

**SPATIALITY OF GENDER OPPRESSION: THE CASE OF SİTELER,
ALTINDAĞ**

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ABSTRACT

SPATIALITY OF GENDER OPPRESSION: THE CASE OF SİTELER, ALTINDAĞ

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This thesis problematizes the relationship between gender based poverty and exclusion and urban space. Five forms of oppression, namely exploitation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, violence, marginalization, faced by women in highly patriarchal urban setting are examined to identify the spatial dynamics of each form of oppression. A field research was carried out in one of the poor neighborhoods of Ankara; nearby Sıtelir where male dominated furniture production is carried out. Through the in-depth interviews, women's perception and experience of spatialized oppression is documented and used to develop the arguments put forward in the theoretical section.

Key words: *urban space, oppressive space, patriarchal system, public space/sphere, oppression.*

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET BASKISININ MEKANSALLIĞI: SİTELER, ALTINDAĞ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez toplumsal cinsiyet tabanlı yoksulluk ile dışlanma ve kentsel mekan arasındaki ilişkiyi problematike etmektedir. kadınların ataerkil kentsel yerleşim alanlarında karşılaştıkları baskı formları -sömürü, güçsüzlük, kültürel emperyalizm, şiddet, marjinalleşme- her bir baskı biçiminin mekansal dinamiklerini belirlemek amacıyla incelenmiştir. Ankara'nın yoksul semtlerinden birisi olan ve erkek egemen mobilya üretiminin yoğunlaştığı Siteler'de bir alan araştırması yapılmıştır. Derinlemesine mülakatlar yardımıyla kadınların mekânsallaşmış baskı hakkındaki deneyim ve algıları belgenmiş ve teorik bölümde bununla ilgili olarak argümanlar ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: *kentsel mekan, baskıcı mekan, ataerkil sistem, kamusal alan/mekan, baskı.*

To My Parents

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Up until 1970s, urban studies did not cover the gender issues and were considered as gender-blind. With the impact of second wave feminist movement in 1960s, the issue of gender has started to become the concern of many academic disciplines. Feminist scholars in urban studies including geography, architecture, city and regional planning started to criticize male dominated approaches in their disciplines. After that period, urban space has been taken into consideration with a different perspective and many different issues are opened to discussion in academic platforms.

One of these discussions is about the oppressive character of the space. Space can be oppressive when it is thought in terms of gender, ethnicity and age. It is obviously important to understand how space becomes oppressive for women but such questions become possible when the issue of gender is taken into consideration in urban studies. Therefore, feminist criticism has significant implications. For instance, the oppressive character of urban space in respect to gender relations become many academicians' area of interest, especially feminist geographers like Burnett, Mc Dowell, Rose, Valentine, and Mackenzie. They try to understand cities in relation to gender and with these scholars' efforts, issues about the usage of public spaces, mobility problems, time-space geography of women, and fear of violence in urban spaces begin to gain importance because the problems of many women and homosexuals who are restricted spatially by men are uncovered by researchers. Meanwhile, by uncovering these issues, it is possible to understand different sides of woman problems for gender studies.

It is also important to consider urban space in terms of its oppressive character for women as this oppressive character affects directly or indirectly every part of women's lives. A space can be oppressive for women but this oppressiveness does not only come from characteristics of urban space itself since there are other dimensions that affect social relations and have an interactive relationship with space. Poverty and patriarchal social structure become dominantly more important

when women's situations are considered because coexistence of patriarchy, poverty and masculine urban space oppress women by creating oppressive spaces and oppressed lives for women. For instance, women in a living area, which is very close to a working area with a higher level of male population and strict patriarchal relations, are doubtlessly exposed to oppression more than women living in other parts of a city. Moreover, poverty prevents these women from leaving this area and confines them to live in such an oppressive space. Therefore, consideration of these three dimensions together- characteristics of urban space, patriarchal social structure and poverty- provides a more comprehensive approach to understand women who are exposed to many types of oppression at once.

As it is seen, the relationship between gender and urban space has many implications in terms of social relations because space, as it is argued by many theorists, is not only an arena which covers social practices but space itself is as a social category that is produced from social practices (Harvey, 1973; Gregory and Urry, 1985; Lefebvre, 1991, Massey, 1994). Therefore, while studying both of these issues, each should take part in one another's branch as a basic category.

1.1. Scope, Aims, and Structure of Thesis

A city has many different parts. Each part has different functions and includes various social relations. While Marxist geography argues that 'unequal social relations are both expressed and constituted through spatial differentiation' and they try to explain uneven development of capitalist production, feminist geography focus mainly on the relationship between production and reproduction as part of capitalist patriarchy' (Rose, 1988, p.113). According to socialist feminist geography, the unevenness between the social relations of production and reproduction is under-theorized in Marxism; therefore; socialist feminist geography insists on focusing the spheres of production and reproduction. Through the division of production and reproduction spaces as a result of the rise of capitalism, new social order excludes women from masculine production sphere with the impact of existing patriarchal relations in society. In this study, on the same line with socialist feminist geography, the relationship between production and reproduction spaces in terms of women is examined. Especially,

reproduction space which has a proximity to production spaces is examined on the basis of the oppressive-masculine character of the urban space and its direct/indirect impact on women's lives. Although there are many studies about relationship between gender and urban space, the situation of women living in an urban setting that is close to working area is rarely examined; therefore; within the framework of this thesis, these women's experiences and perceptions is tried to be explored.

The key proposition of this study is: the spatiality of oppression over women increases as a result of co-existence of poverty and patriarchal relations in a masculine urban space.

While explaining this relation's impacts over women, some important points like the issues of the impact of religion, i.e. Islam, poverty, patriarchal relations in society, juxtaposition of production and reproduction spaces and impact of media (television, internet) should be taken into consideration. As an illustration, to show impact of religion, the issue of veiling is required a special concern when the impact of oppressive masculine space on women's lives is examined in an Islamic society. It is also discussed how television and the Internet become important when the relation between poverty, marginalization as an oppression type, and deprivation is investigated.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that the issue of poverty is handled on the basis of its enhancing impact for the oppression types of marginalization and violence. Because the issue of poverty has a wide study area, it is only considered in terms of its enhancing impact of oppression over women when it relate the other two dimensions of patriarchal social structure and characteristic of urban space.

The most initial aim of this research is to discover women's problems and the oppressions that women are exposed in a masculine urban space and to understand how this masculinity creates an oppressive space for women.

This thesis also aims;

- To contribute spatial dimension to gender studies and urban studies a gender sensitive perspective.
- to develop gender sensitive urban policies by discovering patterns of oppression on women regarding space

This thesis is composed of four chapters. In **Chapter 1**, apart from a general introduction section, the methodology of the study is introduced.

In **Chapter 2**, women's oppression is examined through a spatial perspective. To do this, firstly, it is overviewed how gender and urban studies intersect each other within historical context. Then, the term 'oppression' is conceptualized by seeking its relation with patriarchy. Finally, in this chapter, the relation between space and oppression is sought on the basis of the definition of masculine urban space as oppressive. While making this definition, feminist geography's approaches to the space with a gender sensitive perspective are consulted.

Chapter 3 largely includes interviews conducted in field research area. Firstly, framework of field research and characteristics of field research neighborhood area are analyzed. Next, within the framework of five types of oppression, experiences of women who live in a masculine urban space are introduced. Since the issue of oppression includes many patterns within it, it is specified with the help of Young's conceptualization of oppression types. Although Young examines the types of oppression in accordance with social groups that have disadvantageous status in a society, in this study, types of oppression are examined on the basis of gender issue. First, marginalization patterns, reasons and consequences of marginalization are overviewed and their relationship with poverty is discussed. Then, the issue of violence is explored on the basis of women's experiences. The impact of the characteristics of urban space over violence that women are exposed is examined. In this section, two forms of violence, namely symbolic and physical, are the main concerns. Next, the issue of exploitation of women's unpaid domestic labor and paid labor in market is discussed with a stress on women's powerless status both at home and work. Though this issue indirectly relates with the impact of oppressive space, it is worthy of discussion in order to understand oppression in every part of women's

lives. Then, cultural imperialism as the last type of oppression is taken into consideration and how women living in Siteler reproduce and internalize the patriarchy on the basis of their everyday practices is shown. Finally, in this chapter, women's will to escape from this masculine dominated living area and how the factor of poverty prevents women's escape are discussed.

Lastly, **Chapter 4** presents the summary of the study and evaluations about key findings of the research. Also, in Chapter 4, the issue of how a feminist urban policy is possible is argued with further suggestions in this chapter. The women-friendly city projects are examined on the basis of feminist urban politics and with the light of women-friendly city projects' suggestions, some policy suggestions are offered for the problem area of this study.

1.2. Methodology of the Research

It is important to make clear the way which is used to reach this thesis' aims and goals; therefore; in this part of the thesis, methodological discussions are presented. Firstly, it is necessary to discuss whether there is a feminist methodology or not because this study is mostly fed from feminist theories. The views about this issue vary. Some favor a distinct feminist methodology separate from qualitative, quantitative and critical paradigms whereas some others claim that there is not a distinct feminist methodology (Sarantakos, 2004). It is very difficult to answer the question whether there is a feminist methodology or not but it is not forgotten that, like many theories, feminism is influenced by and nourishes from many other paradigms. One can see the traces of Marxism, Critical Theory or Psychoanalysis when looking at feminist arguments, so in methodological and epistemological terms it is possible to say that feminism is influenced by different paradigms. Therefore, in this study, feminism is not considered as a distinct methodology and epistemology but the new understanding it has brought through the consideration of women in science makes this approach important in terms of this study. Hence rather than as a distinct methodology feminist approach is used as one of this study's research paradigm. The most important reason for not considering feminism as a distinct methodology is that 'there is no one feminism, no universal woman', as Harding (1987) suggests, and

this variety or various standpoints prevent feminism from constructing a unified methodological framework.

Box. 1.1. Some other arguments that are against possibility of feminist methodology

Some other arguments that are against possibility of feminist methodology (Sarantakos, 2004)

_ Feminists do not have a perspective of their own; rather, they use theoretical and methodological principles of other paradigms, such as Marxism, naturalism, critical theory and psychoanalysis. Without having distinct principles it is not possible to claim a separate methodology.

_ There is simply 'a multiplicity of standpoints, values, outlooks among feminists' (Assiter, 1996: 8). Feminists are very diverse (Marxist feminists, liberal feminists, feminist empiricists, psychoanalytic feminists, poststructural feminists, postmodern feminists etc.) and do not present 'a coherent and cogent alternative to non-feminist research' (Hammersley, 1992a: 202).

_ Many of the criteria and principles on which feminist research is based, and many of the methods they employ, are found in the non-feminist research domain and do not support a convincing argument in favour of a feminist methodology (Hammersley, 1992a: 202).

_ Unique attention to gender is not justified; even post-structural feminists (Alcoff, 1988: 407) argue that such a proposition and practice should be reconsidered and replaced by an emphasis on a plurality of differences.

_ Its objection to positivistic methodological practices, such as the value of method versus experience, its objectivity, its emancipation as a goal of research or a criterion of validity, and the relationship between researcher and researched (hierarchy), which many theorists use as a justification for a feminist methodology, are all questionable (Hammersley, 1992a). (For a response to these criticisms, see Geldsthorpe, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1992.) Apart from this, one major branch of feminist research is based on feminist empiricism, which is not very different from the positivist paradigm.

_ The fact that positivism is considered 'inappropriate' does not justify a feminist methodology as its alternative. Qualitative methodology may be the answer, since its principles seem to be similar to those proposed by feminist critics.

_ Many writers argue for a methodology that would be for women, on women and by women. This is neither logical nor valid. The object does not determine the methodology. Will this justify also an ethnic methodology, a racist methodology, ageist methodology and so on? Where will ethnic women belong?

Although a feminist methodology is not distinguished within this study's framework, feminist research methods are used in the field research process. This shows that how feminist understanding brings new view points to research process. Its originality comes from its concern with women but the way which the

issues are hold is not very different from three paradigms –Marxism, Critical Theory and Psychoanalysis. Especially, feminism’s roots originate from critical theory and ‘hence this research model is critical and emancipator, and perceives reality, science and research within this context’. (Sarantakos, 2004, p.54). Within this study’s framework, feminism is handled with critical realism as well as depth realism at the ontological level and neo-realism at the epistemological level since methodological terms are used with these two paradigms, i.e. feminism and critical realism. Within the framework of this study the issues are viewed from a feminist perspective with a critical realist way. Although idealism is generally dominant in feminism, in this study, it is shown that feminists can be realist or realists can be feminist, as Sayer (2004) claims. The work of Kate Soper (1995), Caroline New (1998, 2003, and 2004) and Linda Martin Alcoff (2005) also concentrated on conducting a relationship between critical realism and feminism. Before examining these two paradigms with details, this study’s research strategy and researcher’s stance are indicated.

To begin with research strategy, as Blaikie suggests, retroductive strategy is predominantly used as a research strategy because in the first phase, a hypothetical model occurred to discover a previously unknown structure or mechanism. (Blaikie, 2007). Then with the help of observation and experiment, existence of hypothetical model is established. As an illustration, this study’s initial assumption is that especially in some parts of cities a masculine character dominates women more than men and this domination over women increases with the impact of strong patriarchal structure and poverty. To understand the structures and mechanisms that affect the oppression of women by men with the help of a masculine urban space retroductive research strategy is used. Examining women’s everyday practices and experience with the help of participant observation and in-depth interviews, it is attempted to combine the constructed hypothetical model with the actual one. However, at that point, the issue of analyzing everyday practices with social actors’ language, meanings and accounts points to another research strategy that is abductive. As Blaikie (2007) states, ‘this research strategy involves constructing theories that are derived from social actors’ language, meanings and accounts in the context of everyday activities’ (p.

89). In this study, abductive research strategy has an important role to reach the types of oppression women are exposed to by discovering their everyday concepts that social actors use to typify the features of their world and the meanings they give to these features. For instance, concepts used by male interviewees for describing women's oppression include many culturally coded meanings that help to understand women's situation, how women are exposed to oppression by men and how this oppression is legitimized by men. The importance of clothing style of women, as explained in Chapter 3 in detail, is discovered via those everyday concepts and meanings that interviewees give to them.

In this study, the research strategy that is used is a combination of two research strategies, i.e. retroductive and abductive strategies. The approaching abductive strategy is similar to the paradigms that are Critical Theory, Social Realism, Structuration Theory and Feminism because all these contemporary paradigms, as Blaikie (2007) argues, accept that 'it is essential to have a description of the social world on its own terms' and abductive strategy becomes a starting point for many of these paradigms. (p. 104).

The researcher stance can be defined as 'inside learner'. It means that researcher is positioned within the social situation, uses her/his personal experiences as a basis for understanding what is going on and also research participants help researcher understand how they conceptualize and understand that part of their social world of interest to the researcher (Blaikie, 2007). During the research process, researcher position is certainly not as 'on' the researched. It is rather 'with' and 'for' the researched.

As mentioned above, this study is fed from two main research paradigms: critical realism and feminism. However, because critical realism is used with a feminist perspective in this study, methodological assumptions at both ontological and epistemological levels are accepted, which is common with critical realism. Critical realism is seen as a middle way between Positivism and Hermeneutics (Blaikie, 2007). Bhaskar's critical realism consists of five principles, as Outhwaite (1987: 45-6, cited in Blaikie, 2007) states;

1. A distinction is made between transitive and intransitive objects of science. Transitive objects are the concepts, theories and models that scientists develop to understand and explain some aspects of reality; intransitive objects are the real entities and their relations that make up the natural and social worlds.
2. Reality is stratified into three levels or domains: the empirical, the actual and the real.
3. Causal relations are regarded as powers or tendencies of things that interact with other tendencies such that an observable event may or may not be produced, and may or may not be observed. Social laws need not be universal; they need only to represent recognized tendencies.
4. In the domain of the real, definitions of concepts are regarded as real definitions: i.e. statement about the basic nature of some entity or structure. They are neither summaries of what is observed nor stipulations that a term should be used in a particular way.
5. Explanatory mechanisms in the domain of the real are postulated, and the task of research is to try demonstrating their existence.

Bhaskar shares the idea that social objects cannot be studied in the same way as natural objects are, but they can be studied scientifically as social objects. (Bhaskar, 1979, pp.26-27, cited in Blaikie, 2007). In Bhaskar's understanding, reality is stratified, unlike positivism that considers reality only at empirical level. Ontologically, there are two mutually exclusive categories that are idealist and realist. However, Bhaskar's model of realism cannot be reduced into one of these two categories because he examines the reality in three stages and this study also makes use of depth realist ontology that consists of three levels of reality: the empirical, the actual and the real. As Bhaskar (1987) defines, the empirical domain is the world that we experience through the use of our senses; the actual domain includes events; whether or not anyone is there to observe them, and the real domain consists of the processes that generate events (Blaikie, 2007, p. 16). Mechanism or structure, events and experiences constitute three overlapping domains of reality that are domains of 'the real', 'the actual' and 'the empirical'. (Bhaskar, 1978, p.56). The paradigm of critical realism is used as a bridge between feminism that is ontologically idealist and ontologically realist paradigms such as positivism and empiricism. However, this aim is very different from feminist empiricism. While feminist empiricism tries to construct feminism through a positivist understanding, with critical realism this study attempts to explain 'observable phenomena with reference to underlying structures and mechanisms' through the help of stratified reality (Blaikie, 2007, p.16). In other

words, critical realism is not a purely positivist approach. Rather, it has flexible characteristics. Feminism does not accept essentialist and realist approaches but thinkers who are interested in critical realism believe that feminism and the issues of sex and gender can be understood with critical realist ways. (Sayer, 2004; New, 2004). The important question here is why it is important to approach feminism in a realist way. In feminism, there is an important problem related with very fragmented structure of feminist paradigm. There are many stand points and this prevents one from making basic assumptions about feminism. Idealist ontology makes the subject of feminism oriented, in other words, idealism favors that ‘what we regard as the external world is just appearances and has no independent existence apart from our thoughts’. (Blaikie, 2007, p. 13). There are many feminist studies that are carried by analyses on local examples but this cannot provide a comprehensive point of view about the issue. Moreover, there is a danger of identifying local and historically specific characteristics as universal (For example, Rosaldo is criticized for this reason). (Sayer, 2004). In this study, also, a specific example that is the situation of a specific women group living in Turkey and a specific part of the city are examined. However, though at the empirical level one specific example is analysed, it has been the attempt of this study to combine the specific example with similar examples and understand the mechanisms behind the way space becomes affective over women’s oppression. Also, it should be emphasized that, at the surface level of reality, at the empirical level, feminist research methods are used (in-depth interviews, non-hierarchical, and unstructured) with qualitative data to uncover reality on the surface while quantitative data (collecting more positivist ways) from secondary sources is used to support qualitative data. Then, at the more depth level of reality, mechanisms and structures that generate observable phenomena are explained.

In addition, the impact of Interpretivism on this study should not be forgotten. Critical realism also includes some qualities of Hermeneutics that interpretivism originates. The notions of people’s interpretation of their worlds, social situations, and other people’s actions are important to discover mechanisms behind events. There is an understanding in interpretivist paradigm that ‘social worlds are already interpreted before social scientists arrive’. (Blaikie, 2007, p. 124). The

reason why abductive research strategy is used in this study is the importance of researcher's and researched's interpretations of social situations.

Epistemologically, neo-realism as a component of critical realist paradigm and depth realist ontology is suitable for this study. Neo-realism rejects empiricism's pattern model of explanation. The explanations of empiricism are possible by constructing regularities, or constant conjunctions, within phenomena or between events; however; neo-realism accepts establishing such regularities only at the beginning of the process (Blaikie, 2007). In neo-realism, 'a scientific theory is a description of structures and mechanisms which causally generate the observable phenomena, a description which enables us to explain them' (Keat&Urry, 1975, p.5, cited in Blaikie, 2007).

The process of research and contextualization of this study is mainly similar with the ways of critical realism, with the exception that it has a feminist perspective. While exploring oppression over women, Young's five oppression types are used because Young's definition of oppression types covers all oppressions that are seen in economic, politic and social spheres. Also, she categorizes oppression in accordance with its types. Moreover, Young's definition of oppression types is more appropriate to establish a relationship with space because Young's conceptualization of oppression is composed of a family of concepts (Young, 1990) that make possible to develop arguments about the relationship between space and oppression. It has been the attempt of this thesis to examine how gender and space relate to each other in a specific oppression type and how oppressive masculine spaces are created for women. In this respect, it is beneficial to define how Young conceptualizes types of oppression and how these terms are used within the framework of this study.

Marginalization is defined by Young (1990) as the group of people who the system of labor cannot or will not use and this oppression type is considered by Young as the most dangerous form of oppression: marginalized people are the ones who are expelled from useful participation in social life, thus they are potentially subjected to severe material deprivation (p. 53). In this study, marginalization is used to describe women's marginalization from public

space/sphere. By marginalization, exclusion of women from education, labor market and urban space are meant. The way marginalization of women from those areas affects their lives is investigated. Women's lower education level, the lower rate of participation in labor market and the lower level of visibility in urban/public space can be considered as marginalization within the context of this study. Marginalization of women from those three areas is analyzed in relation to the characteristics of urban space.

Violence is mostly used by Young in the sense of physical violence. In her definition of violence, Young suggests that 'members of some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or property, which have no motive but to damage, humiliate, or destroy the person'. (Young, p.61, 1990). She especially gives importance to experiences of racist and sexually marked groups while studying violence. In this study, violence gains importance so long as it is experienced by women in both public and domestic spheres. In this respect, not only physical violence but also 'symbolic violence', as Bourdieu argues, is examined. Thus the term violence implies both symbolic and physical violence that women are exposed to. Physical violence consists of rape, sexual harassment and verbal abuse. Though physical violence has a concrete impact, the symbolic violence is '...a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling' (Bourdieu, pp.1-2, 2001). Within the context of this study, symbolic violence is used as the behaviors that men desire from women. These behaviors include mother role of women, being distantiation against especially foreign men, being serious in public space or even behaving like a man in oppressive spaces, wearing 'suitable' clothes. These behavior patterns are not practiced through a concretely visible way by men to women but rather these behavioral models are practiced with an invisible and hidden domination. Behind this hidden and invisible domination, symbolic violence may potentially turn into physical violence. Thus, women feel a sense of obligation to behave in the way that men desire.

Exploitation is used in the sense that Young describes. Young focuses on especially the racial and sexual sides of exploitation and she asserts that this side of exploitation is left unexplained in Marxist concept. Young explains the oppression of women with respect to the exploitation of their labors. According to her (1990), ‘women’s oppression consists not merely in an inequality of status, power and wealth resulting from men’s excluding them from privileged activities. Although exploitation of women’s labor, especially domestic labor, does not have any direct relationship with space, this type of oppression occurs as a result of other types, particularly marginalization and powerlessness which have a direct relationship with space.

Powerlessness is defined by Young as lacking power in the process of decision taking. Young examines the powerlessness to analyze the situation of non-professionals in the workplace; however; within in this study powerlessness is studied on the basis of gender relations, through relationship between men and women who are living in Siteler.

Cultural imperialism is described by Young as ‘the universalization of a dominant group’s experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm’. (Young, p.59, 1990). Within the context of this study, cultural imperialism is examined in terms of patriarchal way of thinking because it is seen in the form of domination of patriarchal way of thinking in urban space. Seeing urban space as a male space and behaving in accordance with its rules is understood as a kind of cultural imperialism.

Public space/sphere is used in several different senses in this study. Public space includes the physically built environment while public sphere mostly includes the institutions and more abstract areas such as politics and education. This differentiation is presented in the marginalization section in detail.

Oppressive space is another term that is used in this study. It is used as a space where women are exposed to oppression. In other words, it is the space where women are marginalized through exposure to physical and symbolic violence and

their mobility is restricted by men. These are the main concepts that this thesis is constructed on and the debates are largely raised around them.

The most important reason why all oppression types are attempted to be explained in this study is to understand the dimensions that lie beneath the relationship of gender oppression and urban space. Although seemingly only marginalization and violence have a direct relationship with urban space, emphasizing the other three types of oppression helps to uncover reasons for women's oppression in urban spaces. Also, the policy making process is lacking without understanding dimensions behind gender oppression in urban space.

Young defines different types of oppressions regarding specific social groups; however; within the framework of this study, these oppression types will be dealt only in terms of women as a social group, that is, how women are influenced by these different oppression types is explored. As mentioned in the previous section, the main concern of this study is to understand how urban space and gender oppression relate to each other; therefore; a case study area is chosen to observe and analyze this relationship.

The selection of case study area is based on its spatial characteristics because the relationship between gender oppression and space is more visible in this area than the other parts of the city. The housing area of Siteler that is known as centre of furniture production in Ankara is chosen to do a research. Siteler is a small-scale industrial area that was constructed in 1970s. It was the most important furniture production center in Ankara and even in Turkey up until 2000 economic crisis. This area is defined as a working area and there are housing areas around it; however; in time, Siteler developed outside of its existed planned area and started to threat housing area including particularly Hacılar, Ulubey and Önder neighborhood. Firstly the ground floors of the houses and then upper floors started to be converted into working places in the housing area. This has not only been a problem about urban planning but also a social problem that affects different social groups in different ways. Generally, such types of problems are seen as a planning problem; however; the social processes behind these urban problems are not examined. In this thesis, how planning problems are not only technical but

also social problems is analyzed observing the women living around Siteler small-scale industry area.

The reason why this relationship between gender oppression and space is more visible in this part of the city is that there is a housing area which has been situated next to a working area. The working area consists of small scale furniture workshops and most of the workers are man. The high number of man workers in the working area increases male domination and this male domination becomes visible and effective in the environment of women, i.e. housing area. Such a juxtaposition of housing area with a masculine working area creates oppressive spaces for women. Masculinity in working area spreads to housing area, everyday spaces of women. The physical closeness makes the impact of this masculinity over women more powerful. Consequently, some oppressive space that can become dangerous for women has emerged and more importantly, this oppressive space involves women's everyday spaces. The fact that the workshops have spread to the housing area creates oppressive streets at the micro level. For example, women can be walk around freely in a street only if there are not any workshops there. The socialization activities of women living in Siteler generally consists of sitting in front of their houses and chatting with their neighborhoods. However, if there are some workshops around their streets, even this basic socialization activity cannot be done because they are marginalized from streets and even from balconies of their houses in such a situation.

In other parts of the city, there are also spaces which has been oppressive for women but most of these oppressive spaces do not leak into women's everyday lives as it does in Siteler because both living in an area which is close to a working area and the masculine characteristic of this working area make oppression more influential than other parts of the city. Thus, the relationship between gender oppression and space is examined in such an urban space.

CHAPTER II

EXAMINING WOMEN'S OPPRESSION WITH A SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter, gender and urban issues are taken into consideration together and the impact of space on women's oppression is examined on the basis of arguments in literature. Also, some conceptualizations are introduced to clearly express the relationship between women's subordination and the impact of space in this subordination process.

2.1. An Overview on Intersecting Of Urban and Gender Studies

After industrial revolution, a rapid urbanization process took place and important large scale industrial cities rose in Western Europe. With the emergence of large scale urban environments, the relationship between environment and human population raised a scientific curiosity and the discipline of urban sociology started to develop in 1920s. For the first time, Chicago School tried to offer an analysis about the relationship between human population and environment. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie are the pioneer thinkers of this school and they collected their studies in a book called *The City*, which was published in 1925. Members of this school took patterns in Chicago city as data to make analysis and they aimed to reveal mechanisms which have impact on occurrence of spatial organizations (Aslanoğlu, 1998).

Park defines the city as "the natural habitat of civilized man" (Park & Burgess, 1968, p. 2). Also, Park shares the idea of Spengler:

"It is a quite certain, but never fully recognized, fact that all great cultures are city-born and the outstanding man of second generation is a city-building animal. This is the actual criterion of world history, as distinguished from the history of city men. Nations, governments, politics and religions- all rest on the basic phenomenon of human existence, the city." (Spengler, Untergang des Abendlandes, IV, 106 cited in Park & Burgess, 1968, pp. 2-3).

In the analysis of this school, it is obviously seen that there is a tendency to explain social processes within spatial categories, that is, all social processes are seen as a result of spatial changes. As it is seen in Park's definition of city and Spengler's point of view, there is a strong emphasis on spatial determination. Moreover, in studies of ecological theory there are many examples which try to explain certain problems in a given society with respect to the characteristics of space. For instance, social demoralizing has been explained as a result of human movement- migration- because the movement of human population has a disturbing influence: migrants cause disorganization in the communities they have left behind and the communities into which they are moving. What's more, juvenile crimes are sometimes understood in terms of spatial analysis, in other terms, causes of juvenile crimes are found in the characteristics of any parts of the city and those parts of city which have a high level of juvenile or adult delinquency are generally migrant neighborhoods for ecological theory (Park & Burgess, 1968). However, this theory is criticized for fetishizing the space and this criticism makes a paradigm shift in urban studies possible, which saves the space from apolitical and objective character (Martindale, 1966). Martindale points out some difficulties in ecological theory of the city. In Chicago School's analysis, geo-physical aspects of the city become more important than social life aspects. For Martindale, on the other hand, social life is a structure of interaction and not a structure of stone, steel, cement, asphalt, etc.

With the emergence of Marxist explanations in urban studies, space started to be studied with political and social processes within the new paradigm. Although it seems that space is considered within a complete theoretical framework and creates a paradigm shift, gender-blind explanations cause an important deficiency in Marxist theories Alkan (2009) claims that Marxist approaches bring a different perspective to urban studies by considering space within a different context. Especially, studies of Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey are pioneers in this area and they constitute the relationship between processes of spatial reproduction and social processes, power and politics.

As Alkan (2009) argues, for instance, Lefebvre's analysis -space as a social product not separate from social and politic processes- has the potential providing explanations about gender issues with consideration of spatial processes but his gender-blind approach and class conflict based explanations (it is also problematic in terms of gender) eliminate this potential. Similarly, Mc Dowell (1993) criticizes Castells's analysis as being gender-blind. In Castells's analysis, women's unpaid labor is ignored and city is described as a "consumption space for women" and "production space for men" (Castells, 1989). Mc Dowell (1993) follows Castells's studies about urban space critically and analyses his studies with a gender sensitive perspective. Castells' insistence on women's consumer character makes their unpaid labor invisible and unimportant. However, Mc Dowell highlights that there is a growing importance in unpaid woman labor and this cannot be ignored anymore. Also, for Mc Dowell, the impact of women's unpaid labor on state's restrictions in budget becomes more important to continue functions of the city and Castells fails to see the importance of women's unpaid labor in private sphere or in private sector (Mc Dowell, 1993). Harvey emphasizes that maybe we should see city as somewhere that the space and social processes interact each other within a complex and dynamic system (Harvey, 1988). The main claim of Harvey is that the unequal distribution of sources in different spaces and accesses in different quantities create social inequality. On the other hand, gender perspective is ignored in his analysis as well. Despite gender-blind explanations of space, it is important to note that Marxist approaches which understand space in political, social and ideological terms provide a ground for feminist explanations about space because such approaches have given space a relational character with social and politic processes.

The relationship between women's subordination in a society and existing patriarchal relations in different parts of life are crucially examined within different contexts. Many feminist theories attempt to explain women's subordination with different reasons such as patriarchy, capitalist system, unequal rights in education and employment, women's labor. Walby (1990) in her study analyzes the feminist theories and investigates women's oppression within every part of life by theorizing patriarchy. While she theorizes patriarchy, she uses the

focus points of feminist theories; therefore; she highlights six patriarchal structures that are household production, employment, state, sexuality, violence and culture. Walby sees patriarchy in two main forms, public and private and claims: “the twentieth century has seen a shift in the form of patriarchy from private to public as well as a reduction in the degree of some specific forms of oppression of women” (p. 184). In the form of private, the household production becomes the dominant structure whereas, in the form of public the patriarchal relation in the state and employment become more important. In Walby’s analysis, the public sphere has an important place to understand patriarchal relation in employment and the state. However; the concept of public sphere does not include any spatial implications in her analysis and space is not seen as a factor in women’s subordination. Like Walby, some other feminists had failed to see the important relationship between urban space and gender issues until some studies were done especially under the name of feminist geography with the studies of Rose, Mc Dowell, Massey, Mackenzie, and Burnett and so on.

After 1990s, with the rise of the third wave of feminism the challenge to male-stream urban studies has started to become one of the concerning point of gender studies (Helen Jarvis, Paula Kantor, Jonathan Cloke, 2009). Although there is a strong relationship between gender and urban studies, gender issues in urban studies and issues about built environment in gender studies are rarely engaged. (Helen Jarvis, Paula Kantor, Jonathan Cloke, 2009).

Gender and urban studies do not have an accidental relationship. The paradigm shift in both gender and urban studies coincide with each other. Throughout the period that explanations about gender roles and relations were made around a biological reductionism, as Alkan (2009) argues, spatial issues were also handled on the basis of space fetishism by separating the space from social processes and considering it as apolitical and neutral. After that period, in gender studies biological reductionism was rejected and gender issues began to be examined under the whole of the social relations including both men and women instead of only considering women’s problems while urban studies got interested in connections between space and social processes and tried to save space from its

neutral character (Alkan, 2009). Development of such an approach in urban studies helps to provide a basis for the arousal of feminist critiques that have an influential role in enabling gender perspective to gain importance in urban and spatial studies. “Feminist scholars challenge the andocentric (male conceived) and ethnocentric assumptions of structural neo-Marxian approaches to urban social and spatial inequality” (Helen Jarvis, Paula Kantor, Jonathan Cloke, 2009, p. 55).

The importance of spatial structure in the production and reproduction of masculinist societies has been a crucial focus point for feminists (Rose, 1993). Combination of space and spatial processes with gender issues were firstly discussed by feminist scholars and given an interdisciplinary character. As it is argued in Burnett’s article about women’s status in a city form under the issue social change, studying spatial processes in gender issue or vice versa is required an interdisciplinary perspective. While Burnett evaluated Harvey’s work about urban modeling in his article, he points out Harvey’s insufficiency about gender issues.

It is argued that while Society, the City and the Space Economy of Urbanism does illuminate many of the connections between the changing structural relations of society, urban parameters, and urban morphology and growth, it fails to deal explicitly with some relationships. In particular, Harvey does not deal with structural relations between sexes. (Burnett, 1973, p. 57).

After Burnett’s study, Monk and Hanson’s approach to the issue signs that “gender relations, status and dynamics will not only be a new content in literature but also it will become the basic dimension of spatial processes and forms in urban and spatial studies.” (Alkan, 2009, p.15). In 1981, Ardener declared that “*behavior and space are mutually dependent*”. In this study, ‘social map’ of patriarchy was translated into ‘ground rules’ of spatial behavior. (Rose, 1993, p.17). Examining the everyday practices of women in their everyday spaces became importance in order to understand how space has an impact on women’s lives and how patriarchal relations are reproduced in those spaces. For some feminist theories, the oppressive character of everyday spaces should be sought in

the division of public/private spaces (Rose, 1993). Arguments about public/private sphere and public/private space will be introduced in further sections in detail. Feminist geography has an important role in bringing urban and gender studies together. In the early 1970s, criticism of women's under-representation in geography developed and concepts used by the discipline to organize knowledge in order to exclude what it saw as women's issues were questioned. (Rose, 1993). Feminist geographers mainly emphasize the sphere of "reproduction" and claim that reproduction is an important part of social and economic life as the sphere of production (Rose, 1993).

In 1990s, feminist interest in space and its relation with gender became more visible within post-modernist arguments that emphasize space, time-space relation and identity problems (Alkan, 2010). Also, critical anthropology, as Alkan argues, has an important role in developing intersections of gender and spatial studies because anthropological studies show that while understanding socio-cultural patterns of a society, changing spatial organizations create different patterns as well as gender. It should not be forgotten that gender relations are not separable from political or social relations and ignoring this leads to space fetishism because such a view makes space apolitical, objective and separate from social processes. Also, ignoring impact of built environment in gender studies does not provide a precise theoretical framework.

This study aims to contribute to the literature which studies the relationship between gender and urban issues. For this reason, in this study, different types of women's oppression with the help of Young's conceptualization of oppression types are examined on the basis of in urban social context. Young describes five types of oppression that are exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural capitalism, and violence. Young claims that any specific social group might be exposed to one or more of these oppression types. Women as a social group are examined to find out how they experience these five types oppression in a specific urban space. Different parts of a city have different population trends, different functions and they have different relations with the city. Parts of a city implying different social relations can be a housing area, a working area, or city center

when they are considered in terms of their functions. Each part of the city affects gender roles in a different way and there are different oppression mechanisms as a result of “masculine” character of urban space. Being able to see masculinities in city and different spatial organizations gains importance in terms of both urban studies -including different disciplines such as urban planning, architecture, urban sociology, and urban design- and gender studies.

2.2. Conceptualizing Oppression, Types of oppression and Its Relation with Patriarchy

It is a fundamental claim of feminism that women are oppressed. The word "oppression" is a strong word. It repels and attracts. It is dangerous and dangerously fashionable and endangered. It is much misused, and sometimes not innocently. (Marilyn Frye, the Politics of Reality).

The term oppression is used frequently by people in their daily lives without thinking what it really implies. Besides its implication of physical force, it has a meaning which has more abstract implications and can operate in an invisible way in people's lives. Many people are not aware of being oppressed they attribute a meaning to oppression. Therefore, conceptualizing oppression is an important issue especially for women and gender studies. Many feminist theories claim that the most basic and widespread type of oppression is gender oppression in society. Feminist theories which especially describe women's situation within the context of direct power relationship between men and women give close attention to the issue of oppression. In this respect, there are three important theories which make gender oppression focus point: psychoanalytic feminist theory, radical feminist theory and socialist feminist theory (Langermann & Brantley, 1997). What these three theories have in common is that the patriarchal system is the most influential dimension in gender oppression and patriarchy is considered as a universal system persistent over time and space. According to these theories, women's situation is described in terms of “a direct power relationship between men and women in

which men have fundamental and concrete interests in controlling, using and oppressing women.” (Langermann & Brantley, 1997, p. 319).

Psychoanalytical feminist theory tries to understand male domination in relation to Freud’s studies that emphasize the emotional dynamics of personality, emotions often deeply buried in the subconscious or unconscious area of the psyche. For psychoanalytic feminist theorists, male domination over women has two important explanations. These are fear of death and the socio-emotional environment which shapes the personality (Langermann & Brantley, 1997). Psychoanalytic feminism is generally concerned with the early childhood process to understand how gender roles are constructed and how these roles are practiced at societal, familial, and individual levels. However, psychoanalytic feminist theory cannot offer a complete solution to subordination of women. They find the solution only in reconstruction of childbearing practices but they are criticized of having such an insufficient strategy.

Radical feminists construct their theory on patriarchy which is the most important factor in social inequality existing in society. Radical feminist theory sees oppression in each institution of society such as heterosexuality, class, caste, ethnicity, age and gender. (Langermann and Brantley, 1997). Radical feminist approach tends to understand power relation in terms of master/slave relationship (Allen, Amy, "Feminist Perspectives on Power", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2011 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta ed.). For radicals, gender difference in any society is constituted via domination, resulting in inequality between sexes that is pervasive and may be universal. Frye who conceptualizes oppression with its different aspects or faces in radical feminist thought makes an emphasis on “accessibility” in terms of being powerful or powerless. According to Frye (1983), “total power is unconditional access; total powerlessness is being unconditionally accessible. The creation and manipulation of power is constituted of the manipulation and control of access”. (Frye 1983, 103 cited in Allen, Amy, "Feminist Perspectives on Power"). Women’s bodies, domestic labor, emotional support are accessible for men and such a situation enables men to access power and makes them dominant over women. Therefore, Frye finds the solution against

domination of men by denying women their accessible characteristics and escaping from this accessible position. Frye's most important contribution to oppression literature is to uncover of oppression's invisible character in everyday life.

Frye (1983) explains the invisibility of oppression in everyday life with different examples and tries to uncover the invisible face of oppression by showing the whole picture. One of these examples is:

Cages. Consider a birdcage. If you look very closely at just one wire in the cage, you cannot see the other wires. If your conception of what is before you is determined by this myopic focus, you could look at that one wire, up and down the length of it, and be unable to see why a bird would not just fly around the wire any time it wanted to go somewhere. Furthermore, even if, one day at a time, you myopically inspected each wire, you still could not see why a bird would gave trouble going past the wires to get anywhere. There is no physical property of any one wire, nothing that the closest scrutiny could discover, that will reveal how a bird could be inhibited or harmed by it except in the most accidental way. It is only when you step back, stop looking at the wires one by one, microscopically, and take a macroscopic view of the whole cage, that you can see why the bird does not go anywhere; and then you will see it in a moment. It will require no great subtlety of mental powers. It is perfectly obvious that the bird is surrounded by a network of systematically related barriers, no one of which would be the least hindrance to its flight, but which, by their relations to each other, are as confining as the solid walls of a dungeon.(Frye, 1983).

Frye's analysis and conceptualizations become beneficial especially in terms of Young's conceptualization of oppression in a multi dimensional way and prepares a ground for such conceptualizations of oppression. Young, who agrees with the idea of Frye that oppression has many faces and forms and an invisible character in everyday life, makes a more structural analysis of oppression by attributing oppression a structural character within the socialist feminist thought.

Socialist feminism constructs its theory on Marx's analysis of class domination and radical feminist critique of patriarchy. Oppression under capitalism and oppression under patriarchy is the basic analytic issue of socialist feminist theory. Socialist feminist explanations about oppression contain large scale structural arrangements, a power relation between groups or categories of social actors

(Langermann and Brantley, 1997). Socialist feminism examines women's situation with respect to their location in a society. Due to their examination of oppression with class factor, they also deal with the process of women's participating in other women's oppression. What socialist feminist approach provides for this study is an indirect relationship between oppression and space because their analysis is combined with class analysis and there is a strong emphasis on capitalist system. Today's big cities as a product of capitalism have a segregated character in terms of class and divided in its functions. Different parts of cities contain different oppression mechanisms under the impacts of class and patriarchal relations. Therefore, socialist feminist thought, especially Young's analysis, provides an important support for this study. Faces of oppression are shaped by different class locations with the influence of patriarchy and these social classes are differently situated in an urban space. Thus, besides the impact of class location, location in a city in relation to social classes has an impact on oppression of women by men.

Young defines oppression within the context of injustice and the issue gains importance with new social movements of different social groups such as women, Blacks, Jews, lesbians, American Indians, Asians, Arabs, working class people, old people and physically and mentally disabled people in the United States (Young, 1990). The most important emphasis on oppression in Young's conceptualization is that "it is not possible to define a single set of criteria that describe the condition of oppression of different social groups". Therefore, different social groups' experiences of oppression differ from each other. However, the issue about whose oppression is more fundamental becomes an important problem when the oppression is described in each social group's unique situation. Thus, a common description of oppression is required. For this reason, Young (1990) suggests that the concept of oppression can be examined with a family of concepts and by that way the definition of oppression can cover all social groups that are exposed to injustice. This family of concepts includes five categories: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, powerlessness, and violence. (Young, 1990). Young borrows three of these concepts from Marxist analysis in which some economic implications are

explained through economic terms. The other two concepts (cultural imperialism and violence) which cannot only be explained through economic terms are more related with other aspects of oppression. Young (1990) defines oppression as rather structural than the result of a few people's choices or policies, because oppression has systematic constraints on groups. In such a situation, there is not necessarily a tyrant's intention to exercise oppression over people but it is rather related with unquestioned norms, habits and assumptions existing in everyday life of people (Young, 1990; Frye, 1983). According to Frye (1983), the reason why grasping oppression especially in daily life is hard comes from the inability to see the structure as a whole. In other words, when one seeks to find oppression in any part of life, and for a social group, it should be sought with a relation to structure.

Like Frye's efforts to discover invisible oppression patterns in all parts of life, Young's five categories for defining and understanding oppression also enable to find oppression in everyday practices because these five concepts include many parts of social, economic and politic life. Such a categorization eases to see oppression's extended impact on people's lives.

Domination in gender oppression issues is seen in the form of "patriarchy". Therefore, there is a strong relationship between oppression and patriarchy. The concept of patriarchy is dealt in various ways by many different theories. *"The earlier usage of the concept of patriarchy implies a system of government in which men ruled societies through their position as heads of households."*(Pateman, 1988, cited in Walby, 1990, p. 19). However, as Walby (1990) argues, the use of the term has evolved with the writings of radical feminists. Radical feminists try to develop a concept and a theory of patriarchy by paying attention to domination of women by men on the basis of a system which exists alongside capitalism without paying any attention to domination of men over each other. Walby highlights an important point by conceptualizing patriarchy that *"including generation into definition is a mistake due to generational element's contingent character"* (Walby, 1990, p. 20). According to Walby (1990), rather than conceptualizing contingent elements, patriarchy needs to be conceptualized at different levels of abstraction.

At the most abstract level Walby sees patriarchy as a system of social relations but she also stresses the less abstract level of patriarchy to understand practices. She offers six structures which patriarchy is composed of. These are patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. Briefly, what she means by patriarchal mode of production is patriarchal production relations in household. In that sense, especially women's unpaid household labor gains importance and expropriation of women by men in the household becomes the central issue under this structure. The second patriarchal structure, patriarchal relations in paid work, covers the issues of exclusion of women from paid work or segregation women into worse jobs. According to Walby, state is one of the important elements which include patriarchal relations and practice patriarchy through its policies and actions. Fourth structure of patriarchy is violence including rape, sexual assault, wife beating, workplace sexual harassment and child abuse (Walby, 1990). It is generally considered as the acts of men upon women. Walby points out that male violence is generally considered as being individually motivated but according to her, male violence against women cannot be thought out of an analysis of patriarchal social structures. Therefore, she has a tendency to question the state intervention of male violence within her analysis. When she examines patriarchal relations in sexuality, she has two important points: compulsory heterosexuality and sexual double standard that implies men's pleasure from sexual intercourse and women's subordination. The last patriarchal structure that Walby puts emphasis on is cultural institutions which are *"composed of a set of institutions and there occur a representation of women within a patriarchal gaze in a variety of arenas, such as religions, education and the media."*(p. 21).

She also identifies two forms of patriarchy that are public and private forms and has a claim about the changing form of patriarchy from private to public in Britain over the last century, in other words, she claims that the patriarchal oppression over women becomes more dominant in public sites such as employment and the state than in household where a private form of patriarchy takes place. Walby's table becomes useful to understand the framework of her theory of patriarchy. In

this table, she explains which structures become dominant in which forms of patriarchy in specific time periods. Also how these strategies are practiced to oppress women in different forms of patriarchy can be seen in the table.

2.1.Table- Private and public patriarchy (Walby,1990)

Forms of patriarchy	private	public
Dominant structure	household production	employment/state
Wider patriarchal Structures	employment state Sexuality Violence Culture	household production sexuality violence culture
Period	C19th	C20th
Mode of expropriation	Individual	collective
Patriarchal strategy	Exclusionary	segregationist

As it is seen in the table, forms of patriarchy have changed from 19th to 20th century in Britain and the most important element in this change is related with women's entrance into paid labor market with the growing demand for cheap labor force for mass production in 20th century with the industrial revolution.

Walby's conceptualization of patriarchy resembles Young's conceptualization of oppression in terms of their examination of multiple dimensions and reaching at extensive meanings which help to reduce the missing sides in definition. In both Young's and Walby's analysis, there is an important emphasis on different social groups in society. Therefore, they try to embrace and make visible all social groups existing in society by offering such an analysis. Walby offers spheres of patriarchal domination and Young contributes to explain how different types of oppression are practiced in spheres of domination. For this reason, in this study women's oppression in many parts of life is examined within the framework of Young's and Walby's theories but also in addition to their analysis there is a

strong emphasis on the role of urban space when it is combined with forms of patriarchy and faces of oppression. Additionally, “masculinity of the urban space” is attempted to be analyzed. Oppressive character of space will be introduced in the next part.

2.3. Relationship between Oppression and Space: Towards a Definition of Masculinity of Urban Space as an Oppressive Space

In the previous sections, the term oppression has been conceptualized and how urban gender studies intersect with one another has been introduced. In this section, with the help of feminist geographers’ studies (McDowell & Sharp, 1997; Rose, 1988; Massey, 1994; Mackenzie, 1989), the impact of space on gender relations is considered and how space and gender roles/relations affect each other has been shown. Women’s oppression regarding space is examined within the context of masculine character of space, especially in terms of masculinities in different parts of the city. In feminist geography, there is an emphasis on women’s daily life with their everyday spaces, geography of women, and the relationship between place and identity (McDowell & Sharp, 1997; Massey, 1994). The most important argument of feminist geographers about the ‘adding’ problem that *“adding women to existing types of geographical analyses without any alteration of the theoretical assumptions”* should not be seen as feminist geographers’ actual concern because they argue that *“implications of gender in the study of geography are at least as important as the implications of any other social or economic factor”*. Therefore, they insist on developing an entirely different approach to geography. (McDowell & Sharp, 1997, p. 20). The reason why relationship between space and gender relations becomes an important factor in geography is related with a new point of view that emerged in 1980s. This new argument is that *“spatial structure was not seen merely as an arena in which social life unfolds but as a medium through which social life is produced and reproduced.”* (Rose, 1988, p. 19). With this new argument in geography it becomes possible to examine gender relations in society as a part of social life in the context of spatial structure.

Gender and urban issues can be considered with a wider perspective via feminist geography because the relationship between gender issues and space is generally

thought in relation to the arguments of public and private sphere/space dichotomy and feminist geography talks about different spaces such as everyday spaces, spaces of production and reproduction, oppressive spaces regarding public/private space debates and such a different conceptualization of space provides broad discussion areas for the relationship between gender issues and space. Feminist geography aims to explain spatial organization that is fragmented in relation to gender roles in society (Mackenzie, 1989/2002). City in the 20th century, as Mackenzie (1989) argues, reflects the sharply differentiated gender roles and strengthens these roles because the separation of work place from home and defined gender roles created different living areas for men and women. However, the important problem began with intersecting of fragmented parts of city – fragmentation of production and reproduction spaces- by women, for feminist geographers. It means that women become visible both in production and reproduction areas and conflicts in their movements between these two spaces make seeing city from a gendered perspective possible. Generally, the everyday spaces of women were defined around home and relations with neighborhood until woman labor force entered the labor market. In 1960s, women started to enter labor market and with this change, problems about spatial organization especially in terms of women emerged because physical environment of urban space make women's lives difficult. Women undertake two different roles in both home and work but this new role of women does not correspond to existing urban environment that is designed for women who spend all their time to organize home and develop relations with their neighbors. Such a conflict between urban environment and women's new roles in society creates an oppression mechanism on women because it has been assumed that working people have less responsibility at home and planning of urban space has been suitable for those working male people. Therefore, transportation system, child bearing, every day practices of women at home started to cause problems for women (Mackenzie, 1989/2002). The problem does not only rise from women's entering the labor market but it is also related with women's will to become visible in the city and demand for cities that allow them to live. These demands emerged with the impact of feminist movement in every part of life in 1970s.

With the emergence of feminist movement and its growing impact on urban studies different arguments and research areas have been brought together. One of these important research areas is exploration of the relationship between space and identity. Massey (1994) points out the impact of space on identity, which is important to understand the oppressive character of space on women. While Massey tries to explain the relationship between place, space and identity, she remarks the identity of a place's unfixed characteristics. According to her, with the changes in social relations, identity of a place changes so the identity of a place is not fixed and also McDowell makes emphasis on the impact of changing power relations on places.

“places are contested, fluid and uncertain. It is socio-spatial practices that define places and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion.” (Massey 1991; Smith 1993).

“Places are made through power relations which construct the rules which define boundaries. These boundaries are both social and spatial they define who belongs to a place and who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of the experience.” (McDowell, 1998, p. 4).

As a result of the changes in social relations one group in a specific space becomes the 'other' and the excluded one. This exclusion activates an oppression mechanism. With the impact of strong patriarchal relations in both production and reproduction areas women become oppressed in both spatial and social terms. Visibility of women bodies in this space is repressed and oppressed, as Rose argues. According to feminists, body is very important as a site for struggle and politics of struggle because woman bodies are controlled by men and emancipating men control of women bodies (also other subordinated bodies) provides representation of woman body. Therefore, body has a crucial importance in terms of understanding women's oppression (Rose, 1988). It is the reason why Adrienne Rich emphasizes the politics of body:

The politics of pregnability and motherhood. The politics of orgasm. The politics of rape and incest, of abortion, birth control, forcible sterilization. Of prostitution and marital sex. Of what had been named sexual liberation. Of prescriptive heterosexuality. Of lesbian existence.(Rich, A. 1977, p.39)

Rose (1988) makes an emphasis on masculinist and racist repression of bodies that are key signifiers of difference in society. According to Rose, space is considered as white, bourgeois, heterosexual and masculine and other possibilities are excluded and oppressed. Such a masculinist and racist repression of woman bodies (also other subordinated bodies) in daily life is seen in the patterns of mobility around city and this cannot be simply considered as a mobility problem but it includes other problems in terms of women's oppression. As Massey (1994) states, "*the limitation of women's mobility, in terms of both identity and space, has been in some cultural contexts a crucial means of subordination*" (p.179). Therefore, mobility problem regarding the relationship between space and women's oppression has important implications which are shown in detail through the experiences of women living in Siteler in the next chapter.

Mobility problem can be seen as one of the concrete consequences of important role of space and place in the construction of gender relations. Space and place, as Massey (1994) argues, carry some symbolic meanings and clearly gendered messages which cause exclusion and oppression. Masculinity of urban space can be found in those messages and meanings by analyzing women's experiences of oppression. Oppressive character of masculine urban space is not only seen on the outside or the public sphere but its impacts are also seen on the inside or the private sphere, which has implications of spatial control on women by keeping them at private sphere and, in a parallel fashion with this, it produces a social control on identity. For instance, Massey explains spatial control with public/private sphere dichotomy¹ and according to her; confining women to the domestic sphere constructs a control mechanism on identity through space. Consequences of such a spatial control and its impacts on identity expose women

¹Arguments about Public/private sphere or space will be given in the next chapter.

to different types of oppression, as Young describes, in different parts of life. In the next chapter, this relationship between spatial control and women's oppression will be exemplified and discussed through the experiences of women living in Siteler in detail.

In addition, it should be mentioned that masculine urban space is not only oppressive for women but also for homosexuals. Therefore, the definition of masculine urban space and its oppressive impact should be thought in terms of both women and men. As Şentürk argues, "*masculinity does not include only men's oppression on women but it also involves oppression of men over men or oppression of women over other women; therefore; analyzing masculine urban space is not an easy work.*" (Şentürk, p. 37, 2009, in Alkan, 2009). Though this study only concentrates on the relationship between women and masculine character of urban space, it is known that the issue of masculinity in urban and gender studies involves the oppression that both men and women are exposed to. However, examining different patterns of masculinity requires a more comprehensive work. Therefore; only women's experiences are included within the scope of this study and the aim is to explain their situation.

CHAPTER III

THE SPATIALITY OF GENDER OPPRESSION: THE CASE OF SITELER, ALTINDAG

The different roles that men and women have in society create difference space usage depending on sexes as different roles require being in different spaces such as home, public space, or workplace (Aytaç, 2007). As a result of this, the appearance of women in a space that is especially male dominated causes problems and enhances spatial oppression over women. This spatial oppression is seen in high degrees in a housing area which is close to a masculine working area. In this chapter, the oppressive spaces for women living in Siteler are examined through different types of oppression- marginalization, violence, exploitation, powerlessness, and cultural imperialism.

The working and living areas of working class show juxtaposition due to a general tendency to decrease transportation expenses. However, there is an important gap in literature about women's situations in such kind of urban spaces. Especially, in the spaces where working and living areas are close to each other, i.e. a working neighborhood, and in the working spaces where men are high in number, the issue of women's oppression gains importance because this spatial juxtaposition sometimes results in oppressive spaces for women. An oppressive space might be a street, a balcony or a park; it may be anywhere as long as the degree of oppression towards women is higher than other places. In the West and the East, these oppressive spaces show difference in terms of gender roles. For example, as Carlier (1999) argues, cafes and coffee houses are defined as men's spaces especially in Western societies. (in Aytaç, 2007). However, when the issue comes to Eastern societies, the spatial division through gender roles covers a larger area than in Western societies because in Eastern societies, public spaces are also dominated by men and spatial segregation through sexes leave women very limited spaces to live (Aytaç, 2007). The reason why in Eastern societies the gendered space segregation is extended is mostly related with Islamic cultural norms (Gannon, 2001, in Aytaç, 2007). It means that living in a limited space creates extended oppressive spaces for women.

The choice of living location has importance in terms of women's relation with space. Home-work relationship is studied by many feminist researchers because they try to find out the effects of workplace on the choice of the location of home and the relation between production and reproduction spaces. (Golledge & Stimson, 1997). These choices and decisions about the location of home sometimes result in oppressive spaces for women. For example, living in a place where working area is dominated by male population affects women's everyday lives and spaces negatively. Such a living and working space can be defined as a 'masculine urban space'. In this part of the study, the spatiality of gender oppression is explained with the help of a case study. Because the issue of oppression covers many things within its body, it is specified with the help of Young's definition of oppression types and this relationship between characteristic of urban space is examined through each oppression type.

In this chapter, firstly, the characteristics of field research area and research methods are discussed and then five oppression types with their relations to space, patriarchy and poverty are examined on the basis of experiences of women living in Siteler.

3.1. Research Methods and Framework of Field Research

In this section, the finding of field research that is held in Siteler neighborhood area is evaluated with theoretical discussions. Before the evaluation of field research finding, it is beneficial to clarify the way that has been used for data collection. Also, the information is given about the profile of interviewees. To understand the relationship between oppression over women and urban space, within the framework of this thesis, both qualitative and quantitative methods are used but the thesis is respectively constructed on qualitative data that has been obtained from in depth interviews, participant observation, and focus group discussions. The most important reason to use qualitative methods in this study is related with the concern of this thesis that concentrate on gender issue. Although Blaikie (2007) argues that the feminist research methods mainly use qualitative methods as the outcome of feminist critique of androcentric science requires the rejection of quantitative research methods, many feminist researchers do not avoid

from taking any interest in measurement, validity, objectivity, reliability, representativeness and generalizations.(Sarantakos,S., 2004, Social Research). In this study, as well, quantitative data is not totally rejected but it is used very limitedly. According to feminist research, the most preferred method is in-depth interviews because ‘these methods make women’s voice heard and the worlds in which they live to be revealed’. (Oakley, 1981, in Blaikie, 2007, p. 174). As Oakley argues, these interviews should be done in a non-hierarchical, non-manipulative and non-exploitative way.

During the pilot research process, semi-structured interviews are conducted but some of the issues fail to be uncovered in this way, hence most of the interviews are unstructured. The position of the researcher is as an insider in this research. During the interviews, one disadvantage that we meet in unstructured interviews is that they include many topics. On the other hand, it makes conducting deep relations about research issue possible. Although it was conducted with 45 people in both residential and working area of Siteler in total, 36 of them are used in this thesis due to the insufficient qualifications of other 8 interviews and all of the interviewees live around Siteler, especially in Hacılar and Önder quarters. 27 of them are women whose ages range from 17 to 60. 4 of 27 female interviewees work in Siteler. 9 of them are male interviewees whose ages range from 19 to 56. All interviews are recorded by tape with the permission of the participants.

Interviewees’ level of education is not very high in general and when the women’s situation is considered, more than half of the interviewees have a degree of primary school.

3.1.1. Characteristics of field research neighborhood area

Ankara is considered as a city where small scale production is concentrated. (Türeli, 1987, 25, cited in Aydın, 2005). Siteler is one of these areas that small scale furniture production is concentrated. Siteler started to develop as a furniture production center in 1950s when migration from rural areas to urban centers began. (Aydın, 2005). As a result of the migration waves, there occurred *gecekondu* quarters around Siteler. As statistics show, there are 50.276 small scale

producers in furniture sector and more than 30.000 of those small scale furniture producers are in Ankara. (Turksih Statistical Institute, 2000). Meanwhile, it is important to note that 92% of the workers in Siteler are composed of male workers. (Özoğlu, 2002, p. 478, cited in Aydın, 2005). Domination of male workers in number is not only effective in working side but also in living area. As it is discussed in the previous chapter, a space can be considered as oppressive for some groups of people as a result of domination of some other groups. There is a similar situation in Siteler in terms of men and women. The male side is considered as the dominant group whereas women are the dominated one. This issue will be discussed in further sections of this chapter in detail by showing how women are exposed to different oppression types as a result of such a masculine domination.

In 1970s, the development of furniture sector in Siteler had reached its peak. (Aydın, 2005). However, as Aydın's study (2005) about workers in Siteler indicates that the economic crisis in 2001 in Turkey has had dramatic results and furniture sector is one of those that are mostly affected by this economic crisis.



Figure 3.1. An image showing the intersection of housing and working Areas in Siteler (Source: personal archive)

The field study of the research is done in Altındağ, and involves Hacılar and Önder Quarters. The most important characteristic of those areas are their physical closeness to Siteler. Siteler is the center of furniture production in Ankara. Besides showrooms there are many furniture manufacturing and raw material

dealers in Siteler. Hacılar quarter is one of the nearest housing areas. The dominant housing structure consists of buildings that are called ‘*gecekondu*’. ‘Gecekondu² settlements are illegally built housing areas on land and are defined as living areas of lower income groups (Alpar &Yener, 1991; Işık&Pınarcıoğlu, 2002; Kıray, 1998; Kiensat, 2005).

There is not a clear distinction between housing area and working area in Siteler because many workshops are located in housing areas. One *gecekondu* can be used as a workshop whereas another *gecekondu* next to it is used as a house, in other words, these two areas are interlocked with each other.



Figure 3.2. Hacılar and Önder Quarters (Source: Google Earth)

There is a square in the field research area which is called as Seğmenler Square. This square has an important role due to its strategic position in the area as it can be considered as a space of transition between working and housing spaces in Siteler. Within a day, many people use this space for different reasons such as having a rest, passing through and spending leisure time.

² The discussions about gecekondu are very broad but in this study, these discussions are not handled out.

1990	12.824
2000	12.533
2007	11.269
2008	10.885
2009	10.430

Source: TUIK

Table 3.2. Önder Quarter Population by Years

Önder Quarter Population by Years	
1990	12.738
2000	10.688
2007	10.072
2008	9.558
2009	8.579

Source: TUIK

It is seen that there are decreases in population by years in these two quarters. One reason might be their relationship with Siteler. These areas are easily affected from the crises which occur in Siteler because many of the people living in this area work in Siteler. With the global economic crisis and Siteler's own crisis the poverty in this area has become deeper and created deeper social and economic problems. Another important reason especially for Önder quarter might be the decrease in the number of small scale producers within the quarter. People living in Önder quarter have a tendency to move upper parts of the area such as Ulubey. The reasons for this movement will be explained in further chapters.

Table 3.3. Population by education level and sex

Population by education level and sex (15 years of age and over) – 2009- Altındağ District	Total	Male	Female
Education level			

Illiterate	16.866	2.665	14.201
Literate but no school completed	11.056	3.799	7.257
Primary school	103.851	49.051	54.800
Primary education	30.542	15.986	14.556
Junior high school or vocational school at the same Level	18.043	11.824	6.219
High school or vocational school at the same Level	53.009	30.121	22.888
Higher education	19.248	11.074	8.174
Unknown	20.291	10.757	9.534
Total	272.976	135.277	137.629

Source: TUIK

As it is understood from the statistics, women are a disadvantageous group in terms of their level of education in Altındağ. This data shows a parallelism with the interviewees' educational level. As it is mentioned before, the education level of most interviewees is generally primary school. Also, the ethnicity of the interviewees differentiates and there are three Kurdish participants among interviewees. This ethnic differentiation becomes important in some cases that are especially in the marginalization cases. As it will be seen in the marginalization section, ethnicity has an impact on increasing degrees of marginalization of women from public domains.

3.2. Marginalization of women from public space/sphere in Siteler

In Young's analysis, marginalization is described as an oppression type as a result of the low level of integration or no integration to the system of labor. According to her, especially racial oppression in the form of marginalization is frequently seen in the United States (Young, 1990). However, marginalization is not a situation only for racial groups and, as Young (1990) states, a growing proportion of the population in the United States is marginal. For example, old people, single mothers and their children, people who are not very old but get laid off from their jobs and cannot find new work and so on. As a result of their exclusion from labor market, excluded people are subjected to severe material deprivation and are

prevented from participating in social life. Therefore, Young claims that marginalization is the most dangerous form of oppression. Young, in general terms, tries to explain marginalization through the exclusion from ‘public sphere’ but within the frame of this study marginalization is examined on the basis of both exclusion from ‘public sphere’ and ‘public space’. In other words, there will be an emphasis on exclusion from physical built environment and the effects of exclusion from both physical public environment and institutions on women’s social, economic and politic lives. To prevent conceptual confusion there is a need for distinguishing public sphere from public space. Public space has a meaning attributed to built environment such as parks, streets, public squares, and city centers. Public sphere, on the other hand, implies more institutional and abstract meanings such as state, employment, political arena. Before analyzing women’s experiences of marginalization, there is a need to take at a glance at the arguments about public/private dichotomy in literature. Feminists make a strong emphasis on public/private dichotomy in terms of gender relations. Many feminist theorists study public/private dichotomy to understand women’s situation. Rosaldo (1974) discusses public/private dichotomy to search for the sources of women’s subordination in their confinement to private sphere. According to her, domestic implies “minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized immediately around one or more mothers and their children” and she claims that women are universally defined around this domestic role (Rosaldo, 1974). The reason why she universalized the subordination of women is this universal definition of women’s domestic roles. Rosaldo claims that *women’s status would be the lowest in those societies where there is the clearest split between the public and the private and where women are isolated from one another*” (Walby, 1990, p.175). Public/private dichotomy has a wide coverage and an important role in Rosaldo’s analysis. She asserts that male and female roles in any society can be examined by analyzing opposition between domestic and public orientations and analyzing this opposition provides a necessary framework for gender studies. (Lamphere, 2005).

However, as Lamphere (2005) states, “*since 1974 the hypothesis of universal subordination of women and the dichotomous relationship between women in*

domestic sphere have been challenged and critiqued by a number of feminist anthropologists” (p. 87). Reiter, Rapp, Wolf, Yanagisako, and Marcus criticize this dichotomist and universalistic approach. Reiter in her study about men and women in Southern France shows how men and women use public space for different functions and at different times (Lamphere, 2005). By this study, she points out that women are not only in private space but they also appear in public spaces, though in a different way from men. As a similar argument to that of Reiter, Peihotien Wolf also highlights the different interests and activities of men and women. Therefore, she makes a functional differentiation rather than geographical. According to Wolf, men and women are always at the same place but have different relationship with the male-dominated community, in other words, the place where men and women are located- public or private- is not the issue but the important thing is the different relations of men and women with the patriarchal system. (Lamphere, 2005). However, ignoring spatial dimension in public/private issues is not a healthy perspective because, as it is argued in previous sections, space and social relations have an interactive relationship affecting each other. Therefore, examining gender relations only in terms of the functions in society without considering the impact of the characteristics of space on gender relations does not provide a complete analysis of this issue. In the discussions about public/private issues, attributing a spatial meaning to public and domestic spheres is important to understand gender relations with all aspects. For example, while women experience marginalization from the public area in Siteler, the impact of space become more visible because there are some strategic spaces which visibility of women is generally very low and at different times in a day some spaces have different usages.



Figure 3.5. An example of the spaces where the visibility of women is high and low (Source: Google Earth, prepared by the author)

For example, as it is seen above, how women are restricted to the inner side of the quarter they live is shown with violet lines. The red lines show the areas where women are marginalized whereas the blue lines show the places where women are more visible. The space which is shown with red lines includes both workshops and houses; therefore; this affects women's visibility in those streets. As a general observation, the woman visibility is higher in the inner side of the housing area where there is not any furniture or other production workshops.

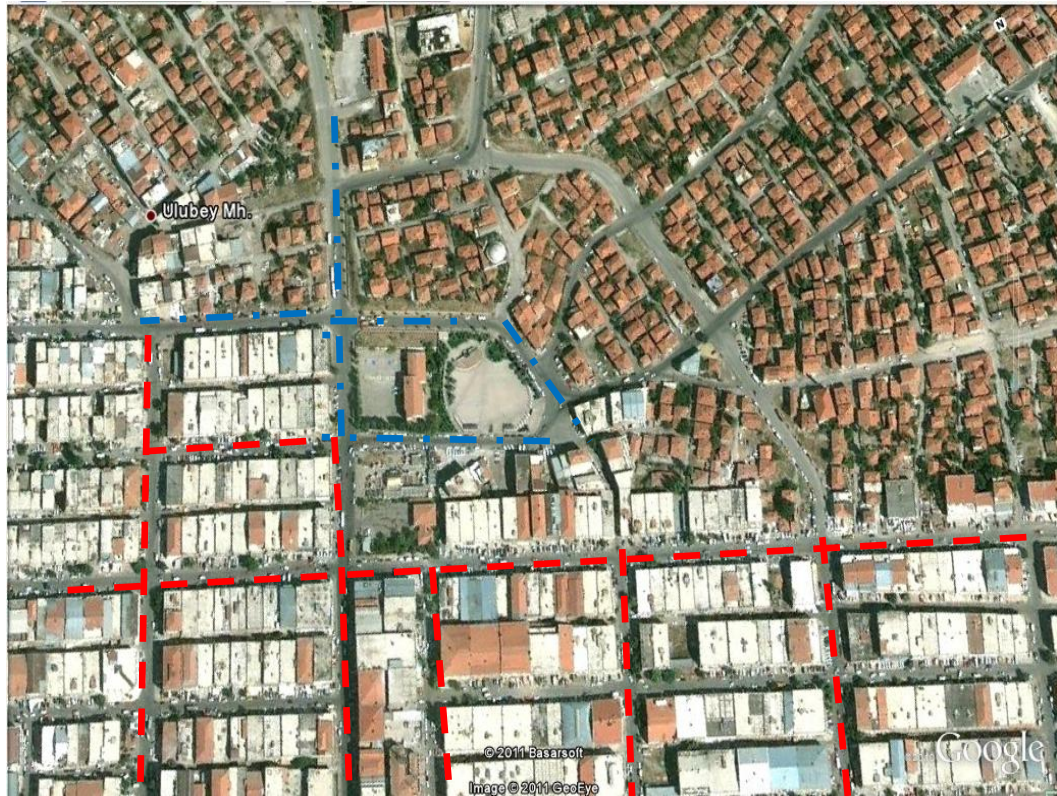


Figure 3.6. Mobility Patterns of women around Siteler (Source: Google Earth, prepared by the author)

When the areas that women are generally marginalized are examined, the red lines represent the very low or no women visibility. The blue line areas have rather higher woman visibility with its problematic character for women. The blue lined areas involve a post office, a high school, a private education center, a hospital, police station and banks. Because the blue line areas are also the route of public transport vehicles, women have to use those routes. However, as it is seen in the image, those areas that women have to use for basic needs are the intersection points of housing area with the working area. Though women are marginalized from many areas around Siteler, there are routes that women have to use but when they become visible in those areas, they are exposed to other types of oppression, especially symbolic and physical violence. This issue will be examined in further sections in detail. Those areas that are shown with blue lines can be considered as oppression spaces for women.

Many women in Siteler continue their life in spaces defined by their husbands, fathers or brothers and those spaces are generally their homes, gardens, and

districts around their homes. These places can be defined as a part of the domestic space and being visible apart from those places creates serious problems for women in Siteler because spaces carry different symbols and meanings as Massey states. Therefore, examining public/domestic domains only in terms of different interests and different relationships that men and women have with the male-dominated community is not enough to analyze gender relations. The public/private domains should be examined, as Yanagisako argues, both functionally (functionally different activities and social roles) and spatially (geographically separated or even nested spaces) to obtain a complete analysis. (Lamphere, 2005). Yanagisako also states that these two metaphors are mixed by analysts as they sometimes use the terms domestic/public spatially and at other times functionally. In this study these two metaphors are used because in case study area there are two forms of marginalization, that is, the exclusion of women from both public space and public sphere. However, even though there are problems related to mobility and visibility of women in Siteler, women are not completely confined to home, unlike Rosaldo's dichotomist analysis. There is always a circulation around domestic and public among women. Therefore, examining women who live and work in Siteler with a dichotomist approach that implies women are always in domestic sphere and men are in public does not lead to an entire understanding of women's oppression. In the study that Julie Marcus did in İzmir (1992), she finds that there are different spaces of men and women but this differentiation is not totally parallel with the dichotomy of public/private. It rather implies that both men and women have their own public and private spaces and we cannot consider women as victims entirely confined to their home. However, as Bora argues, the problem arises from the question whether men's and women's publicity is equal or not. (Bora, 1997). When thought in terms of Siteler, it is obviously seen that the publicity of men and women is not equal. Also, Bora (1997) states that men's and women's publicity is not absolutely equal and this can be understood by looking at property relations of two sex, laws and the dominant ideology. The intensified marginalization of women by men in Siteler makes women's publicity less effective than men's, because as a result of marginalization, the use of the public space/sphere by women is restricted by men

and this situation causes the problem to be less effective in social, economic and political arenas. Figures 3.5. and 3.6. are good examples of women's and men's unequal publicity. There is a strong tendency among men to confine women to home in Siteler but on the other hand, women- especially young women- try to resist these marginalization efforts and this leads to different articulations and strategies to become visible in public areas. Such a tension between male domination and the female resistance to this male domination of marginalization creates a situation similar to Marcus' arguments about men's and women's public spaces. This issue will be argued in next sections in detail. The tendency of men to confine women at home is clearly seen in interviews conducted with men in Siteler. When the question "do you allow your wife to work outside home?" is asked, replies given by men show how women are exposed to marginalization.

"I am not married but when I marry, I will not allow my wife to work because our tradition is this. According to our traditions, women do not work outside. I don't know whether someone abuses or not and if someone abuses my wife or my mother, I will kill them. This is an honor issue in our traditions. (E1)³

Women living in Siteler are intensely excluded from the labor market and the public space and this situation causes women to live at margins and they have to live only their restricted public and private spaces. During the interviews with the housewives in Siteler, the question "Are you working? If not, why?" is replied with very similar answers which also show their marginalization from the labor market. One interviewee explains her situation with these words:

"I want to work outside home but I have two children and I have to look after them. Even if I had no children; I could not work because my husband would not allow me to work...my husband never allow me to work in Siteler."(K6).

Another woman points out the cultural stereotypes which are dominantly shaped by patriarchy in gender relations.

³ The detailed information about interviewees is given in Appendix 1.

“The men who live here do not allow their wives to work. They are all the same. Before I got married, I worked in a market as a cashier. But after I got married, my husband and his family do not allow me to work. Now, I am at home all the time.”(K7)

Marginalization of women from both public sphere and public space is seen very frequently in Siteler and there are many reasons and consequences behind marginalization that creates different oppression mechanisms over women. Therefore, marginalization of women in Siteler will be examined with a wide and detailed perspective in the next sections of the study. In the next section, the social processes behind marginalization of women from public space/sphere are examined.

3.2.1. Reasons, Patterns and Consequences of Marginalization

There are two important reasons of marginalization of women: the impact of patriarchal cultural stereotypes about public/private distinction and the characteristics of space i.e. masculine character of Siteler. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, masculinities in space cause the oppressive character of space on women. Marginalization as an oppression mechanism is the most concrete impact of the oppressive space which women are exposed to in Siteler.

Before examining marginalization patterns of women from public domains, it can be useful to analyze Siteler's characteristics as an urban space from the viewpoints of the people who live and work there because their ideas give important clues about understanding the existing social relations and their impacts on space and masculine character of this space. When the interviewees are asked about their living area, their answers change according to their sexes. Women interviewees have generally a negative idea about their living space though some of male interviewees do not see any problem. In Aydın's study on the living and working conditions of the workers in Siteler, many of the male laborers are pleased to live in Siteler, they only complain about the physical conditions of their living area. However, when considered in terms of situation of women, living areas has big problems. Almost all female interviewees are not pleased to live

around Siteler due to many reasons. One woman tells her unpleasant situation is Siteler like that:

I am not pleased to live here because there are some problems such as gambling and prostitution at nights here. I cannot walk comfortably around because there are so many men here. (K3).

Another woman says:

I am not pleased to live here. I do not like here. This place is like a rural area and people's perspective is different here. For example, clothing is a very important problem, we cannot wear short-sleeved blouses or we cannot go out on the balcony with a short because all neighbors gossip about us. (K11)

The interviewees' emphasis on high number of male population in the area and complaints about this issue can be read as the masculine characteristic of the space.

Siteler is defined, from the eyes of interviewees, as a space where the illegal activities- gambling, drug trafficking, and prostitution- are intensified. Many interviewees point out to this existing situation in Siteler:

We live in an insecure environment. There is a coffee house in our district and in this coffee house, there are illegal activities, for example, drug trafficking is at very high levels. People come to this coffee house in luxury cars and buy drugs. Also gambling is very common here. (K16).

We are very worried about living here. The environment is very dangerous. Drug trafficking, prostitution, and gambling is at very high levels in this area. (K4).

After 2000s, such illegal activities show increase and according to the interviewees the main reasons are the economic crisis in Siteler starting after 2000s and moving of some ethnic groups –especially the gypsies- in the area.

There is a tension between ethnic groups⁴. The dominant population pattern consists of Turk and Sunni population in the area. However, in recent years there is an increase in the number of other ethnic groups, especially gypsy population has increased because as a result of urban regeneration project in Yenidoğan and Aktaş, houses of many gypsy families are destroyed and they have had to move other places, especially to those which are close to their previous living areas. Due to the fact that the districts around Siteler are very close to urban regeneration project areas, many families have started to move around Siteler. Therefore, it can be argued that there are marginalization patterns in this area due to ethnic origin. Though there is not any data about gypsy families in Siteler, interviewees' approach to gypsies shows clearly that gypsies are seen as the 'other'. There is no neighborhood relationship between gypsies and the rest of the population live in Hacılar and Önder districts. Marginalization which arises from ethnic origin is seen clearly in spatial division. For instance, a main road which is called Ece Street is considered as the gypsies' living area and almost all of the interviewees avoid using this neighborhood due to security problems. The living area of gypsies can be considered as a masculine urban space which has an oppressive character in terms of non-gypsies but on the other hand, when it is considered in terms of gypsies, a community which is highly marginalized both spatially and socially is found. Most of the interviewees state that the problems arise in recent years in Siteler started with the movement of gypsy families around Siteler. Therefore, there exists a bias against gypsies among the rest of the population, those who define themselves as *sunni* and Turk.

Besides the gypsy population, *alevi* and Kurdish families are also seen in this area. In Aydın's study, there are three areas divided ethnically. The first region is dominated by *sunni* and Turk population while the second district is dominated by *alevi* population. The final district is rather a mixed area in Aydın's terms. In the first district, being *alevi* and/or Kurd creates serious problems in terms of

⁴ The issue of ethnicity is seen in only one case and also the issue of ethnicity is not the main concern of this thesis; therefore; the theoretical discussions about ethnicity is not introduced.

marginalization. For example, one Kurd/Alevi family who lives in the first district explains how they experience marginalization as an oppression mechanism:

After 1980, all Kurdish and alevi families moved to Yıldız but I do not want to move because I like living here. But when all Kurd and alevi neighbors went to the other parts of the city, other neighbors (Turk and sunni) do not want to establish a neighborhood relation with us. They say that we are different from them. (E2).

When it is thought in terms of women, gypsy or Kurd/alevi women are exposed to marginalization with a ‘dual closure’, as Parkins argues. In the situation of Kurd/alevi or gypsy women, oppression mechanism of the masculine city starts to work as Şentürk argues. He points out that masculinity is not the only domination of men over women but it also involves the domination of men over men or domination of women over women. One Kurd/alevi woman tells her situation like this:

I frequently went to neighbors in my leisure time. I wanted to meet them but I realized that they never came to my house and did not want to spend time with me. So I started not to go to their houses. They said that we were different from them and their husbands did not allow them to spend time with me. Now, I am at home all the time. I cannot go out because there is no place for women here, everywhere there are work places and workers. (K8).

We live isolated from the neighborhood as a family due to our ethnic and religious origin. (E2).

As seen from the experience of the Kurdish woman, being a woman and belonging to a different ethnic origin exposes women to dual closure. In such a situation, woman is excluded from women’s public sphere, as Marcuse’s terms. They are excluded from neighborhood and ‘hemşerilik’ networks in addition to public space/sphere from which other women are excluded.

When we come to the reasons of marginalization of women from public domains, three important reasons - intrinsic patriarchal way of thinking in cultural norms, masculine character of the space, and poverty- become more visible. The issue of poverty will be examined under a different section because it is both the reason and the consequence of marginalization. The idea that women's place is at home whereas men's place is at work is the dominant approach to gender roles among men in Siteler. Such a view becomes dominant through cultural norms which includes socialization process, language, education system, television and other media, toys and games, books and magazines. Different feminist theories find the reproduction of patriarchy via cultural notions in different places. Some theories, like liberal feminists, search the patriarchal patterns of cultural notions in socialization process while some others, like Marxists, find it within the unconscious part of human mind or in language. (Walby, 1990). All of them have doubtlessly an impact on the established patriarchal way of thinking in cultural norms. In Siteler, it is observed that there are many reasons for the reproduction and the strength of patriarchal norms in cultural stereotypes. This issue will be introduced in the section of cultural imperialism but it is obviously clear that there is a significant impact of patriarchal way of thinking on defining gender roles in Siteler. The results of interviews conducted with both men and women in Siteler show that there is an understanding about places of women as private sphere. Such a dominant opinion about women's places leads to the marginalization of women from public domains. There are six male interviewees and all of them are strongly against the idea of women working outside home. One interviewee tells his thoughts about women working outside home with these words:

My wife is ill so she cannot work but even if she would not be ill, I would never allow her to work outside, especially in Siteler. I am really sad for women who work outside home, especially for women who work in Siteler because there are so many men in those work places and working as a woman among these men is very hard. Many of those men are rude and uneducated so a woman might possibly be exposed to harassment. (E3).

Another interviewee man explains his ideas like that:

I do not want to marry a working woman. My wife never works outside. If it is necessary, I will work in more than one job but I don't allow my wife to work. Especially, I do not allow her to work in Siteler. No one sends his wife, daughter or mother to work in Siteler”(E1).

Women's marginalization from the labor market as a public sphere is a dominant pattern but the marginalization of women or girls from education life is another pattern of marginalization from public sphere. Among the interviewees there are three young women who did not continue education after secondary school because male figures in their family- brother, father and uncle- did not allow them to continue their education. One interviewee says:

My daughter cannot continue her education life because when she became 14 years old, her uncle said ‘ she has become a young girl and she draws men's attention in the school’ so she could not go to school.(K10).

One male interviewee tells how he does not allow his sister to continue school with these words:

I do not allow my sister to go to school because I have heard that there are many problems...I mean... some girls get pregnant and some others have romantic relationships with many boys. After secondary school finished, we do not send her school. Now she's 18 and she is engaged. (E1).

My sons did not allow my daughter to go to school. I think they hesitate about this environment because it is not a good place. We heard many things about this environment. (K25).

Many of the interviewees state that girls who continue their education is lower in number in Siteler because many of them are married when they reach their 17-18 so the number of women who continue higher education is very low.

Characteristic of the urban space is another reason for the marginalization of women from public domains. In the interviews, there is an important point about the issue of working in Siteler as a woman. All of the male interviewees state that they are against their wives' working outside home but they make emphasis on being strictly against their wives' working in Siteler. This situation is more related with the characteristic of space, that is, the masculine character of Siteler urban area. Masculine urban space, as it is mentioned above, is the second reason for the marginalization of women. Siteler has a masculine character because the male population in the area is very high and social relations are strongly affected by this fact. This also has an impact on the relationship between social relations and space. Siteler as it is stated in the introduction chapter is a working area that consists of furniture workshops and male labor force dominantly becomes more important than female labor force. According to Hobsbawm (2002), in Britain, some industrial branches have masculine characteristics and one of these branches is furniture sector. Also, some other statistics, which are introduced in Aydın's study, show that 92% of workers in Siteler are men. Such masculinity in Siteler reverberates the relationship between social relations and space. The reason why male interviewees are strongly against their wives' working in Siteler has to do with this high male population in the area. However, masculine character of the space has not only marginalized women from labor market, i.e. public sphere but also from their everyday spaces, i.e. public space.

Marginalization of women from labor market at a very high level in Siteler because not only general cultural norms are effective in this marginalization process but there is also the impact of the characteristic of space and this causes marginalization of women from labor market. One woman interviewee tells how she is marginalized from labor market as a result of the masculine character of Siteler:

I sometimes think of working because my husband is unemployed but in such a place I have no chance to work as everywhere there are male workers. I cannot work in such a place. The suitable works for me is being a baby-sitter or cleaner but I have to go to different parts

of the city that are far away from here so I cannot work anywhere.
(K20).

Existence of masculine urban space and patriarchy has an important impact on women's oppression by men. There are living areas that are composed of 'gecekondu' around Siteler working area, in some places, working and living area interlock with each other and the physical juxtaposition of masculine working area to living area creates some oppressive spaces for women. Such a structure excludes women not only from labor market around them but also they are excluded from their everyday spaces and routes.



Figure 3.7. A view from Siteler shows the juxtaposition of working places and houses (Source: Personal Archive)

As it is seen in the picture, there are houses around a workshop. Such an interlocked structure of urban space limits women to spaces that are determined by men in their everyday lives. For example, one female interviewee explains how women live in restricted spaces:

We cannot go out home. We cannot even sit on the balcony because there are many male workers here and they abuse us. (K5).

Another female interviewee states how this juxtaposition affects her everyday life and confines her to specific spaces.

I cannot go out even on the balcony of my house because of male workers because they verbally abuse me when I appear on the balcony. My husband does not allow me go out on the balcony. (K10).

In Siteler, it is obviously seen that the marginalization patterns of women occurs in the two ways of exclusion from public sphere and public space. When women's mobility patterns and the usage of park, public squares and spaces out of home, i.e. everyday spaces of women are analyzed, marginalization patterns of women from public space are better understood. Feminist geographers insist on examining the spatiality of everyday practices with women's time-space paths to understand women's social life in a masculine society; therefore; the mobility patterns of women have an important role (Rose, 1989). The impact of the masculine character of the space is seen in the patterns of marginalization from public space because such a characteristic of the space limits the women using spaces around their living areas, in other words, marginalization of women from public space in Siteler also means the marginalization of women from everyday spaces because everyday activities of women are restricted outside home as a result of masculine character of the space. Women's marginalization from public space is practiced through the repression of woman bodies in public spaces. Like the general tendency, oppression over women in public space is practiced via the repression of woman bodies in Siteler; therefore, especially some spaces in the area are rarely used by women and such a situation creates oppressive spaces in for them. For example, one interviewee explains her experiences about how they are forced to use public space with strong limitations:

I am a teacher at a school in Demetevler. Every day when I go to school, I have to use two buses because I cannot walk the way in Siteler so I have to use an extra bus to pass Siteler. When I walk in Siteler, all male workers look at me and say abusive words. (K3).

Another young woman tells her experiences like that:

When I go to the private teaching institution⁵, I have to use a different way. I cannot use the way that is closer because if I use this way, I have to pass Siteler but I do not want to pass there because male workers disturb me so much. (K5).

Mobility problem and repression of woman bodies in public space are women's most important problems in Siteler. These problems increase the marginalization of women from public space.

Many of the female interviewees experience this fear of violence while they are in a public space. Rape and restricting their mobility through fear in public space are the most influential weapons of men to marginalize women from public.

In Siteler, women's usage of public space and sphere depends on some conditions; the visibility of women in public space/sphere requires some restrictions in terms of using public space in specific times and wearing 'suitable' clothes in public spaces. Especially, young female interviewees complain about the clothing issue.

We cannot wear what we want because there are so many male workers here. When we wear sleeveless blouses, workers look abusively at us and they even harass us. My mother hides some of our clothes because she fears if someone harasses us. (K11).

The only way of acceptance by men in such a place is behaving like a man and hiding femininity. This issue will be examined with details in the section of strategies of women against marginalization.

The consequences of marginalization are important as well as the causes of it because consequences bring about new oppression mechanisms such as violence that is examined under a different title. Especially, one of the important consequences of marginalization is a sense of anxiety about different parts of the city among some interviewees because they do not know about these places. Such a lack of knowledge about the other parts of the city creates an oppression

⁵ Dershane

mechanism on women that is a sense of not belonging to those places and being 'other'. Most of the female interviewees do not have any information about city where they live. for example, one interviewee tells an event:

When we passed through Anıtkabir, I asked "what is this place?". All of the people in the service bus laughed at me and made fun of me. They were astonished how I do not know Anıtkabir.(K9).

Anıtkabir, the mausoleum of Atatürk, is one of the most famous places of Ankara. This example illustrates that as a result of marginalization women are alienated from the urban space. Moreover, such a marginalization mechanism makes women invisible not only in urban space but also in other areas such as economic and politic.

3.2.1.1. Poverty, deprivation and marginalization

Poverty is both a reason for and a consequence of marginalization. As Young argues (2000), material deprivation causes marginalization and excludes people from services, politics and policies. However, when the situation of women living around Sıtelir is considered, the reason of material deprivation can be seen as the marginalization of women from labor market due to patriarchal oppression mechanism. Marginalization causes poverty because women are excluded from the labor market and their marginalization from the labor market turns them into some dependent population who does not have any income to survive. On the other hand, poverty causes marginalization because economic insufficiencies prevent women from joining in social life.

Consequence of marginalization is not only being less effective in public area but it also causes a growing sense of deprivation. The problem of deprivation as a consequence of marginalization is important for women. As a result of marginalization which arouses from poverty, many of the interviewees feel socially and economically deprived. One of the interviewees explains her situation as follows:

When I watch television, I see that many people go on holiday during summer months. I look up to them because we have never gone on holiday. (K11).

I do not want to go to our relatives' homes at Bayrams because they live in a good apartment and in comfortable houses that have a good heating system and have hot water all the time. When I come to my house, I do not want to live. (K10).

My friends at work went to aqua park lately and they were talking to each other about it. And I asked what aqua park is then they made fun of me. But I don't know what it is. (K9).

Sometimes the sense of deprivation both socially and economically creates an oppressive space in the city for those women but women are not the only ones who are affected by such a situation, men also experience this sense and feel oppressed when they go to different parts of the city, i.e. wealthier parts. One female interviewee describes her experience about being a different part of the city:

I went to Bahçelievler for the first time last week. The people who live and spend time there are very different from us. I felt oppressed and I felt that I do not belong to those places. We cannot live in those places. (K9).

Another male interviewee says that:

We sometimes go to Çankaya to spend time. We are different from those who live in those places and they are different from us. They are afraid of us. I feel that. Also, I feel myself as an alien in those places. (E1).

When one sees the people who are economically and socially better than himself/herself, the sense of deprivation increases and this process takes place in two ways in the experiences of women living in Siteler. Due to the fact that most of them are marginalized from public space and sphere, television has an

important impact in the process of arousing a sense of deprivation because these women rarely communicate other people who belong to higher socio-economic position; the people around them have the same lifestyle patterns. Therefore, they see the people who have better life standards than they have on television. However, if a woman works outside her home, the sense of deprivation emerges when she discovers the different lives of the people around her work environment. A woman who works as a cleaner in Siteler, for example, compares her life standards and lifestyle with an engineer woman's life standards. Besides impact of poverty that creates a sense of deprivation economically, marginalization of women from public domains increase especially sense of deprivation in social terms because the inaccessibility to material resources is not the only reason but patriarchal domination is also a reason that prevents them from participating in social life.

3.2.2. Strategies developed by women against Marginalization

As discussed in the previous section, Marcus argues that women and men have different public and private spaces and each gender domain has its separate social and symbolic centers (1992). She does not examine women's and men's spaces on the basis of dichotomist approach. According to her, "*the female domain cannot be equated either with a domestic or private world, and the male domain cannot be identified as public.*" (1992, p. 108). For Marcus, home is a place where one can find publicity. For instance, mosque is a symbolic center for male domain whereas household is the spatial location of the symbolic center for female domain and men are largely excluded (Marcus, 1992). However, the problem is, as Bora argues, women's and men's publicities are not equal. Men's publicity covers both geographically and socially wider area than women's. Therefore, women's visibility in men's publicity creates important problems for women. Women living in Siteler also face with those problems, as suggested in the previous sections. Especially the spaces that women use in Siteler, as shown in the section of marginalization of women from public space/sphere, is one of the most important example of men's and women's unequal publicity. Thus, they try to develop strategies against marginalization because the high level of

marginalization experienced by women living in Siteler prevents them from doing their everyday practices, i.e. going to shopping, school or hospital. Two important tendencies about the strategies developed against marginalization are observed in the interviews. The first can be evaluated on the basis of bargaining with patriarchy while the other includes actions that are entirely against the things imposed by patriarchy. From the interviews, the first tendency is seen among women who are in their middle or old ages and the second one is seen among the young women who are between 18-30 ages. As Kandiyoti argues,

*women strategize within a set of concrete constraints, which I identify as **patriarchal bargains**. Different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct "rules of the game" and call for different strategies to maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression.(Kandiyoti, abstract, 1988)*

For instance, Kandiyoti sees marriage in some cases as a strategy by which women gain power within the system through their husband's status or by producing male off spring. In this way, women can have a privileged status within the system, without violating any rules of the system.

One of the strategies developed to find existence in public space through 'bargaining with patriarchy' is 'veiling' in the situation of women living in Siteler. To continue their everyday lives, women have to use their everyday spaces and have to be visible in those spaces. However, using Seğmenler square, for example, to go to the market creates problems like verbal or sexual harassment for women. Therefore, they find 'veiling' as a way to protect themselves from such abusive acts.



Figure 3.8. Seğmenler Square (This is a transition space between the housing area - Hacilar and Önder Districts- and the working area of Siteler). (Source: Personal Archive)

The reason why women find such a way can be found in men's attitudes and approach to those who are veiled. This issue has a significant importance regarding the case study area because the responses of men to the issue of veiling carry many symbolic meanings. Veiling of women in Islamic societies represents the privacy⁶ of private sphere; the private one should be hidden and invisible. (Göle, 1991). Woman body belongs to the private sphere and should be hidden. Therefore, veiling provides such a privacy for woman body. In Siteler, such an approach to woman body is observed especially among the male interviewees. When male interviewees are asked 'how do you perceive veiled or non-veiled women?' the answers show the reason why women choose such a strategy to protect them:

There are two girls there. One is veiled and the other is unveiled. I treat the veiled girl with respect and I never disturb her because she seems proper but the unveiled one is not respectable woman for me. She is not honorable⁷ for me and I treat her abusively. (E1).

⁶ Mahremiyet

⁷ Namuslu

There is a girl around this square, for example. Her clothes are not suitable for here because she wears short-cut clothes. If she wears such clothes, everyone disturbs her here. (E3).

No one disturbs a woman who is veiled and behaves matronly. For example, that woman has bought bread from market with her son and walks without looking around. No one disturbs this woman here.⁸ (E4).

I do not want to marry with an unveiled woman. My family does not treat kindly an unveiled woman. I would observe her behavior. If she talked too much and was not veiled, I would not marry that girl. The girl who I will marry should be honorable and veiled. Everyone looks abusively, like me, at an unveiled woman here. There are many male workers here and all of them look abusively at an unveiled woman so I do not want my wife to be looked with those eyes. (E5).

As understood from interviews, men's attitudes are very strict about women's clothes. They treat unveiled women more abusively. Male interviewees' ages change from 19 to 56 and their opinions about veiling show similarity. Due to such an approach, interviewee women living in Siteler bargain with patriarchy by veiling in order to use public spaces. Especially those who are in their middle ages among the interviewees use this strategy and also demand the use of this strategy from their daughters. Also, it should be noted that while veiling makes women's lives easier in Siteler, there are some other reasons for veiling of women but these reasons are not discussed within this study. Besides veiling as a strategy, women also develop strategies about when and with whom they use public spaces. All female interviewees state that they cannot go out in the evenings. Therefore, they use public spaces in the day time.

When everywhere gets dark and evening comes, you cannot see any women in the streets here. Everybody gets into their home. Even when it gets dark, we cannot go out on the balcony. (K5).

⁸ The woman who is talked about is veiled.

You cannot see any families in the evenings on the streets. But if the families took a walk in the evenings, we would not have such problems. (K3).

Another tactic developed by women against marginalization from public spaces is that they go to those places with a relative or their children. Being alone creates a sense of being unguarded and also going with their children attributes a meaning to women's position, i.e. being mother. This image gives them a respectable status which provides women with easier mobility patterns in public spaces.

Another strategy against marginalization is the entrance to the labor market and continuing education, in other words, being more visible in public spheres but this strategy is generally developed by younger women living in case study area. It should be kept in mind that there are limited numbers of those examples who struggle to enter the labor market or continue higher education because the interviewees mention that marriage age is very low in Siteler. Most of the female interviewees states that the women who are friends, neighbors or relatives of the interviewees marry when they come to their 18-20. The implications of this strategy are rather different from the first one because the second strategy is more related with the articulation of women to urban life to resist marginalization from urban life but on the other hand, first strategy is developed mostly to easily use the everyday spaces, i.e. public spaces around their living area. Although it is argued that there is high level of marginalization of women in Siteler, young generation has started to react to such a dominative structure. Some of them become successful and some others are exposed to more oppression than ever before. This issue will be argued in the section about the relationship between violence and marginalization. When younger participants talk about their future aims and hopes during the interviews, their tendencies toward working or studying at university become prominent. Some interviewees' thoughts about their future and aims are as follows:

I want to study at university. I prepare for university entrance examination. I want to go to a city where student population is high

because here I am devoid of social life. I cannot go out here. But if I win university, my life will be better than now. (K13).

I want to continue higher education. Then I will find a good job and finally I will marry. But I do not want to marry as soon as I graduate because maybe the person who I will marry restrict me about some issues like clothing or going everywhere freely.(K15).

I will definitely enter university. I have a relative, for example, she graduated from a university and found a job. I want to be like her. When I find a job, I will have a salary and I will become free. (K14).

Two sisters' views about working and how the entrance into labor market affects their lives is very interesting:

I started to work due to necessity because my family's economic condition is not good. In normal conditions, my family did not allow me to continue my education due to both economic reasons and cultural reasons. But they allowed me to work outside home... Now, I have money even though I give most of my salary to my family. With this salary I can go somewhere to enjoy with my friends, especially with friends from my work place. I learn many things from my friends. I can go to cafes after work hours. Because my work place is far away from Siteler, I have to pass through Kızılay so I can go to cafes. When I worked in Siteler, I had no chance to go to Kızılay because my family did not allow me. So I will continue to work in the future because working provides me freedom both economically and socially. After that, I will marry someone who I love. (K9).

I am at home all the time. My mother does not allow me to go out to spend time. They only allow when I go with my sister. Because I am here in Siteler all the time, I cannot learn anything. I even fear to get on the bus because I do not know how to get on the bus and I don't know anywhere in the city. My sister works and she can go wherever she wants because she has money and a chance to go out. After work

hours, she can easily go somewhere with her friends to spend time. I do not know anywhere in this city. So I strongly want to work. (K11).

In the case that economic conditions are not good, women's entrance into labor market become easier but even in this case it is mostly seen among young generations. Also, it is observed in the interviews with mothers and their daughters that mothers do not want their daughters to be visible in public spaces around their living areas with everyday practices such as taking a walk, spending time in parks or squares with their friends. On the other hand, they strongly want their daughters to continue their education despite the male restrictions at home about the issue. Mother interviewees see taking a university education as a means for an upper level of mobility. They believe that their daughters will have a good job after university education and this status will enable them to marry a man with a higher status because such a marriage will save their daughters from this living area and this lifestyle.

Women try to find strategies to continue their lives in a masculine urban space. This sometimes occurs in the way of bargaining with patriarchy and sometimes through the very conditions that poverty creates. However, some of these strategies do not work in some cases. Rather they lead to an increase in the oppression over women. Strategies that are developed against the existing understandings may lead to another oppression type, violence. On the other hand, strategies that are considered as bargaining with patriarchy may cause exposure to an oppression area, cultural imperialism. In both type of strategies developed in order to escape marginalization, women are exposed to one or another oppression type. Violence as an oppression type is the most important consequence that is met when those strategies work against women. In the next section, this issue will be discussed.

3.3. Physical and Symbolic Violence from the view of women experiences within a masculine space context

In this section, different types of violence at different spatial scales will be examined on the basis of the experiences of women living in Siteler. Violence can

be seen at two spatial scales that are domestic and public. At these two scales, women living in Siteler are exposed to different types of violence, i.e. physical and symbolic violence but the important thing in terms of this study is about the conversion of symbolic violence at the public space into physical violence at the domestic space. In other terms, the symbolic violence to which women are exposed at the public space may be a reason for physical violence at the domestic space. Therefore these two types of violence are analyzed in relation to space.

As discussed in the marginalization section, fear of violence in public spaces is the main problem of the women in Siteler. Although violence is defined through physical interventions, Bourdieu try to explain violence with its invisible and hidden character. Therefore, violence in this study is considered in two forms. Physical violence covers rape, sexual assault, wife beating and workplace sexual harassment whereas symbolic violence, as Bourdieu suggests, implies ‘...a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling’ (Bourdieu, pp.1-2, 2001). Symbolic violence has always a potential of conversion to physical violence and this potential makes it effective. Bourdieu discusses the symbolic violence centering on gender inequalities and he emphasizes that symbolic violence is not the opposite of ‘real, actual’ because its effect is real (Bourdieu, 2001). In this study, symbolic violence is important in terms of its relation with physical violence. In some cases, women’s experiences show that symbolic violence that women are exposed to especially in public space due to their gender causes physical violence at domestic sphere.

Before examining the experiences of women about violence, feminist theories’ arguments about violence will be introduced. Violence is explained through psychological reasons, class based explanations and biological reasons by different feminist theories. Liberal feminists tend to give psychological explanations. They see men who violate women as deranged and distinct from other men (Walby, 1990). Therefore, liberal feminists mostly focus on explanations about psychological processes rather than the social context.

According to this approach, 'rape is an act of individual men who have not developed normally' (Walby, p.130, 1990). Thus childhood socialization process is very important for liberal feminists because those who have problematic childhood experiences tend to become rapists. On the other hand, some feminists try to explain violence in terms of class positions. Some of the theorists claim that 'men at the bottom of the class hierarchy are violent towards women as a result of the frustration generated by their circumstances' (Walby, p.132, 1990). However, such a claim is problematic because if those who are at the bottom, as Walby criticizes, are generally prone to become violent, it can be expected that women who are socially more disadvantageous than men become more violent. Although there is not any concrete evidence about the relationship between class position and violence, class based analysis of men's violence examines the social processes unlike liberal feminist thought (Walby, 1990). Also, adding class position in the analysis can be helpful to understand why some men are rather prone to become violent than others. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the impact of economic and social conditions on male violence towards women has an important role, though it is not a determinant component in understanding the reasons of male violence. Besides these approaches, radical feminists evaluate the issue of violence in terms of its gendered and social character. Their main assumption is that male violence is the basis of men's control over women. (Walby, 1990). Social forces help to shape the violence and to them, both sexuality and violence are socially shaped. All of these approaches make a contribution to understanding the reasons of violence but at the same time, they all approach violence on the basis of its physical implication such as rape, sexual harassment, wife beating. Therefore, Bourdieu's symbolic violence is important to understand the invisible character of violence.

When thought in relation to the women living in Siteler, the patterns of physical and symbolic violence are frequently seen in two spatial scales- public and private. Especially, understanding the symbolic violence patterns in spaces having masculine oppressive character like Siteler becomes more important because the invisible sides of male domination over women are uncovered and the problems that rise out of masculine character of the space can be determined as issues for

urban politics. Women's fear of violence in public spaces restrict them to access to the activities in public spaces (Koskela, 1999). As clearly seen in the marginalization sections, women living in case study area are exposed to both symbolic and physical violence in public spaces and even their everyday activities are prevented as a result of different violence patterns. Violent attacks and sexual harassment in public spaces, as Rose argues, create oppressive spaces for women and they always have to know the 'dangerous' spaces for them and the certain times that they can be visible in public spaces. Women living and working in Siteler state that they should not be in public spaces after dark and their public spaces are limited with the close environment of their houses and their neighbor's gardens because 'fear leads women to take precautions which are often spatial, such as avoiding certain parts of the city or not going out after dark' (Koskela, p. 111, 1999).

One of the most important examples of symbolic violence imposed on women in Siteler is veiled and mother woman image in public spaces. Motherhood has a key role because the image of a mother has a respectable meaning among men. Therefore, mother image protects women from abusive attitudes in Siteler. The image of mother in public spaces is imposed by men and women's mobility alone is restricted. Some interviewees explain the situation as below:

My father in law forbids me to go out alone. I can go out only with my son. (K2).

Here, no man disturbs a woman walking with her children because she is a mother. (E3).

Therefore, to cope with sexual violence, women have to be visible in public spaces with their children with 'suitable' clothes and in the correct time. The issue of wearing suitable clothes, as mentioned in marginalization section, creates a symbolic violence over women. For example, female interviewees state:

My mother hides some of our clothes because according to her, those clothes are not suitable for such a place. If we wear these

clothes, she thinks that we may be disturbed by male workers in Siteler. (K9).

We cannot wear what we want because our families do not allow us. Before we go out, they always check our clothes. (K11).

There is a hidden rule here that determines what we should or should not wear. For example, my mother does not allow me to wear sleeveless blouses. (K5).

As it is understood from the interviews, the women who do not fit in the image of the veiled mother are to be abused in public spaces around their living area. There is a common law that is determined by men about the clothing of women and when women disobey this rule, men can violate women. This can be considered as a kind of legitimization mechanism of public violence towards women.

Women workers in Siteler mark another symbolic violence pattern. All of the interviewees state that if you do not want to be abused in Siteler, you have to behave like a man while working. For instance, one of the participants who have a tea house in the area expresses her position:

I have to behave like a man while I am doing this job because this is a male dominated area. If I behave like a woman and dress up chic clothes with a makeup, people who live and work in this area gossip about me. People who come to my work place are generally men so they might disturb me. Therefore, I must go to work like a man to feel more comfortable. I have two different lives. (K16).

Another woman tells her friend's situation as below:

I have a friend who works in Siteler. After she started to work in Siteler, she has been behaving like a man. She is wearing like a man when she goes to work. She talks dirty like men do. (K25).

Another woman tells her experiences in Siteler like that:

When I worked in Siteler, I had to behave seriously and keep male workers at arm's length. I never talked to them because if I had talked them, they would have misinterpreted this. Still when I pass through workplaces in Siteler, I walk like a man. (K9).

Women who work around Siteler are forced to behave like a man but this force does not include any physical constraint. Moreover, even men do not say to women that you have to behave like a man but rather domination over women push them in such a way. Bourdieu states that 'symbolic force is a form of power that is exerted on bodies directly and as if by magic, without any physical constraint; but this magic works only on the basis of dispositions deposited, like springs, at the deepest level of the body' (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 38). The experiences of women working in Siteler are similar to Bourdieu's example of symbolic violence about the aesthetic woman body. According to him, women's thoughts about their bodies not conforming to the aesthetic canons imposed by fashion can be an example of symbolic violence. Like imposing women to an aesthetic body in modern societies, behaving like a man in a male dominated population is imposed through women's feeling a sense of self-depreciation and self-denigration. Women working in Siteler are forced to hide their femininity because when they become visible with their feminine bodies and attitudes they feel such a self depreciation. Many of the women who are exposed to especially sexual harassment tend to blame themselves due to her attitudes or clothing.

Women are not only exposed to symbolic violence but they are also violated physically especially including sexual harassment:

When I go out, I am always disturbed by male workers, sometimes verbally sometimes physically. So I do not go out very much. (K20).

Sometimes men disturb us by driving their cars towards us. All the time, they verbally abuse us. (K14).

Once, when I went to school, a man approached me and touched me in Siteler. I was ashamed very much. (K5).

Threat of violence affects women's decisions about the routes they choose and the places they go (Koskela, 1999). As it is seen in marginalization section, many women in their daily lives cannot use some routes. As feminist geographers Gill Valentine and Rachel Pain states, mobility problem arises from gender problem and the violence women are exposed to in public spaces is considered as a universal experience:

"There is a universal experience for women, which is that physical mobility, is circumscribed by our gender and by the enemies of our gender. This is one of the ways they seek to make us know their hatred and respect it. This holds throughout the world for women and literally we are not to move about in the world freely. If we do then we have to understand that we may have to pay for it with our bodies. That is the threat. They don't ask you what you are doing in the street; they rape you and mutilate you bodily to let you remember your place. You have no rightful place in public."(June Jordan, 1990, cited in Rose).

Siteler is an urban space which can be considered as 'one territory to which men hold greater rights than women: a territory which women are often excluded by harassment and fear of male violence' (Gardner, 1994, in Koskela, pp.111-112, 1999). As discussed in the marginalization section, the most important reason of women's marginalization from their everyday spaces is such a masculine urban space character. Koskela (1999) discusses the 'masculine' and 'feminine' areas in the city in her study. Masculine areas are the spaces where there are barely any women around and the spaces that masculine domination is intensified due to the majority of male population. The fear of violence in specific parts of living or working spaces is experienced intensely by women. For example, some streets are not used by women for this reason and fear of violence, which restricts women's mobility. Siteler can be considered as a masculine area due to its high male population. Fear of violence is higher in such masculine spaces and male domination is stricter than other places because women are marginalized from public space and the control of the public space is totally at the hands of men.

During the field research, it is determined through participant observation that women are rarely seen in the spaces where there is a majority of working places and women are generally seen in the inner parts of the housing area where workshops are rare.

At the first glance, when one enters the housing area around Siteler, it is hard to see women because the peripheries of the housing area are still dominated by workshops. As one moves towards the inner sides of the neighborhood where houses become dominant, the women living in Siteler can be seen. As a general tendency, women's everyday activities include sitting in front of their houses and chatting with their neighbors but the women whose houses are at the periphery of the neighborhood cannot practice even this activity. This picture depicts some important points about the oppression of women. The marginalization of women from urban space becomes an observable phenomenon through this determination while the reasons for marginalization become the strong fear of both physical and symbolic violence at the public space.

Besides violence in public sphere/space, women are also exposed to violence in domestic sphere. Domestic violence is important within the frame of this study through its relation with violence seen in public spaces but violence perpetrated by husbands at domestic sphere is also examined.

When it is thought in terms of the case study area, reasons of domestic violence, especially rape, are seen as a result of economic insufficiencies. As known, Siteler has been in an economic crisis since 2000, so this urban space is not only repressive for women but it is also economically repressive for men. Five of the interviewees mention that they have been exposed to physical violence by their husbands. The first reason, according to women, is economic problems in workplace. All of the interviewees make an emphasis on the economic crisis in Siteler and the impact of this crisis at domestic sphere is generally wife beating for the interviewees who are exposed to rape. An woman interviewee married for five years is exposed to physical violence at the hands of her husband tells her situation:

My husband works in Siteler but there has been an economic crisis in Siteler since 2000 and this affects our lives. My husband works under stress because many workplaces are closed and many workers are fired. When he comes home, he becomes very nervous and sometimes he beats me for unimportant reasons. (K22).

As mentioned above, economic frustrations might be helpful in explaining why some men tend to be more violent than other men. Such a tendency is seen in the case study area because some of the female interviewees state that the economic crisis in Siteler affects their spousal relations negatively. One interviewee who has two children complains about her husband's attitudes towards her due to economic conditions they are in:

Nowadays, my husband is unemployed. He is unexpectedly fired from job. Now, when he comes home, he behaves very aggressively towards me. (K23).

My husband used to assault me very frequently in the past but he has given up raping me for five years. He did not have a regular job so this instability made him very nervous. Then he used physical force on me. Now, I do not allow him to rape me but he still continues to violate me verbally. (K20).

Apart from economic instabilities, violence in domestic sphere has one more important reason as it is observed in the case study area. As a result of women's experiences of physical violence- especially in the case of sexual harassment- in public spaces around Siteler or potential incidents make men prone to use physical violence because they see such sexual harassment events as an issue of honor and they blame women for the results.

In addition to these, violence is the most important reason for marginalization of women from public domains because women are intensely exposed to verbal and sexual violence at public spaces around their living areas. Also, violence is the most important tool for marginalizing women from public space/sphere. The fear of violence both in public and private spaces is used as a tool of marginalization.

The possibility of exposure to violence causes the marginalization of women from urban spaces.

3.4. Confining women to private space: Exploitation of women's unpaid labor and Powerlessness

As it is introduced in the marginalization section, women are confined to private spheres, the boundaries of which are their houses and neighborhood relations. This confinement brings about the spatial division of labor. The spatial division of labor is explored by feminist geographers- especially McDowell and Massey- through the interrelation of capitalism and patriarchy (Rose, 1993). This spatial division distinguishes women's and men's labor from each other because confining women to private space forces them to use their labor at private space with an unpaid way. As Özbay (1991) argues, women's labor can be taken into consideration in four categories:

- the labor that is defined as an economic activity and as a paid work
- the labor that is defined as an economic activity but not as a paid work
- the labor that is not defined as an economic activity but as a paid work
- the labor that is defined as neither an economic activity nor a paid work

The fourth category includes the domestic labor of women that is used around the private sphere. This unpaid labor of women provides benefits for men. Young explains this situation with the term *exploitation*;

'The central insight expressed in the concept of exploitation is that this oppression occurs through a steady process of the transfer of the results of the labor of one social group to benefit another'. (Young, 1990, p. 49)

Young discusses especially the racial and sexual sides of exploitation and she asserts that these sides of exploitation are left unexplained in Marxist concept. Young explains women oppression in terms of the exploitation of their labors. According to her (1990), 'women's oppression consists not merely in an inequality of status, power and wealth resulting from men's excluding them from

privileged activities. The freedom, power, status and self-realization of men are possible precisely because women work for them' (p. 50). Although the exploitation of women's labor, especially domestic labor, does not have any direct relationship with space, this oppression type occurs as a result of other oppression types, especially marginalization and powerlessness which have a direct relationship with space. Thus, women's unpaid domestic labor which also has some relations with space (private one) is explained in this section. Understanding the exploitation of women's labor as an oppression over women living in Siteler allows to reach an understanding of the relationship between powerlessness and space. It helps to analyze how powerlessness of women affects their lives when it is related with spatial dimensions.

Like their invisibility in public spaces, women's domestic labors become invisible in public space. The restriction of women's domestic labor to private space, like the restriction of their bodies to private space, prevents their domestic labor from being public, making their labor unpaid and invisible in an exploitative way. Marginalization of women with their bodies and labors from public space/spheres enhances the exploitation of their domestic labor because women have neither an economic nor symbolic power to react against this exploitation. The reason why the level of exploitation of women's domestic labor is high around Siteler can be found in relation to the high level of other oppression types compared to the other parts of the city, as indicated in other sections.

Apart from this, women's restriction to the private space or home does not give them any chances of self-realization except for domestic labor. Women start to identify themselves with the domestic labor that they spend every day. For example, in the case study area, being clean is the most important quality of superiority among women. Such a competitive condition provides them with an area of self-realization. When they talk about their everyday activities, they tell how clean they are in an honorable attitude.

I am not tired of doing housework. I clean the house everyday... the cleanness of a house is very important and this work is women's

responsibility. My husband work outside and brings money. I have to work at home so that a balance is established at home. (K20).

This woman's husband, like most of the men living in the case study area, does not allow his wife to work outside home; therefore; such a limitation confine women within boundaries of the house and this defined space becomes the space which women define themselves around.

However, when they are asked how they feel about the fact that while men's labors convert into a wage, their domestic labor does not have any repayment, they complain about the situation:

We cannot earn any money when we do the housework of our houses. But men work outside home and they earn money. This money gives them a power at home. We are exploited by men. We do all their work in the house but there is not any payment for us. Both they confine us to the house and exploit us. (K25).

As it is seen, women's domestic labor has two sides in terms of women. On one hand, they find a chance of self-realization by seeing housework as a category of self-realization in a limited space, in other words, a concrete limited space (house) is converted into an abstract self-realization space with the help of the activities that are practiced in this space. On the other hand, women's confinement to private space makes their labor invisible and prevents their labor from being put in the same category as men's labor, which is paid. The relationship between space and the exploitation of women's domestic labor as a type of oppression are defined around private space. Therefore, the physical conditions of the private space carry an importance in the exploitation process. Physical conditions of houses can enhance the exploitation of women's labor because these conditions make housework difficult for them and in most cases they suffer from health problems that occur as a result of physical conditions of houses. Some of the interviewees complain about health problems such as asthma and rheumatism because the buildings they live in are 'gecekondur' which does not consist of any high quality material that is good for human beings' health. The most important

reason for these health problems is that the houses are humid and dusty. Also, another reason for asthma is the polluted air around Siteler because there are many workshops which cause air pollution. Apart from these health problems, many women complain about heavy housework that can cause orthopedic diseases. The heating systems of those kinds of houses are supplied with stoves and this requires preparing heavy coal-scuttles. The responsibility of heating, like other works done in the house, is over women. Therefore, this causes especially orthopedic diseases in woman bodies.

My hands are damaged as a result of heavy lifting. Our houses are heated by stoves and generally the work of lighting the stove is the duty of women. Because I lift heavy coal-scuttles, my hands' nerve endings are damaged. (K23).

The relationship between gender oppression and urban space is not only limited to public space but also it includes private space as a part of urban space. Therefore, the physical conditions of private spaces and activities practiced in private spaces have an importance in terms of understanding the degrees of gender oppression with its relationship to urban space. The exploitation of women's domestic labor is one of the reasons that increase marginalization of women from public domains because men as the exploiter group that benefit from women's domestic labor need this labor. This situation creates an oppression mechanism over women by men. Thus woman can neither work outside home with a paid labor nor can she use the public space actively due to the fact that responsibilities at home cannot allow a free time for women. In other terms, domestic labor of women that is exploited by men prevents women's visibility in public space/sphere.

Powerlessness is also related with other types of oppression, in other words, some oppression types become the reason of powerlessness and others become the consequences. Exploitation and marginalization has an important role in the process of leaving women powerless because confining women to private space and using their labor in an invisible and unpaid way make women powerless. Powerlessness is defined by Young as lacking power in the process of decision making. While she is explaining the lack of power, she focuses on class relations.

According to her, non-professionals suffer from lack of power and they do not participate in the decision making process. (Young, 1990).

...many people have some power in relation to others, even though they lack the power to decide policies or results. The powerless are those who lack authority or power even in this mediated sense, those over whom power is exercised without their exercising it; the powerless are situated so that they must take orders and rarely have the right to give them. Powerlessness also designates a position in the division of labor and the concomitant social position that allows persons little opportunity to develop and exercise skills. (Young, 1990, p.56).

Young examines powerlessness for the situation of non-professionals in the workplace. However, within the framework of this study powerlessness is examined on the basis of the relationship between men and women who live in Siteler. In other words, Young's term of powerlessness is examined in terms of gender. Women cannot actively participate in decision making process and they have little or no authority in this process. Through their confinement to the private space, women are excluded from public domains (education, work, urban space, and politics) and this exclusion prevents them from accessing the required knowledge about those areas. Moreover, women's activities that are exercised in the private space are trivialized as they are made invisible and not considered as a labor like men's. Such a trivialization puts women in an unimportant category in the process of decision making. In other words, women cannot gain a status as men do through their domestic labor in men's world even though they gain a status among women like themselves. Marginalization of women from public domains and exploitation of their domestic labor by seeing this labor as unimportant and making it invisible has an important role in turning women into powerless beings.

According to Young (1990), the most important result of powerlessness is not participating in the decision making processes. When powerlessness is thought in terms of the women living in Siteler, it has many implications that are related to

urban space. First, their exclusion from the decision making process creates problems about the choice of the living space. The settlement around Siteler has been built due to its being a working area that is composed of small scale industry. While choosing Siteler as a living area, the male members of families become the dominant in the decision process because living in such an area has advantages for men such as the juxtaposition of workplace to house saves time and money which would be spent through transportation needs. Another advantage for men is that living close to such a working area enables men many employment opportunities. Unlike men, women suffer from many disadvantages as discussed in this study. Due to the fact that women have no part in the decision taking process, they are obliged to live in a space where they are excluded from public domains. Though there are some employment opportunities for men in Siteler, the fact is just the opposite for women. As mentioned in other sections, Siteler is a working area in which furniture production is concentrated and furniture production sector is male dominated. Thus, women are both strictly excluded from work opportunities around this area and also from their everyday spaces and the public space. This problem results from the non-existence of women's ideas in such decision making processes, which shows their powerless status.

Apart from the impact of women's powerlessness in the process of choosing the location to live, their powerless status affects their mobility in public space. The image of powerless and passive women eases the sexual assault of women by men in public space. During the interviews, there has been an important determination among the male participants about this issue. There is a perception shared by men about 'powerful' and 'powerless' woman images. The image of an educated woman with a career is powerful in the eyes of the male interviewees while uneducated, poor and non-working woman image is evaluated as 'powerless' woman. According to male interviewees, a 'powerful' woman cannot be harassed easily like a powerless woman because 'powerful', educated women can react against harassments and they are aware of their legal rights. However, powerless women cannot react and they do not have sufficient knowledge of their rights. In other words, the image of woman as powerless enhances the oppressions over women in urban space. According to the male interviewees, unlike an educated

woman, ‘powerless’ women do not know how they should behave when they are verbally or physically disturbed in public space. One male (23) interviewee tells his opinions like this:

When we go to Kızılay, we cannot look at women as we do in Siteler. We hesitate because they seem superior to us. They are educated and working women but in Siteler, women are different from those who live in the other parts of city. We don’t hesitate while looking freely at women in Siteler because they don’t have enough power to resist us. (E1).

Another male interviewee says that:

You are an educated woman. When you are exposed to harassment in a street, you know where you should go and you know your rights. But a woman living in Siteler, who is uneducated, does not know anything. Even if she is harassed, she does not tell anything. She doesn’t know how she should behave, she is passive. But an educated woman is not a passive person so men cannot disturb her as much as an uneducated passive woman. (E3).

As it is seen, powerlessness of women starts with marginalization process (from public space/sphere) and then this process continues at the private space on the basis of women’s domestic labor by trivializing it and making it invisible. With the support of violence and cultural norms, the process of making women powerless is completed.

3.5. Patriarchal way of thinking as a tool of Cultural Imperialism

Cultural imperialism, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, ‘involves the universalization of a dominant group’s experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm’. (Young, p.59, 1990). The dominant group protects its position via constructing its dominant norms as a measure mechanism over other groups. Due to the fact that dominant group’s cultural expressions have a broad repercussion in society, they become ‘normal’ and ‘universal’ (Young, 1990). This oppression area is taken into consideration in terms of the problem area in

this study. When Siteler is thought, cultural imperialism is seen in the form of the domination of patriarchal way of thinking. As Parsons (2000) states, the city has been habitually conceived as a male space, in which women are either repressed or disobedient marginal presences (pp.1-2). Therefore, seeing urban space as a male space and behaving in accordance with its rules is a kind of cultural imperialism. Although many women living in Siteler state that they have many problems about their living areas, they internalize many hidden patriarchal understandings that are culturally imposed on the dominated group.

Cultural imperialism that Young describes as a type of oppression is practiced through spatial control. Spatial control, Massey argues as indicated in the previous chapter, has an important role in Siteler. Patriarchy as the universalization of the dominant group's experience and culture, as Young describes, is internalized by women as the norm and becomes a part of their identities. Patriarchal way of thinking is supported through spatial control and women are exposed to cultural imperialism. Spatial control is realized in two ways: by keeping women in private space and through the repression and violation of their bodies in public space. However, these two strategies are not met with a reaction by women in the situation of cultural imperialism as an oppression mechanism and they take these oppression practices as 'normal' and as 'ought to be' because "*cultural expressions of dominant group become the normal, or the universal, and thereby unremarkable*" (Young, 1990, p. 59). They learn gender roles through patriarchal way of thinking of women's place at home and men's in public space. Therefore, being at home is not abnormal for them or, when they become visible in public space which belongs to men, harassment is seen as normal. Also, the acceptance of repression of woman body by women in public space in some conditions is one of the most important examples of cultural imperialism because women do not accept appearance of a woman in public space in 'unsuitable' clothes in an unaccepted time like men and they think that if this kind of a woman is sexually harassed, oppression of this women physically is acceptable for many women in the area. As introduced in the marginalization section, a mother hides some of her daughter's clothes to prevent them from wearing these clothes. Such a behavior

can be explained also as a product of cultural imperialism because the way of thinking is the same as men's.

Another important understanding that has been internalized by women with the impact of cultural imperialism or sexist approaches in culture is related with the socialization processes of daughters. Many mother interviewees state that they bring up their daughters different from their sons because according to them a girl has to know how to behave. The most important difference between girl's and boy's upbringing is that girls are not allowed to be visible in public space even in their early ages. In other words, many mothers start to control spatially their daughters in their early childhood.

Besides, Massey (1994) and McDowell (1998) argue that in some urban spaces there are some dominant groups which determine the characteristics of this space. Siteler can be considered as one of these spaces whose characteristics are determined by men as a masculine urban space. This means that space is controlled by men and their norms. According to McDowell (1998), these norms or rules define some boundaries that are both social and spatial. These spatial boundaries are set by the social ones. The most important example about the boundaries is the places of men and women. Women's places are determined around the boundaries of private sphere and this spatial boundary determines their social places. This spatial exclusion with the help of cultural imperialism puts women in the secondary position in social boundaries.

The veiling of women and being visible in public space with their children as strategies against marginalization are the products of cultural imperialism. Those strategies developed by women, as mentioned in the marginalization section, can be considered as bargaining with patriarchy. In other words, those strategies are not different from dominant patriarchal cultural norms.

Another important example from case study area is about behaving of women like men. Such an attitude is widespread among women especially those who have to become visible in oppressive areas for them. There are three female interviewees who work/ed in Siteler. The common trait among these three women is to behave

like a man when they are at their workplace. This behavior is a good example of cultural imperialism. Women do not want to be exposed to any oppression in places where culturally patriarchal norms are dominant and they behave like this dominant culture's members though they are not actually one of them. Female interviewees tell their experiences about this issue;

When I went to my workplace, I have to be tough-looking because if I behave like a woman, workers (men) disturb me in workplace. (K9).

When I go around Seğmenler square, I walk like a man because such a walking makes me tough-looking. (K11).

When I work at my workplace, I do not wear like a woman because if I appear with nice clothes, workers disturb me. (K16).

As seen, women are intensely exposed to cultural imperialism and they behave in accordance with these cultural norms. They accept the dominated culture without questioning. This is the most important obstacle in front of being visible in urban space and using urban spaces as freely as men do because through cultural imperialism the dominant culture that oppresses women reproduces itself with the help of women.

3.6. Will to escape from masculine-oppressive urban space and the clamp of poverty in Siteler

In the case study area, interviewee women have a remarkable wish to escape from their living areas. As a result of the interviews, it can be clearly concluded that all of the woman interviewees want to leave this area and want to live in better living areas. However, economic condition of people is an important problem that prevents them from leaving the area. The economic crisis that Siteler furniture production sector is in cannot allow people to move to the different parts of the city because most of the population living in Siteler work in this area and their economic condition does not allow them to move to the other parts of the city. Although there are some big brands in Siteler, small-scale workshops determine the dominant character of Siteler small-scale industry area. These small-scale producers fail to compete with the market conditions because large-scale

production model becomes common and small-scale furniture producers do not have the sufficient technology that is required for furniture production. This causes the economic collapse of small-scale producers and its workers. Thus the clamp of poverty cannot allow moving from this area though especially women have a desire to escape this oppressive urban space. It is stated that many of those who reach better economic conditions have moved from the area. The rest who cannot reach better economic conditions still live in the area due to the fact that they cannot afford to move.

The women living in case study area are confined into a highly male-dominated and oppressive space as a result of poverty. When the interviewees were asked 'are you pleased to living in Siteler?', all women interviewees said 'no'. Some of the male interviewees stated that they are pleased to live around Siteler because according to them, there are not any problems in the area. Many women also emphasize that their husbands are pleased to live here because they do not face any problems in their everyday lives and about the conditions of the houses.

One of the female interviewee tells about men's being pleasant about living in Siteler;

My brothers and my father go to work at 10 a.m. and go back home at 12 p.m. so they don't know anything about their living areas. They don't experience the problems that we have. As soon as I reach a better economic condition, I want to move from here.(K3).

Another male interviewee's thoughts about being pleasant living in Siteler like that:

I do not have any problems here. I think this is very good place for living because we cannot live in flats. Our houses are 'gecekondur' and we all have our own gardens. Also we know who lives here and we have our neighbors. I am pleased to live here. (m, 57, worker in Siteler).

My children and I do not want to live here. We want to move from here but we do not have any money to move. Also my husband doesn't want to move from here because he believes that this area will be regenerated and redeveloped in the future. (K10).

As mentioned in other sections, women are not pleased to live around Siteler and the reasons are given in details.

Another interesting point that has been observed during the interviews is about women's choices of living space. When they are asked 'where do you want to live,' the replies show a general tendency towards the same living areas.



Figure 3.9. The places where women want to live. (Source: Google Earth, prepared by the author)

As shown in the map, the green area is the case study area and the blue areas are the places where especially women interviewees want to live. All interviewees state that they want to live in Aydınlıkevler or Keçiören. There are important reasons for choosing those places to live. The first reason is that those two neighborhood areas are physically close to the case study area and almost all of the interviewees know those places because some have relatives and/or friends living in those areas and others see those places when they go to Altınpark in their free times. Altınpark is a recreation area that is located around Aydınlıkevler and Keçiören and most of the interviewees state that they sometimes spend their free times with their families in this recreation area.

The second reason why the interviewees want to live in those neighborhood areas is that they see their own socio-economic status closer to the status of people who live in those places. All interviewees have a common approach to some specific

parts of the city such as Çankaya, Bahçelievler, Ümitköy. Those parts of the city have higher socio-economic profile and the interviewees see those places as not suitable for them.

Z, a young woman living in the area, thinks that:

I really want to move from here to other places of the city but I do not mean Bahçelievler or Çankaya. We cannot adapt to those places. Those areas are very luxurious and not for us and like us. There is a very different world in those places. (K9).

Another interviewee mentions that:

If I move to different place, I will live in Demetevler. There is not any gecekondu in Demetevler and my school is also there. But the places like Bahçelievler or Çankaya are not for us. The people who live in those places are very different from us and they are rich people. (K3).

As it is seen in the interviews, interviewees do not want to live around Sıtlar due to the oppression they are exposed to and want to live in other parts of the city. However, they have to live in this area due to their bad economic conditions.

In this chapter of the study, the oppression types are examined on the basis of the relations with urban spaces. The determination of patterns of oppressions that women are exposed to provides developing policies to solve the problems about oppressive spaces for women.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This study is an attempt to explain the relationship between gender oppression and urban space. The spatial dimensions of gender oppression are uncovered. To reach this aim, a field research is made in Siteler, Ankara. The most important reason for choosing Siteler as the field research area is its spatial characteristics. Siteler is a working area where small scale furniture production is common and there is housing area around. The housing area is very close to Siteler working area and even these two areas intersect in time with the extension of workshops into the housing areas. Due to the fact that furniture production sector is as a male dominated sector, the physical closeness of working and housing area creates problems for women. Such a spatial structure has some serious implications in terms of gender oppression and in this thesis, in what ways this spatial structure affects women's lives has been questioned and suggestions have been made on how urban politics can be developed about the issue. While gender oppression is examined, Young's set of concepts about oppression has been consulted because the term oppression involves a wide area. With the help of Young's oppression categories, gender oppression with its relation to urban space has been explained for each specific area that is social, economic and politic.

Firstly, the relationship between gender oppression and urban space has been analyzed within the theoretical framework. The relationship of urban and gender studies has been discussed in this section. Gender and urban studies do not have an accidental relationship because the paradigm shift in both gender and urban studies coincides with each other. Throughout the period that explanations about gender roles and relations were made around a biological reductionism, as Alkan (2009) argues, spatial issues were also investigated through space fetishism by separating the space from social processes and considering it as apolitical and neutral. After that period, in gender studies biological reductionism was gradually rejected and gender issues began to be examined under the whole of the social relations including both men and women instead of considering only women's problem, while urban studies started to be interested in connections between space

and social processes and tried to save space from its neutral character. (Alkan, 2009). Development of such an approach in urban studies helps to provide a basis for feminist critiques that have an influential role in making gender perspective in urban and spatial studies important. After that, oppression is taken into consideration in terms of patriarchy because in this study oppression is examined through women's situations. In the final part of this chapter, a definition of oppressive space with its masculine character has been made. The defining space in terms of its masculine character helps to understand space's impact over women's lives. In feminist geography, there is an emphasis on women's daily life with their everyday spaces, geography of women, mobility patterns of women, relationship between place and identity to understand the relationship between gender and space.

In chapter 3, the concern areas of feminist geographers have been examined through Siteler case. A field research is conducted in Siteler housing area and the oppressive spaces for women living in Siteler are questioned on the basis of oppression types- marginalization, violence, exploitation, powerlessness, and cultural imperialism. The oppressive spaces defined by female interviewees are balconies, parks, the streets that are close to Siteler working area and the streets where there are workshops. In these oppressive spaces, women are generally exposed to the oppression types of marginalization and violence. The other oppression types, exploitation, powerlessness and cultural imperialism- are related in an indirect way but they help to explain the reasons and consequences of marginalization and violence patterns in such spaces because the oppression types have a circular relationship with each other. The examination of all oppression types leads to a depth analysis of the relationship between gender oppression and space. Not only the questions with 'how' are answered but the questions with 'why' are also answered through the analysis of all oppression types. The analysis of field research results is like below;

Findings of the field research;

- Marginalization of women from urban space is at high levels and marginalization is normalized by middle and old aged women while

younger women's approach to the marginalization they are exposed is more reactive.

- Women's visibility in urban space is dependent on some conditions like veiling and being with a child (mother woman image).
- Violence is used for keeping women in private space.
- Powerless woman image enhances the oppression-especially sexual and verbal abuse- of women in public space.
- Women's normalization of the oppression that they are exposed to makes offering solutions difficult.
- In the case study area, the oppressive spaces are determined and women have a fear of violence related to those spaces.
- Mobility of women is very restricted in the area and the masculine identity of the space forces women in some specific areas to behave like a man. This shows that the dominant power relations in a specific space affect the identity of that space. Masculine identity of Siteler also affects the people who live and work there.
- Women living in Siteler have a common tendency to live in a different part of the city as a result of the oppression they are exposed to. The wish to live in Aydınlıkevler and Keçiören is also a common pattern among women. The most important reason for the desire to live in those spaces is that there is a reference group in those places such as relatives or friends. Another reason is that those places are more suitable for their socio-economic conditions and cultural norms. According to the interviewees, the other parts of the city like Çankaya, Ümitköy or Bahçelievler do not show similarity with their lives and those places are suitable for wealthy people. If they live in those places, they will have adaptation problems. Thus they do not want to live in a place which is above their socio-economic status even if they have a chance to live there.

After that, with the light of the findings from the field research the policies are developed with a gender sensitive perspective in urban politics. Urban politics is insufficient without a gender sensitive perspective. In the process of design and planning, it is determined that there should be a gender sensitive perspective

among planners, architects and the rest of the staff in local governments. Especially the urban regeneration projects should gain a gender sensitive perspective rather than urban entrepreneur understanding. The women-friendly city projects can be good starting points for developing and extending gender sensitive urban politics. The male dominated decisions about urban space in both public (especially local governments' urban politics and implementations) and private spheres (location choices of living areas by men) make women's lives difficult in a city or a part of the city. Therefore, the inclusion of women in the process of decision making has an important role in abolishing the correlation between gender oppression and urban space.

As understood from the study, there is a strong relationship between gender oppression and urban space. The characteristics of space affect the degree of oppression towards women in an urban space when it is combined with poverty and patriarchal relations. Different oppression types create oppressive spaces for women in different ways. To solve this problem in terms of urban studies, the feminist and/or gender sensitive policies should be developed. Urban services and activities of local governments should have a gender sensitive perspective. To gain this gender sensitive perspective, women should be participated in processes of decision making both in local governments and everyday life.

4.1. Urban Politics from a Feminist Perspective

In the previous chapters, the following questions are attempted to be answered on the basis of a case study:

- Why is women's mobility restricted?
- Why do women have to live in limited spaces?
- What are the social processes behind these restrictions?
- What are the results of these restrictions in terms of women?

In this chapter, concrete policy suggestions are offered. The relationship of men and women with the urban space develops in different ways because social relations have different impacts on men and women and the roles of men and women in society are constructed through a patriarchal way of thinking that encourages male domination. This patriarchy, as stated above, is apparent in all parts of life including the state and its institutions (Walby, 1996). The state at the

local level is effective in the relationship between urban space and women because this relationship covers everyday life of women and the physical structure of the city. Local governments as a part of the state⁹ have an important role in developing policies against oppressive character of the space. Therefore, in this chapter of the thesis, how local governments take responsibility about the issue of spatiality of gender oppression is investigated and also, the policy suggestions with a feminist perspective for the problems that are indicated in Chapter 3 are developed. Before developing policy suggestions, the issue of urban politics from feminist perspective is discussed.

Urban politics gains growing importance with the emergence of big-scale cities because with the growing scales of cities, their population is also growing with a divergent character. The divergence in population and the functions of different parts of the city require developing different policies for different social groups. Women are one of these divergent social groups in the city. However, this social group has been invisible in urban politics up until recent years. After 1980, the issue about the relationship between women and city has been analyzed out in Europe. In Turkey, this area is rather new. Nevertheless, ‘the feminization of the city’ is not a new phenomenon and ‘the feminization of the city through a confluence of economic, demographic and political trends argues for a more gendered perspective on urban politics.’ (Clarke, Staeheli, Brunell, 1995, p. 205). At the micro level, local governments are the main actors in the process of the development of urban policy. Therefore, examining the activities of local governments from a gendered perspective becomes beneficial in terms of seeing concrete examples. The only way to deconstruct the divided gendered spaces that are shaped through urban planning and design on the basis of modern capitalist society is developing a gender sensitive perspective in all parts of life including urban issues.

The most important examples of gender sensitive urban politics are women-friendly city projects that are in action in many countries. One of these countries

⁹ The arguments about whether local governments as a part of state or not is not the concern of this thesis. Thus this arguments is not indicated in this thesis. For detail discussion about this topic see Şengül, T. *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*.

is Turkey. Women-friendly city projects are run with the support of the United Nations under the 'United Nations Joint Program to Protect and Promote the Human Rights of Women and Girls'. This project aims at making women more powerful and the elimination of the obstacles that prevent women from participating in their city's cultural, social, economic and political life; and they envisage allocation of local resources and a service model that is based on the cooperation between public institutions and citizens and on gender equality principle (UN, 2010). This project has seven concerning areas that tries find solutions. These seven areas cover the issues of participation in local decision-making mechanisms, urban services, violence against women, economic empowerment and working life, education and health services, migration and poverty, awareness raising and changing mentality. Actually, these seven problem areas that the women-friendly city projects try to find solutions are not different from Young's five types of oppression areas- marginalization, violence, powerlessness, exploitation and cultural imperialism.

When women-friendly city projects are examined in detail, there are three main groups in local government service and responsibilities that are offered for woman citizens' participation. These are;

- Understanding and analyzing women's needs and demands
- Defining urban services in accordance with women's requirements
- Providing participation of women in management to take responsibility.

(Handbook of UN, Participation of Women in Local Governing).

These three main groups involve the sub groups that aim at the inclusion of women in local governments and providing right urban services for women. In the policy suggestions, the ideas of women-friendly city projects become beneficial. Also, the project of Unesco and UN-Habitat that is called as '*Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*' offers a comprehensive perspective in terms of urban politics and governance. This project's aims are declared as below;

- Liberty, freedom and the benefit of the city life for all
- Transparency, equity and efficiency in city administrations
- Participation and respect in local democratic decision making

- Recognition of diversity in economic, social and cultural life
- Reducing poverty, social exclusion and urban violence. (Brown & Kristiansen, 2009).

In the light of these two projects- Women-friendly City Projects and Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship- urban politics gain a gender sensitive perspective in practice.

4.2. Policy Suggestions for Problem Area

In the problem area the existence of local government is seen in the form of ‘women educational and cultural centers’ and public aids. There are many important points to make about public aids but it is not discussed within this study. Another representation of local governments in the case study neighborhood area is women’s educational and cultural center that is a part of municipality of Altındağ. At that center, there are sportive, cultural, and educational activities. Women use this center for socialization. As the interviews show, many of the women cannot use this center because they cannot find free time to go to this center. Among the interviewees, there are three women who state that they go to this center. However, other woman interviewees state that they cannot find time to go there as many of them have children. Also, housework is another important reason that prevents women from going to women center.

When this center is examined in terms of spatiality of gender oppression, there is not any solution for the problems of women in such centers. There are seminars which aim at training women in different areas such as the issues of domestic violence, personal development, and birth control in women center. Such trainings have definitely an impact on women’s everyday lives. Nonetheless, as seen in the previous chapters, the training of women is not enough to sort out the problems about women’s oppression in urban space. To define the problems in the problem area and to solve them, the extension of the neighborhood centers and the redefinition of their context have importance. This is the main and urgent policy suggestion for the problem area. Apart from this, there are some other suggestions

mentioned below with the light of the general suggestions developed within the frame of women-friendly city projects.

1- General Policy Suggestions

- Preparing cautionary posters to hang out workplaces, streets, bus stations, coffee houses about equal the usage right of urban space for all. These posters should be more common in oppressive spaces and spaces that men are high in number to raise awareness.
- The local equality departments should be formed in local governments (municipalities and provincial special managements). For example, in the strategic plan of Altındağ Municipality (2006-2009), there are not any objectives about gender issues. In the recent years, some women centers have been opened but this policy is not enough for the problems of gender and urban space issues. Therefore, the gender equality departments should be opened and start to develop policies. This department should also give services like training of the staff about gender issues within the institution.
- The gender sensitive budgeting should be made by municipalities. Expenditures should be made equally for men and women.
- To determine the needs and the problems of women, public institutions -not only municipality but other public institutions' departments and non-governmental organizations (especially woman's institutes) should be extended at neighborhood scale. Accessibility has an important role in producing solutions to the problems.
- The need assessment analysis should be made and women's needs and problems about urban services and using urban space should

be determined by local governments with the collaboration of NGOs and universities.

2- The Policy Suggestions for the Problem Area

Policies about raising awareness about gender equality

- Training men about gender equality issues. As it is seen from the case study area, only the women's training about some issues does not provide women with a non-oppressive urban space because oppressors' behaviors do not change though women gain awareness about gender issues. Such training should be prepared with the support of local governments like municipalities and provincial special administrations with a coordination of non-governmental organizations. Such trainings can be realized in mid-scale workplaces in Siteler because reaching at men is harder than reaching at women. The context of training should include the usage of urban space equally by men and women.
- One of the most important problems in the case study area is about women's lack of knowledge about their legal rights against violence and discrimination. This problem makes women powerless as discussed in the related section. To teach women their legal rights, posters should be prepared consisting of women's rights with a clear expression and these posters should be hung out in women's everyday spaces. This measure helps to deconstruct the powerless woman image in public spaces where women are exposed to oppression.
- Reorganizing women educational and cultural centers. As it is argued above, there is a women center in the case study area. This center's services and activities should be redefined and the context

of this center should be enriched. Such centers should not only give services to women but men also should be encouraged to participate in these centers in time. The togetherness of men and women in the same place will bring to learn togetherness in urban space. However, this issue is very sensitive because with wrong policies women might lose their existing socialization environment. Therefore, while pulling men in these centers, the social structure of this area should be carefully analyzed. One strategy to pull men to these centers can be giving career planning and employment services. Due to the fact that this strategy is not an activity that does not require togetherness of men and women, in the first stage, it can be useful in terms of being in the same place with men and women.

Policies about Physical Environment and Urban Planning Process

- Renewing the lightening design in the streets. The lightening system should be renewed in accordance with providing mobility for women because especially in the dark women cannot go out of their homes and also working women face with many problems when they return their homes. Moreover, other required urban designs should be determined by local governments' city planning departments.
- To provide mobility for women, the walkways should be repaired. Because women move with their children, shopping bags, baby carriages and elderly people, this reorganization of pedestrian areas is important. Due to the unplanned urbanization around Siteler, there is lack of pedestrian ways and the existing ones are not suitable for women's mobility. Also, there is a heavy traffic around Siteler due to the intensity of work places; the re-organization of traffic is required. Besides, especially in the places where schools

are intensified there are not any footbridges. The footbridges should be constructed in those places.

- Transportation system should be reorganized. Especially for housewives there should be some discount in the cost of buses. The bus stations should be reorganized according to women's requirements.
- The recreation areas should be rehabilitated and their numbers should be increased. Women in the case study area complain about the lack of recreation areas to spend time with their children. Also, they cannot use the existing ones because these areas are also dominated by men. The security points should also be constituted in recreational areas to provide women's security.
- The constitution of security points in spaces where oppression over women is high, as defined in chapter 2, and training of security staff about gender equality issues. Security problem is clearly the most important problem of the women in the area so the first step should be taking precautions about this issue. Also training the security staff carry importance because it is observed that sometimes officers are uneducated about this issue and this situation creates more serious problems in terms of women.
- In the process of urban regeneration project of Alemdağ-Battalgazi-Hacılar-Ulubey-Önder neighborhood¹⁰, a gender sensitive viewpoint should be adopted. The planning and design processes should be done with a gender sensitive perspective. To do this, city planners, architects, engineers and other technicians should also be educated about gender issues and gender sensitive planning.

¹⁰ This urban regeneration Project is in the future plans of Altındağ Municipality as a part of Altındağ Urban Regeneration Project.

- Reconstructing production workshops in different parts of the city which are not close to housing areas. Only the showrooms should stay in the area because masculine character of this area comes from furniture production workshops the workers of which are men. Staying in showrooms in this area is beneficial both for men and women because in marketing sector women can work comfortably as men and thus showrooms helps to inclusion of women in labor market. With such a change, the training courses should be provided by local governments because if the vocational skills are not gained by people living in Siteler, the movements of production workshops affect many people in the area negatively. If the people in Siteler do not have any skills to work in those showrooms, many of them might be unemployed. Also the transportation system should be reorganized through the new working area where production workshops move.

Policies about women's economic and social life

- The quota system for woman workers should be implemented in work places whose personnel number is above 20. This measure will encourage women participation in labor market and public space/sphere.
- Compromising and/or increasing numbers of children day care centers in neighborhood. This service provides women with free time to participate in social activities and working life. Also this service should be done for a small fee or free.
- Encouraging women to use existing places that carry out social activities because there is a very low level participation in women education and cultural centers among the interviewees.

In the light of the case study, the problems and the needs of the women living in Siteler is partially determined and some policy implications are suggested. Some of these suggestions are urgent whereas some other will be realized in the long term after making some progress. However, this study provides a pattern about the women living in Siteler and their situations.

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APPENDIX 1

FEMALE INTERVIEWEES

K1: She is 38 years old. She finished primary school. She is from Çankırı. After she divorced her husband, she moved to the area. She has two sons. She is disabled as a result of domestic violence. She has been living in the area for two years. Also, before she had married, she used to live in this area.

K2: she is 40 years old. She graduated from primary school. She is from Gerede. She has three children. She has been living in the area for twenty years. Her husband has a restaurant in Yenidoğan. She wants to move from the area because she thinks that her children, especially her daughter, are uncomfortable to live there.

K3: she is 40 years old and she is a teacher. Her husband is also a teacher. She has two children. She has lived in the area for ten years. She lives in this area because her economic condition is not good. She lives with her family in her father's house. She is K2's sister-in-law. When she has a better economic condition, she will move from the area. She thinks that the girls should go to university because a good career means a good husband.

K4: she is 45 years old and from Gerede. She is K2's and K3's sister-in-law. She has two children. She wants to work but because of her children, she cannot work outside home. She thinks that if she works, her condition will be better than now.

K5: she is 19 years old and she is K2's daughter. She has graduated from high school and prepares for the university entrance exam. She wants to go to university in a different city to escape from this area because she feels very uncomfortable about living in this area. She is abused once by a man. Also, she is exposed to verbal harassment when she goes to the private education centre because she has to pass through SiteLER.

K6: she is 27 years old and has two children. She graduated from primary school. She is from Kızılcahamam. She wants to work but her husband does not allow her. She complains that she cannot find a place to spend time with her children around the area.

K7: she is 24 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She graduated from high school. Before she married, she worked in a market as a cashier but after she married, her husband did not allow her to work. She is not pleased to live around this area because she cannot find any place to spend time. When she goes out, the neighbours gossip about her so she is very disturbed about this situation.

K8: she is 48 and from Erzincan and she is Kurd/alevi. She has three children. She graduated from primary school. She says that she lives very isolated because due to workplaces around their houses, she cannot go out. Also, due to her ethnic and religious origin, her neighbours do not want to talk to her. So she says that she is very lonely. She was exposed to domestic violence by her husband in the early years of their marriage.

K9: she is 26 years old and single. She is from Kızılcahamam. She works in a school canteen. She cannot continue her education because her father and uncle do not allow her to go to school after primary school. But as a result of economic crisis in 2001, her father's economic condition became worse and she had to work to make economic contribution her family. She worked in Siteler for one year but she did not continue due to male dominated work environment. She is very pleased to work because she thinks that having a salary brings to her free life. She is not pleased to live around the area because she is disturbed by men when she goes to work and also she complains about finding any place to spend time in her environment.

K10: she is 50 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She is K9's mother. Her husband has a workshop in Siteler but he cannot earn income from this workshop since 2001. She has three children. Her son and daughter work and earn income. Her husband forbade her to go out house in earlier years. She still cannot go out without the permission of her mother-in-law or her husband. She lives with her mother-in-law.

K11: she is 20 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She is K9's sister and K10's daughter. She graduated from secondary school. She wants to work like her sister. She does not have any friends and she does not go out in her everyday life. She seldom goes with her sister to Kızılay when her sister receives her salary. She is not pleased to live around this area.

K12: she is 52 years old and from Kayseri. She has three children. She has lived in the area for 20 years but she moved to Batıkent 15 years ago. Her husband has a grocery shop in the area and they still come to the area. Their movement reason is related with the environment. She and her daughter could not live comfortably around this area and when her daughter became an adolescent, they decided to move from Siteler.

K13: She is 18 years old. She lives in Karapürçek. She prepares for the university entrance exams. She is not pleased to live in the area. She goes to a private education centre which is very close to Siteler and has many problems.

K14: she is 18 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She prepares the university entrance exams and goes to the same education centre with K13. Her future plan

is to go to a different city for university education because she does not want to live in this area anymore.

K15: she is 18 years old and goes to the same education centre with K13 and K14. She complains that she cannot find a place to spend time in the area. She usually goes to the shopping malls in her free times.

K16: she is 28 years old and from Gerede. She is divorced. She has a tea house (çay ocağı) under her house. Her mother works as a house-worker. She wants to work in a regular work. She lives with her family. She tells that she lives two different lives because she cannot behave like a woman around this area. She says that she can only behave like a woman when she meets her friends in a different place.

K17: she is 60 years old and from Gerede. She has been living in the area for many years. She is very pleased to live and she does not have any problems in the area.

K18: she is 60 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She is not pleased to live around this area. But her reason is different from the younger ones. She complains about the physical conditions of houses so she does not want to live in this area.

K19: she is 70 years old. She has three children. Three of them work in Siteler. Her husband was bedridden as a result of work accident in Siteler.

K20: She is 48 years old and from Kayseri. She has two children. She has been living in the area for 30 years. She does not want to live in the area due to high male population and she also thinks that old people in the neighbourhood moved and the Kurds and Gypsies have come to live in the area. She is very disturbed about this situation. She was exposed to domestic violence by her husband but now she resists against violence. Her husband is unemployed. Her daughter is a renal patient and they get economic aid from the local government.

K21: she is 23 years old and from Kayseri. She is K19's daughter. She is a renal patient so she says that she does not have any social activities. Also she cannot continue her education life due to her illness. She is uncomfortable about living in this area.

K22: she is 25 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She graduated from secondary school. She has been living in the area for four years. After she married, she came to the area to live. She almost never goes out because she has a baby and her husband does not allow her to go out.

K23: she is 36 years old and from Gerede. She graduated from primary school. She has two children. Her husband is unemployed. She is not pleased to live in the

area due to work places around their houses. She says that she cannot find any free time for herself because housework as well as caring her children and husband take her all time.

K24: she is 54 years old and from Gerede. She tells how her daughters lived difficulties when they lived in this area. She has had asthma because their house is very humid and there is air pollution around Siteler.

K25: she is 44 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She graduated from primary school. She has two children. She does not want to live around Siteler because she says that she cannot go anywhere in the area due to male workers. She wanted to work but her husband does not allow her. Also she thinks that women are exploited by men through their unpaid domestic labour. According to her, domestic labour should be paid labour.

K26: she is 32 years old and from Kızılcahamam. She has two children. She worked in Siteler as a cleaner a year ago. When her husband made their economic condition better, she left work. She worked in Siteler in a workplace which belonged to her relative. Although the workplace belonged to her relatives, she had many problems due to male workers.

K27: she is 17 years old. She is K8's daughter. She won Ulubey high school in order not to go to Ahmet Yesevi high school that is close to Siteler. If she went to Ahmet Yesevi high school, she would have to pass through Siteler.

MALE INTERVIEWEES

E1: He is 23 years old and from Yozgat. He graduated from primary school. He cannot continue his education because he has to work to earn money. He has been living in the area for 11 years. They moved to this area 11 years ago to find a job in Siteler. He worked in Siteler for a while but then he left work and now he is unemployed. He categorizes women according to their visibility in public spaces and being veiled or not. He says that the woman he will marry should be veiled and not visible in public spaces.

E2: he is 53 years old and from Erzincan. He is K8's husband. He had a workshop in Siteler but after the economic crisis, he closed it. He thinks that as a family they live isolated from the neighbourhood in the area due to their ethnic and religious origin.

E3: he is 47 years old and he worked in Siteler for many years. But many workers are devoid of social rights. Most of the workers do not have insurance in Siteler so he left work. Now he works in a factory. He has been living in the area for 15 years. He is very hopeless about the situation of young people living in the area.

E4: he is 56 years old and from Kızılcahamam. He graduated from primary school and works in Siteler. He has two sons. According to him, women living in this area do not have any difficulties.

E5: he is 19 years old and he is a student. His father has a furniture workshop in Siteler. His attitudes towards women changes according to women's attitudes and clothing. He says that if a woman is veiled, he never disturbs her. He also thinks that he never allows his wife to work.

E6: he is 54 years old and from Gerece. He is K24's husband. He worked in Siteler many years ago. Now he is a builder. He complains about urban sprawl in Siteler and the lack of urban services in the area.

E7: he is 35 years old. He lives alone in the area. He is single. His attitude towards women changes according to the time (day or night) and their clothing styles. According to him, if a woman wears unsuitable clothes, men are right to abuse her.

E8: he is 28 years old and from Gerece. He graduated from university. He is a civil servant and married. He lived in the area before he married. He is very pleased about the area. He likes the neighbourhood relations.

E9: he is 70 years old and from Gerece. He has been living in the area for 50 years. But he complains about urban sprawl and the lack of urban services in the area.