok”, “tercih meselesi” gibi cevaplar verirken, Orhanlı’daki kadınlar bu hizmetlerin hayatlarına olumlu etkilerinin olduğunu belirtmiştir. Meslek edinme, sosyalleşme, yeni bir şeyler öğrenme, kendini geliştirme, maddi ve manevi açıdan rahatlama düşük gelirli katılımcıların en çok üzerinde durduğu etkilerdir. Bunun yanında, bu kadınların diğer hizmetlerden yararlanamama sebeplerine bakıldığında, toplumsal cinsiyet etkisinin baskın olduğu görülmektedir. Yüksek gelirli grubun verdiği cevaplardan farklı olarak Orhanlı’daki kadınlar, yaşlı ve çocukların bakımı nedeniyle zaman kısıtlılığından ya da eşlerinin kıskanç olmasından bahsetmiştir.

İkinci olarak, kadınlara belediyenin sunduğu hizmetler ve mahalledeki/ilçedeki problemler ile ilgili sorular sorulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, kadınların bu hizmetlerden memnun olup olmadıkları, eksik sunulan hizmetler, mahalledeki/ilçedeki problemler ve bunların kadınların hayatlarını nasıl etkilediği öğrenilmeye çalışılmıştır. Belediyenin sunduğu hizmetlerden memnuniyet iki grup için de aynı düzeydedir. Hem Orhanlı’da hem Postane’de 10 katılımcıdan 7’si belediyenin sunduğu hizmetlerden memnunken, her iki mahallede de 10 kadından 3’ü sunulan hizmetlerden memnun olmadığını belirtmiştir. Mahalledeki/ilçedeki sorunlar sorulduğunda ise Orhanlı’daki kadınların cevapları daha çok mahalle ile sınırlı kalırken, Postane’deki kadınların sorunlarının neredeyse hepsi ilçeyle ilgilidir. Trafik, park sorunu, yeşil alanların azlığı, ilçedeki koku ve aşırı yapılaşma sorunu yüksek gelirli kadınların aktardığı sorunlar arasındadır. Orhanlı’daki kadınlara göre ise şebeke suyunun içilebilir olmaması, mahalledeki çimento fabrikası ve çevre kirliliği, çocuk parkının eski oluşu, okul sayısının azlığı, mahallede mağaza, dükkân, pazar yeri gibi yeterli alışveriş mekânlarının olmayışı en önemli sorunlar arasındadır. Çalışmadaki en önemli bulgulardan biri, yereldeki sorunların her iki mahalleden kadınların da günlük iş yükünü arttırmasına rağmen sunulmayan ya da eksik sunulan hizmetlerin kadınlar üzerindeki etkisinin farklı oluşudur. Bu noktada, toplumsal

cinsiyet yükü her iki grubun anlatılarında da belirgindir. Fakat bu bulgu, tüm katılımcıların bu sorunlardan aynı şekilde etkilendiği gibi bir genelleme için yetersizdir. Çünkü kadınlar eksik sunulan hizmetlerden farklı şekilde etkilenmektedir. Örneğin, Orhanlı'daki kadınlardan bazıları kullandıkları suyu Akfırat bölgesinden taşıdıklarını, bu nedenle şebeke suyunun içilebilir olmamasının onlara ayrı bir külfet getirdiğini belirtmişlerdir. Fakat şebeke suyu probleminin yüksek gelirden kadınların günlük iş yükünü arttırıcı herhangi bir etkisi bulunmamaktadır. Aynı şekilde ilçedeki ulaşım problemleri de kadınların hizmetlerden aynı şekilde etkilenmediklerinin en önemli göstergelerindendir. Bu noktada, yüksek ve düşük gelirden kadınların neredeyse hepsi ilçedeki ulaşım hizmetlerinin eksik olduğu konusunda hem fikirdir. Fakat en önemli farklılık, bu sorunun gündelik aktiviteleri kısıtlaması hususunda belirlemektedir. Ulaşım problemlerinin kadınları nasıl etkilediğini öğrenmek için katılımcılara “*Ulaşım problemi gündelik hayatınızı nasıl etkiliyor? Bu problemler sizin mahalle dışına çıkma, eve geç dönme, çalışma hayatına katılma gibi imkânlarınızı kısıtlıyor mu?*” sorusu yöneltilmiştir. Yüksek gelir grubundan kadınlar, toplu taşıma araçlarını kullanmadıklarını, dolayısıyla bu sorun yüzünden günlük aktivitelerini kısıtlamadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bunun aksine, ulaşım sorununun Orhanlı'daki kadınların gündelik yaşamları üzerindeki etkisi çok daha büyüktür. Eğitim önündeki engeller, çalışma hayatına katılamama, mecbur kalmadıkça mahalle dışına çıkamama gibi zorluklar, ulaşım sorununun Orhanlı'daki kadınlar üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerindendir. Dahası, sayılan bu engeller toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği ile doğrudan ilişkilidir. Bu sorun, düşük gelirli kadınlar üzerinde toplumsal cinsiyet baskısını daha fazla arttırmaktadır. Bu nedenle, düşük gelirli kadınlar, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı eşitsizliği yüksek gelirden kadınlara kıyasla daha fazla ve daha farklı bir şekilde deneyimlemektedir. Postane'deki kadınları ise en çok etkileyen trafik ve yetersiz park alanı sorunudur. Katılımcılara göre bu sorunlar kadın olarak kendilerini daha fazla etkilemektedir. Fakat iki grubun bu konudaki anlatıları kıyaslandığında, bu sorunların düşük gelirli kadınlar üzerindeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği etkisinin daha ağır olduğu söylenebilir.

Kadınların yerel hizmetlerden beklentileri en çok kent içi güvenlik noktasında benzerlik göstermektedir. Toplam 20 katılımcıdan 16'sı gece dışarı çıktıklarında kendilerini güvensiz hissederken, gün içinde dışarı çıktığında kendini güvensiz hisseden katılımcıların sayısı 9'dur. Bunun sebebi ise genel olarak çevreye karşı duyulan güvensizliktir. Fakat bu noktada Orhanlı'daki kadınların cevapları yine genellikle mahallenin güvenli olmaması ile sınırlı kalmıştır. *“Taciz-sarkıntılık gibi tehlikelere karşı korkuyu ilçenizde en çok hangi mekânlarda hissediyorsunuz?”* sorusuna katılımcıların çoğu aynı cevapları vermiştir. Buna göre, ıssız ve karanlık sokaklar, aydınlatmanın yetersiz kaldığı yerler, toplu taşıma araçları kadınların kendilerini güvensiz hissettiği ortak mekânlardır. Aynı şekilde katılımcıların çoğu belediyenin bu tehlikelere karşı sunması gerektiği hizmetlerin olduğunu düşünmektedir. Yeterli aydınlatma, daha fazla güvenlik önlemleri, gizli kamera sistemi, toplu taşıma araçlarında acil yardım butonları katılımcılara göre olması gereken hizmetler arasındadır. Farklılık ise kadınlara bu hizmetlerin sunulmamasından dolayı hangi aktivitelerin kısıtlamak zorunda kaldıkları sorulduğunda ortaya çıkmıştır. Postane'deki 10 kadından 4'ü aktivitelerini kısıtlamadıklarını belirtirken, Orhanlı'daki tüm katılımcılar aktivitelerini kısıtladıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Çalışma hayatına katılamama burada da belirtilen en önemli engellerden biri olmuştur.

Kent içi güvenlik sorununun önemli boyutlarından biri de aile içi şiddettir. 20 katılımcıdan 16'sı aile içi şiddetle mücadelede kadın sığınma evinin gerekli olduğunu belirtmiş, fakat bunun tek başına yeterli olmayacağını söylemişlerdir. İş imkânı sağlama, psikolojik destek ve yardım, şiddeti engelleyici ve önleyici tedbirler, şiddet eğilimi gösterenlere yönelik eğitimler, kadınlara göre ayrı olarak sunulması gereken hizmetlerdendir. Fakat kadınlara *“Aile içi şiddete maruz kaldığınızda sığınma evine gitmeyi düşünür müydünüz?”* sorusu sorulduğunda farklı cevaplar alınmıştır. Yüksek gelirli kadınlar buraya gitmeyi tercih etmeyeceklerini söylemiş ve bu noktada maddi imkânlara dikkat çekmişlerdir. Düşük gelirli kadınlar içinde ise kadın sığınma evini kullanmayı düşünenlerin sayısı daha fazladır.

Kadınların yerel hizmetlerdeki eksikliklerle ve yereldeki problemlerle nasıl başa çıktıkları üzerine sorulan sorular, sınıf etkisini tekrardan belirgin hale getirmiştir. Postane'deki kadınlar bu sorunlarla nasıl başa çıktığını anlatırken, daha çok maddi imkânlarla atıfta bulunmuşlardır. Örneğin, “*Taciz-sarkıntılık tehlikesine karşı hangi önlemleri alıyorsunuz?*” sorusuna karşılık, yüksek gelirdeki kadınlardan biri özel koruması olduğunu, bir diğeri ise özel tekvando kursu aldığını belirtmiştir. Orhanlı'daki kadınların çoğu ise bu tehlike karşısında evden dışarı gerekli olmadıkça çıkmamayı tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Yine yüksek gelirli kadınlara göre belediyenin sunduğu-sunmadığı hizmetlerin kendileri için çok da büyük bir önemi bulunmamaktadır. Örneğin, belediye çocuklara yönelik kurs hizmeti sunmadığında özel kurslar tercih edilmektedir. Mahallede çocuk parkı olmasa da başka yerlere gidilebilmektedir. Orhanlı'daki kadınlara göre ise bu sorunlarla başa çıkmada maddi imkânlar büyük bir avantajdır. Maddi imkânların kısıtlı olması, düşük gelirli kadınları politikadaki aksaklıklar karşısında daha korumasız bırakmaktadır.

Yukarıda sayılan tüm bu bulgular, yerel hizmetlerin ve yereldeki aksaklıkların kadınlar üzerinde farklı etkileri bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıfın birlikte etkisiyle, kadınların ihtiyaçları, beklentileri ve sorunları da yerel düzeyde çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Bunun yanında, kadınların ortak noktalarda buluşan çıkarları da mevcuttur. Fakat bu çıkarların kadınların gündelik hayatları üzerindeki sonuçları da, toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıf faktörlerinin iç içe geçmiş etkileriyle şekillenmektedir. Kadınların ihtiyaçlarına yönelik politika üretmede, farklılıkların ve benzerliklerin aynı anda ortaya konması, daha geniş bir analiz sunmaya yardımcı olurken, politikaların sonuçlarını da daha etkin kılacaktır.

## APPENDIX D

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
- Enformatik Enstitüsü
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : GACAL  
Adı : KÜBRA  
Bölümü : SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : IMPACT OF GENDER AND SOCIAL CLASS IN  
USAGE OF MUNICIPAL SERVICES: TUZLA MUNICIPALITY CASE

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**

