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**Governing Gendered Subjects through Political Islamist Discourses: A
Social Policy Analysis on Gender-based Violence in Turkey**

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine how political Islam as an ideology of the Turkish state has constructed gender roles and influenced gender-based violence in Turkey. The political Islam, as a term, refers to a broad political movement. My focus of interest is the political Islam as advocated by the Justice and Development Party and its discourses shaped within this ideology. In order to investigate the research interest of the thesis, policy discourse analysis is conducted within the National Action Plan- Fighting against Family Violence and it is strengthened by examples of the party members' media statements on the issue. A theoretical framework of poststructuralist feminism, Foucauldian notions of power, subject, subjectivation and theory of governmentality constitutes a meaningful background for the analysis and fits well with the methodological approach. Findings of the study suggest that political Islamist discourses function as 'technologies of power', as the ways that enables the Justice and Development Party to govern women and men as gendered subjects, reconstruct traditional gender relations, legitimize subjectivation of women to men and perpetuate gender-based violence. Yet these findings are not clear-cut, since there may be other dimensions behind the perpetuation of gender-based violence and reconstruction of traditional gender roles.

Keywords: The Justice and Development Party, political Islamist discourses, gender-based violence, policy discourse analysis, The National Action Plan- Fighting against Family Violence

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1. Introduction

On 13th February 2015, Turkish media was shaken with the news of twenty-year-old Ozgecan Aslan's death. Ozgecan Aslan's body was found in a riverbed in Mersin, Turkey after one of the perpetrators confessed on the same day. She was stabbed to death while resisting an attempted rape. In order to cover up the murder and Ozgecan Aslan's identification, the perpetrators burned her body and cut off her hands. Ozgecan was the 34th woman to be murdered by men since the beginning of 2015. The situation led to massive protests all over Turkey. Women gathered in order to make their voice heard and show their anger against ceaseless numbers of physical, psychological, sexual, and economic violence against women. Mor Cati, an independent non-profit organization that fights to prevent gender-based violence against women in Turkey and provides the only non-governmental shelter for women survivors of violence, published a statement saying that, "*You cannot assess Ozgecan's rape and murder as independent from male violence and politicians who . . . distinguish between 'chaste' and 'unchaste' women. You cannot analyze rape by isolating it from its male perpetrator and patriarchy*" (Fisher, 2015). Ozgecan's case and statement have been inspiring to formulate the research interest of the thesis. The increasing number of gender-based violence against women and responses to it by the political power were thought provoking. The situation reminded me that analyzing gender-based violence cannot be separated from analyzing the political power. With this idea in mind, this thesis aims to concentrate on the Justice and Development Party's (hereinafter the JDP) political Islamist discourses on gender roles and specifically gender-based violence against women, based on an analysis of how those discourses construct gender relations and influence gender-based violence within a social policy document on the issue, as well as party members' statements that have been gathered through media.

Since 2002, the year the JDP came to power, there have been improvements in legislation against gender-based violence and specifically two National Action Plans were prepared for the fight. Paternalistic views of sexual assault and honor killings, references to chastity, morality, shame and public decency have been eliminated from Turkey's Penal Code, which was a crucial step in the struggle for gender equality (Fisher, 2015). However, the improvement that the legislation had brought was mostly symbolic, as the JDP did not implement the changes made in the legislation. Especially since 2007, the general election when the JDP got 46.6% of the general votes and thus became the power party for the second time, the party's rhetoric regarding the regulation of social and political domains and even

international relations have involved more patriarchal and moral notions and values, often framed with religion (Acar and Altunok, 2013, p.14). As an example, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, one of the founders and then prime minister of the JDP, has condemned gender-based violence against women, also after Ozgecan Aslan's murder, by positioning men as the custodians of women and even stating that women are entrusted to men by God. After a protest that was organized against gender-based violence against women, known as One Billion Raising, Erdogan criticized feminists for singing and dancing during the protest and said *"They were supposedly protesting the death of our Özgecan by dancing. What kind of thing is this? Say the Surah Al-Fatihah if you know it. Give your condolences to her family. But she was dancing instead. What place does this have in our culture? It's like enjoying death"* (Hurriyet, 2015a). He also invited *"the gentlemen occupying most of the important decision-making positions"* to follow and solve the case of Ozgecan's murder immediately, because *"this could have happened to their daughters as well"* (Hurriyet, 2015a). These statements made by Erdogan illustrate an example to the political Islamist discourses that I am interested in investigating further in relation to gender-based violence and its perpetuation.

A scholar from Turkey, Binnaz Toprak (2009, p.60) argues that all of the Islamist projects in the world are mainly based on sex segregation. Although political Islam in Turkey differs from radical Islamist movements in other countries, its understanding of gender roles based on differentiating the sexes remains the same. Attributions to Islam in both the social and the politics sphere become strikingly apparent, for example, *"in the covering of young girls and women, separate swimming areas in resorts, private all-girls' or all- boys' high schools, including pedagogically objectionable Islamist texts in primary and secondary school curricula, reduce in the punishments of rape on normative distinctions of the raped woman's status as married, divorced, or virginal"* (Toprak, 2009, p.60). An Islamist way of living has not been imposed upon anyone openly; however, the question of how the discourse of political Islam influences women and men's lives remain unanswered.

Researches on gender and political Islam were not at the agenda in Turkish academia till the 1980s. Those researches have either located Islam as a cultural mechanism within a patriarchal structure or only analyzed gender in relation to the formation of nation states and secular governments (see Kandiyoti, 1991a). Only after the 1980s, the influences of Islamic revival on women's gender identity have been focused in the Women's Studies field in Turkey (see Arat 2010; Gole, 1996; Saktanber, 2002). However, those researches analyzed

different Islamic sects and communities that are indirectly involved in politics or piety movements of women as a resistant act. Gender-based violence has not been studied within the political Islamist framework before. This thesis aims to contribute to the field by concentrating on the JDP's political Islamist discourse on gender roles and specifically gender-based violence against women by analyzing the National Action Plan- Fighting against 'Family Violence' against women within a governmentality approach. I believe the research will provide a new dimension in the field.

1.1. Purpose and Research Question

Since the 2007 national elections in Turkey, there has been a shift in the public discourse where the Islamist voice has started to be more vocal. For this reason, the aim of the thesis is to focus on the rising voice of political Islamist discourse of the JDP and to analyze its influence on gender-based violence and gendered subjects in Turkey. This is not to claim that the only reason of gender-based violence in Turkey is the JDP and its political Islamist discourse, but rather questioning whether gender inequality is deepened and gender-based violence is perpetuated through its discourses more or not.

The research question of the thesis is:

How has political Islam as an ideology of the Turkish state constructed gender relations and influenced gender-based violence in Turkey?

I will be merely focusing on the Justice and Development Party as the current political power of Turkish state. In order to answer the research question, Foucauldian concepts of power, subject, subjectivation and governmentalization will be discussed. A governmental analysis enables us to understand the ways in which thought is produced. It implies a theoretical approach to the study of power, subject and subjectivity (Korteweg, 2006, p.109). The theoretical framework fits well with the methodological approach of the thesis. I will use Carol Bacchi's (2009) framework of 'What's the problem represented to be?', as methodological approach, in a policy document which was prepared as a guideline to prevent violence against women in Turkey, the National Action Plan- Fighting against Family Violence. I will exemplify the discussion with media statements on the issue.

1.2. Disposition

The first chapter aims to present the research, the purpose and the research question of the thesis. The second chapter introduces the key concepts and their context specific definitions. Therefore, the second chapter includes the necessary background information regarding the context as well. The third chapter provides a deep discussion of the theoretical framework which consists of poststructuralist feminism, Foucauldian notions of power, subject, subjectivisation, and governmentalization. The fourth chapter introduces the methodological framework of the thesis. It focuses on feminist methodology and ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ approach to discourse analysis by wrapping up with the choices of the material and limitations. Chapter five is the analysis chapter where the framework of the ‘What’s the problem of represented to be?’ approach is implemented on the material and textual and theoretical discussion around the findings take place. The last chapter sums up the overall research.

2. Key Concepts

This chapter aims to present the key concepts of the thesis. I introduce the general definitions as a first step and then illustrate context specific definitions or how the concepts should be understood in the context of Turkey. To do that, I also provide background information on gender-based violence in Turkey and the JDP. Therefore, this chapter consists of both general definitions of the key concepts and background information of the context.

2.1. Gender

The thesis aims to analyze how gender relations are constructed and gender-based violence is influenced through political Islamist discourse in Turkey. Therefore, it is crucial to touch upon how gender is defined in this study.

Gender is a social category that imposes appropriate roles for sexed bodies. It is a way of differentiating sexual practice from the social roles that are assigned to women and men (Scott, 1986, p.1056). It is important to note that gender does not refer to biological distinctions between female and male, and should not be reduced to biological sex. Rather, gender rests on interpretations and constructions of behavior that differ culturally and may or may not have anything to do with biological differences (Peterson and Runyan, 1999, 29-32). Connell (2002, p.8) agrees with the definition of gender which is not only a ‘cultural differences between men and women that is based on biological sex’, and suggests to move the discussion from difference to relations. According to Connell “*gender is a matter of social relations within which individuals and groups act. Gender relations do include difference and dichotomy, but also include many other patterns*” (2002, p.9).

Analyzing gender relations means analyzing power relations that are produced through a complex interaction of identification processes, symbol systems, and social institutions. The gendering is structurally maintained through customs, policies, and legislation that impose heterosexist family forms and androcentric (male-as-norm) citizenship (Peterson and Runyan, 1999, p.31-2). Although how gender relations are formed and expressed differs culturally, the political nature of gender as a system is constitutive of almost all contemporary societies. The regimes of the twenty first century have also constructed their political ideologies with gendered concepts and translated them into policy (Scott, 1986, p.1072). The current regime of Turkey and what kind of gendered concepts have been adapted into its policies is an important question at this point.

2.2. Gender-based Violence

The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, called “the Istanbul Convention”, defines gender-based violence as: “*violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately*” (Council of Europe, 2011). Violence, then, is not only a fixed set of behaviors, but rather it is constructed through “*historical intersections of gender power, social divisions, ideology and indeed hegemony*” (Hearn, 2012, p.590).

Violence is not only being acted, but it is performative, meaning that “*violence establishes social relationships...it marks and makes bodies...it constitutes subjects even as it renders them incomplete*” (D’Cruze and Rao, 2004, p.503). The bodies that are made and marked through violence are gendered, and violence that “*emerges from a profound desire to keep the binary order of gender*” is portrayed as natural or necessary (Butler, 2004, p.35 cited in Shepherd, 2007, p.240).

I use the term gender-based violence to argue that violence against women is a result of gendered relationships within a society and constructed through ‘gender power, social divisions, ideology and hegemony’ as mentioned above. I do not specify the type of violence to focus on in the thesis, but rather I analyse how the social policies define the violence. The reason for not choosing one particular form of violence is that the main concern of the thesis is the political Islamist discourse of the current regime of Turkey and violence in whichever type is one of the gendered outcomes of it. Each form of violence is important and affects the lives of individuals in the society. However, the influence of the political Islamist discourse on gendered bodies and how in what ways they name the violence are the main question here rather than a particular type of violence.

No country is free of violence against women, but it is an acute problem in Turkey. According to an official survey, 42% of women experience physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime (Pope, 2014, p. 600). Only in 2014, 281 women were killed in Turkey and 46% of the perpetrators were their partners. In the same year 109 women and young girls were raped and 12% of the perpetrators were current or ex-partners of the survivors. Femicide, alone, increased 31% compared to 2013 and reached to the highest rate yet (Bianet, 2015a).

In the last several years, the JDP has shown a keen sensitivity about the prevalence of violence against women in Turkey and made commitments to improve existing legislation and efforts to develop policies in line with contemporary international standards. The Turkish government took an active part in the drafting process and adoption of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence during 2009-2011 and Turkey was the first country to ratify the Convention without reservations in 2012. However, those improvements did not help to decrease the rate of gender-based violence. In 2012, the Law on the Protection of the Family and Prevention of Violence against Women was adopted in order to replace the old 1998 Law on the Protection of the Family. Even though the new Law was generally evaluated positively, the policy-makers instinctive emphasis on the protection of the family and gender insensitive language of the other policy documents increased concerns about the party's real intentions on gender equality and on the prevention of gender-based violence (Acar and Altunok, 2013, p.18).

2.3. Political Islam

Political Islam might be defined as a revolutionary movement which aims to seize power and highlights its Islamic identity against Western 'imperialist' values. It is a 'top-to-bottom' movement which advocates the exercise of the Sharia and aspires to seize political power and fights for the transformation of society into the Islamic order (Gole, 1996, p.109). Political Islam sees the possibility of change in political power and through the state apparatuses. There are groups that aim to form a Muslim society and think the top-to-bottom approach or even violence is legitimate to achieve this goal, while others aim to increase the influence of Islam on socio-economic and political domains through democratic ways within the political Islamist tradition (Akdogan, 2004, p.620). Whatever the aim of an Islamic movement is, it is always about 'public ethics' and 'collective morals' which makes the religion itself political for many people.

“Muslims make themselves different images of Islam according to the social strata to which they belong, the sort of education they have received, their political affiliation, and even their individual temperament. But everywhere the dominant, almost unchanging image is of Islam as guardian, guarantor, surety, and protector of traditional morality...” (Rodinson, 1979, p.8 cited in Ayubi, 1991, p.42-43).

Political Islam is not one single doctrine and has many variations. There are Islamisms that vary from country to country and from community to community in a single country (Cınar, 2013, p.308-309). An example of political Islam, where strict secularist principles and a strong military stand side by side in the political life, can be observed in Turkey (Heywood, 2011, p.203).

It is wise to locate political Islam in Turkey differently than radicalist movements considering Turkey's societal and historical characteristics, and the way Islamism took form in the transition to Republican State from the Ottoman Empire. Since the 1970s, Islamic symbols, concepts and terminology were tools that right wing, conservative governments referred to when needed. The joining of conservatism and Islam has created a new form of Islamism, a form in which Islam is more dominant and visible compared to the previous ones, with the JDP and its leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan (Cigdem, 2004, p.29-30). The JDP's Islamism is western-oriented, integrated with neoliberalism, emphasizes Islamic identity of individuals and makes Islam more visible and therefore acquiesces the Islamization of society indirectly (Cınar, 2013, p.309).

The rise of the JDP in the 1990s provides a unique example in a political atmosphere where Turkish politics has been experiencing a conflict between the secular, military and the Islamists. The polarization was sharp among the different groups and the interference in each other's politics resulted in a chaos on the political arena. As an example, the National Security Council, which was established in the aftermath of the military coup in 1960 and is a feature of institutionalization of the military in the Turkish politics, proclaimed a series of recommendations to the coalition government of the Islamist Welfare Party and the center-right True Path Party in order to curb the power of political Islam which was seen as danger to secularism (Citak and Tur, 2008, p.455). The date was 28 February 1997. The conflict between the Islamist parties of the coalition government, the secularists and the military led to the formation of the Justice and Development Party in August 2001.

In the 2002 national elections, The JDP had 34% of the votes and two-third of the seats in the parliament and became the power party after a long time of coalition governments. The success of the party raised questions concerning the direction Turkish politics would take both on the national and the international level. The victory of the newly established and religiously oriented party concerned the secularists and the military in regards to the process

of European Union membership and a possible shift from the adapted Western values of the society. However, at the time when the JDP was established, the political parties of the coalition government were experiencing a legitimacy crisis and were moreover incapable of responding to the 2001 economic crisis. The political conjuncture enabled the JDP to stand out as a ‘new and clean party’ (Citak and Tur, 2008, p.455). The JDP launched several legal amendments including equality between women and men as a first step to prove that the party is loyal to the long-lasting desire to be integrated into the EU (Ayata and Tutuncu, 2008, p.369).

The JDP was defined as ‘conservative democrat’ by the party members and distanced itself from the previous Islamist parties in Turkey. The JDP claimed that the party was not Islamist and they did not accept the label of ‘Muslim democrats’ because, according to them, these two identities- being Muslim and democrats- should not melt in the same pot. Instead of being called an Islamist party, they preferred to be called ‘conservative’, which as an identity veiled their moral and religious values (Ayata and Tutuncu, 2008, p.367). According to some scholars, the reason for the rejection of the Islamist label was the unforgiving nature of the ‘authoritarian secularism’ as an official ideology of the country since its establishment and the term ‘conservative’ was a proxy for ‘Muslim democrat’ in this case (Citak and Tur, 2008, p.459). So, even though they do not use or accept an Islamic label, the party has characteristics of Islamism. As a result, the label of ‘conservative democrat’ and denial of any Islamist credentials helped them to be placed into the center- right and thus evaded being part of the polarization of the Turkish politics (Citak and Tur, 2008, p.455).

The party defines its understanding of politics in a book, *Conservative Democracy*, which was published by the party:

“Politics is a consensus arena in which societal differences are defined. Political power should not be centred upon one particular person or class, and the understanding of limited government should be a basis for power. Conservatism advocates evolutionary and progressive change rather than revolutionary one and moderateness is essential rather than radicalism. It also believes that tradition, family and the societal values that were gained throughout history should be protected” (Akdogan, 2004, p.625).

One can see the similarity between the definition of political Islam and the party’s definition of conservatism. The principle of the party is based on adapting Turkish society to

technological developments and the changes of the modern world while at the same time preserving traditions and societal values- most importantly family, Islam and morality- that were shaped by former civilizations of Anatolia and particularly the Ottoman Empire. The JDP legitimizes its actions and policies by reminding the public that 99 per cent of the population of Turkey is Muslim (Citak and Tur, 2008, p.461-463). Even though the JDP claims to reject instrumentalization of religion, religion is one of the most cherished values of the conservatism of the JDP as a tool to manipulate power (Citak and Tur, 2008, p.464). The rise of the JDP has come with political Islamist discourse on what is right and wrong for Turkish society and what is appropriate for women and men both in the private sphere and the public sphere, by recalling traditional gender roles both for women and men.

Since the nineteenth century, the relationship between women and men in which gender roles are complementary to each other has been regulated by Islamic intellectuals through doctrines, legal statues and practices (Pemberton, 2010, p.141). According to these regulations, the basic perception of women has been as mothers and the bearers of culture, meaning that their main responsibility is educating new generations as faithful Muslims. This was indeed a similar project of the Ottoman and then the Republican reforms. However, while Republican reforms expected women to educate new generations in the name of continuation of the nation, Muslim women are expected to do so for the progress of Islam (Saktanber, 2002, p.236). However, the relationship between women and Islam has started to be questioned in Turkey because of the fear of losing equality between women and men gained through secular order and fear of women becoming second class citizens. Based on the interpretations of the Qur'an, only men have the right to divorce, as well as right to polygamy. Women have the obligation to be subservient to their husbands. Some interpretations of verses of the Qur'an define women as physically weak and mentally fragile, and naturally dependent on men (Gole, 1996, p.86). Similar to those interpretations of the Qur'an, the JDP casts women's roles as protecting moral values, tradition and family (Acar and Altunok, 2013). It causes a large part of society to fear the traditional gender roles advocated by the JDP will mean a step back. Therefore, despite the JDP's efforts on women's rights and combating violence against women, the maintenance of the idea of traditional gender roles at the core of the policies hinders the improvement of women's human rights.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the thesis consists of three subchapters: poststructuralist feminism, theory of power, subject, subjectivation and theory of governmentality. Poststructuralist feminist approach provides an important background to analyze the way of how particular discourses construct identities of women and men and what kind of gender roles are ascribed to them. My motivation to choose poststructuralist feminism is its ability to relate discourse to the construction of gender roles. I will use this theory in order to examine discourses related to gender and gender-based violence in my material.

A governmentality theory, which is another choice in the framework, provides a route to analyze how knowledge on women and gender-based violence is constructed, how gendered subjects are governed and it enables us to adopt a feminist sensitivity while conducting the research (Goksel, 2012, p.345). It is also a link between the theory of power and the subjectivity and shows the techniques of power by which subjects govern and are governed. I will, then, utilize the governmentality theory to research the ways in which gender relations and gendered subjects are produced in the material and to understand the relation between power and the subjectivity.

The theoretical framework fits well with the methodological approach of the thesis, which is based on investigating the problem representation within a social policy document in order to find out how governing operates within a regime. Social policies, as one type of ‘techniques of power’, produce knowledge on women and women’s body, and establish a ground for differentiated responses based on biological sex and legitimizes traditional gender roles and perpetuates gender-based violence. Therefore, the theoretical framework will pave the ground to analyze the political Islamist discourse on gender roles and particularly gender-based violence within the social policy on preventing violence against women.

3.1. Poststructuralist Feminism

Poststructuralist feminist analysis focuses on how discourses construct subjects, how this legitimizes particular courses of action and how certain subject positions are silenced and others are privileged (Hansen, 2010, p.24). The importance of a poststructural feminist approach for the thesis lies in its focus on language and discourses and analyzing the way of how particular discourses construct identities of women and men and what kind of gender roles are ascribed to them. As Laura Shepherd says

“if ‘men’ and ‘women’ are the stories that have been told about ‘men’ and ‘women’, and the way that ‘men’ and ‘women’ both act and are acted upon, then the language used to tell those stories and describe those actions is not just worthy of analytical attention but can form the basis of an engaged critique. Furthermore, such an approach can enable thinking gender differently” (2007, p.241).

As a branch of third wave feminism, poststructuralist feminism follows the main principles of third wave such as being skeptical towards the idea of ‘universal cause’ of women’s subordination. It focuses on the diversity and multiplicity of women’s identities, defines gender as *performative* rather than emphasizing on essential categories of ‘woman’, ‘sex’, and recognizes context specific gender issues (Baxter, 2003, p.4-5). Most controversially, especially to the ‘second wave’ tradition, poststructuralist feminism emphasizes on female resistance and argues for reinterpretation of stereotyped subject positions instead of putting the subordination of women at the center of the research by claiming that such a divide of the self and the other, women and men, unwittingly legitimizes male epistemological power structures in the research, reconstructs gendered definitions of females and males and perpetuates inequalities (Baxter, 2003, p.17).

Poststructuralist feminism provides a background for discussion on power and the discursive construction of subjectivity. Poststructuralist theory defines power not only as a possessor or obsessor, but as a former of the subjectivity of the subjects- which is mainly as a result of Foucault’s work. According to that, individuals cannot be outside of discursive practices and are always surrounded by them. Discursive practices, which are changed according to context, construct a range of ‘subject positions’ and ‘approved way to be’ for the subjects (Baxter, 2003, p.25). Since the subject is given multiple ‘subject positions’, then it is not accurate to analyze women simply in one unified category.

While analyzing the formation of subject’s identity, poststructuralist theory focuses on language. Language, here, does not mean words, but *“systems of meaning- symbolic orders- that precede the actual mastery of speech, reading, and writing”* (Scott, 1986, p.1062). Social meanings are constructed and contested in language. According to Weedon, who was influential on poststructuralist theory in feminist research, *“language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of selves, our*

subjectivity is constructed” (1987, p.21). This interpretation of language helped feminist researchers to question how gender is constructed through the systems of meaning, how it is represented in different societies and how the language is used to articulate the rules of social relations (Scott, 1986, p.1062-1063). Therefore, I believe poststructuralist feminist approach will be beneficial in the analysis of the material of the thesis and to understand how gender relations are constructed through language.

In the next subchapters of this theory part, discussion on power, subject and subjectivization and finally governmentalization will be conducted for a better and detailed understanding of the gendered construction of the subjects.

3.2. Power, Subject and Subjectivication

In order to elaborate my theoretical approach, examining Foucauldian notions of power and subject, and Judith Butler’s analysis drawn from Foucault is important. Analyzing power within the gendered lens helps us to see how unequally subjects, women and men, are formed and governed within the traditional gender categories (Peterson and Runyan, 1999, p.113) which will guide us in examining the research question. As a first step, I will define the concept of power, subject and their relationship.

According to Foucault, power is not only a model of domination that is possessed and applied by a sovereign over others, but it can be defined as

“actions on others’ actions: that is, it presupposes rather than annuls their capacity as agents; it acts upon, and through, an open set of practical and ethical possibilities. Hence, although power is an omnipresent dimension in human relations, power in a society is never a fixed and closed regime, but rather an endless and open strategic game” (Gordon, 1991, p.5).

Therefore, power produces new forms of desires, objects, relations, and discourses (Mahmood, 2005 p.17). Different relations of power exist between different persons, in institutions such as family and hospital, and between persons and the state (Foucault, 1978a, p.128).

Butler suggests that the subject is not identical with the individual. It is rather *“a linguistic condition of the individual’s existence and agency”*, *“a structure in formation”* (1997, p.10-

11). The individual becomes a subject after being subjected or undergoing 'subjectivation' (Butler, 1997, p.10-11). Foucault describes subjectivation as "*the very processes and conditions that secure a subject's subordination are also the means by which she becomes a self-conscious identity and agent*" (1980, 1983 cited in Mahmood, 2005, p.17). The subject, then, is produced through power relations, undergone subjectivation which is necessary condition of its possibility which is also does not mean it is a passive object of power. Butler raises an important question on formation of subject: "*If power works not merely to dominate or oppress existing subjects, but also forms subjects, what is this formation?*" (Butler, 1997, p.18). Here, Butler reminds us that to form the subject does not mean that power originates, causes the subject (Butler, 1993, p.10-11 cited in Mahmood, 2005, p.18).

Butler's analysis on power and subject is important, because Butler describes gender as a 'performative' (performativity) process and positions power as formative of the subject and the subject realizes her/himself through performative process (Kundakcı, 2010, p.484). Power in Butler's analysis, with the influence of Foucault, first appears external to the subject, possess on and subordinates the subject, takes a psychic form to constitute the subject's self-identity (Butler, 1997, p.3). At this point the subject becomes a gendered self.

Power is the condition of the subject's formation, it makes the subject possible to exist, and the subject has to embrace power, reiterate it and be subjected to it in order to continue the existence. So, Butler claims that subjection is the price of existence of the subject (Kundakcı, 2010, p.488). Therefore, the power does not only make the subject possible but it continues to exist in the subject's formation (Butler, 1997, p.14). And most importantly, power as a productive field also constitutes a condition for the subject's de-constitution and a possibility of resistance to subversion (Butler, 1997, p.99). Resistance is an important concept as it allows subjects to "*subvert the hegemonic meanings of cultural practices and redeploying them for their 'own interests and agendas'*" (Mahmood, 2005, p.6).

Power similar to Foucault's definition, is not only oppressor and former of the subject, but power is a mechanism that the subject is subjected to and is a part of the subject's existence. But, if we understand power as formative of the subject and 'the condition of its possibility', then we can avoid thinking power as only in negative sense, but also think power as "*what the subject depends on for her/his existence and what the subject harbors and preserve in the beings that the subject is*" (Butler, 1997, p.2). Only then, the subject accepts and internalizes

powers terms. At this point, Butler (1997, p.2) questions if it is the subject who accepts power's term or is not that the subject dependent on those terms for her/his existence. Butler asks: "*Are there not discursive conditions for the articulation of the subject?*" (1997, p.2). At this point, subjection signifies a process of a radical dependency 'on a discourse we never chose'. It means "*the act of being subjected; the state of being subject to; the condition of being subject*" (Butler, 1997, p.1). Aforementioned, such a subjection of the subject by power both acts on the subject and initiates the subject (Kundakcı, 2010, p.487). Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that subjection is not merely a choice of the subject. Namely, the subject is restricted by subjection for her/his production. But the subject continues living and repeats oneself without realizing its subjection under a curtain of subjectivication (Butler, 1997, p.84).

The ambivalent attachment between power and the subject is a sign of paradox of subjectivication. "*Subjectivication (assujettissement) denotes both the becoming of the subject and the process of subjection*" (Butler, 1997, p.83). The body takes place at the center of the process of subjectivication. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (cited in Butler, 1997, p.83) provides an analysis on how the prisoner's body is formed as 'a sign of guilt and transgression' through the discourses and how subjectivication takes place in the her/his body by formulating the body as 'the embodiment of prohibition' and 'the sanction for rituals of normalization'.

According to Foucault, government creates its policies through "*a whole series of power networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge, technology and so forth*" (1980, p.122 cited in Hay, Lister and Marsh, 2006, p.167). The definition implies that the power is a positive force for the governments activities in the sense of forming the subject. What is important for Foucault (1991 cited in Hay, Lister and Marsh, 2006, p.168), in his writings on power and governmentality which is to be discussed in the next subchapter, the techniques of the government uses to shape and guide the whole society. The analysis provided in *Discipline and Punish*, illustrates an important example for the thesis in order to understand the discursive construction of the subjects. As it was also discussed in the previous subchapter, individuals are always subjected to discursive practices and they are given different subject positions in different discursive contexts (Baxter, 2003, p.25). Even though we do not aim to look at individual level effect, the theoretical framework drawn with power, subject, subjectivication and governmentalization helps us to have general

understanding on the relation between political Islam as a discursive regime and the influence of it on gendered construction of the subjects and particularly women.

3.3. Governmentalization

In order to analyze the influence of the political Islamist discourse on gender roles and particularly the perpetuation of gender-based violence, theorizing ‘governmentality’ is an important step. ‘Governmentality’ enables us to understand how subjects are governed by power and are formed in different categories by attributing them different roles. Social policies, as one type of ‘techniques of power’, produce knowledge on women and women’s body, and establish a ground for differentiated responses based on biological sex and legitimizes traditional gender roles and perpetuates gender-based violence. The process of formation does not go through disciplining bodies or shaping their mentalities by force, but this a process to “*elicit, promote, facilitate, foster and attribute various capacities, qualities and statuses to particular agents*” (Dean, 2010, p.43-4). In this subchapter of the thesis, definition of governmentalization will be given, ‘techniques of power’ as ways of governmentalization will be analyzed, and finally how governmentalization should be thought in Turkish case will be discussed.

‘Governmentality’ as a concept was developed by Michel Foucault in his later works in which he wanted to develop a way of understanding “*how modern forms of governments shaped the conduct of others and the conduct of selves*” (Marston and McDonald, 2006, p.2). According to Foucault, the term ‘government’ means ‘the conduct of conduct’ which implies that the ‘government’ as a form of activity shapes, guides and influence the conduct of population of a country (Gordon, 1991, p.2). The questions of ‘who can govern, what governing is, what or who is governed and how governing is carried out’ are at the center of the analysis of Foucauldian ‘governmentality’ (Gordon, 1991, p.3). Therefore, the important aspect to focus is not the structure of government but how individuals are governed, how governmentalization is done through, for example, defining individuals within certain categories- such as children, women and family-, and finally what kind of discourses- for instance on morality, family, and economic- are created in order to accomplish the process (Goksel, 2012, p.362).

Governments use various social policies, institutions and ideologies to govern individuals and their relations with themselves and the state (Acar and Altunok, 2013, p.15). Certain forms of

identities are promoted and presupposed in those practices and programs. However, this is not exercised forcefully. Discourses are embedded in social policies, ideologies and institutions, and those policies, ideologies and institutions play a role as governmentalization techniques (Goksel, 2012, p.362). It would not be wrong to say, then, ‘techniques of power’ involves the production of knowledge of subjects (Dean, 2010, p.28).

In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault suggests that all modern societies construct certain ‘techniques of power’ that are designed to observe, monitor, shape and control individuals’ behavior. Those ‘techniques’ are implemented through a range of social and economic institutions such as schools, hospitals and prisons (Gordon, 1991, p.3). Even though Foucault has focused only in specific institutions abovementioned, he suggests the same analysis could be conducted to understand ‘techniques of power’ that are used to govern a population of an entire society by a political sovereignty (Gordon, 1991, p.4). Dean defines ‘techniques of power’ as “*historically constituted assemblages through which we do such things as cure, care, relieve, educate, train and counsel*” (2010, p.40). In contemporary societies, those practices continue, although different regimes produce their ‘characteristic ways of forming subjects, selves, persons, actors and agents’ and different decisions on what constitutes a ‘normal frame of life’ meaning what constitutes public order (Dean, 2010, p.33; Dean, 2006, p.32). According to the governmentalization theory, public order is maintained by power through ‘normalization’ process. Normalization process creates normal and abnormal categories and this leads to differentiation and then making of the ‘other’ (Lewis, 2000, p.21-26). It is interesting that while regime of power leads the governmentalization process, it does so without force. Foucault (1991 cited in Lewis, 2000, p.26) says that ethnic and gender divergences are fundamental dimensions of social normalisation process. This is possibly how gendered categories are created.

Foucauldian conception of ‘governmentality’ provides a way to analyze how knowledge on women and gender-based violence is constructed in Turkish social policy under the regime of political Islam (Goksel, 2012, p.345). Political Islam, in that sense, is not only an ideology or political regime in contemporary Turkey, but is a ‘*rationally reflected and coordinated way of governing*’ (Oksala, 2013, p.37).

4. Methodology

This chapter aims to describe methodological aspects of the thesis and how the methodological tools will be used in order to conduct the analysis of ‘how gender-based violence against women is being perpetuated and constructed by political Islamist discourse in the public policies in the context of Turkey’. First of all, an introduction of feminist methodology and its importance for the thesis will be mentioned. Second of all, Carol Bacchi’s (2009) ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ approach, namely policy discourse analysis, will be introduced as the methodological approach of the thesis. The framework that Bacchi (2009) forms to do discourse analysis within policy documents will be implemented in the analysis chapter and in this chapter an introduction of the questions will take place. The questions to implement discourse analysis will be helpful to identify theory-related materials across the policy documents and code them into themes (Bryman, 2008, p.555). Third of all, the object of investigation, a social policy document on preventing ‘family violence’ will be presented together with the media speeches and statements of the politicians that are gathered in national and international mainstream media and newspapers. And finally, limitations of the chosen methodology will be mentioned.

4.1. Feminist Methodology

Sandra Harding defines methodology as “*a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed*” and method as “*a technique of gathering evidence or a way of proceeding evidence*” (1987, p.2-3). Harding (1987, p.2), in the same literature, states that feminist research is conducted basically in the same way as other social science researches. Methods that are used in the feminist research are not different from the traditional methods. The importance of feminist researches is remaining critical to traditional social sciences in the way of conceptualizing women’s and men’s lives (Harding, 1987, p.2). Therefore, feminist methodology aims not to invent new methods but rather to challenge existing methods that are shaped by masculine knowledge and to develop research styles to make feminine voices to be heard and understand ‘gendered lives’ better (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002, p.15).

The importance of ‘giving a voice to women’ lies behind the fact that phenomena which do not appear problematic from the perspective of men may appear problematic from the perspective of women. Therefore feminist methodology provides a new perspective that male-centric methodology or gender-blind methodology would not provide. Smith (1997, p.97 cited in Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002, p.72) states that by sharing women’s experiences,

feminists challenge dominant discourse as it does not involve the knowledge of discriminated and subordinated ones. As an example, the question of ‘what is the appropriate legal policy to protect women from all kinds of violence?’ would be answered differently within different methodological frameworks.

Martyn Hammersley (1992, p.187) summarizes the main principles of feminist methodology as ‘the ubiquitous social significance of gender’, ‘the validity of experience as against method’, ‘the adoption of the emancipation of women as the goal of research’ and ‘the rejection of hierarchy in the research relationship’, and he adds there are different directions and approaches within feminist methodology.

The latter feature that Hammersley (1992, p.188) states, which is conceptualized as ‘reflexivity’, is one of the most debatable issue in the feminist methodology and claims that a researcher cannot be apart from the research process and the researched subject. Gorelick describes the importance of reflexivity as such:

“...something very fundamental happens when both the knower and the known are women. When the pronoun applied to the knower is she, rather than the seemingly impersonal he, the knower is changed immediately from The Scientist to a person with a gender. And when this scientist with a female personal pronoun studies women, she is apt to feel a different relationship with her subjects, because she is subject to finding herself mirrored in them, a fact with revolutionary implications for the relationships among observer and observed, theory and experience, science, politics, race, and class” (1991, p.460).

Even though fieldwork and a direct interaction with the subjects have not been involved in the thesis, reflexivity is still important to be mentioned within the framework of the feminist methodology. Coming from the country at issue, having been in the feminist struggle in this country, and having worked in the field of gender-based violence and gender equality puts me in a very sensitive position. It is impossible for me to exclude my background, it will surely have some influence, for better or for worse, on the research. Reflexivity does not necessarily make the research too subjective but rather increases the objectivity of the overall research by adding different voices, mainly of women, that have not been integral to the general before (Harding, 1987, p.9).

Another point to reflect is how I use ‘women’s experiences’ in plural which stresses that there is no universal woman, accordingly there is no one experience. Women with different backgrounds, namely from different class, race, religion, have different experiences. This is also valid for men and ‘men’s experiences’ (Harding, 1987, p.7). Not every woman, for instance, experience male power in the same way and again this is very much related to different forms of power such as class, race, ethnicity, sexuality and so on (Collins, 1997, p.380). As one of the important concern here is whether defining the research focus as ‘women in Turkey’ is simply unifying ‘women’ and how to avoid damage to the ‘subject’s agency’ in that sense. Collins (1997, p.377) suggest that using the ‘women’ as a unit of analysis does not mean that all the individuals in the group undergo the same experiences or interpretations. Therefore, taking group as the unit of analysis still leaves space for individual agency. Moreover, ‘women’ as a group can seek strength in collective action based on common experiences of subordination against hierarchical power relations or ‘privileged groups’ (Collins, 1997, p.380).

Using feminist methodology while analyzing public policy documents is a challenge. In methodological terms, feminist methodology and methodology of public policy documents have different features. In preparation of public policies, an empiricist epistemological stand is taken, while feminist methodology is critical against empiricism on a large scale and emphasizes on the reflexivity of researchers (Halsema, 2003, p.75). Despite the differences on epistemological and methodological styles between public policies and feminist research, I believe analyzing public policy by using feminist methodology and ‘policy-as-discourse’ method- which will be detailed in the next subchapter- will provide an interesting and fruitful outcome for the thesis. I believe that feminist methodology will enrich the analysis and challenge the normative and androcentric structure of policy documents. Furthermore, by using feminist methodology, I aim to analyze public discourses within the framework of gender and ‘give voice to women’s experiences’, and correspondingly give a new perspective to policy documents.

As a final note, even though the focus of research is ‘women’ in the thesis, neither gender nor feminism is purely about women and should not be reduced to women. This will be kept in mind while writing the thesis.

4.2. Discourse Analysis

The concept ‘discourse’ has been used with different meanings in different contexts for more than two decades now. Stuart Hall defines discourse as “*a group of statements which provide a language for talking about –i.e. a way of representing- a particular type of knowledge about a topic*” (1992, p.291 cited in Bacchi, 1999, p.199). And discourse analysis is the analysis of these statements, these patterns (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.1).

It is important to state that in discourse analysis, theory and method are intertwined. While using discourse analysis as a method, researchers should base the method on the theoretical premises of it (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.3-4). In the thesis, theoretical framework concerning the poststructuralist premises and theories of power, subject, subjectivification and governmentalization were stated in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the main concern is to describe the methodological framework and the approach that is being used.

Discourse analysis is not only one approach, but it involves many different interdisciplinary approaches one of which is Carol Bacchi’s (2009) ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ approach and will be detailed in the next subchapter.

4.2.1. Using ‘What’s the Problem Represented to be?’ Approach as a Method of the Research

The ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ approach is a useful tool to analyze the research question of the thesis, namely, the influence of political Islamist discourse on gendered construction of the subjects or in other words how the subjects are governed through discursive practices. The approach enables us to question the ‘problematizations’ in selected policy documents through examining “*the premises and effects of the problem representations these problematizations contain*” (Bacchi, 2009, p.2). Finally, it gives an opportunity to find ways to answer the research question while elaborating on the theoretical framework.

Social policy in a broad sense is identified as *government* programs which are written for the idea that there is a ‘problem’ that needs to be *fixed*. The ‘problem’ that needs to be fixed and ‘solution’ to it are decided *by* policy makers and therefore they are dependent on policy makers’ assumptions and presuppositions. Implying that there is a ‘problem’ also means there is something that needs to be changed. Correspondingly, social policy scholars claim that ‘problems’ are not addressed, but are given shape in policy documents which means

‘problems’ are created within the policy making process, they do not exist outside independently. Furthermore, analyzing policy helps researchers to understand the historical and national context behind the scene of the governing process (Bacchi, 2009, p.2).

The ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ approach grounds on the idea that policy ‘problems’ are very much related to how they are represented. Examining representations of the ‘problems’ helps researchers to see how subjects are constituted in them (Bacchi, 2004, p.151). Accordingly, proposed ‘solutions’ are also problematic as they are created in the very same discourse. In another words, a policy-as-discourse approach frames policy not as a response to existing conditions and problems, but more as a discourse in which both problems and solutions are created (Bacchi, 2000, p.48).

To conclude, a reason of choosing Bacchi’s (2009) ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ approach is the idea that ‘problems’ are created within the policy documents and they do not exist in the social world alone. I believe, by using this approach, it is possible to analyze how arguments concerning preventing gender-based violence against women are constituted and how these arguments assign different categories and subject positions to different groups within policy documents. How the ‘problem’ of gender-based violence against women is framed within policy documents, how this frame would affect what can be thought about ‘gender’, ‘gender-based violence’, and ‘subjects’ at stake, and finally ‘how this affects possibilities for action’ is worth to focus on and answer. To find the answers to those questions or to the research question in general, six questions of the ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ approach will be utilized as a tool and asked within the policy documents. Therefore, it is important to introduce those six questions and in what ways they serve to the research.

4.2.2. Introducing the Six Questions of ‘What’s the Problem Represented to be?’ Approach

To implement the ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ approach, six questions are asked within a particular policy document. The questions scrutinize the policy proposal for change by exploring rationales behind it, assumptions and presuppositions that underpinned it, ‘silences’ within it, and the effects that are likely to appear as a result of this understanding of the ‘problem’ and the problem solution (Bacchi, 2009, p.2).

Six questions that are developed by Bacchi (2009) are a very helpful guide in order to analyze the selected policy documents. Those questions- which are explained in detail below- were asked within the policy documents and the answers were coded as different themes under the analysis part. The themes were detailed and elaborated with theoretical framework and exemplified more with the media statements of politicians.

Question 1: What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers', 'drug use/ abuse', domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be in a specific policy?

The first question is a starting point and aims to examine what a government proposes and produces as a 'problem' and what they aim to change.

Question 2: What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?

The term 'presupposition' alludes to 'knowledge' that constitutes the background of representation of the problem. It includes epistemological and ontological assumptions. Examining presuppositions, then, helps to identify and uncover the conceptual premises, deep-seated cultural norms that underpin specific problem representations (Bacchi, 2009, p.5).

As aforementioned, discourse means more than a language, and presuppositions and assumptions are a part of it. The question two aims to explore how meaning is created in policy documents. Therefore, in question two, the task is to identify and interrogate the binaries, key concepts and categories that illustrate assumptions and presuppositions and to understand how they function in the problem representation within the policy (Bacchi, 2009, p.7). Categories, here, are particularly important, since it is significantly important to understand how governing takes place and how the subjects are assigned different roles within different categories such as women as mothers, single mothers, victims of family violence, citizens.

Question 3: How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?

Question three is takes its root from Foucauldian genealogy. Genealogical work enables researcher to find out the 'influences' behind a 'problem' creation. In genealogy the focus is on history and process of the problem representation (Bacchi, 2009, p.11). The aim of the third question, then, is to examine history or, in other words, the origin of 'problem

representations' and reveal how a 'problem' took a particular shape in a policy (Bacchi, 2009, p.12).

Question 4: What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?

Social policies govern the subject not only with its problem representations but also keeping some parts silenced or governing them indirectly (Bacchi, 2009, p.13). Therefore, which categories of subjects were emphasized on and which categories of subjects remained silenced and which outcomes this would lead to will be examined under the question 4. The binaries, key concepts or categories that were found through question 2 are very helpful here to find out if there are any misrepresentations or any categories, issues that are not represented. I believe silences are parts of assumptions, other half of the binaries. Therefore, it is logical to combine the question 2 and 4. As a result, I will examine question 4 under question 2.

Question 5: What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?

The fifth question focuses on the effects of the 'problem' representation within a policy document. Assumptions and presuppositions on certain categories –as they are identified in policies- may cause difficulties for different social groups and the aim with the question five is to discuss the possible 'effects' of the problem representation on the subject groups who are at issue in specific public policy. It is important to keep in mind that effects are very subtle in their influence and are always understood from the perspective of a specific theoretical framework (Bacchi, 2009, p.15). In this particular thesis, the focus will be 'subjectivication effect' following the theoretical framework. Researching 'subjectivication effects' refers to the idea that subjects, subjectivities and accordingly social relationships are constituted and take place in discourse. Also, discourse assumes specific subject positions for specific groups. That leads to the subject making sense of the world within this discursive positioning. Hence, according to Bacchi, "*how the subject feels about her/himself and others and who the subject is at least to an extent an effect of the subject positions made available in public policies*" (2009, p.16). Theories of governmentality should come to mind at this stage. Who are the targeted subjects, how government tries to govern them and how they indicate and encourage 'approved way to be' among the majority. The process also leads to finding out implications about the responsible group or category for the 'problem'.

Bacchi suggests asking following sub-questions within the policy document in order to find the ‘target group’ and/or ‘responsible group’ of the ‘problem’ represented to be:

- “1. What is likely to change with this representation of the ‘problem’?”*
- 2. What is likely to stay the same?*
- 3. Who is likely to benefit from this representation of the problem?*
- 4. Who is likely to be harmed by this representation of the problem?*
- 5. How does the attribution of responsibility for the problem affect those so targeted and perceptions of the rest of the community about who is to blame?”* (2009, p.18).

Question 6: How and where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Question six focuses on the ‘possibility of challenging a problem representation’ that is judged to be problematic for some social groups. The question is linked to the idea of resistance and agency that are attached great importance by poststructuralist feminists. At this last stage of the analysis, Bacchi (2009, p.19) suggests to think about ‘what individuals, what groups or classes have access to a particular kind of discourse’ and ‘how is the relationship institutionalized between the discourse, speakers and its designated audience’.

4.3. The Choice and Collection of Research Material

Discourse analysis allows researchers to carry out an analysis ‘wherever there is meaning’ (Willig, 2008, p.114). Therefore, discourse analysis can be carried out on a wide variety of texts. The material of the thesis is a governmental policy paper on preventing violence against women that was issued by the Directorate General for Status of Women in the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in Turkey in 2007. And the second material is collected media speeches and statements of politicians about gender equality and gender-based violence against women.

The first material is the ‘National Action Plan- Fighting against Family Violence against Women 2007-2010’. The latest National Action Plan, which was developed for the period of 2012-2015, is a repetition of the 2007’s Action Plan and does not provide any detailed analysis of the issue, only giving brief definitions and vaguely describing the measures to be taken. Therefore, I find it suitable to analyze only the National Action Plan 2007. The reason of choosing this document is because it provides an overall portrait over the gender-based

violence in Turkey and it is addressed to the organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, as a ‘guide and reference document’ while preparing policies and actions on the issue. Second of all, the Action Plan was prepared by the Ministry who is responsible for the gender equality and gender mainstreaming programs in Turkey. Therefore, I believe analyzing the document will provide the necessary information that I seek for in order to answer the research question of the thesis.

The analysis will be mainly based on the National Action Plan. However, I believe it is purposive to examine related materials in order to ‘build up a fuller picture of a particular problem representation’ (Bacchi, 2009, p.20). Therefore, collected media speeches and statements of politicians, public spot advertisements and so on will be used in the analysis. I believe that spoken discourse will be complementary to written discourse and it will show us the “*the fluid and interactive ways in which speakers shift between competing subject positions within a course of conversation, discussion and debate*” (Baxter, 2003, p.2). Additionally it will show us the points that we cannot see or observe in the written public documents and it will enable us to see political Islamist discourse more openly in every domain of life.

4.4. Limitations

One important limitation of the methodology is that the chosen material is only available in Turkish, and therefore needs translation. Translation as well as interpretation of the research material cannot be seen apart from how the researcher is socially situated (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002, p.118). Researchers in social sciences cannot leave their own language, perception of life, standpoint aside during the data analysis. The process of data analysis is an exercise of power in the way that the researcher focuses on some parts and ignores some others; constitutes research subjects as ‘others’ and determines a ‘proper’ knowledge over others (Smith, 1998 cited in Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002, p.113). In feminist research, both researcher and researched are constituted as particular knowing selves, located in hierarchical relations (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002, p.106-107). Because authors have the power to use the academic tools and disseminate her/his perception to the world, whereas the researched subject might have limited access. Therefore, it is our concern that the findings of this research will be influenced by my translation and interpretation of the materials which will give the power to guide the audience to focus on some parts and not the others.

Secondly, one part of the research material will be gathered through mass-media and social media where 'authenticity' of the documents is sometimes difficult to ascertain (Bryman, 2008, p.525).

5. Analyzing the National Action Plan on ‘Family Violence’

This chapter will examine how men and women are constructed as gendered subjects by particular discourses of political Islam as an ideology of Turkish state and how ideas about gender roles and violence against women are expressed in a specific social policy document, the National Action Plan (NAP). To investigate that, I conduct ‘policy-as-discourse’ analysis by using Bacchi’s (2009) framework of ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ approach in the NAP and media debates related to violence against women.

The first subchapter functions as a text analysis. In this chapter, I start with a brief discussion of the phrase ‘family violence’ which was chosen to describe the ‘problem’. Therefore, it is an important first step to understand the problem representation before turning to a discussion of the ways in which men and women are governed through the use of discourses in the frame of preventing ‘family violence’ against women. Starting from the second subchapter, where I present assumptions that underlie the problem representation, I bring together the text analysis with the key concepts of the thesis and the theoretical framework for a better understanding of the project of making gendered subjects better. I believe elaborating the findings with the key concepts and theoretical framework will provide a fruitful discussion and guide the reader through my thought process.

5.1. Naming the Problem: “Family Violence”

Terms to define gender-based violence against women have changed over time depending on what was considered to be the ‘problem’ both by governments and policy makers. In the nineteenth century, for instance, the ‘problem’ was named ‘wife battering’. In the twentieth century, the term ‘domestic violence’ was used in order to define the ‘problem’. Today, even though ‘domestic violence’ is still frequently used, phrases such as ‘spousal abuse’, ‘marital abuse’, ‘conjugal crime’, ‘woman battering’, ‘family violence’ and ‘violence against women’ are also preferred depending on the policies and regimes it was prepared under (Bacchi, 1999, p.165). The important point here is not the phrase itself, which is an abstract concept, but rather the ways a particular problem representation is produced. Therefore, the first aim in this section is to examine these ways in which the phrase ‘family violence’ functions as a part of the problem representation in the frame of the question 1 ‘What’s the ‘problem’ of ‘family violence’ represented to be in a specific policy?’.

The NAP has adopted the phrase ‘family violence’ among many other phrases as abovementioned; therefore it is important to analyze what could be the underlying reasons behind choosing this particular phrase and how it functions in the policy. It describes family violence as:

“a type of violence which occurs in private sphere and between individuals who are related through kinship and intimacy. Generally, it occurs by men against women and children. Family violence is the most prevalent type of violence against women, but it is rarely visible. It can be physical, psychological, sexual and economic. Such violence actions violate women’s human rights and cause damages women’s physical and reproductive health and in some occasions women lose their lives” (NAP, 2007, p.10).

It is said in the NAP that this definition of ‘family violence’ was adopted from the United Nations resolution on on elimination of domestic violence against women (2003). I find it notable that the NAP speaks of ‘kadina yonelik aile ici siddet’, which could be translated directly as ‘violence against women within the family’. In other words, the NAP choose to speak of family violence (aile ici siddet, violence within the family), instead of using the Turkish equivalent to the term ‘domestic violence’ (ev ici siddet) used in the UN resolution it adopted from.

While domestic violence and family violence might seem like synonyms or are used so in some international documents, I argue that they have a difference. The distinction between domestic and family violence matters in the Turkish context where politics is dominated by a political Islamist discourse. Since the definition of a family is limited to “*a group of people related by blood or marriage*” and “*a group consisting of two parents and their children living together as a unit*”, the NAP’s usage of the phrase limits violence against women in the family sphere and assumes the family as a heterosexual unit (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015). Therefore, ‘family violence’ predicts an existence of a legal and heterosexual marriage or kinship whereas the phrase ‘domestic violence’ includes intimate partner violence too.

Another definition regarding ‘family violence’ against women in the NAP is that “*family violence is an important public health problem and societal problem which is a result of unequal power relations between men and women and it is violation of women’s human rights*” (NAP, 2007, p.10). Even though the policy, or policy makers, touches upon unequal

power relations between men and women as a cause of violence, defining ‘family violence’ as a ‘societal problem’ and even as a ‘public health problem’ leaves us with questions. ‘Has the ‘problem’ of family violence become a concern because it was perceived as a threat to the society?’ ‘Does the policy concern about women and accept them as individuals, respect women’s human rights and women’s determination on their own bodies?’ Or ‘Does it consider women solely as members of the family?’

Similar to the NAP, in Turkey’s Penal Code, sex offenses and crimes used to be judged under the ‘crimes against society’ article before 2004. This definition put sexual crimes against women in a category of offense against family and public decency (Goksel, 2012, p.359). The Code which put family and public decency at the center had a language that reiterates men’s superiority as the way the NAP continues to do. Bacchi criticize the phrases that are used to describe violence against women, and in this context the phrase of ‘family violence’, by stating that “*violence should be conceptualized, not as a breakdown of social order but rather as the reflection of a power struggle for the maintenance of a certain kind of social order, one in which men terrorize women*” (1999, p.175). ‘Family violence’ as the suggested phrase, then, serves for suppression of women’s bodies and continues producing knowledge about women and their bodies (Goksel, 2012, p.355).

Naming the ‘problem’ as ‘family violence’ carries a meaning behind it and should be understood within the context of Turkey. The NAP states that the dimensions of the ‘problem’ are difficult to identify, because violence is hidden in the private sphere (NAP, 2007, p.10). Violence is accepted as violence when it occurs in family no matter if it is physical, sexual, economic or psychological. Violence that occurs outside of family and perpetrators who are not spouses or consanguineous remain out of the context. One of the JDP’s emphasis within their policy-making has been the ideal of ‘Strong Family’ and it has been a symbol of the party’s protective and conservative politics on family and particularly on women. The party’s discourses place family ‘as the foundation of a society’ and women as ‘bearers of moral values and reproducers of young generations’ (Goksel, 2012, p.364). I will look at deeper what assumptions and presuppositions regarding family, women and men underlie the representation of the ‘problem’ of family violence and provide a link between those assumptions and political Islam for a better understanding.

5.2. Assumptions Underlying the Problem of ‘Family Violence’ in the National Action Plan

The purpose of the NAP is explained as *“to transfer every necessary measurement into practice in order to prevent every type of violence against women in family”* (2007, p.21). There are six objectives stated to achieve this: adopting necessary amendments in law to achieve gender equality and fighting family violence against women, increasing societal awareness on gender equality and violence against women in order to eliminate reasons for violence against women, adopting necessary regulations to strengthen women’s socio-economic status, providing protective measurements that are easily accessible for women and children, providing treatment and rehabilitation services for women who are survivors of violence and perpetrators of violence, and finally collaborating with other agencies for better services for women and children survivors of violence (NAP, 2007, p.21). Among them, change or transformation in societal awareness on the issue of family violence is underlined significantly.

Preparing the NAP for the above purposes tells us that there are assumptions and presuppositions that constitute the background of representation of the problem. Examining those assumptions and presuppositions within the frame of the question 2 will help us to identify and uncover the conceptual premises, deep-seated cultural norms that are embedded in the specific problem representation (Bacchi, 2009, p.5). Therefore, I will first investigate the idea behind the family and how the political Islamist ideology uses it as discursive technology. I will then continue analysing what assumptions on women, as a gendered category of analysis, are embedded in the NAP and media debates of the politicians. Each of those chapters will be followed by a chapter to discuss what ‘silences’ are in the discourses. Since silences indicate meanings behind them and are based on assumptions as well, question 4 on ‘silences’ will be analysed under the assumptions, question 2. Key concepts and theoretical framework will be utilized for a deeper understanding of Turkish context in this chapter.

5.2.1. Family is ‘the Safest Place for Women’

The concept of family and the ideal of ‘Strong Family’ have been put at the center not only in the NAP, but in every implementation regarding the issue of violence against women. For example, a campaign to raise awareness on the issue of violence against women in 2004 was called ‘End Family Violence’ (NAP, 2007, p.15). Governmental agency of Social Work,

which is the responsible entity of implementation of policies on preventing violence against women, has established 38 ‘family consultancy’ offices that work directly with women survivors of violence (NAP, 2007, p.16). The number is higher than shelters that are available for women survivors of violence.

The NAP does not only put family at the center but locates women in family, and considers women only as a part of family, not as individuals. It assumes that family is “*a place where women feel the safest*” (NAP, 2007, p.5). Therefore, violence in the family is unacceptable and it affects society as a whole.

Researching Islamic tradition and its stance on family and gender categories is important to understand the assumptions that are embedded in the policy papers and media statements, therefore it cannot be separated from the analysis. The Islamic tradition is an important part of political Islam and political Islam generates discourses based on the Islamic tradition. Similarly, as a part of Islamic tradition, orders of family traditions show us in which perspective sexuality and relationships between women and men is actualized. Analysing those norms, traditions gives us clue about how women and men are situated as gendered beings thorough them (Berkday, 1996, p.118).

Islam is not only a religion of individuals but also a holistic ordinance on individual’s life. There is no duality in a Muslim’s life. Every act that a Muslim practices culturally and socially, or her/his personal interests and any kind of relationship with other persons should be in harmony with religion. Qur’an and the Sunnah –the second primary source of Islam after the Qur’an which refers to the teachings, deeds and sayings of the prophet Muhammad- do not only regulate individual faith and way of living but also the societal relationships among believers. These societal relationships include ordinance on family, marriage, divorce and so on (Berkday, 1996, p.110). Similarly, Ayubi (1991, p.35) states that Islamic governments as a guardian of moral code pay overwhelming attention to the family as a social unit as well as issues such as veiling, segregation of sexes, penalties for moral crimes such as adultery and alcohol bans which have been at the agenda during the JDP’s power.

Family institution in Islam serves as a mechanism that prevents degeneration of individuals and maintains societal order. Continuation of societal order is very much dependent on traditional division of labour between men and women. This ‘natural’ order has existed with

the will of God, men are responsible for the household's order and for the well-being as heads of the family, while women are responsible of domestic work and most importantly giving birth and raising individual for the continuation of moral values and cultivating Islamic solidarity.

Women are needed to be educated to complete this holistic responsibility in the best way, because a family's unity depends on the reputation of women and how they do their duties. Women, then, are only keepers of family's unity and harmony and not rulers which is the task of men (Saktanber, 2002, p.40). This traditional division of labour means equality of the partners in the Islamic tradition. Therefore, traditional division of labour is legitimized and indeed absolutized, since they take their origins from Islam (Berkday, 1996, p.123). These 'natural' gender roles cause a 'need' for protection of women and form them as dependent subjects (Berkday, 1996, p.124).

We see one example of a statement on 'natural' gender roles in the words of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, president of Turkey and co-founder of the JDP: *"women and men cannot be treated equally, because it goes against the laws of nature (fitrat)...Their characters, habits and physics are different"* (The Guardian, 2014). And he shows as source of this knowledge as Islam: *"Our religion [Islam] has defined a position for women: motherhood"* (The Guardian, 2014). It is also remarkable that Erdogan expressed those ideas at a summit on justice for women in Istanbul. While those words had a public attention and were criticized by feminist activists, the minister of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Aysenur Islam, made a press statement claiming that Erdogan's words were misunderstood and misinterpreted:

"To understand Erdogan, one should know what 'fitrat' means, it means 'creation', 'nature'. Women and men are different by nature, biologically, physically and sometimes mentally. Therefore, we cannot say there is an absolute equality between women and men...Erdogan's statement of 'women are equivalent, rather than equal to men' is true, and justice will make women equal to men" (Bianet, 2014).

Those and similar other statements indicate meanings and they are important, because they reach the public and constitute an understanding. This is not to say those words necessarily make subjects act like it or originate subjects according to their understanding. But discourses are systems of meanings that serve as a technology of power in order to form subjects. The

minister responsible for producing social policies to prevent gender-based violence defines gender and gender roles based on biological sex differences, which traps women in the family sphere. Similar assumptions can be found in the NAP. A more detailed analysis of women's gender roles in the NAP will take place in chapter 5.2.3.

The family institution brings concepts of honour and chastity along with it. Honour of individuals is very much linked to the community's and thus society's honour. Protecting honour and moral values of community is a task for men related to their gender role and their relation to power. In a meeting of the parliamentary commission to investigate violence against women in January 2015, Ismet Uçma, a parliamentarian and one of the founders of the JDP, suggested to "*foster the concept of neighbourhood honour. The neighbourhoods could protect their own honour to eliminate increasing number of violence which could also be supervised by the Religious Affairs Directorate*" (Tremblay, 2015). He also suggested creating exemplary families as a first step. As it is seen, honour and morals of the community and society come into being on women's body and disciplining women's body and drawing borders for it are the ways to protection. One example on how honour and morals come into being on women's body would be Bulent Arinc's, then the Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey, statements on women and laughter:

"[The woman] will know what is haram and not haram. She will not laugh in public. She will not be inviting in her attitudes and will protect her chasteness..." and adds "*Where are our girls, who slightly blush, lower their heads and turn their eyes away when we look at their face, becoming the symbol of chastity?*" (Dearden, 2014).

As a result, religion introduces new techniques for imposing morality, new mechanisms of power to inculcate these moral imperatives (Foucault, 1978b, p.121). And family as an institution functions as one of the techniques of power to control and construct population. Under different regimes, it is done with different motives and for different reasons. To attain its goal government acts either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible to direct population (Foucault, 1978b, p.100). Emphasis on family and producing discourses on family in the frame of Islamic tradition functions as an instrument to construct subjects and shows us what assumptions and presuppositions underlie the problem of 'family violence'. A complementary analysis following this discussion would be on what remained silenced and outside of the problem of 'family violence'. After that, it

would be more interesting to investigate how ideas about masculinity and femininity are considered in the NAP and how men and women are constituted as subjects by these policies and programs.

5.2.2. Silences: Violence Outside of Family Unit

In 2012, the new Law on Protecting Family and Prevent Violence against Women is passed in the parliament. This was an amended version of 1998 Law on Protecting Family. Even though the new law has major improvements on protecting women against violence, it continued to define them only as family members and not individuals (De Haan, 2013, p.332). The NAP just like the Law on preventing violence against women carries assumptions regarding family values informed by traditional religious beliefs and political agenda (De Haan, 2013, p.333).

About this topic, Victoria Nourse notes *“how all the terms relating to violence against women – acquaintance rape, marital rape and domestic violence- include adjectival qualifiers which specify a relationship between the victim and assailant”* (1996, p.1 cited in Bacchi, 1999, p.172). It is thought-provoking that crimes against women are framed under the ‘veil of relationship’ and most importantly their relationship to men. Martha Mahoney (1991, p.6 cited in Bacchi, 1999, p.172-3), by contrast, reflects on the usefulness of notions like ‘acquaintance rape’, because those concepts draw attention to the relationship face of the violence. Even though Mahoney raises an important point, violence outside of a marriage remains silenced. Interestingly enough, even when a violent act occurs outside of family unit, descriptions and discourses about the case carry attributions on family. In Ozgecan Aslan’s case, which was mentioned in the introduction, politicians condemned what happened to Ozgecan by stating that *“it could have happened to our daughters, therefore we should take a step to fight against violence”* (Hurriyet, 2015a).

In Turkey, and in all other nation-states, the process of governmentalization of population has enforced the formation of a heterosexual national unity. Family has been at the core of the national unity as an institution that enables power to construct and normalize gender roles that are attributed to women and men based on their biological sex (Goksel, 2012, p.349). However, different governmental regimes have utilized ‘family’ in different ways and with different motives. ‘Techniques of power’ are outcomes of regimes of governments, therefore carry messages that power wants to spread. Political Islam as a regime of Turkish state

similarly aims to spread its values and morals and construct knowledge through its own techniques.

In that aspect, focusing on violence when it occurs in the family is a heterosexual understanding of violence which silences other kinds of sexuality such as homosexuality. Family in the Turkish context involves a legal marriage between women and men. Since homosexual marriages are illegal and homosexuality is a sign of ‘abnormality’, the NAP lacks a gendered understanding and carries perspectives of policy makers who are members of JDP. By silencing homosexuality, they mobilize a reverse discourse that serves for normalization of heterosexuality. Silences are also part of discourses to form the subjects, regulate the bodies and subordinate the ‘others’ (Butler, 1997, p.92).

5.2.3. Assumptions on Women

If we shortly go back to the first step in the method, what kind of change is implied in it tells us what is represented as the ‘problem’. This is relevant because the changes deemed necessary carry assumptions on the target group, specifically, on aspects of the target group that need fixing. The NAP’s focus on transformation of women would be a start point to analyze how women are constituted and which gender roles are attributed to them and how they take their sources from the Islamic tradition.

The need of transformation on societal awareness is associated to women in the NAP. It is stated that women’s lack of knowledge of their rights and their low social statuses need to be transformed, in short women need to be empowered in order to prevent violence. In their words, “*women experience violence, because they are non-active participants both within the family and society and because of their low economic and social status*” (NAP, 2007, p.10). The ‘change’ here indicates assumptions about women and portrays them as non-active participants in the family and society. They are constituted as passive, domesticated and dependent subjects who need to be changed for the ‘problem’ to be resolved.

The NAP (2007, p.10, 16) also portrays women as victims. Victimologies tend to create impressions on subjects, both on women and men. In the NAP and the discourses of politicians, this is not any different. They demonstrate a tendency to only show women as victims, not as active agents fending for themselves. This illustrates another assumption on women that is embedded in the NAP. It is important to ask, for instance, why there has been a

change of the title in the NAP between 2007 and 2012. While it was ‘women’s empowerment’ in the NAP 2007, it has been changed to ‘empowerment of victim’ in the NAP 2012. Discourse on victimization is forced upon women politically, through law, through policies and through every kind of apparatuses of power (Bacchi, 1999, p.169). In order to get benefits from the public services, in the cases of violence, women need to prove their victimness. This categorization is deepened by the categorization of women and men in the Islamic tradition.

One of the six main objectives of the NAP (2007, p.21) is stated as strengthen women’s socio-economic status, namely ‘empowering women’. According to the NAP, *“the main principle of the services that are provided of the victims of violence is to support them; therefore they are be able to have a voice over their lives and responsibility of their children”* (2007, p.28). Assuming women only as mothers and attributions to motherhood are also seen in the discourses of the politicians. Referring women only as mothers legitimized the idea of women’s secondary position and wrote women’s lives and individualities off. As an example, The JDP’s member Ayhan Sefer Ustun, who is also the head of Parliament’s Human Rights Commission, stated that *“a rapist is more innocent than a rape victim who chooses to have an abortion”* and added *“abortion should also be banned in cases in which the unborn baby is determined to have a serious impairment”* (Hurriyet, 2012). Needless to say these words were supported by many JDP members. One example of those supports would be by Melih Gokcek’s, major of Ankara, statements to condemn abortion: *“Why should the child die if the mother is raped? The mother should die instead”* (Sassounian, 2014).

These assumptions are partly the result of deeply rooted gender norms about women which take their sources from the Islamic tradition. Therefore, it is important so understand how Islam defines the gender roles of women.

A Turkish scholar, Berktaş (1996) writes that Islam has created a unique way among other monotheist religions by making social order and particularly gender norms absolute as they are stated in the Qur’an, because the Qur’an is the word of God and cannot be changed. This made patriarchy to interpenetrate in Islam and made them inseparable. Masculinity and femininity, then, are constructed within this togetherness (Berktaş, 1996, p.113). According to the Qur’an, women are subordinate to men. For instance, the Qur’an sees two women’s testimony as equal to that of one man, because women as sensitive beings cannot be rational.

A similar statement to Erdogan's 'natural' gender roles, as they are described in Islam, statement was made by Ugur Isilak, a parliamentarian of the JDP. He stated in a television program that "*it is in women's nature to be men's slaves*" (Today's Zaman, 2015). According to him, women belong to men according to the law of nature and added "*it is in a woman's nature to feel a sense of belonging. Men do not have such a sense of belonging. Men do not belong to women, they own women*" (Today's Zaman, 2015). This shows how assumptions on women being passive agents and victims take its sources from the Islam and also how assumptions locate in everyday lives.

Another example of how the Islamist tradition positions women as the subordinate ones shows itself in the linkage between femininity and fertility. Despite the fact that fertility is seen as a positive characteristic, the sexuality and menstruation sides of it are seen 'dirty'. Julie Marcus (cited in Berktaç, 1996, p.155) has made a similar analysis on contradictory perceptions on fertility, menstruation and sexuality in Turkey. Women are seen as 'dirty' during the period of menstruation and are not allowed to perform their religious duties and cannot touch the Qur'an. Thereby, they are positioned in the opposite side of men who can determine their own body (Berktaç, 1996, p.155). In daily Turkish language, the term 'dirt', 'become dirty' (kirlenmek) is used by women as a reference to the menstruation period. The very same phrase, 'become dirty' (kirlenmek), is used to refer to a woman who was raped. 'Being dirty' has been and still is one of the reasons of honour killings in Turkey. To restore a family's honour, a woman who has been raped is killed by a male member of the family. The interesting point, here, the man who 'makes the woman dirty' is not the focus but cleaning the 'dirt' and eliminating it remains the most important thing. This situation remind us that the same strategy is adopted in the NAP, not to the same extent of course, by focusing solely on the women, aiming to prevent violence by rehabilitating women, by empowering women or by educating women.

Another face of the same discussion shows itself on sexuality. Sexuality is a threat for social order and moral values and women are seen as objects of sexuality, as sexual beings, even when they are pregnant, this is a proof that they have a sexual life which pushes the limits of morality (Berktaç, 1996, p.154). This is why there have been some reactions against pregnant women's presence in public sphere, and stated that this is 'disgraceful'. Religious Affairs Directorate of Turkey criticized this way of thinking though, by stating "*there is no isolation for pregnant women in the religion. On the contrary, being mother is a gift*" (Hurriyet,

2013). However he still invited pregnant women to dress modestly and not to show their bellies or backs (Hurriyet, 2013).

Assumptions about women and their bodies construct political agenda and underlie the problem representation in the field of fight against violence under the political Islamist regime. And there is a correspondence between the assumptions in the NAP and the political Islamist discourses. One wonders can a policy document prepared by the JDP government who believes in Islamic tradition be aimed gender equality? How can a policy paper which is prepared by political Islamist discourse and embedded assumptions on traditional gender roles for men and women be useful?

5.2.4. Silences: No Name of Men

The title of the chapter is misleading, because men are mentioned twice in the NAP. However, men are not a subject of the analysis in regards to the problem of ‘family violence’ whereas women are the only focus, subjects who need to be changed. An important part of analyzing problem representation in a public policy is identifying issues and perspectives that are silenced in a problem representation. Therefore, we need to examine the possible reasons of men’s exclusion from the definition of the ‘problem’ and if there are any other silences or issues that are left unproblematic in the problem representation. Questioning this helps us to think the ‘problem’ differently and shows once again what assumptions underlie the problem representation in a particular way.

We should then remember how the NAP defines ‘family violence’:

“Family violence is a type of violence which occurs in the private sphere and between individuals who are related through kinship and intimacy. Generally, it occurs by men against women and children. Family violence is the most prevalent type of violence against women, but it is rarely visible. It can be physical, psychological, sexual and economic. Such violence actions violate women’s human rights and cause damages women’s physical and reproductive health and in some occasions women lose their lives” (NAP, 2007, p.10).

Another definition is that *“family violence is an important public health problem and societal problem which is a result of unequal power relations between women and men and it is violation of women’s human rights” (NAP, 2007, p.10).* These two definitions are the only places that men are mentioned as perpetrators and unequal power relations between women

and men are recognized. There has not been any deeper analysis on these statements, and indeed the reason of the ‘family violence’ is showed as “*women’s position as non-active participants both within the family and society and their low economic and social status*” (NAP, 2007, p.10). The policy suggests solutions in order to prevent ‘family violence’ by focusing on women, by empowering women, by ‘making’ them active citizens, by educating them about their rights, by rehabilitating them and consulting them in ‘family consultancy offices’. Focusing only on women and making them into ‘passive agents’ of the society rather than questioning what might be done about perpetrators and deeply analyzing the ‘unequal power relations between men and women’ show us what assumptions underlie the policy making process.

Looking at the silenced part of the ‘problem’ representation might help us understand how the ‘problem’ could be thought differently, namely by analyzing gender roles attributed to men. However, one can estimate gender roles that are assigned to men in the policy making process. Contrary to women, men are perceived in the opposite way, because these roles need to be complementary to each other. An example would be the latest public spot advertisement on violence against women which was prepared by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. It is named as ‘Be a Man First!’ and it was played in mainstream TV channels for raising awareness on the family violence. In the video, a man who violates his wife and is consequently excluded by the neighborhood is portrayed. At the end of the video, the phrase of “Be a Man First!” is highlighted and emphasized. The advertisement reproduces masculinity, contributes to the traditional understanding of the NAP through its masculine language even though it aims at drawing attention on violence against women (Once Adam Ol! Public Spot Ad., 2014).

5.3. A Genealogy of the Problem Representation in the NAP

What I endeavor to demonstrate in this chapter is a deeper discussion on how the representation of the ‘problem’ of ‘family violence’ has come about, how it took a particular shape, the influences behind the ‘problem’s creation and the mechanisms that ‘the problem’ was produced by within the frame of question 3. To understand how the representation of the problem of ‘family violence’ has come about one should look at the JDP’s approach on family and traditional gender roles that take their sources from the Islamic tradition. Only then one can understand the meaning of the problem representation under the phase ‘family violence’ and changing women to solve the problem. This exemplification provides us a bigger picture

how political Islamist discourses influence gender relations and gender-based violence. Governmentality approach will lead us in this chapter as a useful tool to conduct genealogy.

Foucauldian governmentality enables us to analyze the complex ways in which subjects are formed, managed and directed through technologies of power (Marston and McDonald, 2006, p.7). Technologies of power refer to ‘systems and sets of practices that are designed to produce and promote particular forms of subjectivity (or governed subjects)’ (Marston and McDonald, 2006, p.6-7). Dean (1999 cited in Marston and McDonald, 2006, p.5) calls these systems ‘technologies of government’ and Cruikshank (1994, 1999 cited in Marston and McDonald, 2006, p.5) names them ‘technologies of citizenship’ however it is chosen to be conceptualized, it tells us how a certain ideology in a social policy directs populations into being, for example, ‘good mothers’, ‘decent women’, ‘vulnerable women’ and so on, by using ‘technologies of power’. I argue that ‘technologies of power’ are the ways to understand how the problem representation has come about.

Political Islamist discourses illustrate ‘technologies of power’ in the thesis. It is the influence behind the assumptions of defining family as the safest place for women, defining women as passive, dependent subjects, portraying them vulnerable and positioning them as ‘mothers and responsible for reproduction of generations with moral values. It is also the influence behind silencing violence outside of the family, silencing violence outside of kinship and heterosexual and legal partnership. Finally, it is the influence behind locating men outside of the focus and reproducing masculinity in the cases where men are defined as perpetrators. The relationship behind the assumptions and the Islam was mentioned with examples and in detail in the previous chapter. Therefore it is important to focus on the discursive technologies of political Islam, or which discourses of political Islam was used, to have a complete picture of how the ‘problem’ of ‘family violence’ has come about.

It was observed in the NAP that family becomes one of the key technologies within the political Islamist discourse to construct and govern subjects. Lina Gordon argues that *“deviant behavior becomes a ‘social problem’ when policy-makers perceive it as threatening to social order, and generate the widespread conviction that organized social action is necessary to control it”* (1988 cited in Bacchi, 1999, p.166). Policy makers give shape to ‘social problems’ through policy papers. Through the policies they state what is ‘problematic’ and what needs to be fixed (Bacchi, 1999, p.166). Gordon states that *“the modern history of*

'family violence' is not the story of changing responses to a constant problem but, in large part, of redefinition of the problem itself" (1988, p.27-8 cited in Bacchi, 1999, p.166). These definitions and redefinitions of the 'problem' are political, shaped by the agenda of governments and their political ideology. Governments become concerned of the 'problem' of 'family violence' when they think traditional family norms are under threat, and especially when there is increasing sign of women's autonomy (Gordon, 1988, p.104 cited in Bacchi, 1999, p.166-167). It is interesting that policy aims at developing strategies on 'saving' the family relations instead of analyzing the problematic dynamics of traditional family roles and its influences on women. 'Family violence' becomes a 'problem' and 'family' a technology to legitimize gender roles and heterosexual relations.

'Vulnerability' and 'passiveness' of women is created through the discourses on 'empowerment' which serves as a technology of political Islamist discourse. In the NAP women are portrayed as a group who need to be transformed to active citizens who need to be empowered and educated as a one way to prevent violence. 'Empowerment' is a technique, a strategy of government to form certain kinds of subjectivities, certain types of knowledge and truth according to their ideologies (Dean, 2010, p.83). The technique involves 'voluntary and coercive exercise of power upon the subjectivity of those to be empowered'. Those exercises of political power create conditions within social policies which require that subjects should act for policies be more effective. Women who are subjected to these programs within the NAP, for instance, are directed to attain a certain type of subjectivity (Dean, 2010, p.84). They come to recognize their common being within a unified administrative category, thereby identifying themselves with the passive and vulnerable identities that are assumed for them in the social policy (Dean, 2010, p.85-6).

What Dean calls the 'field of visibility' is another technique in order to construct women as 'appropriate' and 'decent' subjects and especially 'mothers'. A regime of government characterizes itself with a 'field of visibility' that is using certain subjects/objects as symbols *"to 'picture' who and what is to be governed, how relations of authority and obedience are constituted in space, how different locales and agents are to be connected with one another, what problems are to be solved and what objectives are to be sought"* (Dean, 2010, p.41). A 'field of visibility' is also a way to picture what the 'problem' is in a certain topic, in our case violence against women. Women in the NAP and in the discourses of political Islam are the symbol of morality and appropriateness. They are defined as mothers and this responsibility

also brings them to be models both for the society and the younger generations. It is also interesting that how transforming women in the NAP becomes an example for the technique of the 'field of visibility' whereas men remain outside the discussion. The NAP's constitution of women and men presents a model example of how political power form subjects.

Another discussion on constructing 'appropriate' and 'decent' women finds itself in the issue of covering the body, not necessarily in hijab but in the sense of clothing appropriately. This is a sign of power relations between 'glimpser' and 'glimpsed'. In this case, person who is glimpsed is responsible of being appropriate and covering her body and not the opposite way around. One argument by the Islamist tradition in harassment cases is that there is a physiological difference between women and men, men can experience sexually arousal, and covering body (appropriateness) is only for women to be protected from harassment and to enjoy their freedom in the streets. Basing on the biological differences between women and men, this argument attributes disciplining women's body to men's unmanageableness. Restricting the harassed ones and not the harassers shows once again the established power relations between men and women (Berktaý, 1996, p.152).

Governmentality helps us to see governing women and men as gendered subjects does not stop at the formation, but how gendered subjects engage in self-governing process to fulfill the narratives that were told about them (Smith, 2006, p.192). An example for how gendered subjects engage in the process of forming their own subjectivity would be the women's branch's definition of their own role within the JDP party. They define their goals in the party as: *"Every sorts of problem of women have been slighted for years and we as women's branch of the party will focus on these problems and find solutions"* (Citak and Tur, 2013, p.617). According to the women's branch, women's problems are important because *"women form one half of the population in Turkey"* and *"women have a fundamental place when it comes to raise healthy generations."* Furthermore, *"women's sensibility, organizational skills and sense of responsibility will increase the quality of politics"* (Citak and Tur, 2013, p.617). Women in the women's branch relate moral and Islam closely. According to them, for a better society, society with ethics and moral values Islam should be fundamental. Islam stipulates well-behaved individuals and society. And women are the key actors for creations of a moral society. Women are the ones who will raise moral generations and play a role of carrying those values to the future. Therefore, one of the most important criterions of a moral society is moral women. Men, on the other hand, are incontinent and women are responsible to behave

in a relationship (Citak and Tur, 2013, p.625). As it can be observed, women's branch also emphasizes the importance of family and family values, traditions and customs in order to provide continuation of societal order just like the Islamic tradition and men members of the party claims (Citak and Tur, 2013, p.623). This illustrates an example of how women internalize the narratives that they were told about them and engage in the formation of their subjectivity.

5.4. The Gendered Effects of the Power: Analyzing the Effects of the 'Problem' Representation in the NAP

The title 'the gendered effects of power' was originated from Peterson and Runyan (1999, p.113-114). By this term they mean 'the ways that men and women are treated unequally in the international system' and remark how 'women's issues' are perceived as belonging to the private sphere and have not been priority. The title was chosen, because the analysis of the NAP showed us that the effects of the problem representation are also gendered. Therefore, the chapter aims to identify the effects of the problem representation of the NAP and aims to show how some social groups experience difficulties more than other groups (Bacchi, 2009, p.15). The chapter refers to the question 5. In this chapter I am proposing possible effects of the problem representation of the NAP, which may serve as an example of how political Islamist discourses construct gender relations and gender-based violence.

To begin with, the NAP defines the 'problem' as only through women and tries to fix it on women, because as a 'social breakdown' it challenges the 'idealized image of harmonious and continuous pairing'. The role of a government is, then, to find a solution for the sake of 'survival' of heterosexual nuclear families (Bacchi, 1999, p.167). However, the NAP proposes to 'save' families through interventions on women and not 'batterers'. As an effect, it legitimizes women's subjection once again through the assumptions it carries. Similarly, on this issue, MacKinnon (cited in Kundakci, 2010, p.514-515) states that sexual harassment codes tell us that sexual harassment occurs through repetition of women's subjection to it systematically at work places and those codes assume that men are abusive ones and women are harassed ones. This assumption is a result of subjection of women sexually at the first level and regulations regarding sexual harassment carries assumptions on gender norms. As a result, sexual harassment codes themselves become tools to reproduce gender categories. Foucault (cited in Kundakci, 2010, p.514-515) shows a similar example on laws on rape. Sexuality becomes dominant in the body, sexual organs need to be protected, in any case there

are more legal regulations to protect it more than any other organ of the body. Especially, in legal regulations on rape, it is always women who are the ‘victims’ of rape and men are the ‘perpetrators’. Laws form women and their bodies as dignified subjects who need to be protected (cited in Kundakcı, 2010, p.514-515).

Secondly, regulations and policies on preventing sexual harassment of men to women are based on the idea of heterosexuality is ‘natural’. This is a result of the ‘normalization’ process of governmentality. Power makes certain norms and certain categories ‘normal’ for certain groups, and forms subjects into these categories, which come with ‘natural’ effects for the subjects, then (Kundakcı, 2010, p.513). To be clearer, as one of the disciplinary mechanism, Islamic discourses has seen gender equality as equality between women and men and chose to ignore LGBTI rights, since they are outside of ‘normal’, heterosexual nature of Qur’an.

Power is not a unidirectional and subjects are not only passive agents in this governing process. While discourses of power govern women and men as gendered subjects in the policy, gendered subjects engage in self-governing process to fulfill the narratives that were told about them (Smith, 2006, p.192). Peterson and Runyan (1999, p.44) claim that the engagement of the subjects into the subjectivity process prevents them to see inequalities and they remind us that inequality and oppression is a result of actual people’s, our, actions. It is real people who perpetrate violence; it is real people who prepare the policies, laws and regulations to prevent violence. And they state *“although not all men endorse masculinism, and all heterosexuals homophobia, all men and heterosexuals benefit from their positions of relative privilege within the structures of sexism and heterosexism”* (Peterson and Runyan, 1999, p.45). Recreated unequal structures for men and women through discourses continue to be beneficial to dominant groups and norms remain unchallenged.

The Islamic tradition continues to carry assumptions on women and men and it is difficult to think that the policies made by a political Islamist party are separate from their ideology (Berktaş, 1996, p.151). Those policies, and the NAP, accept women as the carrier of the religious and moral values. Canonizing womanhood and family, actually, traps women into a confined space, domestic sphere. In this confined space women become obliged to abide men. On the contrary, men are subjected to the masculine discourses and their gender roles are reproduced through discourses within the policies as well. As an effect, those discourses of the Islamic tradition are the most powerful tools to make women interiorize subjection and

men interiorize subjugation. Interiorizing gender relations prevents to see source of subjection and resist against it (Berkday, 1996, p.213).

5.5. Challenging the Discourses: Resistance of Female Subjects

This last chapter is an excursion chapter. It aims to give a space to the women's voices who are 'normally' the target group of the NAP. It investigates 'possibility of challenging the problem representation' by female subjects (Bacchi, 2009, p.19). The chapter refers to the question 6.

In the beginning of July 2015, a woman was arrested because of committing homicide, killing her husband in Adana, Turkey. While she was taken to the police station, she declared to the journalists: "*Will women always die? Let some men die too.*" (Hurriyet, 2015b). This statement had a significant attention in the media, both because it was the summary of how male violence came to the boil. She was not the first who killed her husband or partner because of the ceaseless violence. Since the beginning of 2015, the news about women who committed homicide with the same reason has received great deal of attention in the mainstream media and those women have received great deal of support by feminist organizations (Bianet, 2015b).

The situation prompted me to think why those cases of violence, the cases which women are the perpetrators, have attracted that much attention whereas the cases which men are the perpetrators have not arouse interest comparing to the former. Is it then considered as 'unusual' or 'unlikely' that a woman would commit homicide depending on the narratives that have been told about women in the gender-based violence cases? Or is the 'reaction' that those 'vulnerable' women show reason of attention? And can we read it as resistance against discourses that have been constructing women as passive, vulnerable and domesticated and showing family as holistic unit? If we interpret it as a resistance act and women as being active agents, does that mean a deconstruction of the discourses of political Islam and the illustration of it in the NAP?

The problem representation of the NAP together with the media statements on gender-based violence constructs women as passive, vulnerable and dependent subjects, only as members of the family and recreates the existing gender stereotypes. Even though the men are silenced group, they are constructed as superior to women and are protected by being kept outside of

the discussion. Recent increase in the homicide as a result of abusive relationship- the rate is still not comparable with femicide: women killed 14 men in the first six month of 2015 and men killed 141 women in the same period- appears as a challenge to all of the discourses of the political Islam that are mentioned in previous chapters (Bianet, 2015b). Resistance as ‘subversion of the hegemonic meanings of cultural practices’ come into existence in the act of those women, as a refusal to be victim of their spouses, to be named as victims of ‘family violence’, as a denial to be subordinated to men and to be caged in ‘family’ (Mahmood, 2005, p.6). The situation might be interpreted as deconstruction of the discourses on a holistic family which have been used as a ‘technique’ to canonize women. As Bacchi (2009) says it is a ‘possibility of challenging the problem representation’.

6. Conclusion

An increasing number of gender-based violence under the regime of the Justice and Development Party was the origin of the research interest of this thesis. Since the party came to power, the Islamist voice in the public arena has become more vocal and discourses regarding traditional gender roles on women and men have increasingly occupied the agenda. Therefore, it is inevitable to ask '*how has political Islam as an ideology of Turkish state constructed gender roles and influenced gender-based violence in Turkey?*' The aim of the thesis was to investigate the relation between the rising voice of political Islamist discourse and the rising rate of gender-based violence against women.

In order to analyze the influence of the political Islamist discourse of the JDP on gender-based violence and gender relations, a theoretical discussion of power, subject, subjectivation and governmentalization was made. The poststructuralist feminist approach constituted a background of the thesis as it provides an understanding of how particular discourses construct identities of women and men and what kind of gender roles are ascribed to them. The theory of governmentalization served as a link between the theories of power and subject, as it implies the different ways power governs subjects. The chosen theoretical framework provided a useful tool in order to analyze the research question and it fit well with the methodological approach of the thesis.

Social policies are one of the 'techniques of power': techniques, through which power produces knowledge about subjects. They are important tools to understand how knowledge on women and women's bodies is produced, and what kinds of discourses are embedded in it based on the biological sex. That is why a social policy, the *National Action Plan- Fighting against Family Violence*, was chosen as research material, as well as media statements of the party members on gender roles and gender-based violence. Carol Bacchi's (1999; 2009) 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' approach was used as the method of the thesis, as a helpful tool for conducting discourse analysis in a policy document. While doing the social policy analysis, a feminist perspective was taken within the methodology. I believe analyzing public policy by using the feminist methodology and 'policy-as-discourse' method enriched the analysis and unveiled the normative and androcentric structure of the NAP. It provided a way to look at the discourse through the gendered lens and gave a new perspective to the policy.

By applying Bacchi's approach in the analysis I identified specific discursive mechanisms in the NAP which operate to govern gendered subjects. I then elaborated the findings through providing examples from the media statements to show that discursive mechanisms are not limited to social policies but exist in every domain of the subjects' lives.

The first step was to analyze the phrase 'family violence' which was chosen to describe the 'problem'. It was important to analyze the phrase, since it functions as an indicator of a specific problem representation and it was important to understand why specifically this phrase was chosen among many other phrases. Most notable among the findings was the discussion of the chosen term "family violence", a rephrasing of "domestic violence" from the original UN definition. I suggested this rephrasing was to emphasize the focus on family, and gave us hints about the JDP's religious politics on family and particularly women.

The problem representation of the NAP, by using the phrase 'family violence', carries some assumptions and presuppositions behind it. It assumes 'family is a place where women feel the safest' and regards women only as members of a family, ignoring their individuality. Family as an institution, in these discourses, functions as a 'technique of power' which refers to the ways that power controls and constructs subjects into gendered subjects. Equally interesting was the NAP's restriction to the family sphere and non-mention of gender-based violence outside of it, indicating that alternative life styles, homosexuality, street harassment and similar examples did not play any role for the policy makers, despite being a problem in society.

It was also observed that how women are portrayed as passive, vulnerable and domesticated subjects in the NAP and how the solution to violence was fixated solely on the women themselves whereas there was virtually no direct mentioning of the implicated offenders, the men. Those assumptions about women and men underlie the entire problem representation in the NAP, raising questions on the sincerity of the policy document and other implementation to prevent gender-based violence.

Religion is used as a 'political catalyst' to legitimize the existing gender roles and in a broader sense it is used to realize ideological objectives of political power (Bjorkert and Shepherd, 2010, p.267). Even though Turkey is defined as secular constitutionally, political Islamist government lean towards religion and originated its policies by that. Gender matters at this

point, because “*gendered bodies become sites of ideological battlegrounds and are used as a means to justify specific political agendas*” (Bjorkert and Shepherd, 2010, p.267). Political Islamist discourses function as 'technologies of power' to act upon the population in general or on particular groups in order to 'bring an identification of them', to construct them within gendered categories according to their agendas, goals and values (Dean, 1999, p.33 cited in Smith, 2006, p.188). I suggested that those discourses are the influences behind the assumptions regarding family, regarding women and men and their gendered relations. Those discourses are the mechanisms that reconstruct the traditional gender roles for women and men, legitimize women's subjectivication by reconstructing those gender roles, and normalize and naturalize heterosexuality. Those discourses, in the end, make subjects govern themselves and the others according to the 'identity' ascribed to them (Smith, 2006, p.188). Yet in the light of governmentality, those discourses form only a part of the 'technologies' that the power uses. Therefore the research illustrates only a face of technologies among many other that are used to govern subjects.

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