

GENDER DISCOURSE AND PUBLIC SPACE: SOCIO-SPATIAL  
CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN THE CITY, THE CASE OF RIZE, TURKEY

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NAGEHAN VANLIOĞLU YAZICI

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CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN THE CITY, THE CASE OF RIZE,  
TURKEY**

submitted by **NAGEHAN VANLIOĞLU YAZICI** in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of **Master of Architecture in Architecture Department,**  
**Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar  
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel  
Head of Department, **Architecture**

\_\_\_\_\_

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İnci Basa  
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Examining Committee Members:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral  
Architecture, METU

\_\_\_\_\_

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İnci Basa  
Architecture, METU

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın  
Architecture, METU

\_\_\_\_\_

Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü  
City and Regional Planning, METU

\_\_\_\_\_

Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Altay Kaya  
City and Regional Planning, Çankaya University

\_\_\_\_\_

Date: 24.01.2019

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

Name, Surname: Nagehan Vanlıoğlu Yazıcı

Signature:

## **ABSTRACT**

### **GENDER DISCOURSE AND PUBLIC SPACE: SOCIO-SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN THE CITY, THE CASE OF RIZE, TURKEY**

Vanlıoğlu Yazıcı, Nagehan  
Master of Architecture, Architecture  
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. İnci Basa

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This study focuses on gender in everyday life and locates itself theoretically at the intersecting fields of space and gender theories. Regarding Lefebvre's claim that "(social) space, is a (social) product", it is possible to state that space is formed by the social relationships and routines of everyday life. Within this understanding, the thesis aims to investigate the discursive relationship between gender and space. In order to outline a theoretical framework, it employs the pioneering works in both gender and space studies and superimposes them on the concept of everyday life. This thesis focuses on women as one of the main subjects of gendered space and it analyses the everyday life of women in the city; their priorities, problems, workspaces, leisure time qualities, and cultural activities. It investigates the bias and barriers that women face in the public space. To better understand the current gendered structure of the urban space, the consciousness of space as a "social product" will be the basis to critically observe the relationship between social power over women and the built environment. The representation of woman in urban space, the barriers of gender and the dichotomies faced by women will be examined. In addition to this, mechanisms that produce barriers in the urban space, especially in everyday life of women in the public space will be discussed. After the observation of the discursive relation between

gender and space, the study will investigate the case study, Rize. By doing this, it aims to bring a new focus to existing studies made in the field while working on the image of women in the multi-layered socio-political structure of Turkey. Lastly, the thesis questions the possibility of an equal social life for women in every aspect, and a city structure without biases on gender.

Keywords: Public Space, City, Gender, Women's Studies, Discourse

## ÖZ

### CİNSİYET SÖYLEMİ VE KAMUSAL ALAN: CİNSİYETİN SOSYO- MEKANSAL OLUŞUMU, RİZE ÖRNEĞİ, TÜRKİYE

Vanlıoğlu Yazıcı, Nagehan  
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık  
Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. İnci Basa

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Bu çalışma gündelik hayatta cinsiyet söylemi üzerine odaklanır ve teorik olarak mekân ve cinsiyet teorilerinin kesiştiği noktada konumlanır. Lefebvre'in belirttiği üzere “(sosyal) mekân, (sosyal) bir üretimdir.”; bu bağlamda, mekanın sosyal ilişkiler ve günlük hayatları üzerinden şekillendiğini söylemek mümkündür. Bu anlayışla, tez mekân ve cinsiyet arasındaki söylemsel ilişkiyi incelemeyi hedefler. Gündelik hayat konseptinden yararlanır ve teorik çerçevesini oluşturmak üzere her iki alanın, mekan ve cinsiyet teorilerinin, öncü kaynaklarını bir araya getirir. Bu tez, cinsiyetli mekânın ana öznesi olarak kadına odaklanır ve kadınların şehirdeki gündelik yaşamı, problemleri, dinlence aktivitelerinin kalitesini ve kültürel aktivitelerini analiz eder. Kadınların kamusal alanda karşılaştıkları önyargı ve bariyerleri araştırır. Halihazırda mevcut olan cinsiyetçi mekân yapılaşmasını daha iyi anlamak adına, mekânın “sosyal bir üretim” olduğu anlayışı kadının çevre ile ilişkisinin eleştirel bir bakışla incelemek için taban olacaktır. Kadının kamusal alandaki temsili, kadınların maruz kaldığı cinsiyet ikililik ve bariyerleri irdelenecektir. Buna ek olarak, kamusal alanda, özellikle kadının günlük yaşamında bu bariyerleri üreten mekanizmalar tartışılacaktır. Mekân ve cinsiyet arasındaki söylemsel ilişki incelendikten sonra, çalışma bir örneği ele alır; Rize. Bu çalışmayı yaparken, Türkiye’nin çok katmanlı sosyo-politik yapısı içerisindeki kadın imgesine bakarak, alanda yapılan çalışmalara

yeni bir odak getirmeyi amaçlar. Ayrıca, tez şehirde kadınlar için, cinsiyet önyargıları olmadan, her anlamda eşit bir sosyal yaşamın olabilirliğini sorgular.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamusal Alan, Şehir, Cinsiyet, Kadın Çalışmaları, Söylem



To my family and ‘to women lived in the gaps between the stories’...

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Definition of the Problematic

In the 1960s, there was a significant change in social comprehensions. In these years, some of the previously unquestionable issues moved to the centre of public debate for the first time. The attention of society was drawn to the topics that had been rarely or never mentioned before. A great number of common societal matters started to be argued about. This social sphere provided a general freedom for critiques of the ‘other’. This situation led to various movements that concentrated on a variety of groups of people who were defined, or accepted as, minorities by different sections of society. Within such a societal milieu, protests arguing for women’s rights, students’ rights, and anti-war groups were organized as well. As might have been expected, the voice of the *other* reverberated remarkably in universities; new departments were established, and the study of minority issues were legitimized. The existence of gender stratification was recognized by academia with scholars making contributions in terms of their analyses of gender issues, especially within the social sciences.

Space was also a significant research topic in those years. Geographers searched to find different meanings for space and in the early 1970s. Henri Lefebvre, an eminent philosopher and sociologist stated that “(Social) space, is a (social) product.”<sup>1</sup> Following his work, important social geographers such as Edward Soja and David Harvey contended that space is socially produced, but space is also a condition of

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space* (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 26.

social production.<sup>2</sup> This approach to space opened new areas for architectural research based on social sciences within a framework of sociological awareness. It was realized that architecture has strong bonds with everyday life. As Diana Agrest claims;

Ideology is no more than the social production of meaning. Thus, all cultural production, such as architecture, when articulated at the economic and political levels, manifests the ways in which ideology is produced as part of a given social structure. (Accordingly, architecture itself must be approached as a particular form of cultural production as a specific kind of overdetermined practice.)<sup>3</sup>

Within such an understanding, the relationship between space and gender became extremely significant. It was recognized as a social matter that could by no means be avoided; thus, an academic and public focus on the problematic nature of this relationship was initiated. Consequently, gender appeared as a powerful concept in spatial conceptions and discussions.

Based on this argument, the present study aims to follow the tracks of a discursive formation to analyze and explain the relationship between gender and space. The observation of space as a social product, rather than a tectonic object, enabled scholars to investigate this relationship as a discursive formation. Foucault identifies discourse in *Archaeology of Knowledge* as “the general domain of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.”<sup>4</sup> According to him, discourses produce their “objects” conceptually, through the circulation of statements, “said things”. Wodak summarizes the position of discourse as a social practice as follows;

*Critical Discourse Analysis sees discourse – the use of language in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’.* Describing

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<sup>2</sup> See, Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (London: Verso, 1989) and David Harvey, *The Condition of Post-modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008)

<sup>3</sup> Diana Agrest, *Architecture from without: Theoretical framings for a critical practice*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 32.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Foucault, *Archeology of knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2010), 80.



discourse as a social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it; the discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned- it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.<sup>5</sup>

Such an interpretation of discourse, which underscores its creation through the social structure in everyday life, allows the classification of the relationship between space and gender as a discursive one. This study principally focuses on one of the objects of this wide subject; women.

According to Agrest, women and women's bodies were disregarded in the architectural field. Furthermore, it was considered as something excluded. She stated that;

...this system is defined not only by what it includes but also by what it excludes, inclusion and exclusion being parts of the same construct... The repressed, the interior representation in the system of architecture that determines an outside (of repression) is woman and woman's body.<sup>6</sup>

This ignorance of women, and women's bodies, marks the gender issue as a problematic in the architectural field. Additionally, the gender issue plays a role in the middle of the settled social norms and this constructs a ground on which a certain discourse appeared on gender. Actually, when social norms disregard an object, for instance, woman, it becomes rendered as excluded. Moreover, this situation alienates women and makes women the *other*. This brings the gender issue -especially regarding the position of women- into a phenomenon that changes and manipulates the power balance in society. Foucault explains that power balance and its changing factors, and indicates this exteriority as a factor that is transformed into a source of resistance;

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<sup>5</sup> Ruth Wodak, *Disorders of discourse* (London: Longman, 1996), 15.

<sup>6</sup> Agrest, *Architecture from without: Theoretical framings for a critical practice*, 173.

Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.

...These points of resistance present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single focus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a plurality of resistances.<sup>7</sup>

This thesis also benefits from the concept of everyday life and it uses the pioneering works in both fields of gender and space to draw a comprehensive theoretical framework. While this study focuses on women as one of the main subjects of gendered space, it analyses the everyday life of the women in cities; their priorities, problems, workspaces, leisure time qualities, and cultural activities. It investigates the bias and barriers that women face in the public space. More specifically, it intends to make a particular contribution to these fields by focusing on a specific sociocultural and geographical ambiance as its case study; Rize, a city in the Black Sea Region of Turkey. This thesis also takes the settled traditional values and conventional religious background of this territory into consideration. Consequently, the thesis critically analyses the construction of gender discourse in architecture and urban studies and it associates this knowledge with Turkey through its case study. Within this context, this thesis aims to draw attention to the gender problematic in a socio-spatial environment under male domination and it questions the possibility of a built environment that is used, practiced and experienced by all genders equally.

To better illustrate the relationship between urban space and gender, the significant concept-terms of this study should be clarified. In this very introductory section, the specific notions of public, public space, public sphere and gender will be described.

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<sup>7</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 95-96.

The word public is derived from the combination of two Latin words *poplicus* (of the people) and *pubes* (adult). The Oxford dictionary<sup>8</sup> defines the term “public” as an adjective; ‘of or concerning the people as a whole; involved in the affairs of the community, especially in government or entertainment; done, perceived, or existing in open view; of, or provided by, the state rather than an independent, commercial company’. As a noun, it is described as; ‘ordinary people in general; the community; in public, in a place or state open to public view or access; openly; organized society, the body politic; a nation, a State; the interest or welfare of the community; people collectively; the members of the community; a section of the community having a particular interest in or special connection with the person or thing specified; a collective group regarded as sharing a common cultural, social, or political interest but who as individuals do not necessarily come into contact with one another.’<sup>9</sup> Either as a noun or as an adjective, the word public refers paradoxically to both people and the state.<sup>10</sup> Considering this problematic semantic nature of public, Madanipour mentions that;

the term public is used with ease to refer to the society and the state, as if they were one single entity. But the complexity of both society and the state appears to make this formula problematic. The society is no longer held to be a homogenous entity, and the state is an ever larger and more professionalized organization. Not only is the society formed of different levels of local and national communities. The society is also the realm of privacy, the realm of individuals and small groups, as well as the realm of the market, which can include large corporations, small firms and individuals. It is in this double interpretation of the society as both public and private that ambiguity arises. It is also in the

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<sup>8</sup> Definition of Public – Oxford English Dictionary (The definitive record of the English Language). Oxford English Dictionary Online. From <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/public>, (Last Accessed on 02.04.2017)

<sup>9</sup> Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis: 2014), 95-96.

<sup>10</sup> İnci Basa, "Producing Representational Spaces for the Republican Memory in Samsun, Turkey", *Turkish Historical Review*, 2016, Vol. 7 (1), 1-32.

redrawing of the already fuzzy boundary between the state and the society that ambiguity in the distinction is identified.<sup>11</sup>

The word 'public' also creates a dilemma between public and private through its meaning. Accordingly, this situation led to the distinction of public and private spaces. Public space can be defined generally and simply as a space which is created and used by all the members of society. Therefore, it would be possible to say that the word "public", which refers to the masses, is mostly inadequate in representing minorities. Unfortunately, despite its connotation of accessibility, public space may sometimes covertly limit the rights and access of some particular groups or minorities as public. Additionally, it is not illusory that the women in a public space, which is the creation of patriarchal society, may be well excluded. Michel de Certeau says: "space is a practical place. Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a 'space' by walkers". This sentence simply and perfectly summarizes the production of public space by the user. Its production by its users' practice is actually what makes space political. Considering space as political and strategic Lefebvre says; "Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics. It has always been political and strategic."<sup>12</sup> According to him, since space appears to be homogeneous and exists in its objectivity; it has its own ideology as a social product.

Such an understanding that the creator of the space is actually social relations and the daily actions of users, and that space has a political characteristic, led to the examination of certain mechanisms of an effective discursive formation to understand and connect two different issues in the present study; gender paradigm and space theory. Such a formation according to Foucault is; "constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be

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<sup>11</sup>Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City*, 96.

<sup>12</sup> Henri Lefebvre, "Reflections on the Politics of Space," translated by M. Enders, *Antipode*, Vol. 8 (1976), 31.

assigned particular modalities of existence”.<sup>13</sup> Through the observation of public space as a product of social impacts, it can be said that the relationship between gender and space are affected and shaped by a certain discourse, namely, gender discourse.

Dictionaries describe gender as follows;

Each of the classes (typically masculine, feminine, neuter, common) of nouns and pronouns distinguished by the different inflections which they have and which they require in words syntactically associated with them; similarly applied to adjectives (and in some languages) verbs, to denote the appropriate form for accompanying a noun of such a class. Also: the fact, condition, or property of belonging to such a class; the classification of language in this way...<sup>14</sup>

The state of being male or female as expressed by social or cultural distinctions and differences, rather than biological ones; the collective attributes or traits associated with a particular sex or determined as a result of one's sex. Also: a (male or female) group characterized in this way.<sup>15</sup>

Gender, n. a grammatical term only. To talk of persons or creatures of the masculine or feminine gender, the meaning of the male or female sex is either a jocularity (permissible or not according to context) or a blunder.<sup>16</sup>

The notion of “gender” started to be used in the 1980s with the emerging belief in social equity and to break the domination of sexes in all respects. It is used instead of women, men, and any other word due to its less segregationist, less political and multifunctional nature. Feminist theory has already been realized as an anchorage for “other”. Thus, as Rebecca Walker argued almost quarter of a century later; they were the black man as against the white men. A black woman claiming harassment and

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<sup>13</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 131.

<sup>14</sup> Definition of Gender – Oxford English Dictionary (The definitive record of the English Language). Oxford English Dictionary Online. From <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/77468>, (Last Accessed on 03.04.2017)

<sup>15</sup> Definition of Gender – Oxford English Dictionary (The definitive record of the English Language). Oxford English Dictionary Online. From <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/77468>, (Last Accessed on 03.04.2017)

<sup>16</sup> Henry Watson Fowler, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (Oxford University Press, 1926).

being discredited by other women...<sup>17</sup> So, the notion of gender provides a space for all discussions of “other” without any barriers. Thus, the discussions about gender in public space became expanded.

Another crucial norm for this study is ‘public sphere’. Public sphere can be understood as such: “a portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body.”<sup>18</sup> While defining the public sphere, this description mentions the conversations between all individuals in all parts of society. This term also includes public media and the public authority. According to Jurgen Habermas, public sphere is the space where public opinion is shaped. The definition above also contains the term of public body, which is created by all individuals in the public sphere and, this body creates the general opinion in public sphere. Hence, it is possible to say that body takes a considerable place in the dominant conception of the public sphere.

Within this observation of the significant norms for the presence study, a number of critical questions should be posed: How is the discursive relationship between space and gender constructed? Is it possible to map a perception of the city on gender by analyzing this discursive formation? And, if the city is gendered under the domination of one gender, through which mechanisms is it possible to change that?

## **1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study**

This study aims to investigate how gender roles affect the city and how these roles are produced and reproduced by the city in the case of a small city in the Black Sea region,

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<sup>17</sup> Rebecca Walker, “Becoming the Third Wave”. Ms. Magazine. 11, 1992. no. 2 (2): 39–41. From <http://www.msmagazine.com/spring2002/BecomingThirdWaveRebeccaWalker.pdf> (Last Accessed on 10.01.2018)

<sup>18</sup> Geoff Eley, “Nations, Public, and Political Cultures: placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (London, UK: MIT Press, 1992), 289.

Rize. In order to draw a proper frame, it locates itself theoretically at the intersecting fields of space and gender theories. Specifically, this study aims to analyze the construction of biases on gender in the everyday life of the cities; it also attempts to uncover the connection between built environment and invisible barriers to women. While the study endeavours to unveil the social and cultural power over women interrelated with urban parameters, it follows the tracks of the aforementioned discursive formation. More specifically, the study will examine the paradigm of gendered space in Turkey by taking into consideration the crucial position of specific focuses of gender study, such as, representation of a gender, power relations, visibility and body distinction. Following that, the study intends to record different city experiences of gender; by doing so it focuses on the public and private distinction, city barriers through gender and identity and embodiment notions within the relations of space for gender.

To better understand the current gendered structure of the urban space, the consciousness of space as a “social product” will be the basis to critically observe the relation between social power over women and the built environment. In addition, mechanisms that produce barriers in the urban space, especially in the everyday life of women in the public space, will be discussed. The existence of woman in urban space will be analyzed. Having scrutinized the discursive relationship between gender and space, the study will investigate its specific case study, Rize. Through this case study, it aims to bring a new focus to the studies made in the field while concentrating on the women image/idea in the multi-layered socio-political structure of Turkey. Additionally, the thesis questions the possibility of an equal urban social life for women in every aspect within the city structure without biases on gender.

### 1.3. Methodology

This section of the thesis briefly defines the methodology of the study. As already mentioned, the main objectives of the study are to investigate the gender behaviours in the city, to understand the construction of the gendered city and observe the relationship between women and urban public space through a case study.

While, this thesis will analyze the discursive relationship between space and gender, it refers to the related theories of gender, space and discourse. It focuses on women as the main subject of the gender paradigm, thus mentioning the feminist approach. The feminist approach aims to construct a critical view on the socio-cultural inequities. Its main motivation is to understand the gender differences and issues and to (re)define them. To draw a framework on gender, in the second part of the thesis, a qualitative research method will be used. In addition to gender theory and the feminist perspectives, the thesis will benefit from the works on space theory. Although gender theory is apparently significant to the study, the theory of space constitutes a fundamental basis. Therefore, the main method of the study is supported by the argument of the existence of discursive formations to make a connection between space and gender theories. The study will, thus, concentrate on the conception of discursive formation, its construction through the embodied statements and their effects in the urban space. Michel Foucault's *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1969) will be a guide for this. During this investigation, the study will benefit from the concept of 'everyday life', since gender and space theory indicates a discursive relation in the content of everyday life. *The production of space* (1974) by Henri Lefebvre will be another primary source for this conceptualization.

Within this theoretical framework, the thesis will investigate a case study; Rize, in the Black Sea Region of Turkey. It is chosen for its particular socio-political situation throughout the changes occurring in Turkey, especially those in the last few decades. This chapter will explore and explain the socio-spatial features of Rize and the reasons



for its appropriateness as a case study for the presented arguments of the thesis. To analyze its case, the study uses both qualitative and quantitative research methods to map the city perception on gender by using face-to-face interviews; and critically evaluating the data from the user assessments.

Generally, the thesis employs two different approaches; first, it creates a theoretical framework, which is based on a literature survey on socio-spatiality of gender and its critical interpretation as a discursive formation. Secondly, it analyses gendered public space and its discursive relations in Turkey through a case study. In the first part, the former constitutes the basis for the latter. The thesis investigates gender, the discourse of gender and reflections and effects of gender discourse in cities. It aims to explain the inevitable connection between gender discourse and urban spatial production. With this aim, it questions a built urban environment beyond bias and barriers. Following that, this theoretical framework is employed to analyze the selected case study of Rize. This region of Turkey, Black Sea, is primarily chosen for its conservative and restricted patterns of everyday life. In this part, the interviews, personal observations and user assessments are the tools for investigation. Finally, by analyzing the results of the case study, the general perception of citizens on gender, the possibility of equal urban spatial practices and possible solutions are investigated.

#### **1.4. Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter, introduction, lays out the problem definition, aim and scope of the study, methodology and the structure of the thesis. This chapter aims to outline a comprehensive conceptualization of the study.

The second chapter of the study aims to describe a theoretical framework on gender discourse. It is composed of three main sections; the first section includes a literature review to examine the pioneering scholarly works and to investigate the discursive

formation of gender concept through the significant works on gender and spatial theories. By doing so, this section builds a connection between gender discourse and its reflections in urban everyday life. This section is also divided into two categories through the subjects. The first sub-section focuses upon non-gender-based space theories which understand space as a social product and the second sub-section focuses upon the published works on the gender space relation. Subsequently, this chapter concentrates on the construction of a gendered city, theoretically, by addressing the representation of women. While doing this, it emphasizes certain subjects such as effect of the media on representation, visibility, power and body.

The third chapter analyzes particular mechanisms that create a gendered city. It focuses on women's issues and problems that are faced by women in their city life. This chapter starts with analyzing the invisible barriers; after that, it focuses on one of the most highlighted issues in feminist geography; the public and private distinction. At that point, it also mentions the notion of home. Finally, the chapter focuses on the notion of identity and it relates this issue to gender and space.

The fourth chapter of the thesis is structured around a particular case study: the city of Rize. It mentions the socio-spatial features of the case study and after a brief introduction, it attempts to map the urban perception. For this purpose, it benefits from earlier scholarly works, observations, and face-to-face interviews. This chapter basically analyses gender issues in public space by taking into consideration the sociological situation of Turkey through the paradigm between its Islamic background and traditional values and its modern and secular vision.

The fifth chapter is the concluding part. It includes a brief summary, general evaluation of the study and some concluding remarks that may open up new avenues for future researches on gender-space issues.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE SOCIO-SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

#### 2.1. Gender and Space: A Theoretical Overview

##### 2.1.1. Space

In dictionaries, space is defined as “A continuous area or expanse which is free, available, or unoccupied.”, “The dimensions of height, depth and width within which all things exist and move.”, “An interval of time.”, “The portion of a text or document available or needed to write about a subject.”, “The freedom to live, think, and develop in a way that suits one.”<sup>19</sup> These definitions of space include both physical and abstract elements, which are connected to both the natural and social sciences. Thus, it has a wide range of meanings in all scientific fields. It is possible to state that the physical meanings of space affect the social meanings of space. Lefebvre claims that with the influence of the physical term *continuum*; “Space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction; likewise, energy and time.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, to better understand the approaches to the concept of space, this part will start with the examination of the historical changes in the ways space has been considered.

Plato, understood space as the elements that made up the world; earth, air, fire, and water; “...anything that has come to be must be corporeal, visible, and tangible; but

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<sup>19</sup> Definition of Space – Oxford English Dictionary (The definitive record of the English Language). Oxford English Dictionary Online. From <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/space>., (Last Accessed on 03.04.2017)

<sup>20</sup> Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 12.

nothing can be visible without fire, nor tangible without solidity and nothing can be solid without earth."<sup>21</sup> After Plato's finite world theory, Aristoteles drew a new concept of space and place. He described places as "the innermost motionless boundary of what contains" and he pointed out that:

So, when what is a thing which is moved, is moved and changes its place, as a boat on a river, what contains plays the part of a vessel rather than that of place. Place, on the other hand, is that which is motionless; so, it is rather the whole river that is placing, because as a whole it is motionless.<sup>22</sup>

After the Aristotelian theory of space, the theory of *absolute space* started to develop. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Newton drew a proper and a clear scheme on absolute and relative space. This was generally a great century for science. Van de Ven wrote about Newton's scheme as follows: "Absolute space cannot be perceived by our senses. It becomes measurable by relative space. Absolute space is homogeneous and infinite; relative space is a coordinate system, a measure of absolute space."<sup>23</sup> This understanding of space's measurability influenced architects such as Gerrit Rietveld and Louis Kahn. On unmeasurable parts of construction process and creation of space, Louis Khan claimed that:

A great building, in my opinion, must begin with the unmeasurable, go through measurable means when it is being designed, and in the end, must be unmeasurable. The design, the making of things, is a measurable act (..)

But what is unmeasurable is the psychic spirit. The psyche is expressed by feeling and also thought and I believe will always be unmeasurable. (...)

In the same way, a building has to start in the unmeasurable aura and go through the measurable to be accomplished. It is the only way you

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<sup>21</sup> Plato. *Timaeus and Critias*, (UK: Penguin, 2008), 43.

<sup>22</sup> Aristotle. "Physics." Edited by R. M. Hutchins, Translated by R. P. Hardie, and R. K. Gaye, in *The Works of Aristotle* Volume 1. (Chicago, IL: William Benton, 1952). 257-355.

<sup>23</sup> Cornelis Johannes Maria Van De Ven, *Concerning the Idea of Space, The Rise of a New Fundamental in German Architectural Theory and in the Modern Movements until 1930*, Master's thesis, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, (University of Pennsylvania, 1974).

can build. The only way you can get it into being is through the measurable. You must follow the laws, but in the end, when the building becomes part of the living, it evokes unmeasurable qualities. The design involving quantities of brick, a method of construction, engineering is ended, and the spirit of its existence takes over.<sup>24</sup>

The concept of absolute space has been accepted for almost two centuries and has been cited by some as a proof of the existence of God. In contrast, the philosophers such as Leibniz and Huygens who rejected the absolute space, only considered the relative space. According to Van de Ven;

Leibniz defined the space as a system of relations between coexisting things. And he identified architecture with space and took as point of departure a physical law: "Space is the relation between the position of bodies." A law which the leaders of architecture had adopted and tested in manifold experiments of the modern movements at the beginning of the twentieth century, once the concept of space had developed from initially only an intellectual idea such as Descartes and Newton held, into an aesthetic perceptual phenomenon.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from these, Kant's theory of space was the opposite to Leibniz's space; "Space is not something objective and real, nor a substance, nor an accident, nor a relation; instead, it is subjective and ideal, and originates from the mind's nature in accord with a stable law as a scheme, as it were, for coordinating everything sensed externally."<sup>26</sup>

Following this, Hegel moved to the centre of debate by the notion of space as *Spirit*. Schopenhauer considered space almost from the same point of view as Hegel. However, similarly to Kant he also did not see the space as the essential content of the architectural form.

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<sup>24</sup> Louis I Kahn, "The Value and Aim in Sketching", in Philadelphia: T-Square Club Journal of Philadelphia, 1931, 18-21.

<sup>25</sup> Cornelis Johannes Maria Van De Ven, *Concerning the Idea of Space, The Rise of a New Fundamental in German Architectural Theory and in the Modern Movements until 1930*, Master's thesis, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, (University of Pennsylvania, 1974).

<sup>26</sup> Immanuel Kant, *On the Form and Principles of the Sensible and the Intelligible World*. (UK: Publisher: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 373-376.

Einstein's theory of relativity also affected the consideration of space. This theory based on time and space continuum. Jammer quotes the statements of Einstein:

This total field being only means of a description of the real world. The space aspect of real things is then completely represented by a field, which depends on four coordinated parameters; it is a quality of this field. If we think of field as being removed, there is no "space" which remains, since space does not have an independent existence.<sup>27</sup>

Despite the far-reaching range of its meanings and its extensive historical background in philosophy and science, the notion of space does not have a wide background in architecture. The concepts of space, within the fields of science and philosophy, have moved to the architectural discussions. In particular, the time and space relationship has become a major subject for architecture. Space as a notion first entered into architectural discourse at the end of the 1890s through the discussions in other arts.

To start with, space was related to geometrical specialties as a tectonic object. However, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it started to be considered as an idea, as a science and it became endowed with its own discourse. Moreover, it became the major paradigm in architecture of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Vidler explained the paradigm of space in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as follows; "In historical-cultural terms, like the body, or like sexuality itself, space may be considered not so much as a constant, but as a concept that shifts and changes over time and according to the conceiver."<sup>28</sup> Following this era, technology brought the digital, unreal and *spaceless* spaces. Thus, understanding of space as a concept which includes its own behaviour and its own interactions with its user changed once again. However, in this present study, space will be comprehended as a social product and a production process in a Lefebvrian understanding. Thus, this influential paradigm of space from the 20<sup>th</sup> century will provide the ground to build the perception of space in this work.

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<sup>27</sup> Cornelis Johannes Maria Van De Ven, *Concerning the Idea of Space, The Rise of a New Fundamental in German Architectural Theory and in the Modern Movements until 1930*, 1974.

<sup>28</sup> Anthony Vidler, *The Tectonics of Space* (Lotus International, 1998) 49-55.

A scientific understanding of space-making dominates theories of space in the 1970s and 1980s. This can be accepted as a fundamental shift from previous artistic approaches. In this period, there occurs a stronger connection between architectural and urban space; the scientific theories respond to urban problems.<sup>29</sup> To better comprehend and observe such an understanding of these decades, some leading names and their theories should be mentioned at this point.

Ernst Cassirer described the reality of space and time as follows: “Space and time are the framework in which all reality is concerned. We cannot conceive any real thing except under the conditions of space and time. Nothing in the world, according to Heraclitus, can exceed its measures - and these measures are spatial and temporal limitations”.<sup>30</sup> This relationship between time and space became the focus of discussions in architectural space, thus, space gained meanings and sub-meanings within the concept of architecture, such as abstract space, artificial space, conceptual space, existential space, geographical space, social space and urban space...<sup>31</sup>

Within this context, architects, geographers, and philosophers embraced different points of views regarding the concept of space. Aldo Rossi, Christopher Alexander, Lefebvre, Norberg-Schulz and Rapoport developed their space paradigms within the understanding that space is something beyond a tectonic object. When we consider these names, their approaches to space constitute a foundation on which to build the principal of the understanding of space in this thesis.

Aldo Rossi developed a concept for space; that of *locus*, originally a Latin word with the meaning of location and place. In his book *The Architecture of the City*, he mentions that “The locus is a relationship between a certain specific location and the

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<sup>29</sup> Kaçmaz Erk, Gül, and Belkıs Uluoğlu, "Changing Paradigms in Space Theories: Recapturing 20th Century Architectural History," *International Journal of Architectural Research*, March 2013, 6-20.

<sup>30</sup> Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay on Man: An Introduction to Philosophy of Human Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1944), 42.

<sup>31</sup> See more; Kaçmaz Erk, Gül, and Belkıs Uluoğlu, "Changing Paradigms in Space Theories: Recapturing 20th Century Architectural History," 6-20.

buildings that are in it. It is at once singular and universal.”<sup>32</sup> Thus, Rossi points out that space and the building are in a relationship, which includes the activities inside buildings. He defines locus as such:

It resides in the single artefact, in its material, the succession of events that unfolds around it, and the minds of its makers; but also in the place that determines it-both in a physical sense and above all in the sense of the choice of this place and the indivisible unity that is established between it and the work.<sup>33</sup>

The most influential source and the theory on space for this thesis is, undoubtedly, Henri Lefebvre’s work; *The Production of Space* and the theory of social space. This theory claims that measuring of the space is not only geometrical but also sociological. Lefebvre claims that first and foremost “the space is a social production”; and, mentions different spaces within each other and states that space only exists in conjunction with the social relations, with the social acts. According to him; “Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practice-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature') on the other.”

Christian Norberg-Schulz in his famous *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* focuses on the spatial experience. According to him it is "a dimension of human existence and not merely a dimension of thought and perception, essential for orientation and action in the environment."<sup>34</sup>. Establishing the theory of existential space, he mentions the elements of this space. For him, space is a system of places. Place (locality) as an integral part of existence is a concrete term for the environment.

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<sup>32</sup> Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of City*, (MIT Press, 1984), 103.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>34</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (Newyork: Lizzoli, 1996, 9.



A place is a space with a distinct character, not abstract, scientific or mentally constructed but qualitative and phenomenological.<sup>35</sup>

Amos Rapoport mentions that “space is the three-dimensional extension of the world around us, the intervals, distances and relationships between people and people, people and things, things and things. Space organization is, then, the way in which these separations (and linkages) occur and is central in understanding, analyzing, and comparing built environments”<sup>36</sup> (1990). In his book, *The Meaning of Built Environment*, he focuses on the environment, its meaning, space and time.

These books influenced and inspired many works in which social sciences and space intersect, as well as this present one. On the other hand; the book which established a theoretical structure for this thesis is *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) written by Michel Foucault. In this book, the notion of discourse is theoretically constructed. ‘Discourse’ according to Michel Foucault; is a living organism which is composed of thought, beliefs, judgments, values, symbols, words, letters, institutions, norms and traditions, which shapes the whole world and people, and which cannot be excluded even when the opposite words are spoken. The thesis examines this understanding of discourse through its representation in public space. In this study, discourse analysis will be a method for intersecting gender and space theories. This said, the above-mentioned books created a comprehensive way to analyze public space as a social production. In addition, *Theorizing a New Agenda: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-95* (1996) by Kate Nesbitt constitutes a useful source to bring these two fields, gender and space, together.

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<sup>35</sup> Kaçmaz Erk, Gül, and Belkıs Uluoğlu,. "Changing Paradigms in Space Theories: Recapturing 20th Century Architectural History," 6-20.

<sup>36</sup> Amos Rapoport. "Cross-Cultural Aspects of Environmental Design" in Altman, Rapoport and Wohlwill, 1980. 7-46.

### 2.1.2. Gender and Space

The initial works on the gender and space relationship first appeared as a paradigm in the late 1960s and early 1970s, in a scholarly atmosphere in which political agendas, institutions, sociological inequities, educational system, environmental policies and even belief systems were critically questioned. In the following decades, depending on the interdisciplinary nature of the critique, architecture was also recognized as an important medium that problematizes the gender issue in terms of its spatial connections. These works were mostly produced by women with particular viewpoints of feminist critique that engage the gender issue in socio-political grounds. The relationship between gender and space which was introduced at the end of the 60s, became more visible in 1990s. During all this time, starting from those years and continuing until today, scholars within various fields wrote on the issues of women in place with a wide range of subjects such as migration and travel, borders and boundaries and place and non-place; they touched upon the problem of placeless and dis-placed people of the world with specific emphasis on women.

Judith Butler sees gender as a performance and in her book, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, defines gender as; “the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.”<sup>37</sup> Henrietta Moore defined gender as; “either as a symbolic construction or as a social relationship.”<sup>38</sup> Then, Linda McDowell stated in her book *Gender, Identity & Place* that; When the different definitions of genders as a set of material, social relations and as symbolic meaning, and also changing understanding of place are discussed, it can be clearly seen that social practices that include a range of social relations in various

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<sup>37</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 43.

<sup>38</sup> Henrietta Moore, *Feminism and Anthropology* (Polity Press, 1988), 12.

places such as home, work, pub and gym, our thoughts on this subject and place/gender representations cannot be separated and are all connected to each other. In other words, our actions depend on our intentions and beliefs which are shaped culturally and positioned spatially.<sup>39</sup>

With such an understanding, the norm of gender is understood as a social and sociological problem that is far from sex and far from a biological issue. The relation between gender and space only starts at this point, with a sociological awareness. This relation is undoubtedly a complicated and a multi-faceted subject.

Scholars addressed gender and space relation in different ways and from different stand points. Diana Agrest tried to challenge the architecture of the modern city through a remarkable range of subjects in her book *Architecture from without: Theoretical framings for a critical practice* (1991). She examined the connections between architecture and other visual discourses, the relationship between architecture and urban ideologies, the urban conditions through the architectural symbols and the place of gender and body in (Western) architecture.

In 1992, Beatrice Colomina's work *Sexuality and Space* was a pioneering work that collected various ideas and positions of scholars on gender from other fields to associate them with architecture. This book provided an interdisciplinary context for a gendered critique of architecture. In the following years, an important number of texts investigated the relationship between space, architecture, and gender with respect to a feminist perspective and they voiced concerns such as sex, space, and masculinity. In 1996, *Architecture and Feminism* was published by the editors Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson; this book gathered together some significant interdisciplinary essays and projects on both the fields of feminism and architecture. It included interdisciplinary investigations of these fields in literature, social history, home economics, and art history. In the same year, Francesca Hudgen's *The Architect:*

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<sup>39</sup> Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Univ Of Minnesota Press; 1999), 7.

*Reconstructing her Practice* was published by MIT Press. In the field of architecture, which has traditionally been under male domination, the book questioned how women could involve architectural basics, architectural production, and consumption.

*Desiring Practices: Architecture, Gender, and the Interdisciplinary* (1995) was edited by Katerina Ruedi and Sarah Wrigglesworth. *Desiring Practices* was also an interdisciplinary publication on architecture and gender discussions. Contributing writers came from a wide range of backgrounds such as the cinema industry, fine arts, architecture, architectural history and psychoanalysis. They all addressed issues related to gender in architectural rhetoric, yet from various perspectives. After that, Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway and Leslie Kanes Weisman's book *The Sex of Architecture* (1996) was published. This book brought together 24 provocative texts that collectively expressed the power and diversity of women's ideas on architecture and presented a dialogue between women historians, practitioners, theoreticians on critical issues of architecture and urbanism.

In 2000, *Gender space architecture: An interdisciplinary introduction* was published. Edited by Iain Borden, Barbara Penner and Jane Rendell, this book collected together essays concerning the intersecting subjects of gender, space, and architecture. The book was carefully structured with numerous introductory essays.

These influential books that problematize the issue of gender within socio-spatial context together compose the scholarly ground of the argument; and, they guide this study in the intersecting field of architecture, space, and gender.

## **2.2. Representation of Women in Public Sphere**

Stuart Hall defines culture as sheared meanings, thus language as central to meaning and also to culture. He underlines the very important characteristics of language that it provides meanings within a representational system. According to him, language is

one of the media through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. He states, “Even something as obvious as a stone can be a stone, a boundary marker or a piece of sculpture, depending on what it means- that is, within a certain context of use, within what the philosophers call different “language games”. It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we present them – that we give them a meaning.”<sup>40</sup> Hall’s ideas on representation recall the discourse theory of Michel Foucault. In addition, Hall refers to Foucault’s works and mentions his works as the first shift is from language to discourse, as Foucault studied not language but discourse as a system of representation. Another important point that was mentioned by Hall is that discourse is not only a ‘linguistic concept’; it is also about practice. Multiple origins, remarks, acts, and manuscripts constitute discourse. The same discourse could resemble among a set of text and as figures of manner, many various institutional positions in society. “Discourse never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source.”<sup>41</sup>

Serge Moscovici, a pioneer social psychologist, describes social representations as follows:

Social representations [...] concern the contents of everyday thinking and the stock of ideas that give coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe. They make it possible for us to classify persons and objects, to compare and explain behaviors and to objectify them as part of our social setting. While representations are often to be located in the minds of men and women, they can just as often be found “in the world”, and as such examined separately.<sup>42</sup>

He also mentions that social representations are a system of values with two layers. They serve two purposes; first, they provide orientation and position of individuals in

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<sup>40</sup> Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications, 2013), 3.

<sup>41</sup> Mark Cousins, Athar Hussain, *Michel Foucault* (Macmillan Publishers Limited: 1984), 84-5.

<sup>42</sup> Serge Moscovici, *Notes towards a description of Social Representations* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.: 2004), 214.

the material and social worlds; and secondly; social relations provide common codes of communication to individuals and communities to classify various aspects of the world. In this way, “[...] from the dynamic point of view social representations appear as a “network” of ideas, metaphors and images, more or less loosely tied together.”<sup>43</sup>

Within such a sociological awareness, it can be said that social representation is a factor that constructs the discourse and, as Foucault mentioned, “nothing has any meaning outside of the discourse.”<sup>44</sup> Thus, social representations are also generated by discourse. Within this connection, the theoretical framework of discourse will support this study in its attempt to observe and understand the patriarchal construction in public space. Even so, it should be noted that feminist theorists cannot reach a common conclusion about the work of Foucault. “Many feminists, such as Sandra Lee Bartky, Susan Bordo, Judith Butler, Jana Sawicki, and Ladelle McWhorter, find his work promising and productive for feminist theory. Yet many feminists remain sceptical about engaging with Foucault’s work, and some are absolutely vociferous in their condemnation of Foucault.”<sup>45</sup>

Simon de Beauvoir, the very influential intellectual concerning gender issues, claims in her pioneering work of gender theory, namely *The Second Sex*, that:

In actuality the relation of the two sexes is not quite like that of two electrical poles, for man represents both the positive and the neutral, as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas woman represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity. <sup>46</sup>

Curiously enough, these sentences, written almost three quarters of a century ago, are

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 210.

<sup>44</sup> Michel Foucault, *Archeology of knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>45</sup> Margaret A McLaren, *Feminism, Foucault, and Embodied Subjectivity* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press: 2002)73.

<sup>46</sup> Simone D. Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, Edited by H. M. Parshley (South Yarra, Vic.: Louis Braille Productions, 1989), 27.

still a matter of debate and they are still issues that women face in their everyday life. In other words, even today “the relationship between ‘Woman’—a cultural and ideological composite Other constructed through diverse representational discourses (scientific, literary, juridical, linguistic, cinematic, etc.)—and ‘women’—real, material subjects of their collective histories—is one of the central questions the practice of feminist scholarship seeks to address.”<sup>47</sup>

Even if the form of expression and media has changed during the past decades, the representation of the woman, even today, has not found its true existence free from the biases of society’s norms; it cannot be eluded from being the ‘other’. Women are also considered the essence of the community by the understanding that they are related to duties such as are caregiving, child-bearing, nurturing, and community working.

Apart from this, Lefebvre suggests that the social production of space works through three processes: ‘spatial practice’ (material or functional space), ‘representations of space’ (space as codified language), and ‘representational space’ (the lived everyday experience of space). These processes cannot be thought without each other.<sup>48</sup> It is a production process, whose components are linked. In the light of this kind of understanding of space, seeking women and women’s place in public space in terms of its social production become significant. In this section, the traces of women representation within the context of the discourse that oriented the public (social) opinion will be sought in space through different media sources and different point of views.

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<sup>47</sup> Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,” *boundary 2* (12), No. 3, On Humanism and the University I: The Discourse of Humanism. (Spring - Autumn, 1984), 333-358.

<sup>48</sup> Lefebvre Henri, *The production of space*. (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991).

### 2.2.1. Visibility and Social Power

*“Empowerment is often found in the details of the mundane world. It comes from controlling access to personal space, from being able to alter one’s environment and select one’s daily routine, and from having personal space that reflects and upholds one’s identity and interests.”*<sup>49</sup>

In line with the radical social movements in the 1960s and 1970s, discussions on gender in practical issues, such as economic inequality, violence, education and lack of political representation, increased. Theoreticians started to pose questions on these issues and these questions led to a theoretical language with its own norms such as “sexual politics”, “oppression” and “patriarchy”. These developments in terms of the women visibility and gender issues challenged the way of understanding society. Thus, as Connell points out, “Sexual politics brought to light patterns of power, interest and conflict which made little sense in terms of socialist class analysis, conventional economics, political science, pluralism or sociological functionalism. A theoretical revolution in the social sciences was called for.”<sup>50</sup>

In this awakening, as well as in the social awareness created by masterpieces like *The Second Sex*, reflection of the movement in the street was also important. Even though *The Second Sex* was written in 1949, the women's movement only found its voice more than a decade later. However, even today, the representation of women is still an issue. In her book Simone de Beauvoir mentioned the invalidity of women's labour, the lack of support given to the talented woman by the society. Today for instance, in Turkey the rate of illiterate women is quintuple the rate of illiterate men. According

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<sup>49</sup> Priscilla Ridgway, Alexa Simpson, Friedner D. Wittman, and Gary Wheeler. "Homemaking and the Community Building: Notes on Empowerment and Place.", in *Journal of Mental Health Administration*, (1994), 407-18.

<sup>50</sup> Raewyn W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*, (Blacwell Publishers: UK, 1984), preface.



to the same research, the female employment rate is less than half of the male employment rate.<sup>51</sup> The lack of representation in the workplace also reflects the division of labour. In addition, according to the Turkish Statistical Institute, men with a graduate degree earn 17,8 % more than women with same educational background.<sup>52</sup>

Another important issue that feminist geographers have highlighted is the (in)visibility of women in history. In natural science history, in social science history and in the history of arts women scientist, politicians, workers, artist, architects are invisible. As Simone de Beauvoir states, “representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with the absolute truth.”<sup>53</sup> Thus, it would not be wrong to speculate that history is negotiated by power, namely a masculine power.

Lack of representation is also a crucial factor that effects social power relations. From the earliest female suffrage movements to today, the absence of women in the political area has always been obvious. While the suffrage struggle for their right to vote was an issue in the past, today the lack of their representation in political area is an issue for women in most countries. According to the 2017 data of UN Women<sup>54</sup> the percentage of women in ministerial positions in Turkey is 3.8 % and Turkey ranked in 168 out of 174 countries in this respect. In addition, according to the same report, the number of countries in which the percentage of women in ministerial positions is equal or greater than 50 % is only 6. Further to that, in Turkey, the number of women in parliament is 82 out of 550 and the ranking of Turkey is 131 out of 190 countries.

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<sup>51</sup> According to date of 2017, Turkish Statistical Institute, the illiterate women rate over the age of 25 was 9 % and the illiterate women rate over the age of 25 is 1,8 %; total illiterate population rate was 5.4 %. According to the same report; in 2015, the employment rate in the population aged 15 and over in Turkey was 46 % and the respective figures for men and women were 65 % and 27.5 %. Also, the average female employment rate in the European Union member states (28 countries) was 60.4%.

<sup>52</sup> Turkish Statistical Institute, 2017 report.

<sup>53</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (South Yarra, Vic.: Louis Braille Productions, 1989), 161.

<sup>54</sup> UN Women: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.

Apart from this, gender roles and lack of power that women wield in society are affecting, more than that, threatening women's health. As Hayran and Topuzoğlu mention “Gender roles can adversely affect the health of women in different ways. They can emphasize reproductive roles resulting in high birth rates. They can also interfere with women’s autonomy, decision making power and use of financial resources so limiting access to health care services.”<sup>55</sup> Being under the direct or indirect pressure of patriarchal roles, women lose their freedom to make decisions by themselves, even about their own bodies. Instead, for instance, society and sometimes political authorities prognosticate, from a male perspective, about woman’s pregnancy and the choices about her body.

At this point, it should be mentioned that the issue of gender-based violence constitutes a very significant societal problem. Gender-based violence should be considered as the most extreme expression of unequal gender relations in society. It is first and foremost a violation of human rights, and a global health issue that cuts across the boundaries of economic wealth, culture, religion, age, and sexual orientation.<sup>56</sup>

As a result, it can be said that; representation and visibility are directly relevant to social power. The visibility in the educational field, working life, political space, and art space, not to mention in historiography, strengthens the presence within these areas. Hence, the subject gains strength and a place in the mentioned area. Foucault argues about power relations that “our bodies, our lives, our day-to-day existences... Between every point of a social body, between a man and a woman, between the members of a family, between a master and his pupil, between everyone who knows

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<sup>55</sup> Pınar Ay, Osman Hayran, Ahmet Topuzaoğlu, Seyhan Hıdıroğlu, Anahit Coşkun, Dilşad Save, Hacer Nalbant, Erhan Özdemir, Levent Eker, “The influence of gender roles on health seeking behaviour during pregnancy in Turkey,” in *The European Journal of Contraception and Reproductive Health Care* (2009), 14(4), 290-300.

<sup>56</sup> Definition based on Sida (Swedish International Development Agency); *Unlocking the potential for change: Education and prevention of Gender-based violence* (2013) written by Fergus, L and van’t Rood, R.

and everyone who does not, there exist relations of power.”<sup>57</sup> He mentions that power is a circulation that comes into existence with social relations. It is not a stable fact; it is rather fluid and changeable. The social power which comes into existence by social acts is not rigid either. It is formed, obviously, by representation.

The media appears as the most powerful and effective tool of representation in today’s modern world. Within this understanding, the power of media over representation, particularly in the case of Turkey, should be analyzed to better contextualize the problematic.

### **2.2.2. Women in Media**

*“Media space has been on the periphery of geographical inquiry for too long. The very ordinariness of television, radio, newspaper, fiction, film and pop music perhaps makes their importance as part of people’s geography threaded into the fabric of daily life with deep taproots into the well-springs of popular consciousness.”*<sup>58</sup>

To consider space as a social product obliges thinking about *media space*. Media space pervasively leaks into space, becomes an entity to construct social space. The media are comprised of representations of ideas, ideals, beings and things. This formation gives media the power of representation. Nick Couldry describes this power as follows: “Media power is reproduced through the spatial order of the media frame, ‘common-sense’ patterns of thought and language about the media, barely articulated assumptions about what is likely to be true or not, who is of value and who is not.

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<sup>57</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/knowledge. a selected interviews and other writings 1972-77*. (New York:Pantheon Books, 1980), 187-188.

<sup>58</sup> Davis Harvey. (1984) “On the History and Present Condition of Geography on Historical Materialist Manifestos.” in *The Professional Geographer*, 36.1-110.

Above all, media power is reproduced because it has come to seem natural.”<sup>59</sup> In the light of this description, representing women in the media in a correct way becomes a crucial matter to overcome the patriarchal pressure in the social sphere and thus, social space.

Before analysing the media representation of women in Turkey, the issues in media space should be considered through the concept of women issues to understand and to be able to create a gender equal media space.

The problems of women face in media content occur such as:

...omission, stereotyping, and trivialization have historically contributed to women’s invisibility and lack of access to social spaces where ideas are posed, exchanged, and debated, and where agendas for cultural and public policy changes take shape. In the modern world, it’s commonly understood that participation in such spaces – often referred to as the public sphere – is a prerequisite for social advancement and power.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, the effects of media in public space can hardly be disregarded. As a result, feminist scholars have a broad interest in the media and their effect. They have especially focused on the woman body figure that was physically idealized and the women’s ‘proper’ place in the public sphere as seen in the media. In addition to that, they are interested in the equal right to speak in this industry. So, these interests have motivated the women’s media movement. Byerly and Ross claim that; women are framed within a restricted scope by the popular media tools such as film, television, newspapers, and magazines that have no parallels with the realities of women’s lifestyle. It could even be claimed that the impact of media is larger than ever before, with 24/7 news channels, and a wide variety of satellite and other services.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Nick Couldry, *The Place of Media Power: Pilgrims and Witnesses of the Media Age* (London: Routledge, 2000), 61.

<sup>60</sup> Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross, *Women and Media A Critical Introduction* (UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), 99.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 18.

Both the creation of the public sphere and the public space are shaped under the influence of the mass identification which is formed by the media. In this context, women are mostly seen as victims of violence, lacking ability to take the initiative, fragile and always the pivotal figure in the home, the archetypal woman's body is idealized as skinny and tall. As Vankatram criticizes, "(Media) emerged the global stereotype. Beautiful and sexy, in a world of her own where nothing matters except good clothes and make-up, five-star food and exercises in the gym. Impelled by advertisers, the media has trained its lenses on this creature, making her into an icon, and lost sight of the carriage carrying the real women."<sup>62</sup>

In the following section, the specific impact of the Turkish media on women's representation in public space will be observed and analysed.

#### **2.2.2.1. Women in the Media and the Turkey Case**

*"because of the real conditions of their lives within a male-dominated world. Men's power is not an individual, but a collective one. Women's lives are hounded by it."*<sup>63</sup>

The media, with all their effects on shaping the value judgments of the audience that it reaches, exert absolute power over cultures. While analysing the media's effect on the representation of women in Turkey, this study will focus on different components of the media. By focusing on these media tools, it analyses the representation of women in the media, the presence of women in the media sector and women as the target of media as the consumer/producer.

Regarding its scale in influencing huge numbers of the population, cinema should be

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<sup>62</sup> Shree Venkatram, *Women in Print* (New Delhi: Unnati Features, 2002), 62.

<sup>63</sup> Del Martin, *Battered wives*, (NewYork: Pocket Books, 1976), 57.

considered as a powerful factor under this topic. Within this conception, it is obvious that Turkish cinema has been an effective factor in the formation and social understanding of women figure for decades. Due to financial problems, the Turkish cinema was not rich in terms of quantity of the movies until the 1920s. In the period that continued from the 1920s to 1930s, half of the movies were centred around the subjects of marriage, love and women. One of the very first examples of Turkish cinema, *Mürebbiye*, (1919) is one of the first full-length movies which deals with sexuality issues as it was the first to revolve around women's identity.

Until the year 1933, foreign actresses were constantly featured in the early examples of Turkish cinema. The first native born Turkish actress was Cahide Sonku who took a step onto the silver screen with the movie which was named as *Söz Bir Allah Bir* (1933). Additionally, in the movies of this period, the focus was on the figure of women who lived in high society, who had 'fallen' or who lived a 'mistress's life'. Rural women's lives were barely mentioned. Themes were centred around ballroom life and temptress women figures.

In this era, Turkish cinema was permeated by the stereotypical representation of women. One of the stereotypes was the *proper lady*<sup>64</sup>. This woman was described as a well-groomed elegant woman who always acts within the rules of *femininity*. She was always seen in some proper places like a ballroom or a well-furnished home with her make-up and her high-heels. In addition, this woman was idealised as a *virtuous mother* and *the untouched maiden* in the melodrama genre. The other stereotype is *the tomboy*<sup>65</sup>. *The tomboy* is an un-feminine figure, who always wears men's clothes and behaves like a man; in other words, a woman more like a man. The other women who are not placed in this categorization were seen as extraordinarily bad or good characters.

The 1950s' and 1960s' village melodramas described women as innocent, silent, in

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<sup>64</sup> In turkish; Küçük Hanım

<sup>65</sup> In turkish; Erkek Fatma

need of protection and mostly the victims of violence. These stereotypical women never want anything for themselves or never stand up to their husband or father. Thus, a woman can only exist in public and private spaces with the support and agreement of a man; the happiness of the woman depended on her family life and marriage, and nothing else. Saktanber claims that, Yeşilçam's favourite genre was melodramas. The common theme of melodramas is sublime love and the emotions embodied there; they celebrated and praised the notion of being a housewife and doing housework under the disguise of love's docile world and attached to them an importance although they were undermined by not producing any surplus value.<sup>66</sup>

After the 1960s, the subjects of Turkish movies changed for the second time because of the fluctuations in socio-political life. Rural-urban immigration increased in these years, and this socio-economic urban phenomenon affected the cinema. These movies on immigration created a character, a woman who comes from a rural area and could not adapt to city life. The various problems she faced in her new life, mostly economic issues, cause her to become a prostitute. In the same period, the famous director Halit Refiğ made several movies about women who leave their villages and decide to live in a metropolis. Therefore, although women were central figures in most of the scenarios, these movies are far away from being women's films. Women participated in these movies as an attractive object, not by virtue of their personality, their identity and their embodiment. Biryıldız claims that, in the movies of this period, two types of female characters were portrayed to viewers: *The Tomboy* and *The Proper Lady* stereotypes. Even if *The Tomboy* can be seen as a figure of resistance to the patriarchal social construction at the first sight, what was trying to be achieved with both two stereotypes was actually parallel to the political, economic and ideological settings of the period and they should not be considered as separate from the traditional

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<sup>66</sup> Ayşe Saktanber, "Türkiye'de Medyada Kadın: Serbest, müsait kadın veya iyi iş, Fedakar Anne" in *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*. Edited by Şirin Tekeli, İstanbul: İletişim, 1993.

patriarchal system.<sup>67</sup>

*The Tomboy stereotype* can be seen as the most exaggerated reflection of transformation to the consumer society in consequence to industrialization and urbanization. Although these women wear men's clothes and behave like a man; in other words, they were *strong* in the perception of the society, underneath this so-called outlook, these women are represented as ultimately childlike, affectionate and fragile.

In the 1970s, immigration from the rural to the urban continued to affect the social equilibrium. Men had to work long hours in order to survive in the city life. Due to this circumstance, women took the role of supporting the family in the urban context; this was a more visible position for women than before. The movies of that era were realist examples which were about migration and adaptation to life in the city; however, family was still seen as the first and only duty of a woman and the reason for her existence:

In this era, women are the foundation stone of their families, hence, they are the protagonists of the movies' plotline. A woman exists within her home and her family. The family's interests are prior to their desires as an individual. This creates the idea of a woman who is not sexually active and who preferably does not work. Even if she does, it has to be a job which does not require professional work and it has to be approved by the society. As she works only for her family, she does not exist outside of her home.<sup>68</sup>

Each movie in Lütü Acad's trilogy of *Gelin*, *Düğün*, *Diyet* was a significant example of the family dramas which take immigration as a challenging subject. However, these socio-realist movies are extraneous to the improvement in the existing structure of the family in Turkey, they instead analyze existing forms and approaches the subject of women, men and family relationships within social mores. However, although this

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<sup>67</sup> Esra Binyıldız, "Soför Nebahat mı Olalım Küçük Hanımefendi mi?," in *Marmara İletişim Dergisi*, (October, 1993), 5-18.

<sup>68</sup> Melike Mühür and Sezen Gücüş, *Türk Filmlerinde Kadın Temsili ve Kadın Filmleri (1930-19990)* (ODTÜ, 2010), 1-15.



cannot be accepted as a Woman's Movie, in these movies, there were certain steps forward in the movement being reflected in the cinema. According to Çiçekoğlu; long before the so-called 'woman's films' of the 1980s, and in a much more radical fashion, *Vesikalı Yarım* ends with a woman walking alone in the streets. In this cinematic moment, woman and public space meet for the first time in a context that allows the audience to identify with, rather than denounce her.<sup>69</sup>

In the 70s' Turkish cinema went through a bad financial period as a reflection of the turmoil in the wider economy before the 80s, and, in response, turned its attention to blue films. These films represented the woman as a sexual figure to attract the attention of the audience, and woman was turned into an object exploited to make money in the system. According to Dorsay, to attract the attention of 'the man in the street', movies were made as sexually explicit as the censorship allowed, and the scenes were added either from porn movies recorded in Europe or in Turkey on the run with 8 to 16mm movie cameras to 'normal' movies, which did not have any explicit scenes. Family movies virtually disappeared from the silver screen.<sup>70</sup>

It can be stated that the background of the 80s' social movements on women had been is prepared by the socio-realist films of the 60s and 70s. However, these films were not a starting point for portraying women as individuals who are capable of standing on their own two feet. The women who are represented in this era could not be thought of as being outside her family. During the 80s, there were two different types of movies. The first type was the then popular musical style of arabesque, the other type focused on social issues and most of these second type of movies can be considered as realist works on women. It can be said that these types constituted a breakthrough in Turkish cinema. The women in these movies were represented as a

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<sup>69</sup> Feride Çiçekoğlu, *Vesikalı Şehir* (Metis Yayınları, 2018).

<sup>70</sup> Atilla Dorsay, *Sinema ve Kadın* (Remzi Kitabevi, 2000).

person who procreates, thinks, resists, desires and wishes to be a good mother.<sup>71</sup> One of the directors of the era, Bilge Olgaç states that “In the 1980s Turkish cinema changed; it came out of its shell and formed a new one.”<sup>72</sup>

According to the critics, this first wave was an awakening flame that strengthened the second wave. It was a milestone, not just for the feminist movement itself but also for the women’s cinema. It breached the social pressure which comes with patriarchal tradition. Like many other fields, the cinema industry in Turkey was affected by the military coup of the period, and, directors and writers turned their faces towards the subjects which had never been dealt before. Within the new socio-political milieu, the central tendency was to focus on the individual.<sup>73</sup> Herewith, character stories and the problems of the individuals came to the forefront. As was to be expected, the political sphere of the time also caused changes in the balance of social settings. Necla Algan claims that “80s cinema provided a virgin territory which offers new possibilities. There was nothing that would link the filmmakers to the past... Filmmakers were as free as birds to do anything they wanted, as long as they stayed away from the political issues.”<sup>74</sup> In this political atmosphere, the ideas considered as marginal such as feminism and women’s movement found a place to express themselves. Thus, the women’s cinema era started. An especially large number of women’s movies were recorded between 1982-87. In those years, women can be seen out of the house, with the empowerment of women they were at theatres, schools and work. To choose their own aspirations and goals were stated as a modern act for women.

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<sup>71</sup> See; *Kadının Adı Yok* (Atıf Yılmaz,1988), *Aahh Belinda* (Atıf Yılmaz,1986), *Mine* (Atıf Yılmaz,1985), *Uçurtmayı Vurmasınlar* (Tunç Başaran,1989), *Dünden Önce Yarından Sonra* (Nisan Akman,1987), *A ah* (Reha Erdem, 1988), *Yarın Cumartesi* (Bilge Olgaç, 1988)

<sup>72</sup> Oğuz Adanır, *Sinemada Anlam ve Anlatım*, (Kitle Yayınları, 1994).

<sup>73</sup> Eylem Atakav, *Women and Turkish Cinema: Gender Politics, Cultural Identity and Representation* (Routledge Studies in Middle East Film and Media, 2012).

<sup>74</sup> Necla Algan, 80 Sonrasında Türk Sinemasında Estetik ve İdeoloji, 25. Kare 16, No:5, 1996, 8.

After the 1980s Turkish cinema again went through a crisis. Therefore, the 1980s were a breakthrough for women's representation. In the 1990s there were low budget motion pictures on the screen. Those films eschewed pre-occupations with being popular; they emphasize the inner worlds and personal experiences of the characters. In the 90's popular movies the position of women was praised. In addition, in the works of independent directors, the position of the woman in the social structure began to be questioned in the criticism of the social system. The content diversification increased in the movies towards the 2000s, but it can also be seen that the female movies and the number of female characters in those movies increased.<sup>75</sup> However, it is also possible to speculate that, although women are struggling to realise their aspirations, the final decision is made by the system and by the men as the strongest actors.<sup>76</sup>

While the representation of women in cinema is starting to have an even greater impact, the development and introduction of TV into daily life formed its own discourse on the representation of women. For instance, being women in advertisements has some characteristic features such as; passive, soft, compatible, ruled and in need of protection. Therefore, man is described as active, hard, rebel, ruler and protector. The diversion of public and private space takes an especially massive space in advertisement. Before WW II women were hardly seen in advertising as a character other than a purchasing tool. First of all, they were mostly in the kitchen, and they served breakfast, lunch and dinner. After WW II and the employment of women in uncharacteristic industrial roles, changes in the social structure forced shifts in advertising strategies as well; women started to be portrayed and encouraged as a part of labour force for the country and their family. However, after the war, in the

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<sup>75</sup> Zuhâl Çetin Özkan, *Türkiye Sineması'nda Kadının Değişen İmgesi* (DEUHYO ED, 2012,) 5 (2), 79-81.

<sup>76</sup> Özgür Yılmazkol (Ed.), *Sonrası Türk Sineması'na Eleştirel Bakış* (Okur Kitaplığı, 2000), 286.

late 1940s women again were depicted as ready to give up their jobs and welcome returning soldiers back home in advertisements. In the 1950s women were generally represented as a mother and wife and they were also seen in services such as secretaries and phone operators. In those years, the primary goal of a proper woman was finding a man for her life and helping this man to succeed.

In the 1960s, the movement of women, activists challenged the mass media to fix their misrepresentations of women. In those years advertising was a target and an ally at the same time. Women went to their duty in a fulfilling job; they were also married. The early 1970s was an era when the change begins. Market research realized women were primary consumers. After the 1980s, the representation of women as a sexual object vociferously criticized. Advertisements started to focus on women much more as costumers. Today, an ongoing debate still rages. It is still possible to see sexualized women figures on the screen; however, some advertisements have women characters that are portrayed as powerful.

The tools of media, which are the channels of the ideas, particularly dominate private space. On the other hand, billboards are another tool which are almost inescapable in terms of free will. Outdoor advertisements take part in the formation of the city, sometimes billboards create a physical frame for people walking in the city, shape their view and sometimes they become the view what is seen in that frame. In this respect outdoor presents a unique case. According to Lauren Rosewarne;

Considering that women feature far more frequently than men in outdoor advertising and that their presentation routinely focuses on their appearance over and above the product advertised, compounded with the fact that their display conforms to a very narrow aesthetic, it is contended that female users of public space come to be excluded through their exposure to such images. In the same way that pin-ups function in the workplace, such social exclusion stems from highly sexualised imagery – in many cases exhibiting strong references to pornography - reminding women of their inequality and sexual vulnerability which may make them fearful for their safety. Such sexist advertising works to make public space a socially inclusive space for men where women are used as decoration in a way that sexually

objectifies them and may offend and harass them, thus contributing to their inequality and social exclusion.<sup>77</sup>

These situations are not handled differently in Turkey. Advertisements in which women are commoditized physically and sexually are quite common, and they find their place in the urban texture. This situation reproduces the gendered space by placing women as an insecure and threatened object in the public space; thus, forces women to be coerced towards the private space. Consequently, women are once again pushed into the private sphere, and described as excluded.

Another contentious issue about the media is the representation of violence against women to the audience. Violence on the cinema screen was usually redefined and romanticized, and violence against women was sometimes used as a sexual fantasy, as a tool for breaking the resistance of women.<sup>78</sup> It is possible to say that; the dominating male gaze in the cinema legitimized rape and the sexual perversions of men and sexual violence against women, or at least rendered violence against women insignificant.<sup>79</sup> There are a good number of examples in Turkish soap operas that have adopted the understanding that suggest the woman is responsible for the violence she has suffered from. According to this understanding, woman is either accused of being outside of home late night alone, or not performing her duties or being too erotic due to her clothing choices or behaviour.<sup>80</sup> Further, it can be said that woman has a provocative power over men, while man holds the power of sex. Andrea Dworkin states;

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<sup>77</sup> Lauren Rosewarne, *Sex in Public: Women, Outdoor Advertising, and Public Policy* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 10.

<sup>78</sup> Gökhan Gökulu, "Representation of Sexual Violence in Turkish Cinema and Television Series", *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, (2013) 19:2, 66-91, DOI: 10.1080/12259276.2013.11666149

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>80</sup> *Fatmagül ün suçu ne?* (2010-2012), *İffet* (2011-2012), *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* (2018) etc.

the argument is that women have sexual power because erection is involuntary; a woman is the presumed cause; therefore, the man is helpless; the woman is powerful. The male reacts to a stimulation for which he is not responsible; it is his very nature to do so; whatever he does he does because of a provocation that inheres in the female.<sup>81</sup>

This situation strengthens the woman's insecurity in the urban place, positions her in the house again and imposes duties within the home. Moreover, this situation pressures her into a position of being guilty by drawing boundaries for her behaviour and delegitimizing any act beyond these boundaries.

It is also crucial to mention that the representation of violence against women in the news, and the language used in the news, as well as the visual representations on the screen are problematic regarding the prevailing 'victim-blaming attitude'. In 2008, the General Directorate for the Status of Women conducted a violence research in 24048 households in 51 provinces. According to the survey results; 39.3% of women in Turkey, have been exposed to physical domestic violence at some time of their life. Unfortunately, the general attitude of violence against women in the news in Turkey is to blame the victims of crime. According to Alat;

The news reports of crimes against women took on a victim blaming attitude. This attitude could easily be detected right from the beginning, in the headlines. Later in the text, victims' adherence to norms, their life styles, and provocative or careless behavior are put under scrutiny. In the case of sex crimes, women are even accused of lying about consensual sex and calling it rape for revenge. The only crime that is routinely condemned is honor killings.<sup>82</sup>

Expressing the crime indirectly, accusing the woman of provoking the man, accusing the woman of being an evil mother and immoral wife, romanticizing the crime with

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<sup>81</sup> Andrea Dworkin, *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. (Plume,1981), 22.

<sup>82</sup> Zeynep Alat, "News Coverage Of Violence Against Women", *Feminist Media Studies*, 6(3), (2006), 301.

feelings such as jealousy and great love, can be seen within the general discourse of the violence news which absurdly normalizes the crime.

According to Suzanne Pharr;

Men physically and emotionally abuse women because they can, because they live in a world that gives them permission. Male violence is fed by their sense of their right to dominate and control, and their sense of superiority over a group of people, who, because of gender, they consider inferior to them.<sup>83</sup>

The attitude of implicit accusation against the victims exhibited by the media is reflected in the medical and judicial system as well. This attitude blocks possibilities of the transformation of society, on the contrary, it protects existing patriarchal structures. Furthermore, such an attitude not only legitimizes acts of violence but also leads to the secondary victimhood of women.<sup>84</sup>

One significant issue that should be mentioned today is where the women are in cyberspace, in the virtual space, which is, in a sense, an extension of the public space. The new media, in other words, the virtual space, leads to the transformation of the traditional media's role as a one-way transmitter. It can be suggested that this media can contribute to the democratization of knowledge because, unlike the one-way flow of information in traditional media, the Internet can incorporate the receiver of information into the production of information, since the Internet can bring together the source, creator and consumer of information in the same space.<sup>85</sup> With the democratization of knowledge, it is thought that a globalized culture will be brought into existence and provide an international platform where people who are excluded

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<sup>83</sup> Pharr, Suzanne, *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism*, (Berkeley, CA.: Chardon Press ,1997), 14.

<sup>84</sup> Catherine Tang, Wong Day So-Kum, Fanny Cheung, Mui Ching, "Social construction of women as legitimate victims of violence in Chinese societies", in *Violence Against Women*,(2002), 8(8), 968–996.

<sup>85</sup> James Curran, "Reinterpreting the Internet," Edited by James Curran, Natalie Fenton and Des Freedman, in *Misunderstanding the Internet* (New York: Routledge: 2012),.3-34.

from the public sphere can make their voices heard.<sup>86</sup> However, also because of these reasons, Internet becomes a new space where socio-political power relations are reproduced.<sup>87</sup>

Research shows that women are more aggressive and intensively targeted by cyber violence than men. According to a study of more than 9,000 German Internet users between 10 and 50 years of age; women have been victims of online sexual harassment and cyber-perversion much more than men, and the effects of these forms of violence have been more traumatic. Again, according to a study by the Pew Research Center (2014) in the United States of America; men are exposed to more 'mild' online violence than women. Women in the 18-24 age range are subjected to extreme cyber harassment, such as cyber diversion and online sexual harassment.<sup>88</sup>

Not unexpectedly, the situation is no different in Turkey. In the article written on *Ekşi Sözlük* case with 8284 women as authors on the 8th of March International Women's Day; it is implied that the characteristics that a person must possess in order to become a writer are not found in women or women are inadequate for the male-dominated publicity of the *Sözlük*. It is also possible to address the humiliation of the female body and sexuality in the language used in the discussions about the 8284 women being a contributor to this open source dictionary.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 34

<sup>87</sup> Gülten Aslantürk and Hasan Turgut, "8284 Vakası: *Ekşi Sözlük*'te Cinsiyetçi Kamusalığın Yeniden Üretilmesi", in *ilef dergisi* (2015), 2(1), 45-76. Retrieved from: [dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/292750](http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/292750)

<sup>88</sup> According to European Enstitute for Gender Equality, *Cyber violence against women and girls* report, as the date of 2017, retrieved from: <https://eige.europa.eu/rdc/eige-publications/cyber-violence-against-women-and-girls>

<sup>89</sup> Gülten Aslantürk and Hasan Turgut, "8284 Vakası: *Ekşi Sözlük*'te Cinsiyetçi Kamusalığın Yeniden Üretilmesi, (2015).



According to the report dated 2014, the Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, National Research on Domestic Violence, the percentage of women who suffered emotional violence by their intimate partners in Turkey was 44%, the percentage of women experiencing physical violence was 36% and the percentage of women who are exposed sexual abuse is 12%.<sup>90</sup> It is not be wrong to say that this result is also reflected in the virtual space.

In the light of the knowledge that the media are an extension of the patriarchal structure in public space, the contribution of women to labour and media production in the media sector should be questioned. According to TUIK, the distribution of the personnel working in newspapers and magazines according to gender is: 65.9% of the employees in the broadcasting department in 2014 were male, 34.1% were female, and 93.6% of the employees in the printing and distribution department were male, 6.4% were found to be women.<sup>91</sup>

The media undoubtedly have the power to change and shape society. For this reason, it is crucial for women to strengthen their presence in the media sector, and to be represented correctly. A media understanding that reflects all the traces of the patriarchal system and power wars will reproduce sexism and sexist space; and, once again excludes women. By erasing the space of woman in media, which is an essential branch of the public sphere, women's space will be also shrank in public space.

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<sup>90</sup> According to report of Hacettepe University, Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddet Araştırması report, as the date of 2015, retrieved from: <http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/KKSA-TRAnaRaporKitap26Mart.pdf>

<sup>91</sup> TUIK basın odası Haberleri 33/2016

### 2.2.3. Body

*"I avoid looking down at my body, not so much because it's shameful or immodest but because I don't want to see it. I don't want to look at something that determines me so completely."*<sup>92</sup>

*"...the body in architecture is not only the essential subject... indissolubly linked to the question of gender and sex, a question that has generated the most extraordinary metaphors in the elaboration of an architectural ideology."*<sup>93</sup>

The body is always considered as one of the major objects of the gender and space relationship. While feminists have treated the female body as an essential part of the existence and embodiment of women, geographers, architects and geologists have linked the body to the existence and formation of space. The feminists have even described the woman's body as a *battlefield*<sup>94</sup> in which the patriarchal ideas collide. Furthermore, the significance of the body has also come from the conception that the body is the part of duality between mind and body, inside and outside, subject and object, body as a figure and self-identity... Referring to Gidden's body image, Budgeon stated that:

The body serves not simply as a natural foundation or passive surface upon which meanings are inscribed by systems of signification, but that there is an irreducibility between the subject and object such that, in order to understand the ways in which young women actively live their embodied identities, we need to develop an approach which can

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<sup>92</sup> Margaret Atwood, *The Handmaid's Tale* (Vintage, 1996).

<sup>93</sup> Diana Agrest, *Architecture from Without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993).

<sup>94</sup> See, Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite, *Women's Bodies as Battlefield*. (Springer, 2015).

envision a body beyond the binary of materiality and representation – the body not as an object but as an event.<sup>95</sup>

Thus, the body cannot be accepted as an empty and passive shell which is not affected by social structures and discourses, and especially by gender. Following the realization of the body as a ground of dichotomies, feminists have pointed out one more dichotomy that is created by the body itself; male and female body. Budgeon also said “the feminine (and the female body) has historically been constituted as that which must be defined, directed and controlled through the application of disembodied, objective, masculine knowledge.”<sup>96</sup> Thus, the female body has been idealized and categorized by patriarchy. Budgeon (2003) said with reference to Bordo:

Indeed, women, who have always been more embodied than men because of the association of the feminine with the body, have long been aware of the form and appearance of their bodies and the extent to which they are responsible for creating that surface in accordance with cultural ideals and images ‘whose content is far from arbitrary, but is instead suffused with the dominance of gendered, racial, class, and other cultural iconography.’<sup>97</sup>

Hence, feminist geographers have not only analyzed the paradigm between body and female identity, they have also carried this debate into the very middle of space discussions.

The works on the body and space relationship basically developed on a centre around where one finds the works of significant feminist theoreticians such as Simon de Beauvoir, Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray and Hélène Cixous and the ideas of the philosophers and geographers such as Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault. Another eminent geographer with concerns on body in space and the body-space relationship was Henri Lefebvre who states:

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<sup>95</sup> Shelley Budgeon, “Identity as an embodied event,” *Body and Society* (2003), 9(1),36.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 38.

Space - my space - is not the context of which I constitute the 'textuality': instead, it is first of all my body, and then it is my body's counterpart or 'other', its mirror-image or shadow: it is the shifting intersection between that which touches, penetrates, threatens or benefits my body on the one hand, and all other bodies on the other.<sup>98</sup>

Lefebvre theorized the body through a focus on space, on the body's implication and on the constitution of a 'sensory-sensual space'. He mentioned bodies which created space as an organism, in his book *The Production of Space*; "... a practical and fleshy body conceived of as a totality complete with spatial qualities (symmetries, asymmetries) and energetic properties (discharges, economics, waste)".<sup>99</sup> An important precondition of this material production was that each living body both was the space of itself and also each living body had its space; it produced itself in space at the same time as it produced that space.<sup>100</sup>

Lefebvre also mentioned the notion of spatial bodies; "A body so conceived, as produced and as the production of space, is immediately subject to the determinants of that space ... the spatial body's material character derives from space, from the energy that is deployed and put to use there."<sup>101</sup> As mentioned before, not only Lefebvre but also other philosophers and geographers, especially Merleau-Ponty conceptualized body and revealed the relationship between body and the environment as a subject-object relationship. Phenomenologically, he saw the environment as a concept that had to be adopted by body in one way or another. He also added another dimension to this relationship discussion by looking through the dilemma of inside and outside by stating that "Inside and outside are inseparable. The world is wholly inside, and I am wholly outside of myself."<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space* (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 184.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 161.

<sup>100</sup> Kristen Simonsen, "Bodies, Sensations, Space and Time: The Contribution from Henri Lefebvre", *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 2016, 1-14

<sup>101</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space* (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 195.

<sup>102</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of perception* (London: Routledge:1945/1962).

Michel Foucault's ideas on body have also been analyzed and discussed broadly by feminists and geographers. In particular, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, was the most highlighted study on the subject. This particular attention to the thoughts of Foucault on the body has two main reasons. The first reason is the idea of "power" that created the social space through a discourse by the source of knowledge and therefore society; while the body is both the subject and the object of this power. The second one is, even if the analyses of Foucault were gender-blind, gender and the body was a perception that is formed by a social effect rather than birth in his works. King compares Foucault's ideas on body with the body ideas of Simone de Beauvoir as following:

He critiques the classical ways of thinking about the subject as a rational, unified being with a fixed core or essence, arguing that: "Nothing in man - not even his body - is sufficiently stable to serve as a basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men". There is no 'natural' body or pre-discursive, essential human subject who is "amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies". In fact, Foucault's commentary of how subjectivity is produced calls to mind Simone de Beauvoir's now famous phrase that "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman".<sup>103</sup>

On the other hand, Grosz stated that:

The body and its environment, rather, produce each other as forms of the hyperreal, as modes of simulation which have overtaken and transformed whatever reality each may have had into the image of the other: the city is made and made over into the simulacrum of the body, and the body, in its turn, is transformed, "citified," urbanized as a distinctively metropolitan body.<sup>104</sup>

Within this understanding, it is possible to state that body and environment, thus woman and city, both feed and create each other. Body produces an inevitable effect on gender discourse in the city and also the city affects the image and the meaning of

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<sup>103</sup> Angela King, The Prisoner of Gender: Foucault and the Disciplining of the Female Body, *Journal of International Women's Studies* (2004), 5(2), 29-39.

<sup>104</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Amelia Jones (Psychology Press, 2003), 507.

the body. Thus, to observe and analyze gender perception in city, body should necessarily be observed.

## CHAPTER 3

### FORMATION OF THE GENDER-SPACE RELATIONSHIP: WOMEN IN THE CITY

After the development of feminist critiques on geography in the 1970s, the search for the non-gendered city was started. This critique was built upon the ideas that were established based on new perceptions of the space. Relying on Lefebvre's understanding of public space as a social production, public space started to be observed as a set of social and historical processes that are lived, experienced and perceived. In this context, according to Lefebvre, the notion of space that includes social relations cannot be considered separately. Thus, space is unstable and dialectical: it consists of social relations and these relations are the product and also producer of space and the basis of economic and social relations. Influenced by Marxist ideology, Lefebvre focuses on the notion of product and production. He also mentions the uniqueness of space and time for every specific geography through the effects of society within their production as Christian Schmid summarizes:

Accordingly, space and time do not exist universally. As they are socially produced, they can only be understood in the context of a specific society. In this sense, space and time are not only relational but fundamentally historical. This calls for an analysis that would include the social constellations, power relations, and conflicts relevant in each situation.<sup>105</sup>

Hence, the public space should be understood as the host of politics and social dynamics. In addition to this, the notion of public sometimes emerges from some specific groups and it also, unavoidably, excludes some groups by its definition. Within this conception, it can be claimed that in a city that has been built by a

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<sup>105</sup> Christian Schmid, *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom, Christian Schmid (ed.) (Routledge, 2008).

patriarchal idea, women are exteriorized. Thus, these exterior groups become destitute in terms of their right to the city. Lefebvre connects the city experience to the everyday life and uses this term beyond the daily routines and states it as “the site of authentic experience, of self, of the body and of engagement with others.”<sup>106</sup>

In his article on Lefebvre’s ideas on the right to the city, David Harvey quotes Robert Park’s city definition:

Man's most consistent and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But, if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself.<sup>107</sup>

Harvey also argues that “The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart’s desire.” Thus, in the relationship between the city and the individuals these two should be understood as the factors that effect and form each other.

To achieve the right to the city for every individual, the gender issue should be considered as a major concern. According to Linda McDowell; “Places are made through power relations which construct the rules which define boundaries. These boundaries are both social and spatial; they define who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of experience.”<sup>108</sup>

Within this understanding, it is possible to claim that space is political. It is unstable and unique; it is affected by changing factors due to the cultural conditions. Gender is

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<sup>106</sup> Rob Shields, Lefebvre, *love, and struggle: Spatial dialectics* (London, England: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>107</sup> David Harvey, “The Right to City,” in *The city Reader* (Routledge, 2008), p 270.

<sup>108</sup> Linda mcdowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* ( University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1999).



also a notion whose meaning has changed over the years. Therefore, it would not be wrong to define gender as a social production just as space. As Simone de Beauvoir claims:

One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine.<sup>109</sup>

Jane Rendell also indicates gender as a social constitution by claiming that:

Gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*.<sup>110</sup>

Gender, thus, is exactly a notion that is bonded with the social practices and this is the main element that separates gender from sex. In such a conception of gender, McDowell states that; “These two aspects – gender as a set of material social relations and as symbolic meaning – cannot really be separated.”<sup>111</sup>

In the context of this concept, gender can be considered as a part of the social construction of space. Feminist geographers have focused on this changing and challenging definition of sex and construed meanings with the help of spatial sciences. The following section of the study will focus on the construction of gendered space by concentrating on the issues that are faced in gendered space. These specific issues are the most highlighted concerns of the relationship between gender and space such as the public-private distinction, the invisible barriers of the city for women and, after that, identity and embodiment of woman in the city.

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<sup>109</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *The second sex*. (South Yarra, Vic.: Louis Braille Productions.,1989), 249.

<sup>110</sup> Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 519.

<sup>111</sup> Linde McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* ( University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1999).

### 3.1. Invisible Barriers

Lefebvre sees differences in the city as a positive phenomenon. His definition of the right to the city emphasizes having the right to be different rather than being different. Hence, this definition is not related to the concept of power and control related to identity and gender. Thus, its definition does not challenge any power relationship (ethnic, national, cultural), it does not take power relations based on gender as a focal point and allows its effects and provisions to affect the right of the city.<sup>112</sup> The effects of these power relations in the formation of space are undeniable.

As Judy Matthews points out, social identity is formed by 'the physical and spatial constituents of the groups' environment.'<sup>113</sup> *Thus, space defines the people in it.* A large group of people in a large hall and the same crowd group in a small room are not the same thing. In addition, if a stranger is introduced into a private space, this space can turn into a public space. The objects of the space and the places of these objects play an essential role in this formation. Not only their presence and positions, but also their absence or, 'negative presence' can be significant.<sup>114</sup>

The presence and the absence of women in the space that is shaped under the influence of a dominant male ideology are also crucial for this reason. In a city shaped by a conservative attitude that implies the mistaken vision of 'The place of the woman is her home.', women cannot easily find a place to work or freely experience the urban public space. This makes the woman homebound and sets barriers in front of them.

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<sup>112</sup> Tovi Fenster, *The Right to the Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in Everyday Life*, *Journal of Gender Studies*, (2015), 14(3), 217-231

<sup>113</sup> J.A. Matthews, "Environment Change and Community Identity", paper delivered at Conference on Threatened Identities, under the auspices of the British Psychological Society, Oxford (April 1980). In *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>114</sup> Rendell, Jane, *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2007), 113-114

Regarding the gender issues, the segregation of spaces as public or private provides more opportunities only for one gender; the gender that possesses power under the influence of patriarchal ideas and norms; man. From work to leisure, in a gendered city, women have few alternatives to live and perceive. At this point, as mentioned before, it may be concluded that different genders experience the city from very different point of views. Certeau states that “*space is a practical place*”. Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a ‘space’ by walkers.”<sup>115</sup> From this perspective, it is possible to assert that there are different cities for every single gender. Following the words of Certeau, it can even be argued that there are separate cities for each gender.

Weisman summarizes the concrete examples of the reflection of this city structure that is divided by patriarchal ideology; the perception of 'women do not have a place in the public space' could be seen by the example of a woman with a child in a stroller, trying to get through a revolving door or a subway turnstile, being a disadvantaged person. As in this example, in the public spaces and buildings, sociological and material restrictions exclude women with children. Spaces for infant breastfeeding or diaper changing are occasionally afforded by public spaces, under the influence of the idea that the place for mothers and children is the home. She also adds, by looking at the example of her own country;

Public transportation is used by those with the least access to automobiles, namely the young, the aged, minorities, and low-income workers. While men also fall into these categories, almost twice as many women as men rely on public transportation to get to their jobs in the 12 largest metropolitan areas of the country. The location of industries and household work in the suburbs, where there is little, if any, public transportation, severely influences job possibilities for both urban low- income female heads of household and suburban women without access to cars. Women of all socioeconomic classes have been

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<sup>115</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press.: 1984), 117.

victims of extreme discrimination in the rental and purchase of housing and in obtaining mortgage financing and insurance.<sup>116</sup>

Therefore, it is imperative to create a city for working or non-working women where they can find direct access to spaces, especially to health and social services. Moreover, these arrangements should satisfy all women including all minority groups as well as women with children or women with disabilities.

Another biting issue that makes public space a potentially hostile environment for women is the harassment in the public sphere. Street harassment continues to exist in this era all over the world although it is a type of crime. Whistling, honking, vulgar gestures, sexually explicit comments, stalking, sexual touching, and sexual assault are examples of street harassment that women face at very high frequency on a daily basis. According to a survey which was carried out by plan ActionAid (2016), 4 out of 10 girls in the UK have a fear of being harassed in public. Another survey made by ICRW (2013) in Delhi shows that 9 in 10 women had experienced harassment in streets.<sup>117</sup> Unfortunately, In Turkey, the situation is not that different. According to research with 141 participants in Istanbul, Turkey;

Regarding frequency of street harassment experiences, 69% of participants reported experiencing harassment on at least a monthly basis, with 21% reporting experiencing street harassment once a month, 24% weekly, 18% daily, and 6% several times a day. Eleven percent reported experiencing harassment every few months, 4% annually, 6% every few years, and 3% reported only experiencing street harassment once in their lifetimes. Seven percent of those surveyed reported never having been harassed in a public space.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Leslie Weismann, Prologue: 'Women's Environmental Rights: A Manifesto', *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2007), 18.

<sup>117</sup> "100 Women: Why We Need to Talk about Street Harassment." BBC News. October 14, 2017. Accessed January 02, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-41599143/100-women-why-we-need-to-talk-about-street-harassment>.

<sup>118</sup> Maggie Hunter, "Street harassment in Istanbul", (Hollaback Istanbul, 2012)

According to an online survey made by Plan International with 2678 participants in 2018, 23% of victims of harassments stated they had changed their habitual pedestrian routes, 22% said they pretended to be on the phone talking with someone, 20% changed their route to a longer one to avoid dangerous areas, 13% avoided empty public transport vehicles, 12% changed their clothes and 10% stopped going out at night in order to prevent street harassment.<sup>119</sup>

This result shows that women have difficulties concerning security issues when using various urban public spaces. To overcome this difficulty, they changed their clothes, changed their ways or even gave up their daily activities. In a sense they were prevented from being themselves in order to feel secure. It would not be a misconception to state that public space form and orientate women's daily actions under the influence of patriarchal social structures. According to the survey in Istanbul;

Another important finding was that 63% of the participants reported being harassed in public spaces on at least a monthly basis if not more often. Coupled with the fact that 75% reported feelings of annoyance, 66% reported feeling angry, 64% reported feeling disgusted, and 47% feeling scared, the frequency of street harassment could be greatly negatively affecting the daily activities, social interactions, and public life of residents of Istanbul.<sup>120</sup>

It is clear that the gendered cities, where women are removed from the public space and restricted by their existence as women, must be transformed positively in this age. In order to achieve this, it is essential to recognize sexist approaches in the design process. Professionals who have the right, by virtue of their positions, to shape the city physically also affect the routes the people use on foot or the places they are able to go to. If the city shapes the people in it and vice versa, it is crucial to take into

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<sup>119</sup> "Street Harassment." Plan International UK. Accessed January 02, 2019. <https://plan-uk.org/act-for-girls/street-harassment>.

<sup>120</sup> Maggie Hunter, "Street harassment in Istanbul", (Hollaback Istanbul, 2012)

consideration these power relationships between sexes. At the same time, it is another important matter for women to eliminate the glass ceiling effect and to have the right to speak in local government to participate in the formation of the city physically. As of 2014, Turkey's female municipality representation major percentage was 2.9 in local elections.<sup>121</sup> Regarding the fact that Turkey's position in the Global Gender Gap Report is 130th among the 146 countries, it can be said that the empowerment of women is crucial. Essentially, women should have the right to decide on their city's formation. Another essential and fundamental influence in the formation of the city is, of course, planners and architects. In this sense, it is crucial for professionals to consider gender equality in creating the space that has a critical effect on one's identity.<sup>122</sup>

### 3.2. The Public and Private Distinction

*"And our bodies, learning the habit of careful deportment in public places, speak to us steadily and clearly, saying, you are not free."*<sup>123</sup>

Madanipour summarizes the distinction between public and private space as; "The most fundamental distinction between the private and the public is the distinction between the human subject's inner space of consciousness and the outer space of the

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<sup>121</sup> TÜİK

<sup>122</sup> Here are some of the projects and publications carried out for a more equal city; "A Project for Gender Fair Cities." Womenability. For further information; <http://www.womenability.org/>, "Joint Work Programme for Gender Equality." Cities Alliance Home Page | Cities Alliance. For further information; <http://www.citiesalliance.org/JWP-gender>, "Gender Equal Cities." Planning and Urban Sprawl | URBACT For further information; <http://urbact.eu/gender-equal-cities>, "Gender Equality for Smarter Cities: Challenges and Progress." UN-Habitat. For further information; <https://unhabitat.org/books/gender-equality-for-smarter-cities-challenges-and-progress/>.

<sup>123</sup> Susan Griffin, *Rape The Politics of Consciousness* (Newburyport: Open Road Media, 2015), 77.

world.” Geographers have focused on this situation because of its close connection to the human body and environment relationship, human soul and body relationship and also the feminist views associated with this relationship regarding the tension between men and women.

One of the most negotiated subjects is the distinction between public and private space in feminist geography. Jane Rendell says that; Lefebvre’s theory on socially produced space opens an avenue for the critique of this segregation. His well-known trilogy consists of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space; and Rendell links the representation of space with this segregation as follows:

The most pervasive representation of gendered space is the paradigm of the ‘separate spheres’, an oppositional and a hierarchical system consisting of a dominant public male realm of production (the city) and a subordinate private female one of reproduction (the home). The origins of this ideology which divides city from home, public from private, production from reproduction, and men from women is both patriarchal and capitalist. But, as an ideology, it does not describe the full range of lived experience of all urban dwellers. This is problematic for feminists because assumptions regarding sex, gender and space contained within this binary hierarchy are continually reproduced.<sup>124</sup>

This reproduction should be regarded as the problematic of a binary construction. In his concept/philosophy of ‘deconstruction’ Derrida introduces the idea of binary oppositions.<sup>125</sup> Derrida’s ideas on ‘deconstruction’ as a process having both negative and positive terms mutually placed in negative and positive positions have been an important tool for feminist studies. Thus, this understanding gives importance to the existence of woman in home, rural and domestic life, as much as women’s lives in the public space that forms the existence of women excluded by patriarchy. Hence, under

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<sup>124</sup> Rendell, Jane, *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2007), 103.

<sup>125</sup> Derrida’s theory of deconstruction emphasises that; all text and all discourses have their infinite meaning in their own selves. The apparent meanings should be deconstructed to find other meanings.

the influence of Derrida's deconstructivist ideas<sup>126</sup>, a certain number of feminist studies have approached the negative term as a crucial condition of the positive term.

Following feminist geography, it is possible to state that the public and private space relationship should be considered as not only a physical phenomenon but also as an ideological and political issue. According to Nancy Duncan;

The distinction between the public and the private is deeply rooted in political philosophy, law, popular discourse and recurrent spatial structuring practices. These practices demarcate and isolate a private sphere of domestic, embodied activity from an allegedly disembodied political sphere that is predominantly located in public space. The public/private dichotomy (both the political and spatial dimensions) is frequently employed to construct, control, discipline, confine, exclude and suppress gender and sexual difference preserving traditional patriarchal and heterosexist power structures.<sup>127</sup>

In addition to this, feminist theory addresses the ambivalent relationship between men and women through this discussion. Liz Bondi states that; "The notion of a public/private dichotomy has attracted a great deal of attention within feminist studies because it relates closely, but problematically, to distinctions and divisions between women and men."<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> According to Derrida "The text is a differential network, a fabric of traces referring endlessly to something other than itself, to other differential traces." (Jaques Derrida, "Living on/borderlines," In H. Blom et al. (Eds.), *Deconstruction and criticism*, (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 102-103) Deconstruction recommends analysing de-emphasized, overlooked or suppressed in a particular understanding. Thus, significant feminist philosophers such as; Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva have applied deconstructive approaches to their work. The theory of deconstruction helps feminists to reveal phallogocentric desires and power plays in the traditional formation of patriarchal perception with its binary structure and its emphasis on side meanings. It also helps to create a free space for women's voices and bodies. See more; Celeste M. Schenck, "Feminism and Deconstruction: Re-Constructing the Elegy," in *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), 13-27., Jane Van Buren, "Postmodernism- Feminism and the Deconstruction of the Feminine: Kristeva and Irigaray," in *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 55, No. 3, (1995), 231-243., Diane Elam, *Feminism and Deconstruction*, 1994.

<sup>127</sup> Nancy Duncan, *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* (Psychology Press, 1996), 128.

<sup>128</sup> Liz Bondi, *Gender, Class, And Urban Space: Public and Private Space in Contemporary Urban Landscapes. Urban Geography*, (1998), 19(2), 160-185.



Public space can be seen as the space of representation that creates public values and judgments. "Public space does not designate an empirically identifiable terrain or even space produced by social relations... nor... concrete institutional sites where meanings are manufactured or circulated. It designates instead the relations structuring the vision and discourse themselves."<sup>129</sup> Thus, public space can be comprehended as the space where political and ideological ideas collapse. On the contrary, the private space provides the opportunity to speak up on public issues, work opportunities, activities and furthermore, the agreement and acceptance in the public opinion. Certain actions and spaces which are defined as private and the groups that are associated with private spaces can be marginalized in public opinion. By giving the example of a women breastfeeding, Lynn Stehaneli states that:

Conducting private acts in public spaces carries the potential to expose actions, ideas, and issues that have been relegated to the private sphere. Private acts in public spaces challenge the social and political relations that have designated these acts as particularistic or idiosyncratic, and for which there should be no public interest or responsibility. This form of action, then, pushes back the boundaries between publicity and privacy and the ideologies that construct privacy as inferior and as off-limits for public view.<sup>130</sup>

Historically, this segregation started with the idea of idealized spheres inherent in the conditions of western middle-class everyday life. With the division of work and home life, the development of cities as suburbs and city centre led to this segregation by reason of the working space which is associated with men. According to Liz Bondi, public and private space segregation has a significantly powerful effect on the relationship between men and women, as well as this distinction leading to women

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<sup>129</sup> Rosalyn Deutsche, "Art and Public Space: Questions of Democracy", *Social Text*, No. 33 (1992), pp. 34-53.

<sup>130</sup> Lynn A Stacheli, Publicity, privacy, and women's political action, *Environment and Planning I: Society and Space* 1996, volume 14, pages 601 -619

being seen as the property of men. In addition, according to her, the segregation of spaces has an influence on the rules of behaviour in public space for both genders.

The ideal of separate spheres also reverberates through moral judgments made about the behavior of women and men in "public" spaces for example, in relation to discussions of "stranger danger," which often suggest that women have less right than men to occupy outdoor urban spaces. And, as feminist geographers have demonstrated, the notion of separate spheres for women and men has operated as a powerful influence within urban planning, creating an environment that circumscribes women's use of space and thereby reinforces associations between femininity, privacy, and suburban space.<sup>131</sup>

This effect that determines women's and men's activities in city, erects barriers in women daily activities. Women are almost forced to walk, move and stay in certain territories in city. Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht say that "Daily acts on public sidewalks legitimize those who warrant basic respect, and, more fundamentally, those who comprise the public body and have a right to the city"<sup>132</sup>. Thus, it can be said that this discrimination limits women's rights to the city. Emphasizing the limitation of women's activities within the urban context, Leslie Wiesmann states that:

This fragmentation, this segregation of the public and private spheres according to sex roles reinforces an emotionally monolithic stereotype of women and men. It excludes each sex from contact and therefore a fuller understanding of each other. It limits each from learning a variety of skills and reflects on our concepts of self and other. I believe one of the most important responsibilities of architectural feminism is to heal this schizophrenic spatial schism—to find a new architectural language in which the 'words', 'grammar', and 'syntax' synthesize work and play, intellect and feeling, action and compassion.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Liz Bondi, Gender, Class, And Urban Space: Public and Private Space in Contemporary Urban Landscapes. *Urban Geography*, (1998), 19(2), 160-185.

<sup>132</sup> Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, *Sidewalks: Conflict and negotiation over public space*. (Cambridge, MA:MIT Press, 2009), 86

<sup>133</sup> Rendell, Jane, *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2007), 19.

The mentioned stereotypes manifest themselves in every strata of society. Women are associated with private space, with home, with motherhood, with conservatism, and men are seen as the breadwinning, associated with the dominant city gender, with the urban public and with the working area. Placing women in this position inescapably causes segregation in other fields. For instance, in the realm of work, women are mostly associated with the jobs that need a motherly instinct like nursing and teaching. Advertisements, which are powerful agencies in constructing public opinion, portray women in the kitchen, at home, thus the public expectation from a woman is shaped by those settings. Nancy Duncan states that,

The private as an ideal type has traditionally been associated and conflated with: the domestic, the embodied, the natural, the family, property, the 'shadowy interior of the household', personal life, intimacy, passion, sexuality, 'the good life', care, a haven, unwaged labour, reproduction and immanence. The public as an ideal type has traditionally been the domain of the disembodied, the abstract, the cultural, rationality, critical public discourse, citizenship, civil society, justice, the market place, waged labour, production, the polis, the state, action, militarism, heroism and transcendence.<sup>134</sup>

One of the most powerful and interesting subjects in this segregation is home. According to the dictionaries home is "the place where one lives permanently, especially as a member of a family or household." Or "relating to the place where one lives." Beyond these definitions it has also another meaning as "a place where something flourishes, is most typically found, or from which it originates." Thus, it is possible to mention that home is about the existence and identity of people. Additionally, home can be considered as the place which is beyond the determined rules of public space. It is a place which is ultra-intimate and personal. It is mostly

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<sup>134</sup> Nancy Duncan, *Bodyspace: Destabilising Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*. London: Routledge, 1996. 131.

associated with embodiment. Within this conjuncture, it should be observed in a more detailed manner in order to support the discussion on gender.

### 3.2.1. Home

Home is designated as the most personal and intimate place in all the discussions of public and private spaces. As Madanipour states about home;

It provides personal space, a territory, a place for being protected from the natural elements, as well as from the scrutiny of others, a location in the social world to engage in social life, which is socially acknowledged and legalized. In addition to being a haven for the individual, it is also a place for a social unit, which has for long been the family. It is therefore also a place of living for a handful of people in a close, intimate relationship.<sup>135</sup>

The building of an environment through a patriarchal modernization idea; the ideal spaces, separated as public and private spaces, places women within the home in some societies without the permission to participate in public space. “A woman’s place is in the home.” was a principle for creating a city in the U.S. for a decade.<sup>136</sup> Within such a context, women are associated with concepts such as private, home, stable and conservative. Weisman states that; starting from early times, the roles of 'homemaker', 'housewife' and 'housekeeper' were assigned to women. Sex role stereotypes are strengthened, and the traditional perception of the family is sustained by the idea that home is women's special domain. In the household, regions related to authority, privacy, and leisure are assigned to the ‘man of the house/breadwinner.’ A woman has no sacrosanct space of her own. Spaces assigned to service are attached to her. She plays the role of a hostess in the living room, a lover in the bedroom, a servant in

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<sup>135</sup> Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis, 2014).

<sup>136</sup> Dolores Hayden, “What would a non-sexist city be like?”, *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. (London: Routledge, 2007), 267

the garage. According to her; "The house is a spatial and temporal metaphor for conventional role playing."<sup>137</sup>

Thus, the home, also is a factor that creates conventional gender performances. Judith Butler claims that the gender phenomenon is created by the acts and body performances as a consequence of the social conditions that designate social settings. She points out:

Gender is what is put on, invariably, under constraint, daily and incessantly, with anxiety and pleasure, but if this continuous act is mistaken for a natural or linguistic given, power is relinquished to expand the cultural field bodily through subversive performances of various kinds.<sup>138</sup>

In the home, a woman performs a series of duties; she cleans the home, takes care of the children, cooks meals, makes a contribution to the ideal and isolated family life. This is seen as the most important and primary duty of a woman in the conventions of the patriarchal system.

Additionally, even though women are associated with the home and seen as the owner of the home, patriarchy sets up this relationship to serve men. Being homebound makes women powerless, not just in the public space but also in the private space, even in the home itself. Muncie and Sapsford state, "it regulates their labor through the role of the housewife; it gives men more power over women's sexuality and fertility; and it structures and reinforces gender identities that are separate and inequitable."<sup>139</sup>

Nancy Duncan also discusses the same issue as follows;

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<sup>137</sup> Leslie Weismann, Prologue: 'Women's Environmental Rights: A Manifesto', *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2007.

<sup>138</sup> Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4. Dec., 1988.

<sup>139</sup> Muncie, John and Sapsford, Roger, 1995, 'Issues in the study of "the family"', in J. Muncie, M. Wetherell, R. Dallos and A. Cochrane, eds, *Understanding the Family*, Sage Publications, London, 7-37.

Paradoxically the home which is usually thought to be gendered feminine has also traditionally been subject to the patriarchal authority of the husband and father.

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‘A man’s home is his castle’ — this familiar expression reveals the important historical link between masculinity, patriarchal autonomy and its spatial expression in the form of private property.<sup>140</sup>

Within this context, it is possible to state that women have their stereotypically determined duties at home. Their gender performance ties them into the responsibility for caring, cleaning, organizing the home. This condition strips them their right to decide on themselves and their environment. Hence, the home which is so called as to be related to women, actually belongs to men in a patriarchal system.

### 3.3. Gender Identities and Space

*“A woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction.”<sup>141</sup>*

*“Our bodies, ourselves: bodies are maps of power and identity.”<sup>142</sup>*

The most essential common point of gender and space is that both can be produced. Haraway describes sex and gender as follows; “Sex is 'resourced' for its re-

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<sup>140</sup> Nancy Duncan, *Bodyspace: Destabilising Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*. London: Routledge, 1996, 131.

<sup>141</sup> Virginia Woolf, *The Room of One's Own* (Martino Fine Books, 2012), 6.

<sup>142</sup> Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991)

presentation as gender, which 'we' can control.”<sup>143</sup> Judith Butler even stated that the notion of socially generated gender has replaced the concept of sex;

...the social construction of the natural presupposes the cancellation of the natural by the social. Insofar as it relies on this construal, the sex/gender distinction founders . . . if gender is the social significance that sex assumes within a given culture . . . then what, if anything, is left of 'sex' once it has assumed its social character as gender? . . . If gender consists of the social meanings that sex assumes, then sex does not accrue social meanings as additive properties, but rather is replaced by the social meanings it takes on; sex is relinquished in the course of that assumption, and gender emerges, not as a term in a continued relationship of opposition to sex, but as the term which absorbs and displaces "sex".<sup>144</sup>

Regarding the formation of space as a social production, it could be said that gender and space influence individuals as two inseparable phenomena. The place where a person works, the way they work in that place, the places visited in their spare time and the activities they will do, their home life are all limited by space. Even the sight of the person is related to the space. Haraway states that; “Feminism is about a critical vision consequent upon a critical positioning in in-homogeneous gendered social space.”<sup>145</sup> This spatial phenomenon that influences the person's life directly, of course, becomes part of their personality. Linda McDowell states; “...space is not inert, not merely a container for social action, but is significant element in the constitution of identity.”<sup>146</sup> Kelly also recognizes that “people derive their knowledge from the locations where they live” (1994: 89); Bondi adds; “and so urban space is a crucial aspect of identity construction, knowledge acquisition and social action.”<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 198.

<sup>144</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (Paperback, 2011), 5.

<sup>145</sup> Haraway, op. cit., 195

<sup>146</sup> Linde mcdowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1999), 68.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 12.

McDowell constructs a table of binary oppositions in her book *Gender, Identity, and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* that defines an uncontested bias of social understanding on gender and space;

*Table 1; Gender Qualities in Patriarchal Understanding:*

<i>The masculine</i>	<i>The feminine</i>
Public	Private
Outside	Inside
Work	Home
Work	Leisure/Pleasure
Production	Consumption
Independence	Dependence
Power	Lack of Power

Hence, female identity is constructed as weak and incomplete within the critical understanding of this table. Again, shaped by the power division of this patriarchal space, the concept of, 'glass ceiling' is imposed on a woman, starting from the space in her working life, puts her in a position of being the eternal consumer, and lays the burden on women to create an atmosphere of convivial and peaceful space in home as her very first duty.

Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), the eminent English modernist writer, states in her famous book *A Room of One's Own*;

Intellectual freedom depends upon material things. (...) Women have had less intellectual freedom than the sons of Athenian slaves. Women, then, have not had a dog's chance of writing poetry. That is why I have laid so much stress on money and a room of one's own.<sup>148</sup>

These lines have resonated widely as they reveal the limits of the space completely. Anyone who wants to learn, to develop, to advance should have their space, in other

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<sup>148</sup> Virginia Woolf, *The Room of One's Own* (Martino Fine Books, 2012), 79.



words, to have 'a room of one's own'. Thus, in the patriarchal city, a woman's place should be considered, and 'a room of her own' should be provided to embrace her identity. It is therefore essential to look at this aspect of space, which determines the boundaries in everyday life. Liz Bondi and Damaris Rose state; "...public space is understood to be constituted by impositions, negotiations and contestations over which groups comprise the public that has access to these spaces, for what purposes these spaces are used, and what visions of society urban public space embraces, enforces, produces and promotes."<sup>149</sup>

Feminist theory says that women's identity is built and reproduced through experiences of spaces and discourses these are added to.<sup>150</sup> Consistent with this line of thought Sarah A. Radcliffe states; "In other words, the (self-) representation of gendered identity is evidenced by the interrelationships of place and history, their associational meanings, and gendered positionings in relation to these abstracts."<sup>151</sup>

If the social space created by the patriarchal power relations constitutes the gender identities, and thus the identities of individuals, it can be said that this is a paradox that social space is reconstituted by these gender identities. Following the discussion of the discursive factors related to the production of space, the next chapter will examine the factors that define the space produced by gender identities and the reproduction processes of this space.

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<sup>149</sup> Liz Bondi & Damaris Rose, "Constructing gender, constructing the urban: A review of Anglo-American feminist urban geography", in *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 10:3, 235.

<sup>150</sup> see Liz Bondi, 'Locating identity politics'(1992), in session 'Communities of resistance: geography and a new politics of identity', paper given at the Institute of British Geographers Conference, University of Swansea, January, see Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender* (London: Macmillan, 1987).

<sup>151</sup> Sarah A. Radcliffe, "Women's Place/El Lugar de Mujeres Latin America and the politics of gender *Place and Politics of Identity* (New York: Routledge 1993), ed. Michael Keith and Steve Pile, 102.



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **EFFECTS OF GENDER DISCOURSE IN URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE: THE CASE OF RIZE**

Within this chapter of the thesis, the thesis focuses on a specific case study to contextualize the gender-space discussions and the various relationships of gender issues in a tangible urban environment.

#### **4.1. The Women's Movement and the Women's Movement in Turkey**

In western societies, the first appearance of women's movement started in the mid-19th century mainly concerned with matters of citizenship and political rights. This could be characterized as a struggle of existence in the public sphere, as well as in public space for women. The first and main demand following the emergence of this new movement, termed 'the first wave', was the provision of a place for women in a newly constructed public space, hitherto under the domination of man. This first wave, which started in the USA and England, concentrated upon three main focus points; reshaping the public space to include and accommodate women, gaining the right to political sovereignty and the possession of equal rights for both women and men. One of the most significant representatives of this era were the suffragists who always appeared in public as clean and elegant ladies and additionally, always represented white women. The first wave was not an inclusive movement for all women, but it was undoubtedly a milestone in every respect. This wave came to an end with the First World War.

The second wave gained momentum in the 1960s, in these years the women's liberation movement started to be called feminism. Actually, this second wave first emerged in the midst of World War II, and it particularly highlighted issues in the workplace, sexuality and family. This wave was created by the women who realized the extent of inequalities, such as; getting paid only a quarter of the man's salary for doing the same job, not being allowed to enter some public spaces like bars and having limited decision rights over their sexuality, body and clothes. Feminist activists in this wave fought to legalize and standardize abortions. One of the most important feminist pioneers, Simon de Beauvoir, stated "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman"<sup>152</sup>. In this era, the meaning of being a woman and femininity were argued and redefined. In this era the women's movement also started to support the African-American rights movement, Asian-American rights movements and LGBT+ rights movement. The women of this wave had concerns about almost every public issue; in a sense they fought to strengthen their voices, firstly to gain gender equity, and then they spoke up for other disadvantaged groups as well.

In early 1990s, the third wave started, focused on the idea of an independent movement. There was a generation who were alienated from feminism, and also women of colour who felt they were denied their true voices in the movement. In addition, there was the problem of feminism being misrepresented in the media. The third wave started with the goal of achieving dignity and respect for all, without any discrimination in order to make the equalities gained sustainable. This wave was built upon the idea of equity for all, something which had actually started to be taken into consideration in the later phases of the second wave by the critique of the sole emphasis on the problems of white women. In this period the movement expanded into a universal campaign with the growing awareness of the various sufferings of women all over the world.

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<sup>152</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*. Edited by H. M. Parshley. (South Yarra, Vic.: Louis Braille Productions, 1989).

Despite the growth achieved regarding the issue of universalization in the third wave, concepts that were generated through a thoroughly western understanding were still criticized. Western feminist theory remained incomplete in understanding and analyzing Islamic societies and so forth. This deficiency led research carried out in Turkey on gender possessing a particular place in gender studies regarding the discourses on religious and secular positionings that unavoidably trigger a debate between the notions of tradition and modernity. The context of the Turkish feminist movement does not have a similar background to those in European countries, whereas it stands in a significant place among the Middle Eastern countries. Deniz Kandiyoti says; “Among the countries of the Middle East, Turkey may be singled out as a republic that has addressed the question of women's emancipation early, explicitly, and extensively.”<sup>153</sup> In this section, women's movement in Turkey will be analyzed to better understand the position of women in today's social geography of Turkey.

In relation to the country's specific conditions and processes, the evolution of the movement in Turkey occurred in a relatively unique way. The early women's movements in Turkey had existed in the 18th century and displayed their effects on the Late Ottoman Empire with a delay of about half a century later than their European counterparts. Even though the movement extended to the Ottoman Empire, the first wave of feminism and the start of a movement occurred in the early 20th century with the Republican era and the women's organizations of the time. These organizations focused on the civic and political rights of women. As an ideal of Kemalism, becoming a westernized society required reforms to provide legal equality between all citizens regarding gender. In 1926, the Turkish Civil Code was created with influences from the Swiss Civil Code and rights were given to women by the new government. As Kandiyoti states;

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<sup>153</sup> Deniz A. Kandiyoti, “Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case,” *Feminist Studies* 13, No.2 (1987), 320.

Women's enfranchisement took place in two steps: women were first granted the vote at local elections in 1930 and at the national level in 1934. These rights were not obtained through the activities of women's movements, as in the case of Western women's struggle for suffrage but were granted by an enlightened governing elite committed to the goals of modernization and "Westernization". In the elections of 1934 female deputies' number was 18 among the 395 parliament members. Also, every aspect of women's life was accentuated, their clothing, education and duties to society. Women of republican era called as "pillars of society" and the "wellspring of the nation."<sup>154</sup>

Those women were "enlightened, virtuous and dignified in order to educate a strong new generation." However, the feminist movement in Turkey was generally considered to be a process under the control of the government. Durakbaşa and Ilyasoğlu summarized the situation of women in those years by referring to Inan and Taskiran as; "Women have been depicted as thankful to the Republic by dedicated 'daughters of the Republic' almost assigned to praise the new women representing Turkish nation." These discourses of the new Republican period described women as "modern but virtuous" and created a frame to locate the "modernization" of women.<sup>155</sup>

From the 1940s to 1950s, in order to be able to understand the life in villages, sociologists turned to scientific research in urban life. These studies collected data about family, marriage and labour division in villages; consequently, these studies indirectly shed light on village women and their lives; the 1960s were the era that, for the first time, surveys were conducted on fertility and family planning. In these years, particularly, the importance of education was underscored. Moreover, with the belief

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<sup>154</sup> Deniz A. Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case," *Feminist Studies* 13, No.2 (1987), 320.

<sup>155</sup> Ayşe Durakbaşa and Aynur Ilyasoglu, "Formation of Gender Identities in Republican Turkey and Women's Narratives as Transmitters of 'Herstory' of Modernization," *Journal of Social History* 35, no.1 (October 2001), 195–203.

that modernization can only be actualized through education, women's education was emphasized.<sup>156</sup>

In the 1980s the fluctuations in social construction following the military coup interestingly created an occasion for the development of these ideas, including feminism and women's rights, which were then seen extreme or marginal. The economic crisis after the military coup triggered changes in the roles in society, especially the women's role. The access of women into the working place accelerated the feminist movement in the attempt to build a new order. Thus, being a part of the working class gave women a reason to be outside the home, and this was a significant change for the movement. "Motive internal dynamic of second wave women's movement was created by turning women who had been trapped in the private sphere towards the public sphere."<sup>157</sup>

Thus, the 1980s comprise a formative period in Turkey's feminist history concerning the first handling of the women's issue from a feminist perspective and in the new light of feminist priorities.<sup>158</sup> In these years, sex roles and, accordingly, the formation of identity were begun to be mentioned.<sup>159</sup> In the same years, the voice of feminism had become a significant force in the west, so, the movement in Turkey emerged under the influence of this strong wave. In this period, formerly disregarded topics such as sexuality and domestic violence started to be debated publicly. The 1980s were quite an active period for the women's movement; various feminist groups exerted pressure, through street movements, on the government to amend unequal laws. In addition,

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<sup>156</sup> Yeşim Arat, "Women's Studies in Turkey: From Kemalism to Feminism," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 9, Fall 1993, 119-135.

<sup>157</sup> "İkinci Dalga Kadın Hareketinin devindirici iç dinamizmini, özel alana hapsedilmiş kadınların, kamusal alana yönelmesi oluşturmuştur." Betül Karagöz, "Türkiye'de 1980 Sonrası Kadın Hareketinin Siyasal Temelleri ve "İkinci Dalga" Urağı," *Memleket* 3, no.7 (2008), 168-190.

<sup>158</sup> Arat, "Women's Studies in Turkey: From Kemalism to Feminism," 119-135.

<sup>159</sup> Deniz Kandiyoti, "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women," *Signs* 3, no.1 (Autumn, 1997), 57-73.

studies on the women's question in Turkey in the field of social science became visible. This was also the time when some universities such as the Bosphorus University and Middle East Technical University started to offer courses on Women Studies, and the first women's research and education centre was founded in 1989 in Istanbul University. In 1990, The Women's library and Information Centre was founded and began to collect and provide information on Turkey's women. In 1983, Turkey's first feminist publishing house *Kadın Çerçevesi* was established; hence the works of foreign feminist authors began to be translated into Turkish. In addition, in the following years, magazines such as *Kadınca* (1978), *Feminist* (1987) and *Cactus* (1988), which cover the subjects of women's issues, were established. The increase in publications and organizations gave dynamism to the movement.

In 1986, 7000 signatures were collected for the recognition of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). This action is one of the milestones of the feminist movement in Turkey. In the same year, the convention was approved by the Republic of Turkey. In 1989, *Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği* (The Association for the Support of Contemporary Living) was established and campaigns against sexual harassment through *Mor İğne* and *Geceleri İstiyoruz* were organized. A campaign against Article 438 was mounted and in 1989, Article 438 was abrogated by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and The Constitutional Court abrogated article 159.<sup>160</sup> In 1990, *Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı* (Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation) was established in order to maintain solidarity with women facing violence and to spread support for opposition to domestic violence.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Article 438: Criminal Code; If the raped women are prostitutes, the punishment of the culprit is reduced at the rate of 2/3., Article 159: Civil Law; a married woman needs permission from her husband to work outside the home. (date of publication in the Official Gazette: 1992). See; ka-der.org.

<sup>161</sup> "Öykümüz," Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı, <https://www.morcati.org.tr/tr/tanisalim/oykumuz>, (accessed January, 2019)



After the 1980s' socio-political conditions, the 1990s were effective years for the women's movement in academia, resulting in, the number of research publications on this subject increasing over time. Additionally, in this era, the feminist movement spread out to the smaller cities from the metropolises. Women were organized in Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep, Samsun, Eskişehir, Diyarbakır and Antalya. In the same years, however, the movement began to withdraw itself from the streets and started to become isolated from politics. In 1990, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi* (Istanbul University Women's Issues Research and Application Centre) was established to carry out research into women's problems in education, health law, politics and business life and to provide equality of work opportunities in these fields; it sought to eliminate gender discrimination throughout Turkey's institutions and practices. In the same year, *Marmara Üniversitesi Kadın İşgücü İstihdam Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi* was established and focused on the issues of women's employment, the division of labour; and problems faced by women in business life. In 1993, in Ankara University, *Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi* (KASA-UM) (Ankara University Women's Studies Centre) was established. The purpose of KASAUM was to organize courses, seminars, conferences and symposiums at national and international levels on women's issues, and to conduct research and investigations.

In 1993, Tansu Ciller was designated as the first female prime minister in Turkey.<sup>162</sup> Gülnur Acar Savran (writer in feminist newspaper *Pazartesi* (first publishing in 1995)) summarizes the period from the 80s to the 90s as follows;

In the first half of the 80s, a period of creating an ideological accumulation, a fermentation period, that is living pages of *Somut Magazine*, living in structures such as *Kadın Çevresi*. In 1987, A period of campaigns and dynamism that began with the Solidarity Campaign

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<sup>162</sup> Elif İnce, "Aksu Bora Anlatıyor: 90'lardan Bugüne Türkiye'de Feminizm," *Bianet*, December 2014, <https://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/161091-aksu-bora-anlatiyor-90-lardan-bugune-turkiye-de-feminizm>, (accessed January, 2019)

against Violence and lasted until the early 90s, and since the early 90s a period of institutionalization and project feminism.<sup>163</sup>

In 1996 Uçan Süpürge Foundation (Flying Broom Foundation, as 2006 Association) was founded.<sup>164</sup> In 1997, the law on the protection of women who were subjected to domestic violence was enacted. In the same year, KA.DER (Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitim Derneği) was founded to struggle against gender inequality and for increasing women's political representation in Turkey. In 1999, after completing Turkey's EU candidacy, gender equality concerns have not only gained more visibility but also accelerated by updating the fundamental laws to eliminate discrimination against women.<sup>165</sup>

Another feature of the 1990s was that women who were not part of the feminist movement in the 80s developed an interest and organized various feminist demands. The existence of different feminisms, such as liberal, Islamist, Socialist, Marxist, Radical, began to emerge in the 1990s.<sup>166</sup> The movement in this era, while carrying on the dynamism in the field of publication and women's research, also began to embrace women of different identities and the problems of these women onto its agenda.<sup>167</sup> Additionally, in these years, Islamic ideas started to increase due to political

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<sup>163</sup> “80’lerin ilk yarısında, önce iç tartışmalarla, sonra Somut dergisi sayfalarında, daha sonraları da Kadın Çevresi gibi yapılar içinde yaşanmış bir ideolojik birikim oluşturma, mayalanma dönemi. 1987’de Dayığa Karşı Dayanışma Kampanyası ile başlayan ve yaklaşık 90’ların başına kadar süren bir kampanyalar ve hareketlilik dönemi ve 90’ların başından bu yana bir kurumsallaşma ve proje feminizmi dönemi.”

<sup>164</sup> “Biz Kimiz,” *Uçan Süperge Vakfı*, <http://ucansupurge.org.tr/biz-kimiz> (accessed January, 2019).

<sup>165</sup> Constitutional amendments in 2001, 2004 and 2010, New Civil Code in 2001, New Penal Code 2004 see; Feride Acar and Gülbanu Altunok, “The ‘politics of intimate’ at the intersection of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism in contemporary Turkey,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 41, 2013, 14-23.

<sup>166</sup> See more; Nurten Kara, “Feminist Movements in Turkey at 80 and 90s /80 ve 90’larda Türkiye’de Feminist Hareketler,” *women’s studies journal* 3, 2006: 16-39.

<sup>167</sup> See more; Charlotte Binder, “Türkiye’deki Kadın Hareketlerinin Farklı Şehirlerde Karşılaştırılması” Araştırma Projesi Raporu,” *blickwechsel tuerkei*. September 2017, [https://www.blickwechsel-tuerkei.de/download/Forschungsergebnisse/Frauenbewegungen/tuerkisch/III.3.B.Binder\\_TR.pdf](https://www.blickwechsel-tuerkei.de/download/Forschungsergebnisse/Frauenbewegungen/tuerkisch/III.3.B.Binder_TR.pdf), (accessed January, 2019).

changes and choices. During this period, one of the great debates over women in Turkey, the headscarf issue, emerged. Islamist women called on the feminists to support the headscarf issue, claiming that it is a women's right and therefore a question of freedom. However, the weak connection between the Islamist women and feminism prevented the development of strong support.

After the 2000s, the feminist movement became hard to summarize, since it became too complicated to follow and it diversified. The Istanbul-based structure of the feminist movement is largely fragmented now. Diversity has increased not only the diversity of identity but also the diversity of class and political diversities. LGBTI organizations have strengthened and gained great dynamism – and become a serious factor regarding their impact on feminists and feminism. After the 2000s, the issue of women in digital space also appears as a new page in feminist history.<sup>168</sup>

It is a fact that the women's movement, identity and the place of the women in social sphere and spaces of Turkey are still worthy to discuss due to the issues that are faced by women in every day.

#### **4.2. Selection of the Case Study**

In Turkey, it is critical to examine the relationship between space and gender because women's issues are always located in the middle of other political conjunctions. In this context, the importance of women's representation in the public area became important. This representation was also supported by the civil code which included the right to vote for women. Paradoxically, women were also essential symbols of

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<sup>168</sup> Zeynep Kuriş, "Türkiye Kadın Hareketi: Sözen, Eyleme, Eylemden Çoğulculuğa Aksu Bora," *Başlangıç*, May 2015, <https://baslangicdergi.org/turkiye-kadin-hareketi-sozden-eyleme-eylemden-cogulculuga-1/>, (accessed, January, 2019).

representation within Islamism. They played a significant role in shaping the public sphere; for instance, the entrance of the headscarf into the public sphere was seen as a critical issue.

Although today, the role of women in urban space takes place in a dominant socio-political context that defines Turkey as a secular and modern nation similar to the other European countries, this situation differs in different social settings. Turkish women living in the city are mostly defined as secular, active in business life and visible in public space. On the other hand, the Turkish woman who lives in a rural area or the suburbs is entirely different from the urban woman. This woman is more traditional and conservative, or, in other words, lives in a very traditional and conservative social environment. Another factor affecting this situation is the backgrounds of Turkish women in different social and cultural layers of society.

Rize is a significant example for examining this debate due to its introverted, conservative socio-cultural structure. To better understand the selection of the case study, in this part, the socio-spatial features of Rize will be described. Rize, located in the Eastern Black Sea Region, is a coastal city that reflects the characteristics of the region; it is known for its green and impressive nature, as it is a city where the sea and the mountains meet in a remarkable way.



*Figure 1: Location of Rize in Turkey and Rize Merkez (Centre) District*

The city has 12 districts. Rize Merkez (Central) district, the case study area of this thesis, is located in the middle-west of the city and its neighbours are Çayeli and Güneysu in the east, İkizdere in the south, Derepazarı and Terabiye in the west. North of the district is the Black Sea. This study analyses the discursive relation of space and gender within this district as its case study.

According to the data for the year 2016, in the centre of the district, 56,276 men and 58,562 women (a total of 114,838 people) live. 77.53% of the general population lives in the centre, and 22.47% lives in the towns or villages. The district is located on the edge of the mountains and the sea due to its natural conditions. Such a location mostly

directs the possibilities of land expansion towards the sea by filling and reclaiming areas in Turkey. The main road of the city is built on reclaimed land.

Very high annual rainfall, high relative humidity, low hours of sunlight and a generally mountainous rough terrain make Rize difficult to farm and limits the pattern of horticulture to tea plantations which are suitable for these climatic and geographic conditions. Linked to the widespread tea plantations, there are tea factories and light industry in the city. The ore from a nearby copper mine is processed in Çayeli town; however, this industry is not large enough in employment terms to cause external migration. The single university in the city was founded in 2006. According to TURKSTAT, Rize received an average of -2.78 migrations per year in the 2008-2013 period. Thus, it can be said that Rize is not a city attracting immigration from outside and it has no cultural fluctuations caused by immigration. Moreover, it is an introverted city. This introversion is actually one of the reasons to focus on Rize as a case study.

The second and a more important reason for focusing on the city is the socio-cultural structure of the city of Rize. In all the elections of the last decade, the ruling conservative party won an overwhelming majority in Rize. Based on this fact, it is possible to speculate that the city allows the observation of a gendered spatiality regarding its conservative and introverted character. According to the report of TURKSTAT 2013, as of 2013, the proportion of illiterate people in Turkey over the age of 6 is 0.4% while the rate of illiterate women in Rize is 7.1% and 0.9% in males. According to the same report, by the year 2013, there were only 860 women who had completed their higher education in Rize. These specific urban characteristics emphasize the gender issue as a problematic in the city. In this city, where women's problems can be observed intensively, social space and gender relations appear as an essential research core.

### 4.3. Socio-Spatial Features of Rize

The name of Rize appears with many different meanings in history. In Greek, Rhizos means "rice," "Rihiza" skirt. In Persian, Rize means "crushed, broken, flowing, a crumb."

In the Republican period, Rize developed through the production of tea and the establishment of tea factories; thus, a burst of social and economic growth started in the city.

In the city centre, there is only one historical artefact which dates back to 1461; Rize castle. There is not much historical study on the area. Yet, there are detailed studies of the region researching *Byzantine remains*. *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography*, written by A. Bryer and D. Winfield, is an important example of such works. As a region affiliated with Trabzon for a long time, the post-Ottoman period of the city is mentioned in the studies with reference to the historical content of Trabzon.<sup>169</sup>

The first development a plan for Rize was created by the architects Nezihe and Pertev Taner. The population of the city was about 14000 back then. Sport complexes, command views of the centre and the hospital on Eminettin street was constructed according to the development plan, in addition, the residential area developments at Eminettin and Tophane neighborhoods were built in accordance with to the development plan as well.

The second development plan for the city was created by the architect Fahri Yetman in 1969. In that year the population of Rize had risen to almost 30000; that means, the population had doubled since the first development plan. Tea became the main agricultural product and begun to be exported to every part of the country. Because of

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<sup>169</sup> Haşim Karpuz, *Rize* (Ankara: Kültü Bakanlığı, 1993), 1-2.

the concentration of tea production near Rize province, construction activities in the area began to develop rapidly; in particular, road and harbour construction increased in line with the city's development. But all of these constructions and particularly the reclaiming of land from the sea created some development problems. The main purpose of the development plan created in 1969 was to expand the old development plan and respond to the needs of the city which had developed to 12 km at the coastline.

With the revision to the development plan in 1971, Rize was given its second development plan.

The rapidly growing city of Rize needed a new development plan. Thus, a new plan was created, once again by Fahri Yetmen, in 1974. In this plan, the housing density in the central neighbourhood was increased and areas created towards the west of the centre were accepted as the first-degree residential areas while the areas to the east were planned as second-degree residential areas. The areas reserved for industry in the 1969 plan were left untouched; the existing health care facilities were assumed to be sufficient and a zone was reserved as a hospital area for the next development plan. This plan was accepted on 9.12.1977.

In 1981 existing development plan was revised by İl Bank; this process did not change the main plans but proposed some small additions. A new plan started to be developed and was approved in 1986, this was created by Fahri Yetmen in conjunction with İl Bank. Within this plan, agricultural areas were protected as much as possible and archaeological areas were put in the plan. Building density on the coastline was increased. Within the same year, the number of floors for buildings, roads, green spaces and some public areas were heavily revised by the local governmental authority. In 1989, the number of floors allowed for buildings along the coastline were increased and also for the central neighbourhood.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> From the archives of Rize Municipality, Development Directorate.



According to the Rize municipality, Development Dictorate's archive, there are 3 developmental reports, dated as 1947, 1971 and 1987. The report dated 1971 describes the coastal coastline in particular. However, the developmental plan drawings, unfortunately, could not be updated to present day standards since they were frequently too damaged to be copied or even illegible in a readable way.

Another, primary factor that affected the construction of the city was the Black Sea Coastal Highway. The Black Sea Coastal Highway project, which was planned in an attempt to access the Black Sea region, aimed to enhance infra structure conditions for the economic activities of the region. Even though it was started 20 years ago, in 1978, it was only finished in 2007 due to financial problems. This project, which affected the urban character of Rize, included six coastal cities from Samsun to Artvin.<sup>171</sup> The size of the area affected by the road, due to the fact that it is built on the reclaimed land, and particularly the fact that it passes between the sea and the cities, forming a barrier, caused controversy during the lengthy construction process and led to many types of research on the road from the perspectives of various fields such as sociology, biology, maritime research, civil engineering, and geodesy.<sup>172</sup> It would be correct to say that the road destroyed the natural formation of the coast and caused extensive destruction to the natural surroundings. However, it improved accessibility to Black Sea cities and increased migration and seasonal migration. Unfortunately, in the context of the city, the most significant effect was to limit the citizens' access to the sea. Regarding also the effect of the climate, Rize has lost the characteristics of a coastal city with the creation of the Black Sea Coastal Road.

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<sup>171</sup> Environmental Justice Atlas, retrived from <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/black-sea-coastal-highway-project-turkey>

<sup>172</sup> See; Sibel Esra Karataş, "Local Reactions to a National Road Project: The Case of Black Sea Coastral Road Project, Turkey," Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2006., Mehmet Rıfat Dedeoğlu, "An Experimental Study on the Stability of Eastern Black Sea Coastal Highway Defense Structures," Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2003., Alper Akar, "Karadeniz Sahil Yolu'nun Yapımı ile Değirmendere'nin Trabzon Limanı'na Olan Etkisinin Hidrografik Ölçmeler ve Uydu Görüntüleri ile İncelenmesi." Master's thesis, Karadeniz Technical University, 2009.

Rize has the distinction of being the wettest city in Turkey, known for its unique nature. Mountains and highlands are the main tourist attractions of the city. The most known of these are the Ayder Plateau and the Pokut Plateau. Although it is not very favourable to agriculture, it is a city where transhumance is still practised. In this sense, the city population shows periodic fluctuations depending on the climate and agriculture.

In the Black Sea region, women account for 67% of the active work force in agriculture. Except for Samsun, all of the percentages are above 56% in this region. The maximum of 67% is reached in Rize. It is important to remember that this percentage is also the highest for Turkey. The character of the Black Sea region is repeated in the areas adjacent to it.<sup>173</sup> In this sense, in Rize, it can be said that women are fairly active in the rural areas, rather than in the urban areas.

Rize is a city where different population groups of Laz, Turks, Georgians, and Armenians live together. Laz is a distinct ethnic group of Caucasian origin, mostly living at the eastern extremity of Turkey's Black Sea coast in the coastal lowlands, especially in the provinces of Rize and Artvin.<sup>174</sup> This diversity has led to regional differences in culture. To illustrate this, the central district has a more conservative structure, whereas the Pazar district can be defined as more open-minded due to the greater density of the Laz groups.

The central district where the study was conducted carries particular features of the conservative structure of the Black Sea region. The city has become more popular with people, with the university established in 2006 and the road completed in 2007.

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<sup>173</sup> Erol Tümertekin, "Changing Picture of Female Participation in Turkish Agriculture." in *The Professional Geographer*, 1964, 17-20.

<sup>174</sup> Zeki Sarigil "Ethnic Groups at 'Critical Junctures': The Laz vs. Kurds." in *Middle Eastern Studies* 48, no:2 (2012): 269-286.

In this sense, with the change in the city's facilities, its character is also expected to change.

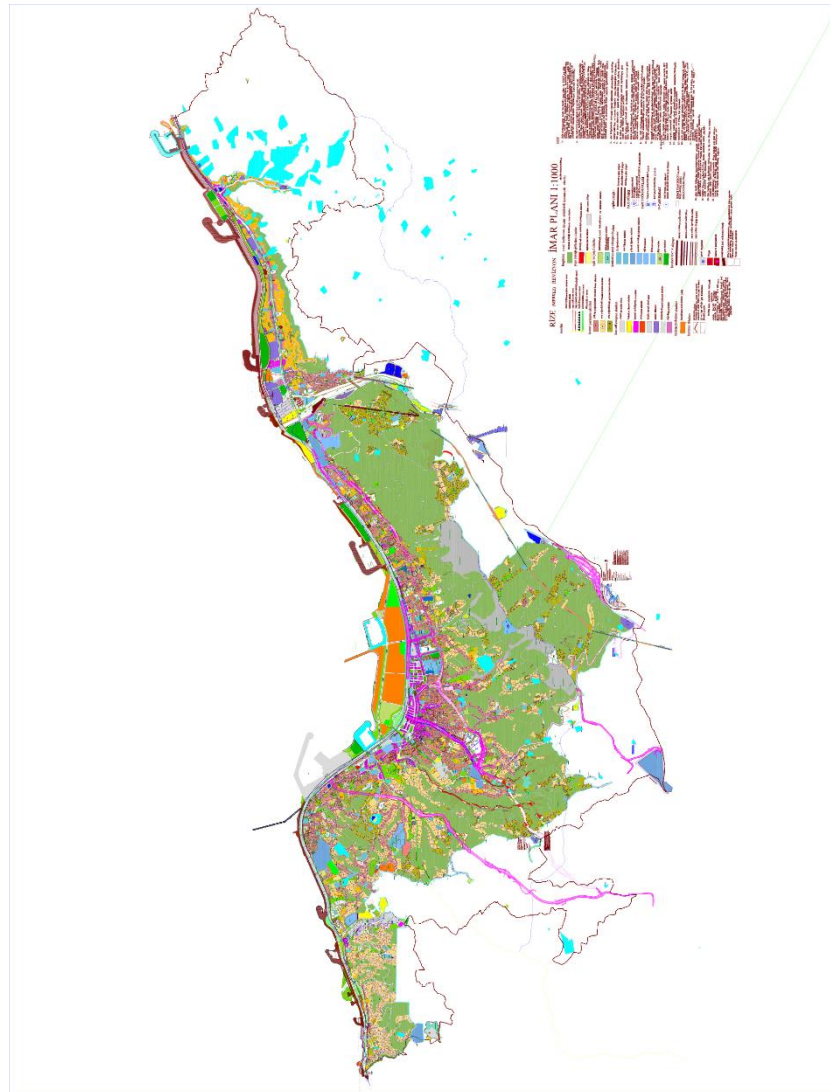


Figure 2: *Implementary Development Plan of Rize*



*Figure 3: Landmarks of Rize*

#### **4.4. Methodology**

The thesis examines the gender construction in the city and the mechanism of the discursive nature of gendered city structure. The study aims to complete the work by examining Rize as a case study in light of the theoretical knowledge from theories of gender and space through observations and semi-structured interviews. Thus, studies conducted in this section investigate the following questions; has the city of Rize a gendered structure? If the city is gendered, how do women experience this city? Finally, based on the responses to these questions; if the city is gender-based, can this structure be changed?

To analyse the case study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 26 women living in the city of Rize. Participants were chosen from different age groups; 5 participants were between 18 and 25 years old, 4 participants were between 25 and 35 years old, 7 participants were between 35 and 45 years old, 5 participants were between 45 and 55 years old, and 5 participants were older than 55 years old. The questions in the interview were structured to analyse the perception of the city, city experience in daily life, security, fears, social life, public and private space activities. By analysing the interview results, the study aims to understand the existing urban formations and perceptions.

In addition, particular observations were made in the city, and gender density examinations were conducted in the areas determined on maps in different time periods. At these observation points, the places where social events and activities occurred frequently were selected in the city centre. These selected places were observed at noon and in the evening hours. By taking averages from the observation data, population distribution maps were created.



*Figure 4: Observation Places for Gender Distribution*

The study aimed to use the results of the case study and combine it with the theoretical background discussed in previous chapters to contribute to the field.

#### **4.5. Mapping the Urban Formation and Perception**

According to Henri Lefebvre; “Every society – and hence ever mode of production... produces a space, its own space.” Following Lefebvre’s words, focusing on a case study becomes crucial to better understand and illustrate the production of the social sphere as well as social space. As mentioned in the methodology section, in this part, the thesis benefits from the in-depth interviews and personal observations.

The main concern of this section is to examine the formation and effects of the gendered space, primarily through women's public space experience. As previously mentioned, the purpose is to analyse the social norms of public behaviour for women that are extremely important for women's access to and participation in public life. The existence of women in the private and public spaces will be traced, and how gender norms reflect on women's spatial experience will be evaluated. It will be discussed whether there is a direction or limitation imposed by the city for women to participate in the social space. Additionally, the proper female figure in the public sphere created by the perception of society will be examined. As a result of these investigations, the discursive relationship between public space and gender roles in Rize city will be examined. This chapter will search for an answer to these questions; how do social codes and norms produce space and how does this space, shaped by patriarchal structure, reproduce these norms?

According to Michael de Certeau, the street becomes a place, apart from being a tectonic object, via the walking activity of its users. He points out that "space is a practical place," by underscoring the conception of a place with meanings. In addition,

he mentions the notion of everyday belonging by his "theory of territorialisation."<sup>175</sup> In this sense, it is possible to say that the city has developed merely by the sense of belonging to its users.<sup>176</sup> In the first and second questions of the interview, the participants were asked to introduce their city and especially the places to go in the city and the places to go in the city centre. All of the participants mentioned the natural beauties of the city, the plateaus, the mountains, and the sea. However, when participants were asked about places to go in the city centre, they all said that there were not too many alternatives, thus they found it difficult to answer;

-In the city centre, Rize Castle, there is not anywhere else.<sup>i</sup>

-Hmm... In the city center, let me think... A place to go specially... Maybe Rize Castle could be. And that is it.<sup>ii</sup>

-In the city centre, in the *çarşı*<sup>177</sup>... There is not many places still, there is only Kuyumcular Street.<sup>iii</sup>

-Places to see in the city centre..., The seaside; everyone knows it. The seaside is not that developed or beautiful; it is an ordinary seaside...  
iii... I do not know maybe Ziraat Garden, maybe Castle... Maybe the facilities in "Dağbaşı" Neighborhood, they need to be visited in order to see Rize completely. To realize the green texture... That is all I guess... Apart from these, mountains, lowlands and highlands...<sup>iv</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> According to Certeau, daily actions in the city are part of an appropriation and territorialization process; "The ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below,' below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandersmanner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it" (Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press.: 1984), 93). This daily walking action points to territorialization and appropriation and the meanings of the space.

<sup>176</sup>Tovi Fenster, "Gender and the City: The Different Formations of Belonging." In *A Companion to Feminist Geography*, edited by Lise Nelson and Joni Seager, (Blackwell Publishing, 2015), 242-56.

<sup>177</sup> The most active area in the city center with shops, restaurants and so on.



-This is a hard question... Maybe the places on the mountain tops.  
There are not so many places near to city centre, unfortunately.<sup>v</sup>

All of the answers included discourses that appreciated the natural beauty of the city, such as reaching the high viewing point of the city to observe its green nature or watching the sea on the seaside. Again, in their daily lives, except for their working lives, when asked how much they came down to the city centre, more than half of the respondents said they did not prefer to be in the city centre. A woman municipal employee said;

-If I am not working, I try to keep it as low as possible, so maybe once a week or so.<sup>vi</sup>

Another participant stated;

-Barely once in two weeks... I go if I have to, if I don't, I never go.<sup>vii</sup>

In this regard, it would be accurate to say that women did not establish a connection with the city centre in the sense of an urban belonging. It is seen that the participants mostly embraced the nature and natural beauties of the city. Women were also asked which part of their home they liked to spend time in the most. Although the answers were variable, they were especially gathered around the spaces of the dining room balcony, and kitchen. Then, when they were asked where they spent more time in their home, apart from one single woman over 30 years of age, all answered the kitchen. It would be accurate to say that many women under 30 live with their family and that the kitchen is again owned by a woman. A housewife stated;

-Home? I don't know, everywhere... I like my home. Most of my time goes by in the kitchen. But I prefer to sit on the balcony nowadays, in the summer time.<sup>viii</sup>

Another two different working women who are at work from 8 am to 5 pm;

-Since I am a working woman, I can be in any part of the house. Since women get stuck with everything related to cleaning, I can be in any part.<sup>ix</sup>

-It wouldn't be wrong to say, I can't get out of the kitchen. After 5 pm, I enter the kitchen; when I leave, it is 9 pm.<sup>x</sup>

As mentioned before in chapter 3, the public / private duality that protects traditional patriarchal and heterosexist power structures are used to construct, control, discipline, limit, exclude and suppress genders. It restricts the existence of women in the public space and relates her to the home. This connection limits both genders and prevents the potential of both genders finding their own identity in the city. The women of the city of Rize find themselves willingly or unwillingly, in this duality, in the position that is created for them by patriarchy. This situation excludes them from the urban public space while pushing them to take total responsibility for domestic work such as cleaning, cooking and organizing. To illustrate, when asked about whether they can do sports, not having the time due to working and also doing all the housework were often the responses.

-No. I'd love to do sports, but I can't ... because I have two daughters. In the winter it is challenging when they are there. their school is open. You see... when you have a job, are a woman and are a housewife, some things are difficult. Honestly, we cannot make time for ourselves. I did sports for a while, but I couldn't continue.<sup>xi</sup>

Another participant stated that;

-I actually want to do (sports), but I'm not doing because I'm alone. If I have company, I'll do.<sup>xii</sup>

The critical point here is that; why does she not want to go alone, why does she necessarily need company? The question of whether there is a place in the city that

makes them feel insecure, that they are reluctant to go; often has the answer that they feel safe in city centre except for a few specific points.

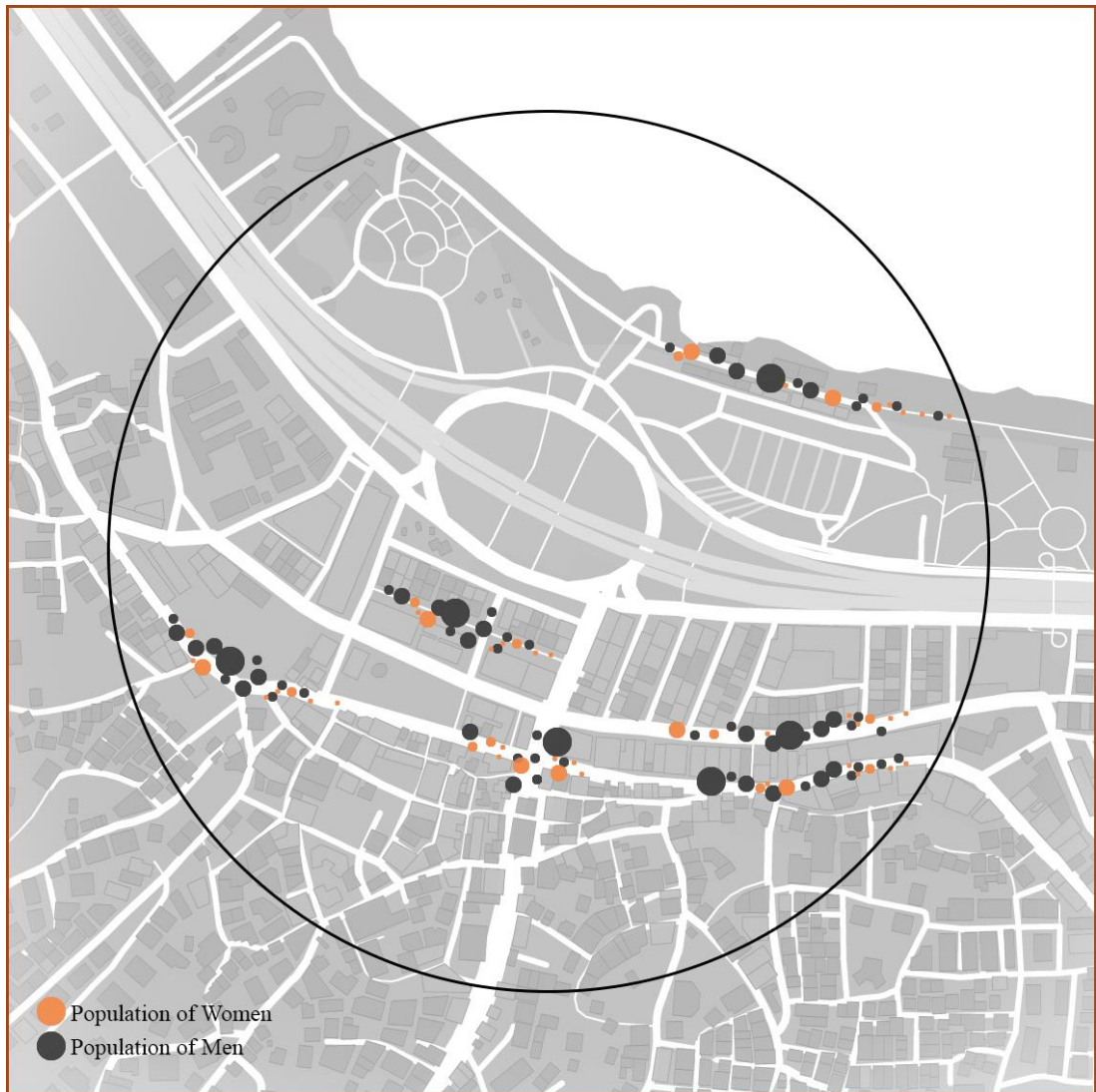
-Nope. No. I see Rize as a pretty safe hometown, I have never faced a negative situation before.<sup>xiii</sup>

-Strictly speaking, there is none, I mean Rize is a really safe place, I am of the opinion that you can even leave your door open and no one would go in. But I mean, if you ask me, I could say Rize did not become urbanized completely, I mean there is not an exact urbanization, but it is a safe place.<sup>xiv</sup>

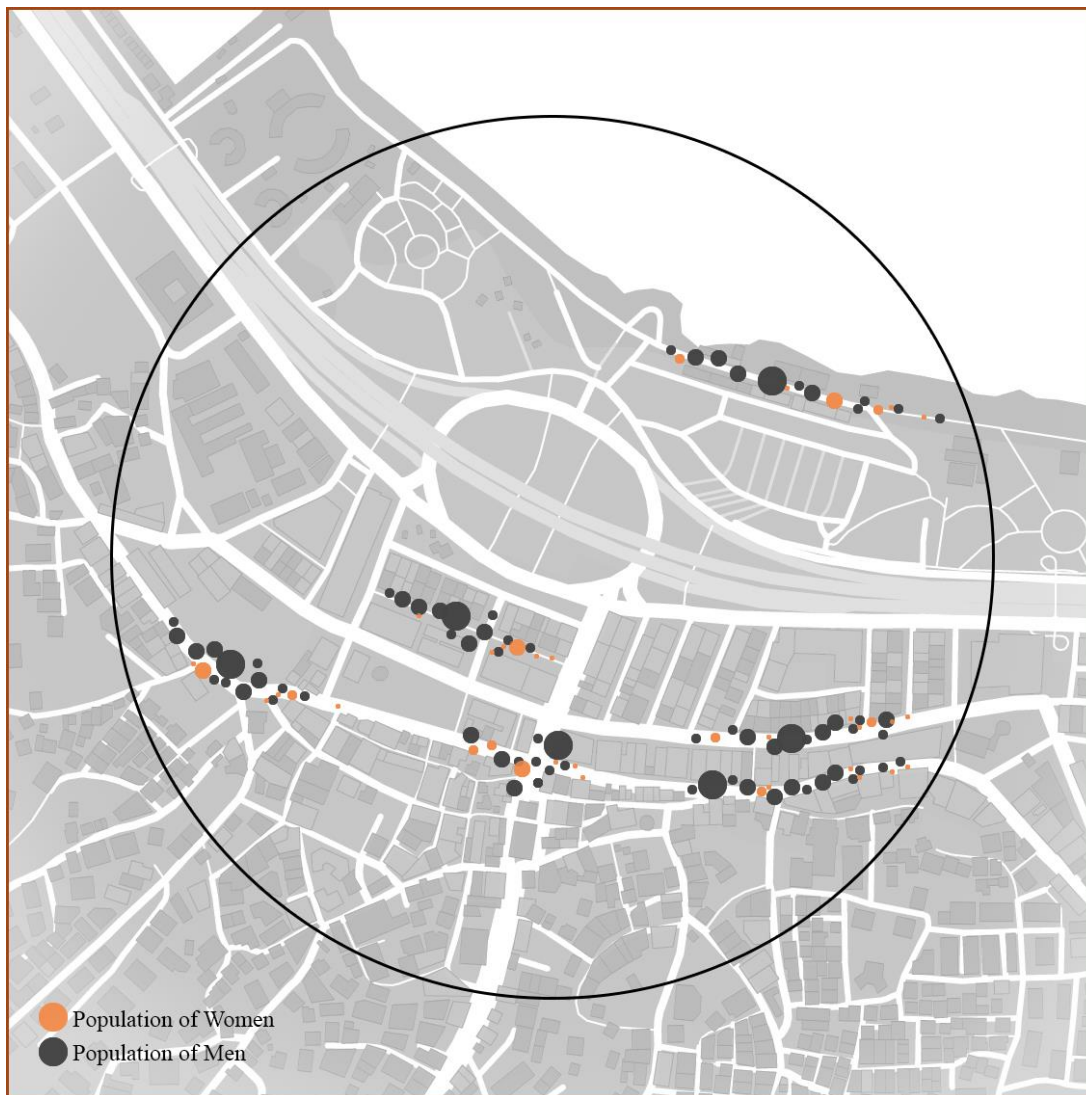
From the example above, it would not be wrong to conclude that the feeling of security stems from the fact that Rize is a small city and as they said; "everyone knows each other." Although the general belief of women living in the city for a long time is in this direction, the following examples illustrate that the city's "fear" map for women according to the places that are mentioned as unsafe, at least by one participant, is as follows;



There is another misconception that many women participating in the study generally state that they are safe in the city except some small unsafe areas; however, they do their daily activities in the city during lunch or evening hours, they never mentioned other periods. For instance, 9 p.m. and 11 p.m. were mentioned just once by two different women. Additionally, these women stated these periods as the latest hours to go out. Except for these two women, there were no women who mentioned that they went out at a relatively late hour. According to the results, it would be reasonable to speculate that women in this city do not prefer to be outside at night. In the women's perception, the meaning of the question could be harassment or could be theft, but they always think about day times. This shows, again indirectly, how women are excluded from the city during the night hours in the context of patriarchal structure.



*Figure 5: Population distribution at 14.00 pm*



*Figure 6: Population distribution at 20.00 pm<sup>178</sup>*

The maps below illustrate the results of the observations made at 2 p.m. and 8 p.m. for three days at different locations. When the distribution of sexes according to the hours in the maps is examined, the proportional decrease in the number of women at

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<sup>178</sup> The numerical output of the observation study can be seen in the appendix.

8 p.m. is seen as 41% when the proportion of men decreased by 21%. Some participants also stated this situation about not being in late night in the city center;

-Since I do not stay outside at nights, I don't know insecure places. But, not for ourselves but for our children, the surroundings of the schools, hmm... Deniz Avenue and Kahvehane being there, I don't like it. I don't like these kinds of stuff.<sup>xv</sup>

In addition, participants were asked; Which hours do you prefer for your daily life activities?

-Out of working hours... After the working hours. But I would never come to the city centre at weekends. All of my work is done, if it is possible, before the weekends. I do them during the weekdays in the evenings, in the afternoon breaks or in weekdays by taking time off work.<sup>xvi</sup>

-I do them in the morning hours as much as possible, before the evening hours because there are not so many people in the streets anyway...Like I would prefer all my stuff to finish before 9 p.m.<sup>xvii</sup>

-Like 4 -5 p.m. I would not like to go at night, it is not so safe. I want to be at home at night.<sup>xviii</sup>





*Figure 7: Cumhuriyet Artery at 14.30 pm*





*Figure 8: Cumhuriyet Artery at 20.15 pm*

On the safety of the city, another woman stated;

-To be honest, there is not much... In that aspect, Rize is a safe city. But there is a place, I went through this before. The riverside under the *Engindere* bridge...Of course, a woman does not have to go there. But I was there to go to a plantation and pick some flowers... I saw some people who were drinking, and I was disturbed by their looks at me. Except that...aha maybe this...yes... The back alleys of *Tophane* ... I can say I feel anxious to go there even in the mornings. Yes, I am a teacher, I live in the city centre, I have lived in this city for so long but... I can't say that I know every place of it. I heard a lot of complains from my students about the region that the school is located in, the back alleys of *Tophane* Neighbourhood, we talked, there is certainly a problem there.<sup>xix</sup>

“Of course, a woman does not have to go there.” This statement exactly explains the gendered roles in city and the gendered limits of the city that are shaped under the domination of a patriarchal structure. Even in her own ideal, she thinks, there are places where a woman should not go to in the city. Additionally a large number of women settled in the culture of the city under the "stare" act to express their discomfort under this question.

Another participant states;

-Well, this tea house is... like *kahvehane*<sup>179</sup> culture... When you are passing in front of them, there are looks unavoidable. But except that, there is not any region that I have a concern like "I can't go there, they might harass me."<sup>xx</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Local coffee houses only for men to go to; to drink tea, coffee and to play card and table games.



*Figure 9: A Photo from Deniz Street, Examples of Kahvehane*

-To be honest, every street that is not main, irritates me, you know the surface streets in *Çarşı* region.

*-What do you think is behind that?*

-No, I think the reason behind that is there are a lot of small coffeehouses and there are always men who sit in front of them... Old men...Here everyone looks at each other, not just those old men but while I was passing, them looking at me all together irritates me especially in the evening hours.<sup>xxi</sup>

It would not be wrong to relate this staring act with Laura Mulvey's theory of male gaze which is developed on film theory;

“In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female form which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness.”<sup>180</sup>

If this "staring act" affects the woman that much, and if she does not want to be at a certain point in the public space, this act of stare is indisputably street harassment. Another woman who is a housekeeper describes her memory of street harassment, the verbal abuse as follows;

-No, there is only one place, around the Post Office. I don't like that place at all. The place where the Statue was located before, I don't like there at all.

-*Did you go through something?*

-I hate there; I heard things about there. Some women go there in the morning, and men pick them up, I don't like that place. I heard these; it also happened to me too. I was going to go to work; a teacher was going to pick me up from there, he said you don't know the place, I will pick you up. There, an old man came and propositioned me. I felt really strange.<sup>xxii</sup>

Almost all of the participants said that there was no problem with transportation due to the scale of the city; they stated they could reach the city centre by *dolmuş*<sup>181</sup> or walking in the daytime. 7 participants stated that they preferred to use private vehicles;

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<sup>180</sup> Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009),11.

<sup>181</sup> Local small buses for public transportation.

-The city centre, *Çarşı*<sup>182</sup>, of Rize is a really small region. I mean I generally walk. But if I will go to a far place, then I use public transportation, or if it is possible at that moment, I use a private vehicle.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Participants were asked the following question to understand better the time they spent in the city: Are there any activities that Rize does not provide, in your opinion? 81% of the respondents were of the opinion that Rize's activities were not adequate, especially options that were available for women were scarce.

-Does not provide? There are many. I think... where to start. Iııı... there are not any artistic activities. There are a few, but they are for little children. Apart from that, there are not any water sports, and the ones there are, are for the men. There is nothing for women to improve themselves. There is rafting at Hemşin region; I can say there is none except that.<sup>xxiv</sup>

-Yes, there are a lot. Nightlife is really limited for example there are very few places to go at night.<sup>xxv</sup>

-I mean... There are a lot of things in Rize; there must be. For example, there are things related to climate. Let me put it this way, in the holidays; I would plan my annual leave to go outside of Rize, certainly to the south. There are things that the climate does not afford. Apart from that, I can't say there are good settings in the gyms. I went to some of them, that is why I don't go. I mean I don't like it frankly. Except that, socially, for example, cinema, I prefer mostly Trabzon for cinema. You'll ask why, here in cinema halls there is a damp smell, it is related to the structure of Rize. Even though it is new, it becomes like that after

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<sup>182</sup> The most active area in the city center with shops, restaurants and so on.

a while. Also, there are not original movies; movies are always with dubbing. There is a situation like that.<sup>xxvi</sup>

-I mean since we cannot look at it as so much developed (as city), we don't have many choices, whatever there is. We have to go with what there is. We don't have the chance to choose. We can't choose. When you look at the art aspect, there is not an artistic situation; there is no theatre, there is not a place to tour, shopping malls are so few, we behave accordingly.<sup>xxvii</sup>

-Especially as a woman, I think, going out at night alone; I want to go for a run at nights, but I can't go out because of the fear and danger and I don't think this affects men equally. I mean there are a lot of men at night after 9 p.m. It is not a common thing here to see women in the street, especially a woman by herself.<sup>xxviii</sup>

As mentioned before, it can be seen that the fear, and the notion of “stranger danger” is much more a real fact for women than men.<sup>183</sup> Thus, city reconstructs gender segregation and limits the occupation of women to public activities. A participant who is a university student in a different city (Ankara), answered the question on doing sport activities as follows;

-No, (I don't do sports). For example, I want to walk along the coast. But I can't walk from the Castle Neighborhood to the coast wearing tights.<sup>xxix</sup>

She also added;

- I wear tights in Ankara. Or I don't wear the shirts that I wear in Ankara, here. I mean I don't wear skirts anyway, but I would not prefer Rize if I would.<sup>xxx</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> For detailed discussion look chapter 3, 2.2. public private distinction.





*Figure 10: Coastal Path*

This is a rigid example of how crucial it is for a person to have the right to decide their own body to embrace themselves and to be one's self. Women have another limitation in this example through their bodies. She should choose a proper mode of dress to accomplish her daily activities. Regarding body as a fundamental part of the existence, the complication of the body issues is quite broad. Because of this reason, participants were asked; Are there any outfits or accessories that you do not prefer to wear or use in Rize? 77% of the participants answered as they have some clothes or accessories that they did not prefer to wear or use in Rize.

-Aaa...If it is possible, I prefer clothes that are not too revealing according to the standards of the city. Too revealing could be a mini skirt, eee... cleavage, plunging gown... I mean I prefer dressing conservatively as much as possible.<sup>xxxi</sup>

-Certainly not, you cannot wear revealing clothes. Certainly not, I don't even let my daughters wear things like that. It(the City) hasn't improved in that sense. Certainly.<sup>xxxii</sup>

-Can I say the ones I can wear? Yeah... I am extra careful in Rize. Short skirt, shorts, shoulder strap... I don't do heavy make up in general but I would never do that in Rize.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

-Of course, there are. After Rize boundary line, we start to wear shorts. We see that men are relaxed, but as women we cannot wear shoulder straps, short skirts, dresses freely. Also, two pieces.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

However, some women stated that there was no problem for them due to their clothing styles. Even some of the participants said they were also against this type of clothing.

-Accessories that I don't prefer to use in Rize... I mean we can dress normally. Young people can too. There is not an undesirable situation, but we are against young people wear too revealing.<sup>xxxv</sup>

-Everyone puts on clothes according to themselves, but you have to make it fit. For example, they wear a very tiny skirt, men look at them, even I look at them. Rize cannot adopt these kinds of outfits. Not everywhere is Rize... Go wear those in Ankara, it is a big city.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Another participant says again about her daughters and her own clothing by referring to the act of “staring”;

I don't like to wear revealing things because men stare at you. Everything is so restrictive. Of course, I am not for revealing clothes but when my children wear those kinds of things, they are annoyed by the stares, so I don't want them to wear things like that.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Here again the term “revealing clothes” is important. In the borders of Rize, sometimes even a T-shirt can be called as a “revealing clothes, and interestingly, not only by men, but also by women. Mothers warn their daughters not to wear clothes like that in public



space. Additionally, when mothers were asked where they did not prefer their children to go, 66% said there is not any specific area that they don't want their children to go, 22% says, they did not want them to be in certain areas at late hours and 12% said they did not want their children to go to the coastal area alone. Mentioned areas within these answers are also plotted on the fear map above.



*Figure 11: A Day Photo from Atatürk Artery*

All of the answers point out that the city of Rize is an introverted and conservative city which has its own invisible rules engendered by its culture. The participants in the study had a wide range of time lived in Rize, some of them were relatively new to the city. However, most of them had been living in this city for an extended period, some of them had even lived there from birth. Because Rize has a comparably new University, participants were asked if they had noticed any changes in Rize in recent

years and if so, what those changes were. Additionally, they were asked; In what ways do you think the establishment of the university has affected Rize? The answers were mostly positive concerning the university.

-Yes, I have been observing some changes, especially in recent years. Especially for the last 2 -3 years, after I went out for university and come back again, the population seems to be changing. I don't know it is related with the establishment of the university or not, but I observe that people wear what they want more freely.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

-Of course, there are changes in the city. We could not find so many places to go before... to go, to sit and eat. There is no such a thing. But now you can find places to go easily. There are many coffee houses that are newly opened and all...<sup>xxxix</sup>

Although there were a lot of positive responses, there were also some participants who said that these changes were not enough, or the changes were negative.

-The population profile has changed after the university, but I don't see a development as a change to tell the truth. People are being sociable and to meet new people is good I think; the city became more open to improvement.<sup>xl</sup>

-Conservatization. This is vital. Both openness and conservatization. But openness is by the people who are from Rize but come from outside of Rize. And also, the university.<sup>xli</sup>

-A change like this... After the university, people are more open - minded I think, but still, It is Rize and open mindedness has a limit here. But I think they are more relaxed now. For example, five years ago, in the city centre, people who wore miniskirts and shorts were looked at with an evil eye, now this situation is diminished, I think.

Should I say we are more civilised? In itself, yes. But definitely not in the standards of Turkey.<sup>xlii</sup>



*Figure 12: Deniz Street at 12.30 am.*





*Figure 13: Deniz Street, Newly opened coffehouses, at 18.30 pm.*

According to the definitions of most of the people who live in Rize, the city is a small, conservative, introverted, but safe city. This feeling of safety is mostly built on the fact that people know each other well. For example, according to the residents, there is not even a risk of a robbery. However, such a small city where everyone knows each other leads incomers to get stared at by the locals and makes their acceptance harder.

While all of the women who lived in the city mentioned the beauty of the city, some of them dwelled on the lack of opportunities and the problems that can be considered as an outcome of the patriarchal structure. The appearance of women in public space is one of the crucial matters. Particularly the distribution of the genders in public space in different time periods during the day is an important indicator. In addition, women

who participated in the survey focused on the opportunities in the city being mostly for men.

Therefore, it is reasonable to speculate that the gender power relations apparent in Rize and space, and especially spatial practice, are formed through these relations. Even though in recent years, after the establishment of the university, Rize has improved in this respect, for instance regarding acceptable clothing hence the perception of women's body, it still persists in its sexist ambience. As a person who was born and lived in the region, I think the results of the study are very realistic and should be scrutinized in a scholarly way.

The city of Rize continues to produce its public space through a structure that is formed by various mechanisms of patriarchy. The most important point is that first of all women have to become aware of the structure of patriarchy for their city to provide freedom and adequate opportunities for all genders. The women who live in a sexist societal structure accommodate themselves and adapt their daily routines to this condition. In other words, gendered space generates identities for women under patriarchal pressure. Urban public space should provide opportunities for women to realize and understand this system and its effects on their perception. To break the loop in production and reproduction of this gendered mindset, the construction of gendered space should be eliminated.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

Understanding the discursive relationship between space and gender theories has been stated as the aim of this study. By locating itself at the intersection of gender and space theories, it benefits from both of these fields to constitute a proper background. After constituting this theoretical background, this study has investigated a case study to embrace the gender-space discussions and different gender issues in a physical, urban environment.

Space has been a crucial debate for both social and natural sciences since the beginning of the revolutionary era of the 1960s. In addition, it has always been an excellent vantage point to understand identity, embodiment, and being of one. Hence, geographers have explored various settlements and environments to find a different depiction of space. As a consequence of this ground-breaking discussion regarding space, the meaning and conception of space have been enlarged and expended. Additionally, the social sphere of the 1960s provided a *de novo* exemption for rejected groups in society. Accordingly, gender appeared as another significant discussion during the same years. Feminists started to ask about the meaning behind being a woman and the reasons for the domination of men in the society; thus, these questions oriented feminist geographers to the space that had already been defined as a social product by Lefebvre. Within these perceptions, the relationship between space and gender became patently visible. Consequently, scholars from several fields wrote about the concerns of women in place together with an extensive range of other subjects, such as migration and travel, borders and boundaries, and place and non-place. They touched upon the problem of the placeless and displaced people of the world with a specific emphasis on women, and starting from these years, their work has continued up until today. By emphasizing the problematic issues in these fields,

feminist geographers have regarded gender as a social performance that was culturally formed and spatially positioned by the rigid rules and values of society. While regarding these perceptions of gender and space, they located them in a conductive, circular position that directly affects both of them.

During the process of the production of space, it was realized that what was excluded was just as essential as what was included. In a Foucauldian approach, they are even more critical due to their resistance dynamism in power relations. Thus, feminist geographers have highlighted the excluded existence of women in place and their disoriented representations. Women related to matters that were not-wanted, negative, and weak; however, men related to positive and compelling issues; men were even described as the natural and initial sex. Women became the second sex. Hence, women were obstructed in the social sphere by all means possible: they got less pay, were harassed, suffered from the glass ceiling effect, and lost their visibility. This started with historical writing and still continues in today's media. Her behaviour, body, and being were manipulated by society in a distorted form.

The body is also an inevitably critical issue for the relationship between gender and space. The body is an essential part of geographical discussions due to its resemblance to inside and outside, core and shell as self and body. It is an indispensable tool in the production process of space and a fundamental agent in the perception of space. In gender theory, the body is also a primary part of a woman's embodiment, existence, and identity. Additionally, public space and the users of public space can be seen as a vast collective body. The bodies play a significant role in the production of an overall social perception and the understanding of the public space; therefore, when the female body is misrepresented, the public body space is accordingly rendered as a failure.

The space which is formed under the influence of patriarchal discourse puts intangible barriers to the way of women in terms of reaching the public sphere. These barriers can be rigid, such as the places reserved only for men; however, they can also be



invisible such as the specific proper behaviour of women in the eyes of public or fear and danger due to street harassment. Within this formation, the public's misconstrued-vision sees women's place as the home. Thus, public space does not provide an equal freedom of experience to women in their daily lives compared to men's spatial experience.

The intangible captivity of women in their daily life and their city brings us to another crucial matter; the distinction between public and private space. As mentioned before, this division has its roots in the human body and self. Even if it is spatially produced, this division occurs through power relations, political issues, and popular discourses. The ideology of separate spheres consists of the field of male public production and the private space of its sub-reproduction, and also relates them to women and men. In this sense, ideology is based on both capitalist and patriarchal turns. The drive of feminism is closely connected to this subject, so that this distinction is being continuously reproduced. By reproducing repeatedly, the public/private distinction is often used to build, control, discipline, limit, and suppress the gender and sexual differences that protect the traditional patriarchal and heterosexist power formations. At the same time, with this pressure suppression, this distinction determines how the sexes should behave in both areas. The public/private distinction also gives fewer rights to women than to men, by separating, in particular, the fields of work and leisure for women and men. By drawing the limits of the distribution of labour, it generally excludes women from the public sphere by confining them to the private space and home, deprived from being an effective part of power relations.

The notion of the home should be considered primarily due to its very close relation with human identity and the misperception of relating the home to women's existence. Although it is identified with women and is left to their responsibility, the home is seen as the stronghold of men in the patriarchal ideology. Having the status of a ruler in the home as well gives men the luxury of behaving more freely than women. In the context of this discussion, it could plausibly be conjectured that if the woman cannot

be her true self in her private space as she is in the public space, the real woman's identity is completely lost in the patriarchal order.

Space draws the boundaries of the person's ability and shapes their identity. In a sense, the human self becomes one with space. To learn, to develop, and to advance, woman must have her own space, or, in other words, "a room of her own." In the patriarchal city, which excluded women, the place of women, her own room must be provided to embrace her own identity.

While focusing on the case study, it is possible to observe this tangibly in a city like Rize, which is small and inward-looking; public space is produced by the people in that space, and this public space shapes the perception of the people in it. The more the social structure of a city is introverted, the more the understanding of gender in the city develops in line with its own balance of power. Observations and the results of interviews show that Rize is a city under the influence of existing gender roles and one that continues to reproduce these roles in its cultural and political atmosphere. It could also be seen as a perfect example of the changing political junction in Turkey under the domain of neo-conservatism, which has an essential impact on representation of women in the roles of caregiving and family making, and as a consequence, it feeds the perception of locating women in the private space. To understand these processes of reproduction better, the women's city experiences would be examined through their answers, as their perceptions are of significance in this study.

While most of the women in Rize say that they love their city, there are not enough urban opportunities; they relate this deprivation to various conditions but interestingly not with the actual obstacle: patriarchy. Women have changed their behaviour in a way to conform with the way that proper women should ideally perform and even provide their security by changing their general behaviours. For example, there is no city after 9 p.m. for these women. Under a patriarchal domain that is underpinned by a neo-conservative perception, women withdraw from the public space as a part of

what they perceive to be their roles and duty. The women who connect themselves consciously or unconsciously with the concept of family and home, which are crucial parameters of this socio-political conjuncture, and continuously maintain their position as something excluded in public space. This situation, which reinforces the image of unwanted women in the public sphere, erects some visible or invisible barriers in front of women in public space. This is exacerbated by man dominated public space having implicit entrance requirements for women to for her to enter and use the space. In particular, women have shaped even censured their clothing and bodies according to the perceptions of an entirely patriarchal order and internalize an ongoing concern with disapproval.

Destroying the gendered structure of the city that produces the role models that push women out of the public space and the power relations underlying this, It is also possible to see that, with the establishment of the University and the arrival of a new population group in the city, these perceptions have begun to break down, and the conservative structure has begun to stretch a little.

Despite the multitude of the scholarly works on gender studies, there are still relatively few studies on gender in space theory. Moreover, in a country such as Turkey, which is not fully familiar with and has a slightly different perspective of women's situation and an entirely different process of women's movement, the studies on the relationship between gender and space are more restricted. However, it is an indisputable fact that it is much more indispensable to conduct studies from a spatial viewpoint especially in such geographies which generate societal inequities regarding different genders. This is critical in that this study has examined gender formation in the city, in a tangibly and socio-politically unique case, through women's city experiences especially from a spatial approach using gender theory. In a case such as Rize which highlights the gender issue as a problematic with socio-political dimensions, observing women's problems and gender and social space relations which appear as an important research core, is significant. Thus, to conduct studies from a spatial viewpoint, especially in geographies like Rize which generate societal inequalities

regarding different genders, is crucial. Similar researches on all genders should be conducted in every city of Anatolia.

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## APPENDICES

### A. Table of Gender Distribution in Observation Places

Day	Time	"Orta Mosque" Square			Coastal Path			"Şeyh Mosque" Centre Square			Deniz Street			Atatürk Artery			Cumhuriyet Artery		
		Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple
1	14	78	33333333	113,33333	13	15	2	30	50	5	150	200	35	50	75	8	35	55	9
	20	10	25	4	6	10	2	10	25	2	20	50	10	10	25	4	10	20	2
2	14	60	110	8	18	25	3	25	55	5	100	180	30	45	65	5	40	70	10
	20	12	25	3	8	15	3	8	23	3	25	60	15	10	25	3	8	18	2
3	14	100	140	15	15	25	4	30	60	8	130	200	30	40	70	10	35	65	12
	20	12	25	3	8	14	2	12	25	3	20	60	10	8	20	2	8	20	3
14		235	340		46	65		85	165		380	580		135	210		110	190	
20		34	75		22	39		30	73		65	170		28	70		26	58	
14		Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple
#		78,33333333	113,33333	11	15,33333	21,66667	3	28,33333	55	6	126,6667	193,3333	31,66667	45	70	7,666667	36,66667	63,33333	10,33333
%		40,86956522	59,13043		41,44144	58,55856		34	66		39,58333	60,41667		39,13043	60,86957		36,66667	63,33333	
General%		39,00039355	60,99961	8,225108															
20		Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple	Women	Men	Couple
#		11,33333333	25	3,333333	7,333333	13	2,333333	10	24,33333	2,666667	21,66667	56,66667	11,66667	9,333333	23,33333	3	8,666667	19,33333	2,333333
%		31,19266055	68,80734		36,06557	63,93443		29,12621	70,87379		27,65957	72,34043		28,57143	71,42857		30,95238	69,04762	
General %		29,71014493	70,28986	11,01449															

## **B. In-Depth Interview Questions**

1. Yaşınız?

Could you tell me your age?

2. Evli misiniz? Çocuğunuz var mı? Varsa kaç çocuğunuz var? Cinsiyetleri nelerdir?

Are you married? Do you have any children? If yes, what are their sexes?

3. Öğrenim durumunuz?

What is your state of education?

4. Rize’de ne kadar süredir bulunuyorsunuz?

How long have you been in Rize?

5. Çalışıyor musunuz? Nerede?

Do you work? Where?

6. Rize şehrini tanıtmamız gerekirse, şehrin hangi bölgelerinden başlarsınız?

Şehrinizi biraz anlatır mısınız?

If you would need to introduce the city Rize, which region would you start with?

Could you explain your city a bit?

7. Sizce Rize’de görülmesi gereken yerler nerelerdir? Özellikle şehir içinde nerelere gidilmelidir?

Which places needs to be seen in Rize in your opinion? Which places should be visited especially in the city center?

8. Son senelerde Rize şehrinde bir değişme gözlemliyor musunuz?

Gözlemliyorsanız bunlar ne gibi değişikliklerdir?

Do you see any changes in Rize in recent years? If yes, what are those changes?

9. Gündelik yaşamınızda şehir merkezindeki işlerinizi hangi saatler arasında gerçekleştiriyorsunuz?

Which hours do you prefer for your daily life activities?

10. Bu aktiviteleri gerçekleştirirken yalnız olmayı mı, biriyle beraber olmayı mı tercih ediyorsunuz? Biriyle birlikte gerçekleştiriyorsanız bu kişinin kim olmasını tercih edersiniz?

Which do you prefer, being with a companion or alone, while performing these activities? If you prefer a companion, who would you choose for this person to be?

11. Şehrin sevmediğiniz, güvende hissetmediğiniz bölgeleri var mı?

Are there any regions that you do not like, you do not feel safe in the city?

12. Şehre ve şehir içinde nasıl ulaşım sağlıyorsunuz?

How do you get access to the city and in the city?

13. Çocuğunuzun gitmesini istemediğiniz bir bölge var mı?

Are there any regions that you would not prefer your child to go?

14. Çocuğunuzun okula ulaşımını nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?

How does your child access to school?

15. Bir arkadaşınızla buluşacak olsanız şehrin hangi bölümünü kullanırsınız?

If you would meet with a friend, which region would you prefer in the city?

16. Spor yapıyor musunuz? Yapıyorsanız özellikle tercih ettiğiniz bir yer var mı?

Do you do any sports? If yes, are there any places that you prefer particularly?

17. Hangi sıklıkla şehir merkezine gitmeyi tercih ediyorsunuz?

How often do you prefer to go to the city center?

18. Sizce Rize'nin yapmanıza olanak sağlayamadığı bir aktivite var mıdır?

Are there any activities that Rize does not provide in your opinion?

19. Rize'de giymeyi tercih etmediğiniz bir kıyafet, aksesuar var mı?

Are there any outfits or accessories that you do not prefer to wear or use in Rize?

20. Şehir içerisinde halledebileceğiniz bir işi evden yürüttüğünüz oluyor mu?

Do you ever conduct an activity from home rather than going to the city center?

21. Evin en çok hangi kısmında bulunmaktan hoşnut oluyorsunuz?

Which part of your home do you like to spend time the most?

22. Gün içinde genellikle evin hangi bölümünde bulunursunuz?

What part of your home do you spend time the most?

## C. Applied Ethics Research Center Report

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800  
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY  
T: +90 312 210 22 91  
Sayın: 28620816/ LKZ  
ueam@metu.edu.tr  
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

08 AĞUSTOS 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç.Dr. İnci BASA

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Nagehan VANLIOĞLU'nun "**Kamusal Alan ve Cinsiyet Söylemi: Şehirde Cinsiyetin Sosyo-Mekansal Oluşumu**" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2018-FEN-046** protokol numarası ile **08.08.2018 - 30.12.2018** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

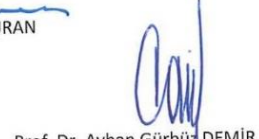
Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

  
Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

  
Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

Üye

  
Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR

Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKCI

Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK

Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye

  
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

## D. Originals of Selected Interview Answers

<sup>i</sup> Şehir içinde, Rize kalesi, başka yok.

<sup>ii</sup> Ee... Merkez'de... Düşünüyorum... Özellikle gidilmesi gereken bir yer... Belki Rize kalesi olabilir o da yani o kadar.

<sup>iii</sup> Şehir merkezinde çarşıda öyle bir... yine bu şekilde bir tek kuyumcular sokağının oralar vardır.

<sup>iv</sup> Şehir içinde görülmesi gereken yerler... Deniz kenarı; zaten herkes her yerden her şekilde bilir. Deniz kenarımız öyle çok gelişmiş çok güzel bir yer de değil, sıradan bir deniz kenarı... III... bilmem belki ziraat çay bahçesi, belki kale... belki şu dağ başında kurulan işte tesisler var, oraya gidilmesi gerekir ki Rize'yi tam anlamıyla görebilmek için. Yeşilliğinin farkında olabilmek için. Bunlar yani... Bunun dışında Rize'nin dağları, yaylaları, ovaları...

<sup>v</sup> Zor bir soru. Yine şehre çok yakın tepelere götürürüm şehre çok yakın bir yer yok ne yazık ki.

<sup>vi</sup> Çalışmıyor olsam olabildiğince düşük tutmaya çalışırım... Yani haftada bir falan belki.

<sup>vii</sup> 15 günde bir anca giderim. İşim düşerse giderim, işim düşmezse hiç gitmem.

<sup>viii</sup> Evin mi? Ne biliyim her yerinde... Evimi seviyorum. En çok zamanım mutfakta geçiyor zaten. Ama şu anda yazın balkonda oturmayı tercih ediyorum.

<sup>ix</sup> Çalışan bir bayan olduğum için her tarafında olabilirim. Temizlikte her şey bayanlara kaldığı için her tarafta olabilirim.

<sup>x</sup> Mutfaktan çıkamıyorum desem yeridir. 5 ten sonra mutfağa bir giriyorum çıktığımda saat 9 olmuş oluyor.

<sup>xi</sup> Hayır. Spor yapmıyorum yapmayı çok isterdim ama yapamıyorum yani. Çünkü iki kızım var kışın çok zor oluyor onlar varken okulları oluyor işte hem iş hem bayan hem de ev hanımı olunca zor oluyor bazı şeyler kendimize zaman ayıramıyoruz işin açıkçası. Ama bir dönem gitmiştim ama yarım kalmıştı yani.

<sup>xii</sup> Ya aslında (spora) gitmek istiyorum ama yalnız olduğum için gitmiyorum biriyle bir arkadaş olsa giderim.

<sup>xiii</sup> Yok. Hayır ya... Ben Rize'yi oldukça güvenli bir memleket olarak görüyorum. Şimdiye kadar olumsuz bir şey yaşamadım.

<sup>xiv</sup> Yok... İşin açıkçası Rize yani gerçekten güvenli bir yer. Yani hani kapınızı bile açık bıraksanız kimsenin evinize girmeyeceği kanısına varıyorum. Ama yani Rize bana sorarsan tam olarak da şehirleşmedi diyebilirim yani tam bir şehirleşme sayılmaz ama güvenilir bir yer yani.



<sup>xv</sup> Gece çok dışarda kalmadığım için çok güvensiz yerlerin neresi olduğunu bilmiyorum, ama güvensiz olan yerler kendimiz açısından demiyim de çocuklarımız açısından; okul çevreleri, eee... merkez deniz caddesi kahvehanelerin orda olması sevmiyorum yani hoşlanmıyorum öyle şeylerden.

<sup>xvi</sup> Mesai dışında. Mesaiden çıktıktan sonra. Ama tatil günlerinde gelmem mesela çarşıya. Tatil günlerinde mümkünse bitmiş olur (işler). Hafta içi akşamları veya öğle tatillerinde ya da hafta içi mesai içinde izin alır yaparım.

<sup>xvii</sup> Bunları olabildiğince gündüz saatlerinde akşam saatlerine çok kalmadan çünkü sokaklarda çok fazla insan olmuyor zaten böyle akşam 9 a kadar işimin bitmiş olmasını tercih ederim.

<sup>xviii</sup> Akşama doğru saat 4-5 ler gibi. Gece gitmek istemem çok güvenli olmuyor. Gece evimde olmak istiyorum.

<sup>xix</sup> Açıkçası pek fazla yok... O anlamda Rize güvenilir bir şehir. Fakat bir tek yer var onu da bir kere yaşadım. Engin dere tarafındaki köprünün ayağındaki sahil... Tabi ki bir bayanın oraya gitmesi gerekmiyor ama ben bir fidanlığa gitmek ve çiçek almak için oradan geçiyordum... Orada insanların içki içtiğini gördüm ve bakışlarından rahatsız oldum. Onun dışında hah şu olabilir... Evet... Tophane (mahallesi)'nin arka kesimleri. Oraya gündüz bile gitmeye çekindiğimi söyleyebilirim. Evet ben bir öğretmenim şehrin içinde yaşıyorum uzun zaman bu şehirde yaşadım ama... Her yerini çok iyi biliyorum desem doğru olmaz. Okulun bulunduğu tophane mahallesinin arka taraflarında öğrencilerimin çok şikâyet ettiğini duydum hatta konuştuk oralarda sıkıntı olduğu muhakkak.

<sup>xx</sup> Ya o çay ocağı kahvehane kültürü gibi yani...onların önünden geçerken ister istemez yani bakılan oluyor. Ama diğer türlü aman şuraya gitmeyeyim beni burada rahatsız edebilirler çekincesiyle yaklaştığım bir mekân yok.

<sup>xxi</sup> Açıkçası şu ana cadde olmayan her yer beni irrite ediyor. Hani şu ara caddeler var ya... her yer neresi olursa olsun çarşı bölgesinde.

*-Peki sizce bunun sebebi nedir?*

Bunun sebebi oralarda daha çok küçük küçük kahvehaneler var ve onun önünde oturan sürekli birileri var... Erkekler var... Yaşlı erkekler var... Burada sadece o yaşlı erkekler değil herkes birbirine bakıyor ama toplu bir halde geçerken bana bakmaları, özellikle akşam saatlerinde beni irrite ediyor.

<sup>xxii</sup> -Yoo... Öyle rahatsız eden yer bir tek postanenin orasını hiç sevmem. Eski heykelin orayı hiç sevmem.

*-Bir şey mi yaşadınız?*

-Oradan nefret ediyorum, orayla ilgili bir eşeyler duydum. Kadınlar sabahtan gidiyormuş, erkekler götürüyormuş onları, orayı hiç sevmem. Öyle ben de duydum, benim de başıma geldi. İşte işe gidecektim bir öğretmen beni oradan alacaktı sen dedi abla bilmiyorsun ben seni alayım oradan. Orda yaşlı adamın biri bana orda teklif etti. O yüzden orayı hiç sevmem. Bir garip oldum

<sup>xxiii</sup> Rize'nin çarşısı zaten küçük bir yer. Yani genelde yürüyerek ulaşımı sağlıyorum. Ama uzak bir yere gideceksem toplu taşıma ya da o an özel araç durumum varsa özel araçla gidiyorum.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Olanak sağlamadığı mı? Oldukça var. Şimdi hangi aktiviteden başlasam onu düşünüyorum. Mm... sanatsal hiçbir aktivite yok diyebiliriz. Çok az var onlar da küçük yaştaki çocuklar için yapılıyor. Onun dışında bu su sporlarından hiçbir yok... Olanlar da erkeklere yönelik yapılıyor. Kadınları geliştirici hiçbir şey yok. Bir de Hemşin tarafında rafting var onun dışında yok diyebilirim.

<sup>xxv</sup> Çok var... Eğlence hayatı çok kısıtlı. Mesela geceleyin hani gidilecek yerler çok az.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Yani... Bir sürü şey var. Rize'de vardır, çok fazla şey vardır. Mesela iklimle dayalı şeyler var... Tatil günlerinde şöyle söyleyeyim, yıllık izin ben hiçbir zaman rizede kullanmam yıllık izin planımı dışarıya mutlaka güneye doğru yaparım. İklimin el vermediği şeyler var. Onun dışında spor salonlarında da çok iyi ortamlar olduğunu söyleyemem. Birkaç yere gittim, o yüzden spor salonlarına da gitmiyorum. Çok hoşuma gitmiyor yani açıkçası onun dışında sosyal olarak sinema, hani sinema diyeceksin, sinemaya daha çok Trabzon tarafını tercih ediyorum. Niye diyeceksin burda genelde salonlar belli çok rutubetli kokuyor. Artık bu Rize'nin yapısı ile alakalı bi durum. Yeni bile açılrsa sonradan öyle oluyor. Bir de orijinal film olmuyor hep dublajlı oluyor filmler. Öyle de bir durum var.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Yani şimdi çok gelişmiş olarak bakamadığımızdan dolayı çok da seçme şansımız olmuyor ne varsa o. Ona yöneliyoruz yani. Seçme şansımız yok. Seçemiyoruz. Sanatsal olarak baktığımızda pek sanatsal bir durum yok, tiyatro yok, gezecek bir yer yok. Mağazalar yine çok az ona göre hareket ediyoruz.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Özellikle bir kadın olarak bence, gece dışarı çıkma mevzusu akşam tek başıma koşu yapmayı... bazen akşam, gece de yapmak istiyorum ama korku tehlike faktöründen dolayı çıkamıyorum ve bunun erkekleri aynı şekilde etkilediğini düşünmüyorum. Yani sokakta erkekler çok daha fazla oluyor akşam 9- 9'dan sonra. Sokakta kadın görmek hele tek başına kadın görmek burada çok rastladığımız bir şey değil.

<sup>xxix</sup> Hayır, (spor yapmıyorum). Mesela sahilde yürümek istiyorum ama tayt giyip kale (mahallesi)den sahile gelemiyorum.

<sup>xxx</sup> Ankarada taytla çıkıyorum. Ya da Ankara'da giydiğim t-shirtü burada giymiyorum. Hani etek zaten giymiyorum ama giyecek olsam Rize'de giymeyi tercih etmem.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Aaa...mümkünse çok açık kabul edilmeyecek, buranın kıstaslarına göre şeyleri giymemeyi tercih ediyorum. Çok kısa kabul edilecek mesela mini etek olabilir, ee dekolte, göğüs dekolteli bir elbise olabilir... yani olabildiğince kapalı kıyafetler giymeyi tercih ediyorum.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Kesinlikle açık giyinemiyorsun. Kesinlikle hatta kızlarıma da izin vermiyorum. Kesinlikle o konuda gelişmedi (şehir). Kesinlikle.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Giymeyi tercih ettiklerimi söylesem? Evet... Rize'de extra dikkat ediyorum kısa etek şort atlet. Ağır makyaj falan pek yapmam ama Rize'de hiç yapamam.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Tabii ki var. Rize sınırlarını geçtikten sonra şort giymeye başlıyoruz biz. Erkeklerin çok rahat olduğunu görüyoruz da kadınlar olarak şort ip askı göbek açık elbise rahat giyemiyoruz. Bikini de aynı şekilde.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Rize’de evet giymeyi tercih etmediğim aksesuar... Yani öyle normal giyinebiliyoruz. Gençler de giyinebiliyor. Öyle bir sakınca bir şey yok ama gençlerin çok fazla açık giyinmesine de karşıyız.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Herkes kendine göre giyinir ama biraz da yakıştıracaksın kendine. Mesela bazen minicik bir etek giyiyorlar adamlarda bakıyor onlara, adamları geçtim ben bile bakıyorum. Rize bunu kaldırmaz. Rize değil her taraf... gitsin Ankara’da giyinsin orası büyüktür.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Açık giyinmeyi istemiyorum çok bakıyor çünkü erkekler. Çok kısıtlı her şey. Tabi ben açıktan yana değilim ama çocuklarım da açık giyindiği zaman bakılmasından rahatsız olduğu için açık giyinmesini istemiyorum yani.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Evet gözlemliyorum özellik son birkaç senedir. Özellikle son 2-3 senedir ben üniversiteye gidip geldikten sonra buradaki insan popülasyonu biraz değişiklik gösteriyor gibi. Bilmiyorum bunun üniversiteyle alakası var mı yok mu ama insanların daha özgürce daha istedikleri gibi giyinebildiklerini görüyorum.

<sup>xxxix</sup> İçinde tabi ki değişimler var yani. Daha önceden biz burada çok fazla gezeceğimiz yer bulamazdık. Gidelim bir yerde oturalım, yemek yiyelim falan. Böyle bir durumumuz olmazdı. Ama artık çok rahat gidip de oturabiliyorsun her yerde... İşte kahvecilerdi, kafelerdi açıldı.

<sup>xl</sup> İnsan profili biraz değişti açıkçası üniversiteden sonra ama değişme olarak pek bir gelişme göremiyorum açıkçası. İnsanların sosyalleşmesi ve başkalarını tanıması güzel oldu bence biraz daha gelişebilir oldu.

<sup>xli</sup> Muhafazakarlaşma. Çok önemli bu. Hem açılma hem muhafazakarlık. Ama açılmanın dışarıdan gelen Rizeliler tarafından olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bir de üniversite.

<sup>xlii</sup> Şöyle bir değişiklik... üniversite geldiğinden beri biraz daha açık fikirli olduklarını düşünüyorum ama Rize işte ne kadar açık fikirli olursa olsun yine de o kadar açık bir fikir olmuyor. Ama daha rahat olduklarını düşünüyorum mesela bundan 5 sene öncesi falan merkezde böyle şortlu kısa etekli kişilere kesinlikle çok kötü bakılırken şimdi o sayının azaldığını düşünüyorum. Daha uygarlaştık mı desem? Kendi içinde ama kesinlikle Türkiye standartlarında değil.