

**GENDER, POLICY, PLACE:
LADIES' CLUBS IN ANKARA**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

BY

SELİN ÇAVDAR

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
URBAN DESIGN
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING**

SEPTEMBER 2010

Approval of the thesis:

**GENDER, POLICY, PLACE:
LADIES' CLUBS IN ANKARA**

submitted by **SELİN ÇAVDAR** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in the Department of City and Regional Planning in Urban Design, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen

Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy

Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay

Supervisor, **City and Regional Planning Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü

City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay

City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun

City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç

Sociology Dept., METU

Dr. Nilgün Fehim Kennedy

Political Science Dept., BİLKENT

Date: 15 September 2010

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

Name, Last name: Selin Çavdar

Signature :

ABSTRACT

**GENDER, POLICY, PLACE:
LADIES' CLUBS IN ANKARA**

Çavdar, Selin

M.Sc., Department of City and Regional Planning in Urban Design

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay

September 2010, 167 pages

There is a substantial amount of studies concerning the economic, social and political facades of the gender issue, further supported by gender - space discussions. The main aim of this study, however, is to make a survey and analysis of ladies' clubs established and supported by Greater Ankara Municipality; in order to define their problematic. The study intends to discover and analyze the policies and legislation developed by the administration about Ladies' Clubs, to map their distribution in the city and the attitudes and appraisals of women participating in the activities of the clubs located at the core of the city.

Keywords: ladies' clubs, social mobilization of women in the city, legislation concerning women

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET, SİYASA, MEKAN: ANKARADAKİ HANIM LOKALLERİ

Çavdar, Selin

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Baykan Günay

Eylül 2010, 167 sayfa

Toplumsal cinsiyetin iktisadi, toplumsal ve siyasi yönlerini konu alan ve bunları mekân ile ilintilendiren çok sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı ise, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesince kurulan ve desteklenen Hanımlar Lokalleri hakkında alan araştırması ve çözümlenmeler yaparak sorunsalları saptamaktır. Çalışmada hanım lokallerini oluşturan siyasalar ve mevzuat irdelenmekte, lokallerin kent içindeki dağılımları haritalanmakta ve kentin çekirdek alanındaki lokallerde yapılan etkinliklere katılan kadınların tavır ve değerlendirmeleri sorgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: hanım lokalleri, kadının kentteki sosyal mobilizasyonu, kadınlarla ilgili mevzuat

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am especially grateful to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay for his guidance and encouragements. I also wish to express my thanks to my committee members, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü, Dr. Nilgün Kennedy, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Tılıç and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun for their advices and guidance.

I would like to present my special thanks to my committee member Dr. Nilgun F. Kennedy for her guidance and insight throughout the preparation of this study. I am also extremely grateful to my colleague Nejat Sert for his guidance and supports in every stages of my thesis.

I owe special thanks to my school fellow Özüm İtez for his guidance, supports, and infinite patience during the preparation of the thesis. Without his help this study can not be completed. I extend thanks also to my friends Özge Mutlu, Esin Sarıca, Nilgün Serteser, Gürel Kutlular, Özlem Mutlu, Yener Baş, Orkunt Sabuncu and Evren Deviren for their unlimited supports and contributions.

I also owe a particular dept of gratitude to the clubs' employees who help me during the field research. I am also indebted to all the women who have shared their experiences with me during the field research.

Finally, I wish to thank to my family for their patience and emotional supports in every stages of my thesis. I am grateful for all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi

CHAPTERS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. A REVIEW ON GENDER, PLACE AND POLICY	4
2.1. An Overview of the Relationship Between Gender and Space	4
2.2. Social Mobilization of Women in the City in the Context of Turkey	7
2.2.1. Socialization Process of Women	7
2.2.2. A Brief Introduction to Participation of Women into the Public Life	8
2.2.3. The Patterns of Social Mobilization of Women in the City	10
2.3. An Overview on Legislation Concerning Women in Turkey	13
2.3.1. Local Governance and Gender Mainstreaming	13
2.3.1.1. Empowerment of Local Governments in Turkey	14
2.3.1.2. Legislative Process of Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey	14

3. METHOD	19
3.1. Field Research.....	21
3.1.1. Interviews.....	21
3.1.1.1. Interviews Conducted in the GMA	21
3.1.1.2. In-depth Interviews with the Club Members	22
3.1.2. Questionnaires.....	22
3.1.2.1. Pilot Questionnaires	23
3.1.2.2. Final Application of the Questionnaires	24
3.2. Sources and Types of the Research Data.....	25
3.2.1. Institutional Documents Questionnaires	25
3.2.2. Questionnaire Data	26
3.2.3. Visual Documents: Maps, Photographs and Publications.....	26
4. FOUNDATION OF THE CLUBS: GOALS, POLICY, PROGRAM	27
4.1. Goals	27
4.2. Policy and Organization	29
4.3. Program	35
5. SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA CONCERNING THE CLUBS	44
5.1. Evaluation of the Data at Urban Level.....	44
5.2. Evaluation of the Data at Districts Level.....	56
5.2.1. Ahmetler Ladies' Club.....	58
5.2.2. Dikmen Ladies' Club.....	64
5.2.3. Çankaya Ladies' Club.....	68
5.2.4. Bahçelievler Ladies' Club	73
5.2.5. Şafaktepe Ladies' Club	78

5.2.6. Altındağ Ladies' Club	85
5.2.7. Etlik Ladies' Club.....	90
5.2.8. Şentepe Ladies' Club	95
5.2.9. Demetevler Ladies' Club	103
5.3. Comparison of General Information about the Respondents.....	107
5.3.1. Employment Status	107
5.3.2. Income level.....	110
5.3.3. Educational Level.....	113
5.3.4. Marital Status	114
5.3.5. Usage of Ladies' Clubs	117
5.3.6. Level of Participation to the Urban Life.....	119
5.4. In-depth Interviews: Learning from Ladies'	125
6. CONCLUSION	139
6.1. Summary of the Research	139
6.2. Findings Dependent on the Survey Data.....	140
6.3. Contribution of the Ladies' Clubs to the Social Mobilization of Women in the City	145
6.4. Shortcomings of the Policy of GMA Concerning the Clubs	146
6.5. Further Research	147
REFERENCES	149
APPENDICES	
A. MUNICIPAL REGULATION SECTION XI.....	152
B. THE MISSION, VISION AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES OF THE	

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS	156
C. QUESTIONNAIRE FORM	158
D. SELECTED TABLES FROM THE SURVEY DATA	162

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AYM: Aile Yaşam Merkezi (Community Center)

BELMEK: Belediye Meslek Edindirme Kursu (Manipulative Skills and Occupational Training Courses of the Greater Municipality of Ankara)

BELTEK: Belediye Teknik Eğitim Kursları (Technical Training Courses of the Greater Municipality of Ankara)

CBD: Central Business District

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

DGSW: Directorate General for Status of Women

EU: European Union

GMA: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi (Greater Municipality of Ankara)

KSGM: Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü (Presidency of Women's Status and Problems)

LC: Ladies' Club

NAPGE: National Plan on Gender Equality

T.Ü.İ.K. (TurkStat): Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)

UN: United Nations

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

First founded by the *Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi* (the Greater Municipality of Ankara) in 2000, *Hanım¹ Lokalleri* (Ladies' Clubs) are strictly women-only clubs providing certain facilities for sports and leisure activities. There are fifteen Ladies' Clubs located in the most populated nine districts of Ankara. After the foundation of the clubs in Ankara, Ladies' Clubs phenomenon has started to expand in many major cities² in Turkey. However, this thesis has focused on the leading city, Ankara, where the women-only Ladies' Clubs were first founded as a social service.

It should be noted that there are not any cultural, community or sports centers in Ankara with 20,000 female members except the Ladies' Clubs. In addition to the female membership, clubs also suggest a membership option for the children of the users. Children membership is limited between three and six years old children. Clubs suggest child care service in child-care rooms during the hours when the mothers are attending activities in the clubs.

The idea of women-only clubs was inaugurated by the Mayor of Greater Municipality of Ankara, and a program for the clubs was developed by the decision-makers of the *Kadın ve Aile Şube Müdürlüğü* (the Directorate of Women and Family³) under the

¹ 'hanım' is a noun, and an adjective which notifies a title for female-one in Turkish. As a noun, 'hanım' means 'wife', and also 'lady'. As an adjective, it is used in formal speaking after the first name of a female-one. For ex: Selin *Hanım*. It can be said that the use of hanım resembles the use of 'Miss' and 'Mrs.' in English. Although 'bayan' is much more modern and close to 'lady' in terms of meaning rather than hanım, there is no word in English which has same interpellations with 'hanım'. Indeed, it is a traditional word, because of its meaning and interpellations both as an adjective and as well as noun. As an adjective, it is used for the female-one who found kind and/or respectful by the people addressing her. The meaning of hanım, in the case of Hanımlar Lokali, associates with the motherhood and as well as a language which appropriates the traditional 'gender roles' and 'identity of women'.

² Ladies' clubs were founded on many major cities in Turkey, such as Samsun and Konya.

³ Translated from Turkish to English by the author.

Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs Department. The coordination among the clubs has been provided by the *Hanım Lokalleri Şefliği* (Ladies' Clubs Management Office). By offering these clubs, the Greater Municipality of Ankara (GMA) aims to provide places for 'women' to socialize and integrate them with the urban life. The target groups of these clubs are first and foremost housewives but also employed women and female students who live in Ankara.

This study only focuses on Ladies' Clubs that are located in the urban core of Ankara, which are: Çankaya, Dikmen, Bahçelievler, Ahmetler, Altındağ, Şafaktepe, Etilik, Şentepe, and Demetevler Ladies' Clubs. The main aim of this study, however, is to make a survey and analysis of the Ladies' Clubs established and supported by the Greater Municipality of Ankara; in order to define their problematic. The study intends to discover and analyze the policies and legislations developed by the administration about Ladies' Clubs, to map their distribution in the city and the attitudes and appraisals of women participating in the activities of the clubs, located at the core of the city. Within this case, the questions of 'how the clubs has been emerged; who are the actors and policies behind the production of these clubs; how these clubs affect social mobilization of women in the city?' were answered.

Nine clubs at the core of Ankara were selected for the analysis of the Ladies' Clubs case. Distinct socio-economic differences within the urban core affect the participation of women to the urban life on different levels. These distinct differences and participation levels are the main reasons behind the limitation of the case study to the urban core. The western frontier of the research is limited by OSTİM industrial district in Yenimahalle District. Therefore, Batıkent and Sincan Ladies' Clubs which are located in the urban fringe are not in the focus of this research. The eastern frontier of the study is limited by the intersection of 19 Mayıs Boulevard and Doğukent Boulevard. The Ankara ring road constitutes the Northern frontier of this study. There are also two clubs in the Elvankent and Eryaman neighborhoods which are in Southwest planning zone. There is no club in the Southern corridor.

This thesis is constituted of six chapters. **The second chapter** offers a theoretical frame that juxtaposes the literature on gender division of space, social mobilization of women in the city and their relation with local and national gender equality policies in Turkey. It starts with a theoretical overview about the relationship between

gender and space. Following this, it looks at the literature on social participation of women into the urban life in Turkey. Finally, it deals with the legislative and institutional aspects of this participation question. It is obvious that the question of participation of women to the urban life is the product of multi-layer social, cultural, political and economical processes which differ from locality to locality in the urban context. Within this theoretical framework, this part of the thesis forms a theoretical frame to understand the case of 'Ladies' Clubs'.

The third chapter presents a methodological framework for the analysis of the Ladies' club case. It informs about the field research that was conducted to analyze and map the case. It also presents the types of data that were used in the research.

The fourth chapter dealing with the case of Ladies' Clubs is made up of three parts. The first part presents the institutional information gathered from GMA. The second part discusses the policy behind idea of the Ladies' Club. The third part presents the activity program of the clubs.

The fifth chapter presents the evaluation of the survey data. The first part of the chapter evaluates the data in urban level. The second part evaluates the questionnaire survey at districts level. In this part, data is evaluated by comparing local differences and mapping the participation of women to the clubs. The third part presents the interpretation of the in-depth interviews.

The final chapter comprises the derived conclusions of the present study.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW ON GENDER, PLACE, POLICY

The main aim of this chapter is to draw a theoretical framework to understand the Ladies' Club phenomenon by reviewing the literature on gender and space, social mobilization of women in the city and legislative and institutional reforms concerning women in Turkey.

Feminist perspectives on gender and space have been the first theme of this chapter. The second theme is the social mobilization of women in the city, in the context of Turkey. The third theme of this chapter is the legislation concerning women in Turkey.

2.1. An Overview of the Relationship Between Gender and Space

To understand the role of space on the conceptualization of gender, overlapping interfaces among gender and space must be touched upon.

Feminist theory stems from an effort to construct the discursive space about the other half of the society, namely women. There were developed different approaches in feminist theory in accordance with methodological turns in philosophical thought. The distinction between the first and second wave feminism is a product of this methodological turn.

First wave feminism mainly focuses on the participation of woman into the public life, legal inequalities between men and women and women's rights in social arena. The

most important demand of first wave feminism is 'equality' in public sphere and political domain. Participating in policy-making and public space as a citizen, and gaining the right for employment and education have been the important elements of the equality policy of the first wave feminism. After 60s' the focus of feminism shifted from 'equality' to 'difference' so the definition of gender became more varied. Second wave feminists mainly discuss why women differ from men rather than how women gain their equal status with men. However, second wave feminism focuses on 'family' which is a constitutive element for the subordination of woman. The main argument of second wave feminism is that the demands of first wave feminism would not be realized or supplied unless women's exclusion in private sphere is removed. Masculine economy has permeated into the public life as well as private life in a personal level. Therefore, the assertion of second wave feminism, 'personal is political' summarizes the issue.

The different approaches in feminist theory and critique – such as Marxist, liberal, essentialist, materialist and so on – theorized 'gender' in different ways. Feminists tried to analyze, criticize and theorize the categories of women's subordination which are patriarchy, class difference, masculinity and colonialism with reference to their various professions. They developed critical theories against male-dominant professions, such as history, sociology, psychology, geography and so on. Within these feminisms, feminist geography is the one that mostly associated with the spatial aspects of women's subordination and gender inequality. Feminist geographers focused on the geographical aspects of gender inequality and formation of gender in relation with the urban processes.

McDowell (1999) indicates bipartite aspects of gender by suggesting that definition of gender must contain both material and symbolic explanations as the inseparable components of the formation of gender. Social practices and ways of thinking and representing place and gender are interconnected and mutually constituted (McDowell, 1999, p.7). In defining gender, for McDowell (1999), this interconnection must be referred to understand the inseparable definitions of gender: a symbolic construction and a set of material social relations.

To understand the importance of space as a tool for the conceptualization gender and gender relations, overlapping interfaces among geography, gender, space and

place must be touched upon. Gender relations show differences in accordance with the local and cultural dynamics of different geographies. Therefore, space is an active surface which affects the content of gender and gender relations.

The interaction between gender and space mutually reproduces their contents and categories. To conceptualize the interaction between woman and space necessitates referring sets of dichotomies. Conceptualizations of the women-space interaction can be realized only if such dichotomies would be overcome (Kayasü, 2005). Thus; public – private dichotomy is an essential issue for analyzing the formation process of gender.

Although the roots of male domination over women goes back to primitive times, the division of space into the ‘private sphere of domestic place’ and ‘public sphere of workplace’ in modern terms is the production of the 19th century (McDowell, 1999; Savran, 2002). After the industrial revolution, the relation between gender roles and spatial hierarchy has changed. Different gender categories started to equate with different places. Therefore, the roots of spatial differentiation of gender categories must be searched within the segregation of workplace and domestic place. With this differentiation, not only work types but also places have become sexed. According to this differentiation, natural belonging of female identity has become related to domestic realm, whereas the cultural belonging of male identity has become associated with public realm.

Walby (1997) defines two types of gender regimes in advanced industrial societies regarding the public-private distinction. The first one is domestic regime which is determined by private patriarchal relations, and the second one is the public regime which is dominated by public patriarchal relations.

As McDowell (1999) points out, spatial division that is between the “public and private” or between “inside and outside” play such a central role in the social construction of gender division. People act in relation to their “culturally shaped, historically and spatially positioned intentions and beliefs” (McDowell, 1999, 7).

2.2. Social Mobilization of Women in the City in the Context of Turkey

2.2.1. Socialization Process of Women

It was mentioned before that the emphasis on private/domestic realm of women was emerged in the second wave feminism. Feminist critiques mainly associates with daily life phenomenon to the domestic realm of women. In addition to that, daily life becomes a tool for the feminist analysis of the social and spatial construction of the female identity.

The ideology of familialism and domesticity introduced by McDowell (1999, p.11) has crucial effects on women's daily lives. The domestic sphere as a social unit in itself includes a variety of segregated roles, responsibilities and power relations. Thus the ideology of domesticity is strictly dependent on the gender roles that defines who belongs to the private or public realm, who is responsible for the housework and organization of domestic sphere, and who has the authority and economic power in this social unit. As mentioned before, feminist literature advocates the fact that the sphere of private is traditionally associated with women. Women are responsible not only for the spatial organization of the house but also for the inter-familial relations. Besides the regular control of cooking and housework, well being of the family and care of children are the responsibility areas of women regardless of the socio-economic differences among them (Ayata and Ayata, 1996). The following well-known Turkish proverb summarizes the traditional dominant views on the relation between domestic sphere and women: the female bird makes the nest (*yuvayı dişi kuş yapar*).

Kümbetoğlu (1996) argues that gender roles are traditionally internalized by women. Depending on general atmosphere of the house and familial relations, a woman who has to be a good mistress and mother learns these roles when she was a little girl. Gender roles infiltrate into the memories of a little girl through the plays that are mostly about organizing home, being a good mother and a mistress. Boys, on the other hand, are made to perform the role of patriarchal authority who has the social and economic mobilization in the public sphere, and may adopt this role throughout their further life. Therefore, the process of socialization of women may begin and

continue in connection with the domestic concerns. Besides the traditional gender roles, Kandiyoti (1982) and Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) agreed with the fact that patriarchal relations evolve within the family, and the dominant order in the family has been equated with the husband or father because of the power of men on economic concerns. The socialization process of women is obviously related to both gender roles and patriarchal relations that construct the gendered identity within the daily family cycles.

'A woman's place is in the home' is a further well-known proverb emphasizing the dominant view that women belong in the private sphere rather than the public sphere. However, in Turkey, confinement of women to the private sphere is not only supported by the patriarchal domination but also related to the socio-economic distinctions present in different segments of the society. These distinctions are not related to the inequality between men and women, contrary much related to the differentiations among women in Turkey. These differences/ stratifications among women are not only observed from city to city, but also recent within particular metropolises/ cities as well (Işık, 1999). Income and educational level, employment status and ownership pattern are the important parameters that can reveal the stratifications among women.

In a nutshell, the socialization process of women can be associated with the sets of distinctions such as public vs. private distinction, socio-economic distinctions. All of these factors affect and form the social mobility of women in the city and as well as social integration of women to the community.

In the following section, a brief history concerning participation of women to the public life and the patterns of social mobilization of women in the city will be touched upon in the context of Turkey.

2.2.2. A Brief Introduction to Participation of Women into the Public Life

The question of participation of women to the public life has maintained its importance since 30s. The establishment of Ladies' Clubs has close relations with

this participation question. In this respect, the studies dealing with this question will be reviewed in order to analyze the Ladies' Clubs case.

The issue of "how women participate in public life" has been the matter of Turkish state policy from the 1930s'. This participation question was covering the representation of female body (women's clothing) issue and as well as the emergence of a new female identity in Turkish public sphere in 1930s'. Modernization of Turkish public life has been equated with women's entry of public life by the republicans since 1930's. Beyond the visual changes on female clothing, revolutionary regulations (Civil Code) have been offered for women in Early Republican Period. These regulations which can be summarized as owning a property by inheritance, gaining a right to divorce, prohibiting childhood marriages and polygamy, removal of Islamic education and participation of women in western style of education; became a tool for challenging the Eastern oppressed woman cliché. Hence, it becomes legitimate for women to be employed and participate in public life.

The main physical and social changes in Turkish cities have been realized through the program of modernism, by the founders of new republic. As an example; one of the main aim for designing urban parks and squares was to leave eastern way of living which was criticized by west for being introverted. Another aim was to put the women next to other half of the society, namely 'men', in the public sphere. In Turkey, unhealthy conditions of industrialization were experienced much more lately compared to West. Contrary to Europe, urban parks in Turkish cities were not designed to eliminate environmental effects of industrialization but designed for bringing women into the urban life in early Republican Era, and as well as for creating modern cities like other Western cities in Europe. Among these newly established cities Ankara had the central importance as the new capital city of republic. The new bureaucrat elites and state officers of the republic started to settle in Ankara in 1930s. As a result of these changes, the urban life and urban culture in Ankara was designed in accordance with western style of urban life. Socio-cultural facilities such as cinema and theatre, and recreational facilities were served to the new citizens of capital city. All these facilities were used by both men and women.

After 1940s, migration from rural to urban transformed the city. Business

opportunities attracted rural people to Ankara. These migrants settled in uncontrolled and unplanned areas in the city. As a result of migration, not only land-use but also urban life changed. These migrants carried their cultures and values with them and these cultures transformed into the core urban culture of Ankara (Ayata and Ayata, 1996). Hence, the social stratification or divisions in the city became observable and varied district to district. The question of participation of women to the public life started to refer social stratifications besides the inequality between men and women. There are various socio-spatial and economic factors behind this question in the authenticity of Turkey.

2.2.3. The Patterns of Social Mobilization of Women in the City

There are substantial amount of studies dealing with social and economic mobilization of women in the city. However, this study concerns the literature focusing on urban life in Ankara. In spite of the fact that the case study is limited with the ladies' clubs in Ankara, it may be useful to refer the studies concerning Ankara.

One of the important studies is the research of Ayata and Ayata that analyzes urban life and culture in Ankara and relationship between families living in different districts and the community. Ayata and Ayata (1996) distinguish the relationship between the families and urban community in Ankara into three areas which are relations with bureaucratic or formal institutions, shopping and the participation in the recreational or cultural activities. Ayata and Ayata (1996) examine these relations in terms of neighborhoods and income groups represented by these neighborhoods and argue that the participation in the socio-cultural activities such as going to cinema or theater increases as the income level increased. Moreover, Ayata and Ayata (1996) claims that the participation is also closely related to the educational composition of the neighborhood and gender, and that the participation level increases with increasing level of education.

According to Ayata and Ayata (1996), level of participation to cultural activities in Ankara is not high; however, participation levels show significant differences from neighborhood to neighborhood. Besides the opinions of Ayata and Ayata (1996),

Kağıtçıbaşı (1990), Kümbetoğlu (1996) and Onat (1996) also agree on the fact that income and education level affect participation levels in urban life and the participation levels show significant differences in terms of gender. Moreover, urbanization level of women is mostly associated with educational level and employment status of women (Onat, 1996; Kümbetoğlu, 1996).

Ayata and Ayata (1996) examine the residential areas in Ankara in terms of social relations, lifestyles, and cultural characteristics, and argue that city population is divided into three segments corresponding to upper middle and middle, lower middle and low income groups.

Ayata and Ayata (1996) assert that the emergence of social relations in an urban area begins with the development of socio-economic status; and categorize the neighborhoods according to socio-economic segments in the society: middle (and middle high) class apartment neighborhoods, lower class apartment neighborhoods and *gecekondu*⁴ areas.

Ayata and Ayata (1996) argue that the middle class families continue to be a part of the social relations spreading to urban life and deteriorated neighborly relations are based on the space. They also assert that neighborly relations begin to deteriorate particularly in middle class neighborhoods which are close to inner city. The major reason behind this deterioration is associated with the income level. Transportation costs do not present an obstacle in reaching the city center and private cars are being widely used. Thus activities such as spending time in the city centre or cultural activities, e.g. cinema, theatre, could be performed frequently. Furthermore, participation of women living in these neighborhoods to cultural and social activities, e.g. cinema or theatre, and voluntary organizations is quite high (Ayata and Ayata, 1996). Moreover, as a consequence of the higher education, women have begun to participate in working life and public sphere, and establish social relations spreading to urban life.

⁴ A special word in Turkish defining slums and/or the slum architecture itself. Gecekondu is a type of squatter settlement which is developed in the Turkish cities. Accordig to Srinivas, a squatter settlement is "a residential area which has developed without legal claims to the land and/or permission from the concerned authorities to build; as a result of their illegal or semi-legal status, infrastructure and services are usually inadequate"(). However, the term 'gecekondu' refers both a physical reality and a way of life (Günay, 2009). Main characteristics of the gecekondu areas are lack of physical and social infrastructure as a result of their illegal status. The inhabitants of the gecekondu areas may compose of rural migrants and as well as lowest income groups.

With respect to lower-middle class neighborhoods, low income level decreases the intra-urban mobilization. In order to eliminate transportation costs, most of the inhabitants of these neighborhoods have provided their need for recreation in their surrounding physical environment. Furthermore, participation of women living in these neighborhoods to cultural and social activities, e.g. cinema or theatre, and voluntary organizations is lower (Ayata and Ayata, 1996).

Except for the population in the gecekondu areas, urban population is not confined to the social relations within the neighborhood level. Ayata and Ayata (1996) allege that despite the internal socio-economic differences observed in the gecekondu areas, relative poverty and commitment to the traditional values are the main characteristics of gecekondu phenomenon. Limited social integration with the city and dependence on the relations in neighborhood scale are the other main characteristics of gecekondu areas and these facts mostly affect the women living in these neighborhoods (Ayata and Ayata, 1996; Onat, 1996). The fact of dependence upon the limited neighborhood scale disappears within the other social categories living in middle class apartment neighborhoods.

Consequently, social participation of women to the urban life differs from neighborhood to neighborhood. Not only the socio-economic structure of inhabitants but also the local environmental characteristics of the neighborhoods and the locations of neighborhoods in the city influence the social mobilization of women in the city in different levels. In urban level, there are serious distinctions in the usage of socio-cultural facilities and in the pattern of neighbor relations. In district level, there are also distinctions among families/ households depending on the socio-economic status and cultural factors.

There is a substantial amount of study concerning economic and social facades of the relationship between women and public or private spaces. These studies concerning research question were overviewed in the context of Turkey. However, there are legislative and institutional processes that construct and form the relation between women and city, and social life. In order to understand how ladies' clubs were emerged as a product of legislation concerning women, these processes should be dealt with.

2.3. An Overview on Legislation Concerning Women in Turkey

This section of the study deals with the legislation concerning women both in national and local levels in Turkey. It was summarized in the former sections that the socialization process of women, social mobilization of women in the city and the former regulations on women's issue that were realized in Republican era. However, a study focusing on a new spatial realm, namely Ladies' Clubs, which was a product of policy and legislation concerning women should deal with the legislative and institutional processes. These processes constitute a base and frame for the emergence of this realm in the context of Turkey. Before 1980s, there was not any national institution which concerns gender equality and the status of women in Turkey. Institutionalization of gender equity and concerns on gender mainstreaming is started after 1980s as a result of international relations. Moreover, gender equality policies started to infiltrate in local regulations and laws after the institutionalization of the gender equality issue in Turkey. Therefore, at this point, Ladies' Clubs should be examined both in this gender equality and the question of participation frames.

2.3.1. Local Governance and Gender Mainstreaming

In this section of the thesis; the relations between the terms which are local governance and gender mainstreaming will be examined for coming to a clear understanding of the Ladies' Clubs case in following chapter. As one of the local governments' social affairs 'Ladies' Clubs' have direct relations with these two terms in terms of its function and its effects on women's lives. Before analyzing these direct relations, these two terms will be introduced with reference to the socio-spatial, legislative and institutional results of the interaction between international powers/ actors (European Nations, European Union) and Turkey.

2.3.1.1. Empowerment of Local Governments in Turkey

In Turkey, after signing European Charter of Local Self-Government in 1988, the main institution which has been responsible for local policy was determined as local government.

In principle, the central government is responsible for general political frame about the nation such as well being of the nation, national security, foreign policy, and juridical regulations. However, the mission of local governments is to produce and execute policies for local public affairs under the limitations and control of the central government (Keleş, 1993).

According to European Charter of Local Self-Government, which was signed by Turkey in 1991, there were defined three main missions of local governments. The three missions can be summed up as: to regulate and manage public affairs, representation of local population, and direct citizen participation. Through this national political agenda, crucial reforms on urban policy planning and local governments' were realized. Approval of strategic planning approach, foundation of city councils, and the obligatory increase in the variety of the social affairs of local governments in Turkey are the reformative results of these international relations and processes.

European Charter of Local Self-Government (the three main components of local governments') also suggests a frame for the formation of gender mainstreaming within the policy of empowerment of women. In this section of the study, legislation and institutionalization concerning women in Turkey will be focused on.

2.3.1.2. Legislative Process of Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey

According to the definition of Council of Europe (1998) gender mainstreaming is “the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation and policy process, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all level and all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making”. The ‘gender mainstreaming’

idea has first emerged with set of UN (United Nations) Conferences in Mexico (1975); Copenhagen (1980); Nairobi (1985); and Beijing (1995). These international platforms in which Turkey participate have focused on human rights and women's rights. Among these conferences, Nairobi and Beijing were the most important steps in terms of the institutionalization and legislation process of gender mainstreaming in Turkey. Critical results of the conferences were the commitments and conventions especially on gender equality. One of the important commitment emerged from these set of UN Conferences "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" (CEDAW) has suggested an international political agenda for revealing to the nations the principle of equal opportunity between men and women in terms of legal rights and responsibilities. The convention signed by Turkey with reservations⁵ in 1985 which are continued until 1999 (Eray, 2008). Although the interest of Turkey on gender equality was first appeared in Nairobi Conference, the most concrete effort in legislative terms on the issue of gender equality came from Turkey in the Beijing Conference. In 1995, in the Beijing Conference, Turkey accepted the withdrawal commitment for the reservations on the CEDAW. With the "withdrawal commitment", Turkey accepted to draw a new path for the legislative reforms on the Civil Code. In 1999, the reservations have been withdrawn 1999 in the light of the review and amendment of the Civil Code (Eray, 2008). Therefore, the basis for the gender mainstreaming in Turkey had been prepared with the international women's conferences and the process of CEDAW.

Another international actor who critically affected the formation of gender mainstreaming in Turkey is European Union (EU). When Turkey gained to be the "candidate country" status on the 10th December in 1999, it would be essential to

⁵ These reservations to Article 15 (paragraphs: 2 and 4) and 16 (paragraphs: c, d, f, g) are:

"*Article 15*, 2nd paragraph; States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals, 4th paragraph; States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile."

"*Article 16*, (c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution; (d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount; (f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount; (g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation"

observe the program, ideology and stance of EU. In this regard, to come to an arrangement with EU, Turkey's effort to make its laws compatible with EU's laws was critical. Within the conditions of EU which was prepared for the candidacy of Turkey, gender equality issue and gender mainstreaming become one of the main problematic.

Apart from the contributions of UN and EU in the process of legislative reforms about gender mainstreaming in Turkey, the role of national processes and agency of national actors are also important. Within this multi-leveled and multi-actor frame, national actors in Turkey can be defined as state institutions and organizations, and civil organizations. Within the state organization, the policy and agency of local governments, ministries and bounded directorates which are interested in gender equality will be introduced in this part of the chapter.

In Turkey, two levels of state operation are defined for the formation of gender mainstreaming: legislative and the institutional levels (Eray, 2008). The legislative level has been triggered with international conventions such as CEDAW (1981) and Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985). The first step for the institutionalization of gender equality was realized in 1987. The first state structure *Kadına Yönelik Politikalar Danışma Kurulu* (Advisory Board on Policies Regarding Women) was founded in 1987 under the body of *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı* (State Planning Organization)⁶. After the foundation of Advisory Board, gender mainstreaming policies was entered in five year plans. The second state structure *Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Başkanlığı* (General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women) was founded in 1990, and affiliated directly with Prime Ministry in 1991⁷ through being changed the name as *Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü* (Presidency of Women's Status and Problems). However, the institutionalization process of Presidency could not continue directly under the Prime Ministry until 2003. The name of Presidency was changed and affiliated with Ministry of Law and Social Security and then with other structures under the state organization between 1991 and 2003. The Directorate General has been re-affiliated to the Prime Ministry

⁶ For detailed information see <http://www.ksgm.gov.tr/en/history.php> (last accessed : 15.05.2010)

⁷ For detailed information see <http://www.ksgm.gov.tr/en/history.php> (last accessed : 15.05.2010)

in 2003, and the Organization Law of the Directorate General came into force in 2004.

According to five-year National Action Plan on Gender Equality (NAPGE) dated 2008- 2012⁸, Local Authorities are counted as one among the three responsible institutions and agencies for “developing solutions to counterbalance the negative effects on women of unplanned urbanization, slum housing and urban services (inner-city transportation, illumination, etc.)”. NAPGE 2008 is concentrated on the conditions of rural women rather than urbanized women.

Strategic Plan (2007- 2012) developed by KSGM is dependent on NAPGE in terms of responsible institutions and agencies. According to Strategic Plan, awareness level of decision-makers, experts, policy-makers and non-governmental organizations will be increased by the year 2012 in order to reflect gender equality perspective to public plans and programs. The main concerns of gender equality in Strategic Plan is to increase the gender equality sensitivity of local authorities which are directly associated with women’s empowerment in urban context.

In the local level, *5393 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu*⁹ (the Law of The Affiliate Municipalities, numbered 5393, date: 13.07.2005) and *5216 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu*¹⁰ (the Law of The Greater Municipalities, numbered 5216, date: 23.07.2004) are binding legislative measures on women’s empowerment and gender equality issues. More directly related with urban environment, these laws offer both strategic and practical gender concerns. Although positive discrimination¹¹ has newly infiltrated into the regulations as a ‘special measure’ in order to eradicate gender discrimination in Turkey, there are regulations and laws developed for women, children and elderly.

⁸ KSGM, (2008) National Action Plan on Gender Equality, pp: 69. Online document is available at : http://www.ksgm.gov.tr/en/nap_pge.php (last accessed date: 15.05.2010)

⁹ 5393 sayılı Belediyeler Kanunu (2005) Online document available at: <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5393.html> (last accessed date:15.05.2010)

¹⁰ 5216 sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu (2004) Online document available at: <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5216.html> (last accessed date 21.02.2010)

¹¹ Affirmative action means positive steps taken to increase the representation of women and minorities in areas of employment, education, and business from which they have been historically excluded. ‘Affirmative action’ term is generally used in the United States. The matching procedures are named in United Kingdom and also in Turkey as ‘positive discrimination’. See for detailed information: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/affirmative-action/>

Within this planning-policy and legislative frames, two main domains can be counted on gender issue. The first one is practical gender needs, and the second one is strategic gender interests. According to Alkan;

Practical gender needs are necessities that are identified as social and cultural response by discriminatory constitutions which sustain women's socially constructed roles through re-setting/ re-determining gender roles. However, strategic gender interests are needs which lead to challenge and change discrimination and patriarchal constitutions (Alkan, 2005, p.61).

Practical gender needs do not interested in challenging women's subordination, patriarchy or gender division of labor. Contrary, it works as a filling material to reinforce gender norms. For example, a program which contains daily interests of women such as childcare and domestic issues (house cleaning, sewing, domestic economy etc.), are related to practical gender needs. However, strategic gender interests are related to the status of women or subordination of women. Ladies' clubs

In the latter chapters, how ladies' clubs contribute women's lives and how they were emerged will be discussed through referencing strategic gender interests, practical gender needs, and municipal regulations concerning women. Before going through this discussion, method and field research will be presented.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

As it was mentioned earlier; the main aim of this study is to make a survey and analysis of ladies' clubs established and supported by Greater Ankara Municipality. This study aims to explore and analyze the policies and legislation developed by the administration about Ladies' Clubs, to map their distribution in the city and the attitudes and appraisals of women participating in the activities of the clubs located at the core of the city. For this purpose, an exploratory-descriptive research was executed for the research. Hence, the literature review that was drawn in the former chapter was formed within the context of this gender question, and within a theoretical framework that juxtaposes the literature on gender division of space, gender mainstreaming policies in Turkey and their effects on participation of women to the urban life. Within this specific context, this piece of research stems from an endeavor to reveal the question of how place intersects with policies and legislations concerning women.

As mentioned earlier, clubs in the core of Ankara city were selected to analyze and map use of the Ladies' Clubs by women. Distinct socio-economic differences within the urban core affect the participation of women to the urban life on different levels. These distinct differences and participation levels are the main reasons behind the limitation of the case study to the urban core. Clubs located in the urban fringe, e.g. West and South-west corridors of Ankara, are not included in this study. There are nine clubs in the urban core of Ankara city. These clubs are located in Çankaya, Dikmen, Bahçelievler, Ahmetler, Altındağ, Şafaktepe, Etilik, Şentepe, and Demetevler neighborhoods.

In order to be informed about the clubs and to analyze and map the Ladies' Club case, a field research was conducted both in the governmental institutions and clubs. Field research consists of two parts which are interviews and questionnaires. Field research was planned to start with the visits of the GMA for getting general and background information about the clubs. On these visits, administrative staff, decision makers and planners in the GMA were interviewed and asked about the foundation of the clubs. The quantitative data, e.g. number of members and of employees of the clubs, were also gathered through these interviews. *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu* (Turkish Statistical Institute) was also visited in order to gather demographical documents on Ankara, for the analysis of the case study.

After the interviews conducted with the employees of the GMA, the questionnaire survey and sampling technique was started to be formulated by taking into consideration the research question. Sampling technique for the questionnaire survey was determined with the help of the quantitative data gathered from the GMA. The stratified sampling technique is chosen for the analysis of the case with the help of questionnaires. The total number of members of the nine selected clubs is 12,031, and the representative sampling size was calculated as 724 with the 90% verification with the help of stratified sampling technique that was implemented by the statistics specialist.

After these aforementioned formulations on the questionnaire survey were ended, application process of the questionnaire survey was designed. First, a pilot questionnaire survey was conducted in order to test the questionnaires. Second, the final formulation of the questionnaires was formed with the help of the information that was provided by the pilot questionnaire survey. Finally, the final application of the questionnaire survey was started. It is important to note that, all of the questionnaires were applied by the author by taking into consideration informed consent. Besides the questionnaire survey, it is planned to conduct in-depth interviews at least with one volunteered member in each club.

3.1. Field Research

3.1.1. Interviews

In order to construct an initial knowledge before conducting the field research, GMA was visited and the decision-makers of Ladies' Clubs were interviewed. After getting informed about the clubs, in-depth interviews were conducted with the club members.

3.1.1.1. Interviews Conducted in the GMA

GMA was first visited in 17.12.09 and three other times until June, 2010. On the first visit non-formal interviews were conducted with the director and two officers of the Directorate of Women and Family of the Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs Department. The general and background information about the clubs was gathered from the administrative staff.

Before the second visit to the GMA, Bahçelievler and Batıkent Ladies' Clubs were visited and obtained general information about the clubs from the employees. On the second visit (20.02.10) to the GMA, informal interviews were made with architects and engineers who work in Developments and City Planning Department. On the third visit (27.05.10) to GMA, a formal interview was conducted with the head of the Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs Department. The permissions to conduct questionnaires and in-depth interviews were obtained but the permission for taking photographs of the interior of clubs could not be granted. On the same visit, some recent data on the clubs was partially obtained. However, the legislative information about the foundation of the clubs was informed limitedly with respect to the privacy policy of the GMA.

3.1.1.2. In-depth Interviews with the Club Members

In each club, club employees were interviewed to be informed about the user profile, background information of the clubs. These interviews also provided important information for the selection the representative/ suitable samples for the in-depth interviews. The sampling for the in-depth interviews was determined by taking into consideration these interview results which were mostly informed about the age, employment and income composition of the members and as well as the allocation of the volunteered members throughout the districts/neighborhoods. In-depth interviews were planned to conduct at least with one member.

Before the in-depth interviews, volunteered members informed about the aim of the study in detail. With the in-depth interviews; the contribution of Ladies' Clubs to the use of urban core by women and the agency of women in the context of use of urban space were examined. Eleven volunteered women from each of Ahmetler, Bahçelievler, Çankaya, Dikmen, Etlik, Demetevler, Şafaktepe and Şentepe Ladies' Clubs were interviewed. In both Şafaktepe and Dikmen Ladies' Clubs one additional woman volunteered for in-depth interviews. However, since there were low numbers of users attending to the clubs during the summer, no volunteers could be found in the Altındağ Ladies' Club for the interviews.

During the pilot study, it is observed that some women volunteered to comment on the questionnaire after the application of the questionnaires. Therefore, the in-depth interview technique was determined as a non-structured type.

3.1.2. Questionnaires

The questionnaires prepared for the field research have both open-ended and closed questions. The issue of "how these clubs provide and affect the use of urban core by women" has been tried to be mapped with the help of questionnaires. Within this major aim, some categories were determined for the analysis of the Ladies' Clubs. The effects of these categories on the use of the Ladies Clubs and also the

urban core were analyzed. Finally, these categories are: informal and formal social networks, educational level, income level and the level of the use of urban space. In addition to that, the relationship between working regime or women's leisure and use of urban space by women was questioned.

As mentioned earlier, a pilot study was conducted in Ahmetler, Çankaya and Etlik Ladies' Clubs in order to test the questionnaires. Questionnaires were applied to the members by the author. Before the application of the questionnaires, club employees and volunteered club members were informed about the aim of the research. It should be noted that, all of the questionnaires were applied with the consent of the respondents.

3.1.2.1. Pilot Questionnaires

The pilot study started in 16th of July, and ended in 18th of July. Pilot study was conducted in Ahmetler, Çankaya and Etlik Ladies' Clubs. The reason for the selection of these three clubs for the pilot study is to reach a diversity for the income and employment composition. Questionnaires were applied to forty respondents, and four volunteered users from the three clubs were asked about their opinions on the clubs.

In Çankaya Ladies' Club, two respondents corrected one of the questions by adding their income level onto the questionnaire forms. During the application of the questionnaires in Çankaya, two respondents stated that they have positive opinions on the application of sexual segregation in the Ladies' Clubs. Also one of the respondents stated that she is not interested in the sexual segregation issue and she does not choose the women-only club specifically. The same respondent also stated that economical and spatial issues are more important than the segregation issue. The other respondent expressed her feelings about the clubs by saying that she is happy with the women to women (same-sex) socialization in the clubs, but she added that she does not support the application of sex-segregation in all of the sports centers. Both of these respondents use other private and non-segregated sports centers for swimming activity although Çankaya Ladies' Club has a swimming

pool. The second intervention and also contribution to the questionnaire came from another two respondents who are members of Çankaya Ladies' Club. These respondents who are veiling-women added to the questionnaire form that "the main reason for my interest in the Ladies' Clubs is that they are sex-segregated places".

Housewives who live in surrounding neighborhoods are the major users of the Etlik Ladies' Club. It is important to note that all of the respondents prefer the club by reason of affordable membership fee. In addition to that three fourth of the respondents prefer the club by reason of sex segregation that was being implemented in the club. Interviews also support this preference on sex-segregation. Two respondents state that they do not prefer to be members of the club if the club was non-segregated type.

In the Ahmetler Ladies' Club, the number of users who live in different districts is quite high. The reason of this diverse membership can be associated with the existence of office buildings or work places surrounding the Ahmetler Ladies' Club. One of the respondents who is a member of Ahmetler Ladies' Club corrected the question of "the reasons of preference of the ladies clubs" by adding to the questionnaire form that "Ahmetler Ladies Clubs is close to my workplace". In addition to that, the answers of the case "which transportation modes do you use when you come to the club" were changed after the contribution of another respondent. The respondent added to the questionnaire that she uses her company service vehicle to come to the club.

The pilot questionnaire survey provided important information for the final formulation of the questionnaire form. The questions on income level, access mode choices, and reasons of women for preferring to use the clubs were changed with the help of pilot questionnaire survey.

3.1.2.2. Final Application of the Questionnaires

After the pilot study, final application of the questionnaires was started on 19th July with the visit to Şafaktepe Ladies' Club. After Şafaktepe Ladies' Club; Ahmetler,

Çankaya, Dikmen, Etlik, Demetevler, Şentepe and finally Altındağ Ladies' Clubs were visited. Field research ended on the 29th of July.

The sampling for the questionnaires was chosen randomly. Questionnaires were conducted after the end or before the beginning of activity sessions and courses. In order to reach the predetermined number of respondents; morning, afternoon and evening hours were used. Because of the low interest in the clubs in the summer season, it could not be reached to the predetermined number of respondents in Bahçelievler, Şentepe, Şafaktepe and Altındağ Ladies' Clubs.

Although the predetermined number of the questionnaires is 724, only 287 questionnaire forms were filled in by the respondents. Moreover, in order to sustain the representative ratios for each club, 46 surveys were discarded lowering the total number of surveys into 241. The low numbers of club users during the summer season and also the limited research budget obstructed to reach predetermined number of questionnaires. Questionnaires were evaluated in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software by the author.

3.2. Sources and Types of the Research Data

The prerequisite data which was used for analyzing and mapping the participation of women to the clubs was gathered from institutions and questionnaire survey. There are two types of data that was used in this thesis: governmental documents, questionnaires and visual documents.

3.2.1. Institutional Documents

The demographical documents are gathered from *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu* (Turkish Statistical Institute) and the Greater Municipality of Ankara. GMA was last visited on 27.05.10. Inference of the interviews with the administrative staff; the legislative and general information about Ladies' Clubs, and the number of the club members

according to monthly registrations in 2010 have been gathered.

3.2.2. Questionnaire Data

Questionnaires were evaluated in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software by the author. After the preparation of the cross tabulation tables dependent on the questionnaire survey, data of the each survey area was evaluated in itself. After this evaluation, a comparison was made between the results of these survey areas.

3.2.3. Visual Documents: Maps, Photographs and Publications

Google Earth satellite images¹² and the selected maps from *2023 Başkent Ankara Nazım İmar Planı Açıklama Raporu* (2007, The Report of 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan) were juxtaposed in order to produce new maps for showing the spatial allocation of the clubs.

In addition, an origin-destination analysis was made by the author, with the juxtaposition of the questionnaire data and the Districts of Ankara Map with the help of GIS and CAD softwares.

Photographs taken from outside of the clubs were presented in the forth chapter in order to depict the localities where the clubs are located in.

¹² The satellite picture was taken on 20.05.10.

CHAPTER 4

FOUNDATION OF THE CLUBS: GOALS, POLICY, PROGRAM

In this chapter the goals, organization and program of Ladies' Clubs has been presented.

4.1. Goals

First built in Ankara in 2000, Ladies' Clubs are offered as one of the social services of the GMA. Ladies' Clubs are 'women-only' activity centers incorporating sports, leisure and meeting purposes. There are fifteen clubs in Ankara and one more club, in Çayyolu district, is still in the construction phase. With its almost twenty thousand members (in 2010), Ladies' Clubs get considerable attention from women who lives in Ankara. In addition to the Clubs in Ankara, there are newly built women-only clubs in Samsun and Konya as well. Although this study mainly focuses on nine selected clubs and districts in Ankara, examination of the goals and ideas behind the foundation of Ladies' Club will be presented in this section.

According to the information presented in the web site of GMA¹³, the goals of 'Ladies' Clubs' are:

- To offer a place in which ladies who are housewives, workers, and students can spend their leisure with social activities.

¹³ Information was retrieved from http://ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/hanimlar_lokali/hanimlar_lokali.aspx , (last accessed date 05.01.2010).

- To improve social interaction and neighborhood culture between housewives and working 'ladies'
- To increase the number of common places
- To make women attend sports activity
- To instruct women about their problems and help them for solving their problems
- To ensure ladies to acquire new behavior patterns
- To remove women from their domestic realm and working life and ensure women –housewives- to participate in social life by organizing panels and seminars

There are fifteen clubs in the most populous districts of Ankara. The first club was founded in Çankaya District in 2000. From 2000 to 2010, 14 more clubs was founded in other districts listed below.

Table 1: Foundation Dates of the Clubs, source: GMA website.

Altındağ Ladies' Club	2001
Ahmetler Ladies' Club	2005
Bahçelievler Ladies' Club	2003
Batıkent Ladies' Club (in Vedat Dalokay Park)	2001
Çankaya Ladies' Club	2000
Demetevler Ladies' Club (in Karşıyaka Office Building)	2003
Dikmen Ladies' Club	2002
Etlik Ladies' Club	2001
Kalecik Ladies' Club (in Kalecik Family Center)	2009
Planet Ladies' Club (Eryaman)	2009
Pursaklar Ladies' Club (in Pursaklar Family Center)	2009
Sincan <i>Harikalar Diyarı</i> (Wonderland) Ladies' Club	2000
Şafaktepe Ladies' Club	2003
Şentepe Ladies' Club	2005
The Family Center (Aile Yaşam Merkezi) Ladies' Club	2005

Users are required to pay a sum of money for the annual membership. The membership fee of the clubs is a tolerable amount of money¹⁴. It is important to note that, GMA provides a 'free membership' for the women who have a proof of poverty (*yoksulluk ilmühaberi*).

4.2. Policy and Organization

In this section of the research, the institutional organization concerning the clubs and the policies behind the foundation of the clubs will be presented. In order to gather this information, policy-makers and officers was interviewed.

The director of the Directorate of Women and Family was asked about the idea of the club. According to the director, the main idea behind the foundation of the Ladies' Clubs was coined by the mayor of the GMA. In addition to that there are no surveys and research conducted before the foundation of the clubs:

Before foundation of the clubs, we did not conduct any research on the prospective users of the clubs. The whole idea of a women-only club was developed by our Mayor. The decisions such as where and how the clubs will be situated were conducted by collaboration of various departments of the GMA.

The Director of the Directorate of Women and Family, Date 27.05.10

After the interview, officers of the Directorate of Women and Family were asked about these various departments. The activity program is developed by the Directorate of Women and Family under the Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs Department. The architectural program is developed by the Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs Department in collaboration with Studies and Projects Department of the GMA. Locations of the clubs in the city and facilities of the clubs were determined and identified by the municipality for women citizens.

¹⁴ The annual membership fee of the Ladies' Club is one hundred Turkish liras for 2010-2011.

The director was asked about the regulation (*yönetmelik*) of the clubs. Although there is an institutional regulation, the permission for looking into it could not be gathered by reason of the institutional privacy policy. The director was also asked about the case 'is there an effect of EU and UN in terms of gender mainstreaming policies on the foundation, regulation and goals of the clubs':

We established the clubs before EU. We offered such a service for only ladies for the first time in the world.

The Director of the Directorate of Women and Family, Date 27.05.10

According to the answer of director, it is controversial that the formation and the legislation of gender mainstreaming in Turkey depend on 1980s' whereas the first Ladies' Club was founded in 2000. In addition, the candidacy of Turkey to EU was accepted in 1999, and the consultation process of Turkey's membership of EU was started in 2005. The first legislative reforms on women's status and implementation of gender mainstreaming on national policies in Turkey were started in late 80s as a result of international relations with EU and UN. As it was mentioned in the former chapter, these international relations affect both national and local policies in legislative and institutional levels in Turkey. Regarding to local governments' policies and municipal regulations concerning women, Directorate of Women and Family was founded under the Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs of GMA.

According to the Law of Greater Municipalities dated 2004, number 5216, paragraph 7-v; the responsibilities and duties of a greater municipality or adherent municipalities are stated as establishing social and cultural centers for women, children, youth and elderly. Before the approval of this law, the Law of Municipalities, number 3030, dating 1984 was used. In the Law of Municipalities, there is no paragraph about the establishment of socio-cultural centers for women, children, youth and elderly. These groups and services concerning them were defined only in the Law of Greater Municipality, number 5216. It is important to note that, clubs were founded before the approval of the Law of Greater Municipality. In other words, the municipal policy and project concerning women, namely Ladies' Clubs, was started to implement before the development of laws concerning women in local governance level.

Another question asked to the director is 'whether if there are any administrative models examined or surveyed before the foundation of the clubs':

We did not search or use any models before the foundation of Ladies' Clubs. The entire program for the clubs was developed by the GMA. We [the Directorate of Women and Family] decided on the basic facilities and then designed them; but of course with our Mayor's permission.

The Director of the Directorate of Women and Family, Date 27.05.10

The director explicitly stated that GMA developed a model that is unique in the world. In this process, the role of the directorate is to decide the main facilities of the clubs, and then present this program other departments.

The head of Ladies' Clubs Management Office was also interviewed (17.12.09). Only general information about the clubs was obtained:

We established the first club in 2000, in Çankaya. Our goals are, to provide places for the socialization of ladies who are employed or housewives; places for leisure, and places that would encourage women to participate into the social life. The idea of Ladies' Clubs was developed by our mayor, yet our [Ladies' Clubs Management Office] responsibility is to provide the coordination among the clubs. Indeed, you can find this information on our website. It is interesting that you chose such a case for your thesis. What is interesting about the clubs?

To be informed about how the club buildings were built or transformed from existing buildings, an officer from the Estate and Condemnation Department was interviewed:

When the clubs were established, demographic data and social structure were not taken into consideration. There was not any pilot project or a preliminary study for the foundation of the clubs. Employees of the clubs were not selected from professionals or experts in the first founded clubs. The land [building parcels] for the establishment of the clubs is owned by the GMA. Therefore, the re-functioning of old buildings was the case, so that the cost would be optimized. Yet some club buildings are rented. Affiliated district municipalities are responsible for the realization of licensing and controlling

procedures. However, GMA is responsible for the modification of the projects. (Date: 17.12.09)

The suitability of the selected buildings, concerning architectural and social functions of Ladies' Clubs is a controversial issue. For example Bahçelievler Ladies' club is located in the Bahçelievler bazaar building. The ground and first floor of the building is used for market space. The third floor is separated from the building with iron gates for the use of Ladies' Clubs. The two different functions (bazaar and club) are not corresponded to each other in terms of safety concerns and practical issues. Thus eight years after the foundation of the Bahçelievler Ladies' Club, GMA has employed a security company to provide safety of Bahçelievler Ladies' Club.



Figure 1: Entrance of Bahçelievler Ladies' Club.



Figure 2: Entrance of Bahçelievler Ladies' Club



Figure 3: A look to floors of the bazaar and club. The basement floor is used for car parking, the ground and first floors are used for commercial activities. Bahçelievler Ladies Club is at the third floor.

There are three hundred and seventy two women who are employed in the clubs in four types of branches which are; administration, education and training, secretarial, sanitary. Due to the fact that trainers and educators are hired employees, their total number does not remain stable. Every club has a manager and an associated manager. There are sixty four cooks and cleaners. The rest of the employees work as the trainers and secretaries. Trainers are between the ages of twenty two and thirty five. The ages of cleaners are between forty five and sixty five. Cleaner women are mostly retired women from the state institutions or private companies. The employees of Ladies' Clubs are not in the status of permanently employed officer (number 657). Trainers graduated from two-years or four-years universities, work with GMA in the Status Of Temporarily Employed Expert or Instructor of Ministry of National Education (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın Ek Ders Ücreti ile Çalışan Kadrosuz Uzman Ve Usta Öğretici Statüsü¹⁵).

¹⁵ Principles about temporarily employed expert and master trainers is available on the internet: oegm.meb.gov.tr/personel/2008-2009_kuo_gorevlendirme_esas.pdf

4.3. Program

There are three types of services offered in the Ladies' Clubs. The first one is courses and seminars that are intended to develop 'social and cultural' qualities and as well as to train for manual handicrafting skills. The second one is facilities that offer sports activities, meetings, hairdresser, health-care and child care.

There are eleven types of courses in the clubs which are language (English), computer, diction, theater, choir (Turkish classical and folk music), musical instruments (guitar, oud, baglama), folk dance, painting, handicrafts, manufacturing cosmetics and chess. At the end of an educational year, intra-club competitions and exhibitions are organized in the fields of dance, chorus, musical instruments, pool and theater.

Four types of sports activities are offered in one-hour sessions. Pilates, step, aerobic and stretching activities are offered in one gym hall within different days or sessions. The fitness hall is separated from other gym halls. The evening sessions for sports activities' sessions are organized mostly for the employed women except the Altındağ and Şentepe Ladies' Clubs. However, it is important to note that, there is no demand for the evening sessions in these two clubs. The showers are available in all of the clubs. Pool and table tennis are located in a separate room or in a transition space between the rooms regarding to the size of club building. Swimming pools which require an extra payment are offered only in the Çankaya and Şafaktepe Ladies' Clubs.

According to the advertisements prepared for the clubs, there are libraries in each clubs. It is observed that the location of the library differs regarding the size and organization of the club building. It is interesting to note that the library in Dikmen Ladies' Club is located in the entrance of the club. On the other hand, there is no library in the Şafaktepe Ladies' Club. The computer labs are offered in each clubs. Laboratories are available during the day time if there is not a computer course in the labs. There are meeting rooms offered in each club for taking a rest, dining and organizing *kabul günü* (reception day). All of the meeting rooms have a TV set.



Figure 4: A handbill of the Ladies' Clubs, published by GMA.

Four kinds of seminars are offered in the clubs which are “NLP (Neuro-linguistic Programming)”, “women’s health”, “child development” and “diet and nutrition” seminars. It should be noted that “*beyin gücü ile zayıflama*” (losing weight with mind power) seminars were removed from the seminar program after the year 2010. There are special seminar rooms offered only in Bahçelievler, Şentepe and Çankaya Ladies' Clubs. The size and the technical infrastructure of these rooms are adequate for film-screening, exhibitions and seminars. In rest of the clubs, the seminars and language or diction courses are offered in the same room in different days or sessions.

It is important to note that architectural program of the clubs has a flexible quality. If there were no demand for an activity, the room in which an activity has performed can be used for another activity which has more demands.

Clubs also offer membership to children of the members. Children membership

option is limited between the ages of three to six years. Clubs offer child-care service in child-care rooms while the member is attending to activities. All of the clubs have child-care rooms. It is observed that the size of these rooms is not sufficient, especially in the high seasons. There are 1305 children members in the Ladies' Clubs in Ankara.

There are also outdoor activities provided by the clubs. Touristic excursions are organized for the members. Excursions within the city of Ankara are free for the members. However, the excursion is long distance or intercity journey, an extra payment is required.

There are hairdressers in all of the clubs except for the Şentepe, Etlik, Altındağ and Demetevler. Employees of these latter clubs suggest that women do not need a beauty center or hairdresser because of the economical geography of the neighborhoods in which these four clubs are located. However, the other reason may be associated with the size of these clubs. It is interesting to note that the highest interests on the skin-care products courses are observed in these four clubs where there is no hairdresser.

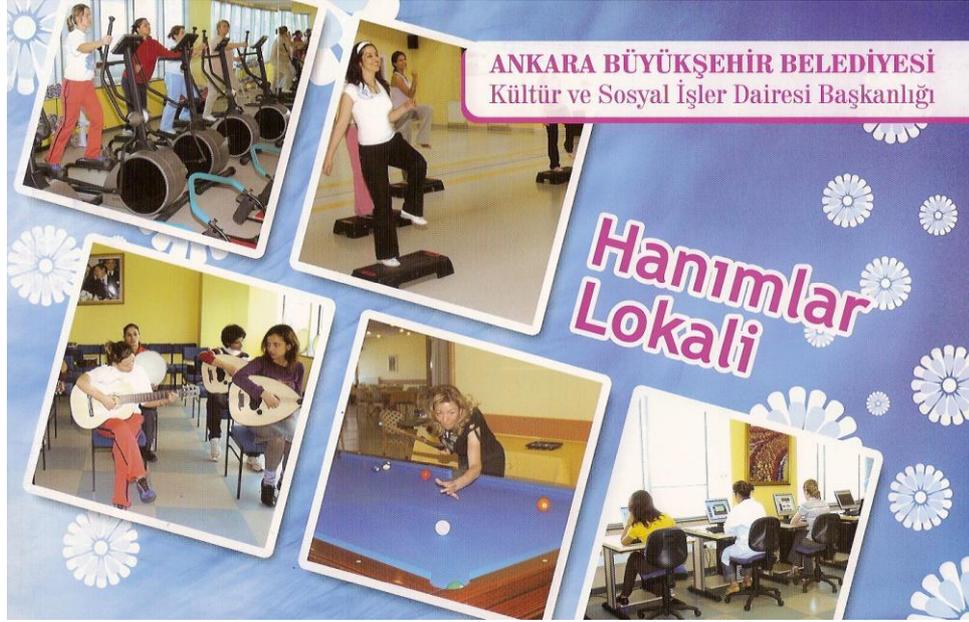


Figure 5: A cover of the handout which introduces the Ladies' Clubs, published by GMA.



Figure 6: A cover of the handout which introduces the Ladies' Clubs, published by GMA.

Figure 5 and Figure 6 show that activities and facilities have not any traditional

characteristics. Pool, music, instrument courses, and computer courses and other facilities are served in all clubs and can be used by all members. However, some services have not demanded because of some particular socio-economic reasons.

According to information gathered from an employee of Batıkent Ladies' Club, the demand of an activity is related to the economic status of club members. For example; beauty center¹⁶ is not attracting women because of its extra-payment addition to the annual subscription of the clubs, whereas the course of manufacturing cosmetics with domestic or herbal materials is getting intensive attention by the members of Batıkent Ladies' Club:

Clubs have a program, of course. However, some activities differ from district to district. For example, producing beauty and facial [skin care] cosmetics courses get attention here, whereas users living in upper income groups' hometowns do not prefer to enroll in this kind of courses. Because, in this course we are producing cosmetics from domestic materials and upper class women are not interested in. Apart from cosmetic courses, there are seminars, wood painting, aluminum foil and computer courses available (10.02.2010).

In addition to indoor activities, touristic excursions are offered to some certain cities such as Eskişehir, Beypazarı with payment.

The employee of Batıkent Ladies' Club also questioned about the seminars and movie screening:

Seminars are organized for our users. For example; we give a '*Beyin Gücü ile Zayıflama* (losing weight with mind power)' seminar... Last week, two gynecologists came to us and said that they are volunteers to give a seminar about 'gynecology and women's health'. ... We tried to do film screening but our users did not interest in. Movies are black and white, and outdated (10.02.2010).

The seminars are organized by a private advisory company (danışmanlık şirketi) under the supervisory of the GMA. In addition to the '*beyin gücü ile zayıflama* (losing

¹⁶ Beauty centers and touristic excursions are needed extra payments.

weight with mind power)' seminar, private clinics inform the club members about women's health by organizing regular seminars. The interest of these private clinics is notable. Not only have they given general information about women's health but also they have advertized their clinics. In addition to these two seminars which provide practical gender needs, "child development" and NLP (Neuro- Linguistic programming) seminars have been started to give since 2010.

In the Figure 7, a cover of the biweekly bulletin of GMA namely 'Büyükşehir Ankara', images from Ladies' Clubs can be seen. The case of the bulletin published in February (2010) is Ladies' Clubs. In the covering letter of the bulletin, GMA advertised and introduces Ladies' Clubs to the community as "therapy center of ladies of capital city". With reference to the selected photographs for the cover; it can be said that sports activity and most attracted courses are tried to advertise to women.



Figure 7: A cover of the biweekly bulletin of GMA, 17.02.2010.

Besides the Ladies' Clubs, there are various municipal socio-cultural services. One of the social services of the GMA, *Aile Yaşam Merkezleri*¹⁷ (AYM) has some common characteristics with Ladies' Clubs in terms of activity program. In addition to that, AYM are non-segregated places that have not provided facilities for sports activities. There are four AYM in Ankara and two of them have Ladies' Clubs in AYM Building.

Another social service of GMA is BELMEK. The goals of BELMEK are to be gained citizens manipulative skills and occupational training courses. Free for both women and men, the users of BELMEK are housewives, retired and unemployed women. The members of BELMEK are women and this situation can be related to the characteristics of the courses. The twenty five branches are offered in BELMEK which are: machine embroidery, manual embroidery, clothing, fabrics, patchwork,

¹⁷ 'Family Centers', translated by the author.

silver thread, wooden painting, point lace, painting, domestic economic and meal, marbling, mosaic, accessory design, doll, calligraphy, fabric painting, silk painting, rug, miniature, relief, knitting needle lacework, knitting and quilting. An interview was conducted with twenty seven years old female user of Kızılay BELMEK, and her observations was asked:

I enrolled two courses of BELMEK; fabrics and machine embroidery. Fabrics is one of the most attended branches. I barely can write my name in the list this course! There are different fabrics sections given by different female trainers. I did not know the name of the best trainer, so her section has got full before my application. There are at least twelve women in my section. Sometimes I saw new faces in the section, therefore the sectioning method of the municipality does not work... Moreover, trainer can not interest in our works and questions adequately in one and a half hours, it was crowded. .. an interesting situation, an elderly woman was selling her home made crepes through wandering from a course room to other course room... In the branches of machine embroidery, the ages of women in my section was varied between forty five and fifty five ages. We were twelve women in the section. They cooked in their house to offer them in our meetings and all my responsibility was to steep tea. I feel like that I was attending a lady-only reception days rather than enrolling a course. ... I heard from my aunt that some courses can be done in a selected neighborhood by the users. In this condition, women have to find an apartment for themselves and share the hiring charge, and bills (electric and water) of the flat. But she said it costs little if it is shared. Indeed most of the users are in middle or upper- middle income level. ... All the duty of GMA is offering an expert or trainer. For example, her friends using BELMEK hired an apartment in Gazi Neighborhood. ... I don't think that these courses can give a base or skill even for self-employment, the service is inadequate and the money coming from such branches is not so much...

Regarding to this respondent, BELMEK draws close relations with Ladies' Clubs in terms of the sex of the users and the nature of the courses.

*Toplumsal Dayanışma Merkezi*¹⁸ (TODAM) is a social service of the Municipality of Çankaya which functions as a community center. The differences of TODAM from the ladies' clubs are the non segregated characteristic of TODAM and the absence of sports facilities. Apart from these differences, the type of activities of TODAM is similar with the clubs.

¹⁸ TODAM, social service of Municipality of Çankaya can be translated from Turkish as 'community center' with respect to its facilities.

CHAPTER 5

SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA CONCERNING THE CLUBS

5.1. Evaluation of the Data at Urban Level

There are a total number of fifteen clubs in Ankara where each one is situated in a different district. The clubs are located in Bahçelievler, Ahmetler, Dikmen, Çankaya, Şafaktepe, Altındağ, Etlik, Şentepe, Demetevler, Batıkent, Sincan, Eryaman, Elvankent, Pursaklar and Kalecik districts. Although this thesis focuses on the clubs which are only situated in urban core, all of these fifteen districts of Ankara are briefly introduced by elaborating their socio-economic characteristics, population densities and developmental processes.

Before going through the evaluation of the districts, it may be favorable to mention about the development processes of the urban core of the city of Ankara. The first plan ever made for Ankara after the foundation of the Republic is the Lörcher Plan (1924). On 1931, after an international competition, German architect Hermann Jansen made the new master plan for Ankara. It was for 20 years until Yücel-Uybadin Master Plan (1950) was made. From the foundation of the Turkish Republic (1923) until 1950s, these three master plans formed the urban core and guided the development of Ankara (Günay, 2006).

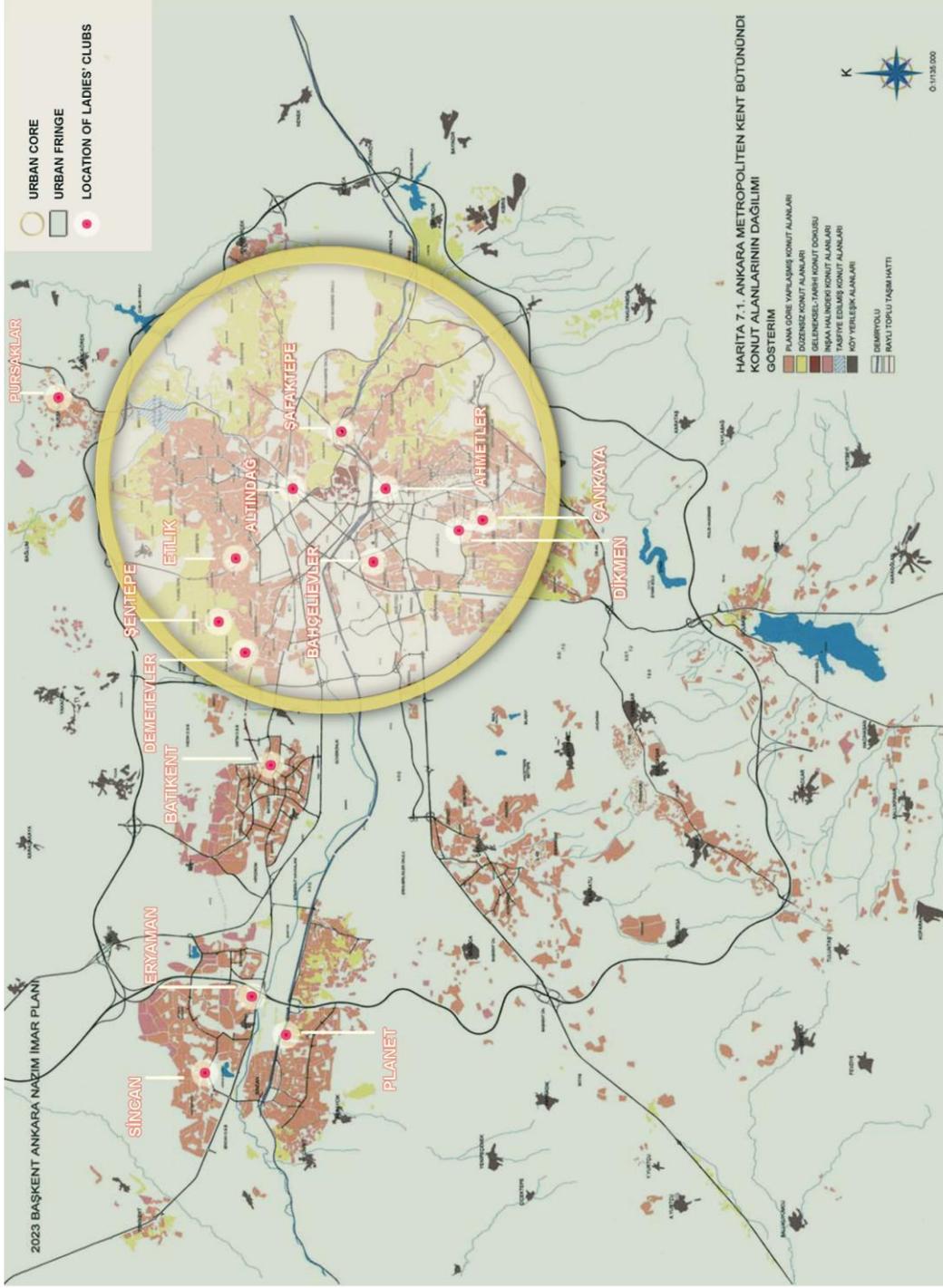


Figure 8: An illustration showing the spatial allocation of the Ladies' Clubs in Ankara. Source: The Report of 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan (date: 2007) and the Google Earth satellite image (date: 20.05.10)

Figure 8 shows the distribution of clubs in Ankara metropolitan area. This distribution shows that the clubs are established in both high and low density districts. In order to assess the dynamics of such distribution, the general characteristics and development histories of the districts will be briefly elaborated.

Bahçelievler L.C. is located in the Bahçelievler district which is one of the oldest districts in Ankara. Situated in Jansen Plan, the first building cooperative in Turkey is located in Bahçelievler district. The first inhabitants of this district constituted of the first generation high-level bureaucrats of the new Republic (Üsküp, 1984, p.24). According to Jansen Plan, population density per hectare is 32,3 and green area per person is 38 square meters in 1930s (Tekeli, 1984, p.111). However the low-density in Bahçelievler changed with the Condominium Law (*Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu*) that was first approved in 1957. The permission for additional floors caused a rapid rise in Bahçelievler population and a *yık-yap*¹⁹ (demolish-build) process in Bahçelievler. In 1970s green areas per person decreased to 0, 25 square meters while population density per hectare rose to 214 (Tekeli, 1984, p.111). Today, Bahçelievler attract people from the metropolitan area with its vital commercial and social facilities. Daytime population is quite high in Bahçelievler because of these aforementioned characteristics of the district. There are two quarters in Bahçelievler neighborhood: Yukarı Bahçelievler and Bahçelievler. The income composition of the district is defined as middle or upper middle income.

Ahmetler district is located between Kızılay metropolitan centre and residential areas in Cebeci district. The district is surrounded with Libya Avenue in the east and Ziya Gökalp Avenue in the north which is an axis that carries various commercial functions. In order to understand the spatial relationship between Ahmetler district and Kızılay metropolitan centre, the development history of Yenışehir district has to be elaborated. Kızılay metropolitan centre is located in Yenışehir district which was planned in the Jansen Plan, in 1932²⁰. The district was initially designated as a low density residential neighborhood in which the bureaucrats and governmental officers

¹⁹ The term *yık-yap* introduced by Tekeli (1984) refers to a process that low-rise apartments are demolished and higher rise ones are built.

²⁰ Jansen plan is the second development plan of Ankara designated by Herman Jansen in 1927. Plan was approved in 1932 with modifications. According to the plan, southern boundary of the plan was the beginning of Eskişehir Highway, the western boundary was Akay Street, and the Dikmen Highway was the northern boundary.

would live. Due to the increase in the urban population between 1932 to 1936, the maximum storeys for buildings were increased in Yenisehir and commercial functions were started to develop in this area. Following these new developments, Meşrutiyet and Kazım Paşa (Ziya Gökalp) avenues were opened for commercial activities and functions. From 1936 onwards the legislative permissions on the increase of floor levels in buildings entirely changed the characteristics of the district from a low-density neighborhood into a central commercial area. With the 1950s the urban core is completely shifted from Ulus to Kızılay.

Dikmen ladies club is located near the Dikmen Valley which separates Dikmen and Ayrancı districts from each other. However, these two districts show socio-economic differences beside this physical separation. Started in 1989, Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project has been effective in this socio-economic separation. Before the project, the valley was filled with unauthorized houses. Although the main goals of the project was to serve cultural and recreational areas to the whole city, and to solve the housing problem of the gecekondu owners, Dündar argues that this project led to an increase in rents within the neighborhood area around Dikmen Valley because the new residential areas were solely designed for high-income groups (Dündar, 1997). The income composition of Dikmen District is defined as middle or lower middle income (Güvenç, 1998). There are 22 quarters in Dikmen district, namely Harbiye, Öveçler, Aşağı Öveçler, Ehlibeýt, Sokullu Mehmet Paşa, İlkadım, Cevizlidere, Huzur, Ata, Osman Temiz, Aydınlar, Şehit Cevdet Özdemir, Şehit Cengiz Karaca, Naci Çakır, Karapınar, Metin Akkuş, Malazgirt, Mürsel Uluç, Akpınar, İlker, Yukarı Dikmen and Keklikpınarı. Dikmen district contains enough commercial functions for the certain needs of the inhabitants, and it is fairly easy to access Kızılay from the district.



Figure 9: Dikmen Valley, before and after the urban transformation project.

Source: Günay, B. 2006

Çankaya L.C. is located in Yukarı Ayrancı neighborhood in Çankaya district, near the Dikmen Valley. Located in the south-west of the urban core, Yukarı Ayrancı was transformed with a set of urban transformation projects in late 90s. After Dikmen Valley urban transformation project, former gecekondu owners are now the owners of luxurious high rise apartment flats. The new residents living on the south-east of Dikmen Valley are mostly composed of upper-middle or upper income groups. Dense commercial activity and specialized working areas in Yukarı Ayrancı/Çankaya district attract people in metropolitan level. There are many quarters in Çankaya, and most of these quarters are defined as upper-middle neighborhoods. According to classification of Ayata and Ayata (1996), Oran and Gazi Osman Paşa are the (upper) middle class neighborhoods in the city center and they also receive most attention as an apartment neighborhood. The reason behind this attention is the settled modern urban image of the Çankaya district, and the proximity to commercial and recreational functions. In addition to that, the inhabitants of the district are characterized by modern middle class qualifications such as higher education, secular world-view and tendency to adopt various components of the modern western culture (Ayata and Ayata, 1996).

Şentepe, Mamak and Altındağ districts have high ratios of unauthorized housing areas compared to other districts in Ankara. Development of these unauthorized areas depends on rural-to-urban migration in 1930s Turkey. In Ankara, these migrants started to settle in uncontrolled and unplanned areas close to the former city centre Ulus, in 1930s. Altındağ is one of the oldest unauthorized housing areas in Ankara and the population which lived in unauthorized houses in Altındağ was 14,116 in 1945 (Akin, 2007). In 1950s, the population/housing capacities predicted and executed by the Lörcher and Jansen plans were at its limits. This issue eventually formed sprawling neighborhoods in the unplanned districts of the city. Around those years Mamak district was formed as a gecekondu area. The urban transformation project for Mamak, started 10 years ago, still transforms the district by replacing the gecekondu areas with apartments.

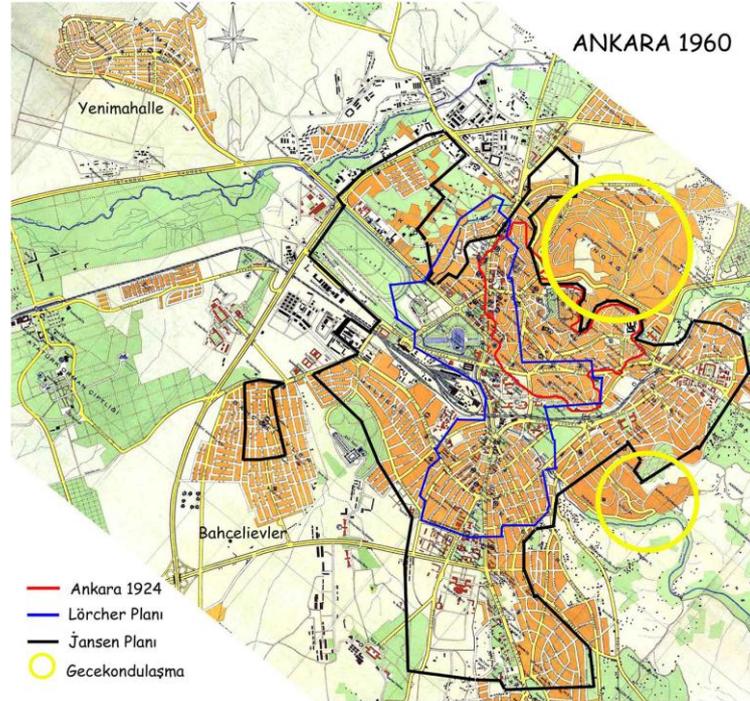


Figure 10: Gecekondulaşma areas in Altındağ and Mamak, in 1960s.
Source: Günay, 2006.

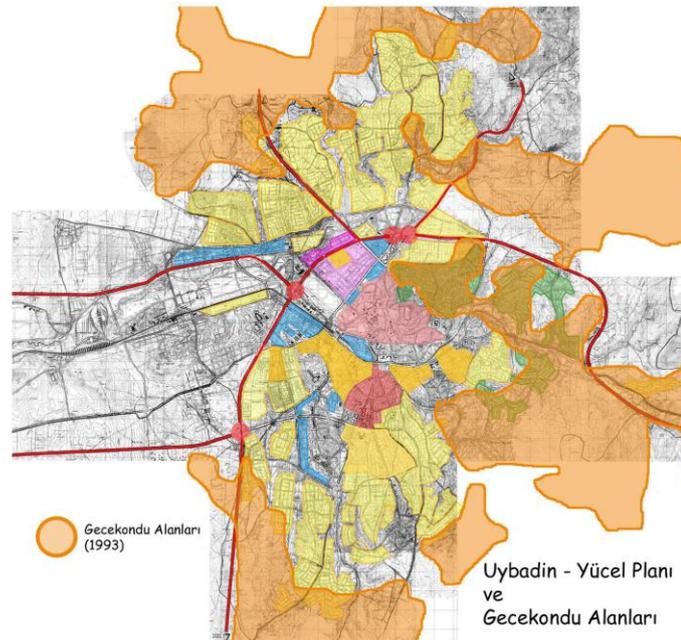


Figure 11: Uygur - Yücel Plan and Gecekondulaşma areas in 1993.
Source: Günay, 2006.

With the execution of Yücel-Uybadin Master Plan on 1955, the limits of the urban core reached to Yenimahalle, Etlik, Keçiören, Aydınlıkevler on the north and bahçelievler, Balgat-Dikmen, Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa, Seyranbağları, Abidinpaşa on the south.

Şentepe district, one of the oldest gecekondu areas in Ankara, was first to settled in, in 1960s. Located in the north of Ankara, Şentepe is surrounded with Karşıyaka graveyard in the north, Demetevler in the west and Keçiören in the east. There are eleven quarters in Şentepe district and all the houses were unauthorized until 1989 development plan which was implemented by the Greater Ankara Municipality. The first development plan for the Şentepe district was developed in 1984, approximately twenty years after the owners of the first unauthorized houses settled in (İveynat, 2008). In the year of 1986 eleven 1/1000 scaled development plans were approved and started to be implemented in 1989. However, only the 10-15 percent of Şentepe district could be implemented in accordance with the plans, and in the year of 2004, 'Şentepe Urban Transformation Project' was approved. Project was launched in the end of 2006. In the year of 2008 only 28 buildings were finished, and there are 836 apartment flats in total. These buildings are single buildings or housing estates which include five or four apartment blocks with their playgrounds, security system and parking areas. It should be noted that approximately 160.000 people live in the district (İveynat, 2008), and great majority of these population is defined as lower income groups (Güvenç, 1998).

Demetevler is a densely structured settlement in the urban core that was added into the boundary of the Ankara municipality in 1958. The unauthorized houses in this area were emerged in 1960s. However, Yücel-Uybadin Plan ignored this situation in Demetevler. Since the unauthorized houses in Demetevler are unauthorized apartments, they differ from gecekondu. Demetevler district was made out of neighboring area by the government in 1974 and unauthorized housing was continued in these times. Parcel owners continued to construct unauthorized apartment buildings and all these unauthorized areas were legalized with the law on building amnesties. In spite of these insufficient conditions, Demetevler has a vital commercial activity in the local level. It can be said that the main commercial strips are crowded; and the inhabitants of Demetevler use these commercial areas especially in day time. Demetevler District is defined as lower income

neighborhoods (Güvenç, 1998).



Figure 12: High-dense housing, Demetevler district. Source: Günay, 2006.

Etlük ladies' club is located in Etlük neighborhood in Keçiören district. Keçiören is located in the north-west of Ankara and has borders with Altındağ district in the east, and Yenimahalle district in the west. There are 43 quarters in Keçiören district. The development of this area goes back to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey (1923). However, before the foundation of the district, there were some vineyard villas which were served to bureaucrat elite as summerhouses (Kurtoğlu, 2004). After the foundation of the republic, these houses were occupied by the bureaucrats. Rural-to-urban migration also affected the development of the area. In order to solve the housing problem, first housing projects for Keçiören were initiated by certain housing cooperatives between 1940 and 1950. State officers in Ankara started to move in to these houses.

After 1940s, migration from nearby districts and villages started and housing demand increased in the city. Consequently, some of these immigrants constructed unauthorized houses and settled in Etlük. In 1948, the law which permits parcel

allocation²¹ was approved by the government, and practiced in Etlük district.

Another migration from faraway districts and neighboring cities started in 1960s and unauthorized housing areas started to develop. As a result of these migrations, state population of the state officers in Keçiören declined. In 1980s, it was the return-migration (mainly from Europe) that increased the population of the district.

According to social mapping studies, Keçiören is defined as a middle and lower middle income district (Güvenç, 1998; Ayata and Ayata, 1996). However, there are also high income neighborhoods, i.e. Kavacık Subayevleri and Kalaba, in Keçiören (Cengizkan, 2001). Etlük, on the other hand, is defined as a middle and lower middle income neighborhood.

Housing demand problematic in Ankara, continuing in 70s, required an appropriation of new plans. *Ankara 1990 Nazım Planı* (Ankara 1990 Master Plan) is the first metropolitan study which was developed by the *Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım İmar Plan Bürosu* (Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau) as a result of comprehensive studies conducted in 1970s. The plan was approved in 1982, and new residential areas in the western corridor and north-west part of the city were defined with this plan. Batıkent, Eryaman, Elvankent and Sincan districts were all planned with this master plan

Batıkent quarter/district designed as a solution for the housing demand in 1974. Batıkent mass housing project has played an important role in the development of the city by leading the decentralization of residential areas towards south-western corridor in a planned way (Doğan, 2008). The project was started to be implemented in 1981 by the Central Associations of Cooperatives (Kent Kooperatifleri) with the support of local government. Batıkent settlement was planned for 70,000 people by taking into consideration the physical and social infrastructure (Birgül and Şahin, 1984). Besides the commercial center of Batıkent district, commercial centers for each quarter were projected (Birgül and Şahin, 1984). Industrial areas were located the on strip between the southern border of the district and Istanbul highway. The density in Batıkent started to increase as a result of immigrations after 1990s.

²¹ The Law, number 5228, date 1948; provided Ankara Municipality the authorization of convencaying and allocation of certain parts of its land and parcel to the house builders who settled in the boundary of the municipality at least one year, and were not owners any land or parcels in these boundaries.

The western planning corridor and south western part of the city started to develop as a solution for the housing problem in Ankara. New housing investments were initiated as a 'gecekondu prevention areas'. One of these gecekondu prevention areas is the Eryaman settlement in the north-western corridor of the urban fringe. In 1970s, Susuz –Eryaman area was determined as a mass housing area for gecekondu prevention purposes by the government. Eryaman Project was started to be implemented in 1985, by grand construction companies under contract with the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (Doğan, 2008). Another gecekondu prevention area is the Elvankent settlement in the western planning corridor, along the İstanbul Highway. Elvankent quarter/district was planned by the Greater Municipality of Ankara, and was started to be built by the municipality and collaboration of building cooperatives. Another gecekondu prevention area which was determined by the Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı is the Sincan quarter/district. Sincan is in the north western part of the urban fringe, along the İstanbul Highway. All of these three districts are inhabited by mostly low and lower-middle income groups.

South western part of the urban fringe constitutes of well developed areas in terms of optimal density, spacious green areas and urban services. All of these specialties attract people, especially middle and upper middle income groups, to these areas. One of the settlements in this part of the city is Çayyolu that was initiated by TURKKONUT with the support of Greater Municipality of Ankara (Doğan, 2008). From 1990 onwards, the density increased in the district. With respect to this, commercial activities become more vital and diverse. Although there is no ladies' club in this district, GMA is planning to establish one in Çayyolu.

There are ladies' clubs in Pursaklar and Kalecik districts, and these settlements in the urban fringe have low densities compared to the others. Pursaklar district which is 10 km away from the city centre is located in the north-east of Ankara. Pursaklar became a district municipality in 1986. The population of the district was 64,197 in 2007. Kalecik became a district municipality in 1992, and in 1990 the population of the district was 2035. In the year of 2007 this population has decreased to 678. This

decline in the population is caused by out-migrations to the different districts in Ankara. However, Kalecik is an important district in Ankara with its viticulture activities that leads to cultural tourism. In Kalecik, there is an annual wine festival which attracts people from the other districts in Ankara.

General characteristics and development histories of the fifteen districts were summarized in this section. As it was mentioned earlier, this study focuses on the nine districts in the urban core and the field research was conducted in the clubs located in these nine districts. In this respect, data concerning the nine clubs will be presented in the following section.

5.2. Evaluation of the Data at Districts Level

As mentioned earlier, this research focuses on the nine selected clubs in the urban core of Ankara. These nine clubs are located in Çankaya, Dikmen, Bahçelievler, Ahmetler, Altındağ, Şafaktepe, Etlik, Şentepe, and Demetevler neighborhoods.

The West frontier of the research is limited by the Ostim Industrial District located in Yenimahalle District. Therefore, Batıkent and Sincan Ladies' Clubs are out of the research focus. The eastern frontier of the study has been limited through the intersection of 19 Mayıs Boulevard and Doğukent Boulevard. The north side of Ankara peripheral highway is constituted the Northern frontier of the study.

In this section of the study an evaluation of the questionnaire survey at districts level will be presented. One of the main issues in the survey is to examine, analyze and map the effects of the clubs on social mobility of women in the city. For this purpose, age, education and income factors were evaluated. The other important issue is to inform about why women prefer to use the clubs and how they utilize the clubs.

It was mentioned that the total number of members of the selected nine clubs is 12,031. 241 questionnaires were filled in by the members of the nine selected clubs. The numbers of questionnaire surveys according to the clubs are listed below.

Table 2: The Number of members in nine selected clubs and the number of respondents (source: GMA).

CLUBS	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Altındağ Ladies' Club	870	17
Ahmetler Ladies' Club	1501	30
Bahçelievler Ladies' Club	1911	38
Çankaya Ladies' Club	1965	40
Demetevler Ladies' Club	1307	26
Dikmen Ladies' Club	731	15
Etilik Ladies' Club	1353	27
Şafaktepe Ladies' Club	1485	30
Şentepe Ladies' Club	908	18
Total	12031	241

Before going through the evaluation of the data it should be noted that the various relations between the location of clubs and the residential areas in which members live obstructs to obtain relatively homogeneous results at district level from the questionnaire data. However, these spatial relations are essential to understand the effects of the clubs on the social mobilization of the women in the city. Therefore one of the important issues in this study is to outline the spatial relation between the locations of the clubs and the neighborhoods in which respondents settle. In order to clarify this relation, maps which show the spatial distribution of the respondents in Ankara metropolitan area were produced. In these maps, beside the locations of the clubs and the neighborhoods in which respondents settle, the amount of women coming from these neighborhoods information is also given relatively.

In this section, the data of each survey area will be presented. The clubs within the boundary of Çankaya district will be first presented. Following this, clubs in Mamak, Altındağ, Keçiören and Yenimahalle districts will be presented.

5.2.1. Ahmetler Ladies' Club

Founded in May 2005, Ahmetler Ladies' Club is located in Kltr neighborhood. The location of the club close to the Kızılay CBD, and east part of the club is surrounded with residential areas.

The club is on the second, third and fourth floors of the building which is owned by the GMA. The second floor is used for the sports activities. Administrative office, course rooms, child-care room and meeting room are on the third floor. The ground and first floors are used as Children's Center which is also a social service of the GMA. The total number of the members of Ahmetler Ladies' Club is 1501 in 2010.

LOCATION OF AHMETLER LADIES' CLUB



LEGEND

-  GECEKONDU AREAS
-  RESIDENTIAL AREAS
-  OFFICIAL USES
-  COMMERCIAL AREAS
-  GREEN AREAS/ PARKS



Figure 14: The relation of Ahmetler L.C. with residential areas and Kızılay CBD. Source: Google Earth satellite image, dated:



Figure 15: Entrance of Ahmetler L.C. Source: Personal archive of S. Çavdar, 2010.



Figure 16: Facade of Ahmetler L.C. Source: Personal archive of S. Çavdar, 2010.

Before the application of the questionnaires, one of the employees of the club was interviewed. She answered the questions about the user profile of the club. She expressed that Ahmetler Ladies' Club had the highest number of employed members and the reason for that was its central location in the urban core. It can be said that a vital social life and existence of a large number of working places in this district are the factors that affect the rate of usage of the club by woman positively.

During the field trip it is observed that, there is a private women-only student dormitory near the club. The employee was also asked about the interest of the students in the club and she stated that interest of the students is very low. The major composition of the respondents is employed women (56,7%). Respondents are composed of housewives (20%), retired (10%) and unemployed (3,3%) women in Ahmetler survey. One of the striking outcomes of the survey is that the educational level is the highest in Ahmetler Ladies' Club then other survey areas. The percentage of bachelor graduates (46, 7%) is in majority in Ahmetler survey. The percentage of high school graduates is also high; it is 20 %. This percentage is followed by the percentage of master's degree graduates (13, 3 %). Moreover, there are not any illiterate or uneducated women among the respondents.

The data also reveals that the major aim for using the club is attending sports activities (100%). Psychological counseling (16,7%) and meeting with new people (10%) are other aims of the respondents for using the club.

Low membership fee is the major criterion for preferring these clubs instead of other private or public facilities. Another important criterion is the ease of accessibility from their houses (43,3%). In addition to that, 16,7% of the respondents prefers this club because of its proximity to their working places. 60% of the respondents prefer to reach to the club by walking whether they are employed or not. This percentage is followed by mass transportation (36,7%). Other transportation modes such as private vehicle (10%), company service vehicles (3,3%) share small portions. There is no respondent who uses taxi. These transportation mode choices can be read from the Figure 17 that shows the spatial distribution of the respondents in the metropolitan area. Furthermore, Figure 17 enables to comment on diversity of users according to the location of the club.

Figure 17 shows that Ahmetler club is used by the respondents from different districts of the metropolitan area. There are respondents living in Batıkent, Emek, Cebeci, Kocatepe, Esat, Seyran, Kırkkonaklar and Çankaya districts. The main reason behind this diversity can be related the proximity of the club to the Kızılay district. It was mentioned before that Kızılay district is an important area in the city with its commercial functions. The daytime population is quite high in Kızılay district and there are certain transportation mode possibilities. Certain club members prefer to use Ahmetler club by reason of the easy access from their working places, or some particular social relations.



Figure 17: Location of Ahmetler Club and the percentage of respondents participating from the neighborhoods. Source: Survey data.

5.2.2. Dikmen Ladies' Club

Founded in March 2002, Dikmen Ladies' Club is located on the ground floor of a high-rise residential building near the Dikmen Valley.



Figure 18: Entrance of Dikmen Ladies' Club. Source: Personal Archive of S. Çavdar, 2010.

The number of members of the Dikmen Ladies' Club is the lowest among other clubs. The low number of members in Dikmen club may be associated with the effect of Çankaya Ladies' Club. Çankaya Ladies' Club is the first club founded in the district where both Dikmen and Çankaya clubs are located.

LOCATION OF CANKAYA AND DIKMEN LADIES' CLUBS

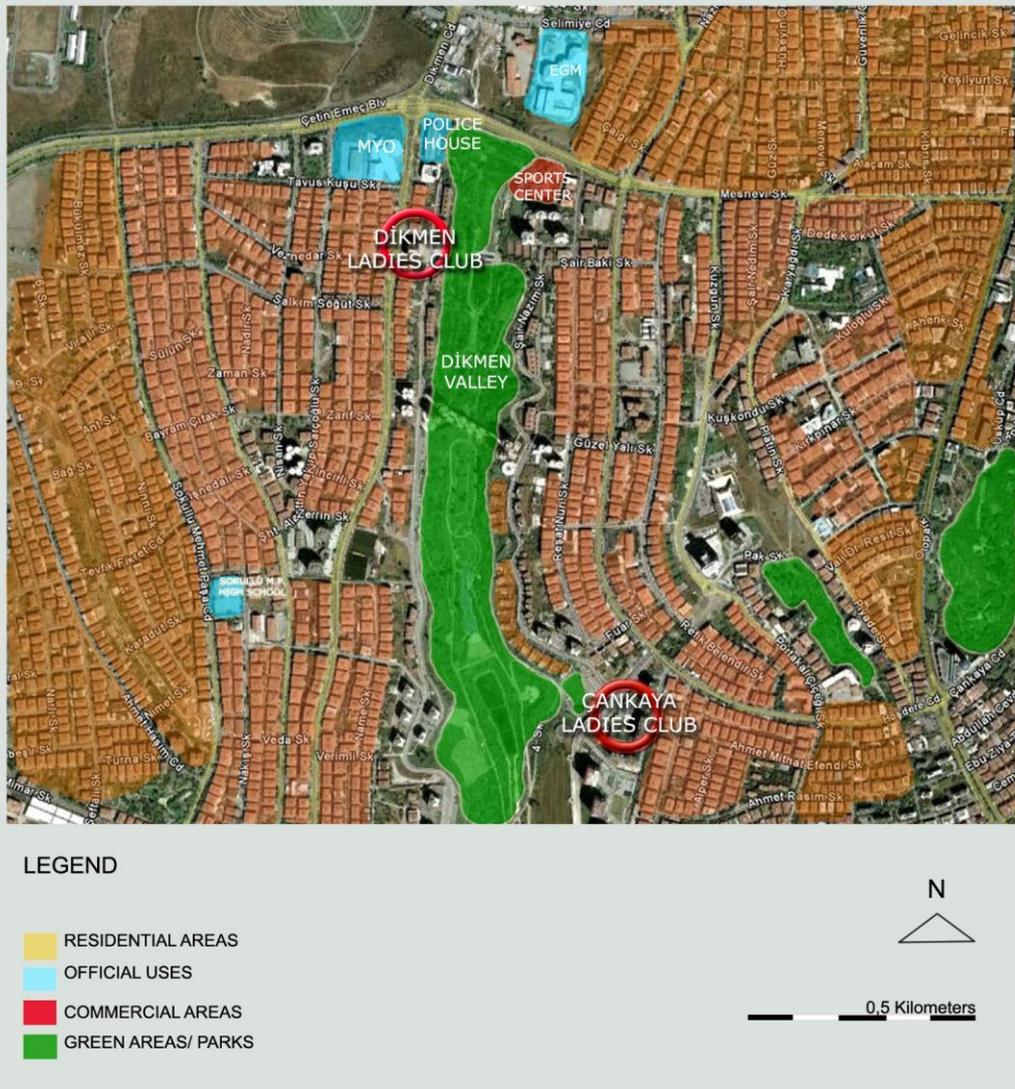


Figure 19: Location of Dikmen and Çankaya Ladies Clubs, and their relation with Dikmen Valley. Source: Google Earth satellite image, dated:

The major composition of the respondents in Dikmen survey consists of housewives (60%). The percentage of employed women is almost half of this percentage (33,3%). The majority of the respondents are high school (40%) graduates. Rests of the respondents are primary school (20%), two year university (20%) and bachelor degree (20%) graduates.

The major reason of respondents' preference in using the club instead of other social services and sports centers is the low membership fee. Another important reason for preferring the club is easy access to the clubs from home (46,7%). This result shows that, major composition of the respondents live in adjacent neighborhoods. Other important criterion is the distance of their workplaces to the club (13,3%).

The major reason why women prefer to use the club rather than other social or sports services is its membership fee. Another important reason for preferring the club is locational accesibility to clubs from home. Other important criterion is the distance of their workplaces to the club.

According to questionnaire survey, 40% of the respondents access to the club by walking. The respondents who prefer walking as an access mode consists of both employed women and women not in labor force. Public transportation (40%) is also extensively used by respondents in accessing the club. Use of private vehicle (20%) is also preferred by the respondents. There is no respondent who uses company service vehicle or taxis.

Figure 20 shows that, the users of Dikmen L.C. live in various districts in metropolitan area, such as Etlík, Gölbaşı, Çukurambar, Dikmen, Cevizlidere, Kavaklıdere and Abidinpaşa districts. Although Dikmen L.C. is used by the respondents from various districts of the city it does not have the diversity present in Çankaya, Bahçelievler or Ahmetler clubs.

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS - DIKMEN L.C.

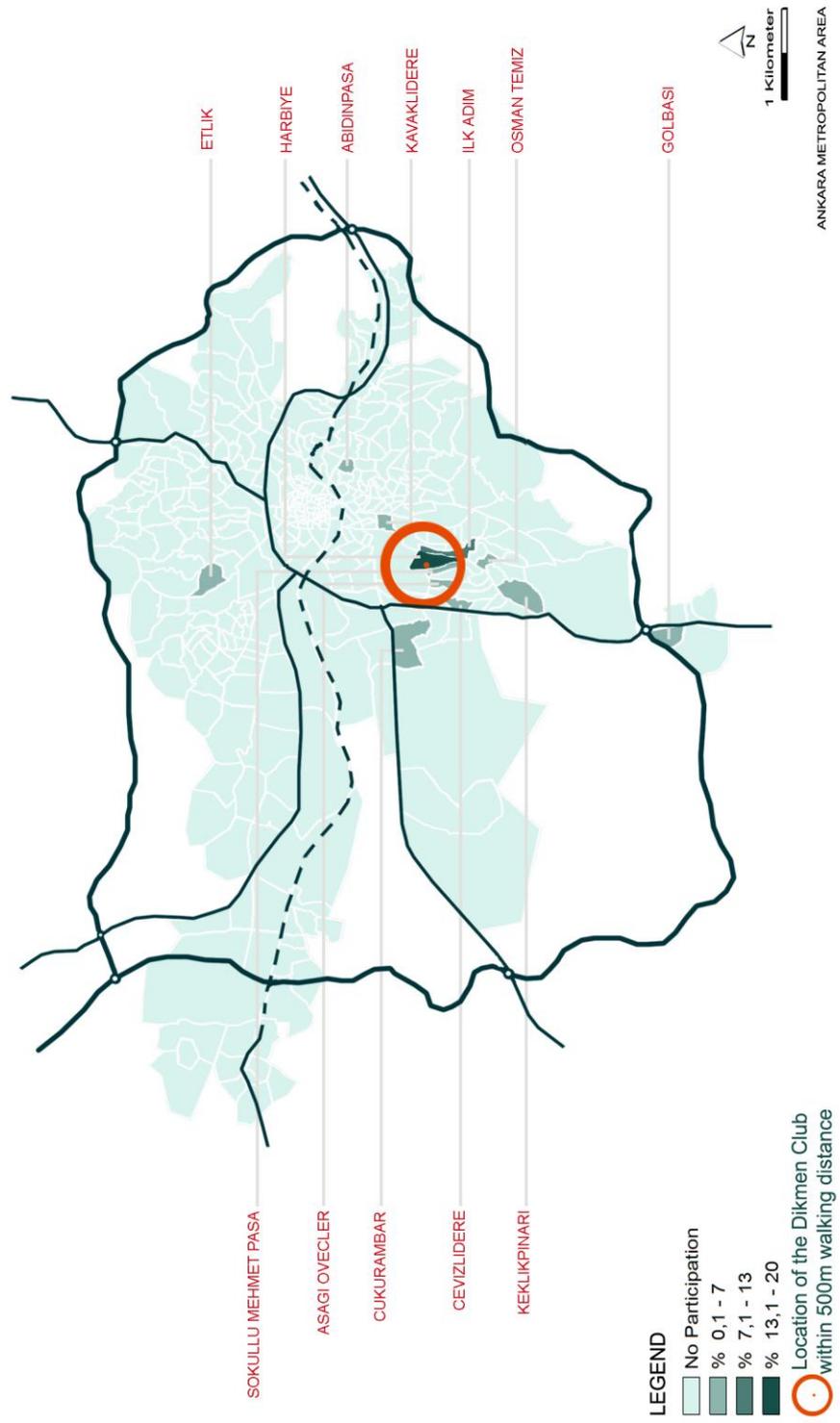


Figure 20: Location of Dikmen Club and the percentage of respondents participating from the neighborhoods. Source: Survey data.

5.2.3. Çankaya Ladies' Club

Founded in November 2000, Çankaya Ladies' Club is located near some prestigious gated residential areas and Dikmen Valley. This club building owned by the GMA, is three storeys high. There is a swimming pool in the basement floor. Two administrative offices, a hairdresser, a gym hall and a child-care room are located on the ground floor. On the first floor there are classrooms and a sports hall and at the terrace floor there is another sports hall and a reception room.



Figure 21: Entrance of Çankaya L.C. Source:

http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfaları/hanimlar_lokali/cankaya_Hanimlar_lokali.aspx (last access date: 12.06.2010)

An employee of the club was interviewed and asked about the member profile of the club:

Most of our users are retired women and housewives. Women meet here, but there are also friend groups who come to the club for doing sports and attending touristic excursions. These groups regularly come to the club because they have sports habit. Most of these women are wealthy. Moreover, these women are older than fifty. Employed women are also interested in the clubs and mostly attend to evening sports sessions. There are foreign students or people among our members. They also attend to the evening sports sessions. The wives of politicians also visit and use our club. You know, this is Çankaya and the members' profile can be very exclusive.

The data from the questionnaire supports the statements of the employee on the employment composition of members; %30 percent of the respondents in Çankaya survey are housewives. However the percentage of employed women is 40%. In addition to that, the percentage of the highest income groups is quite high in Çankaya Ladies Club. Middle income groups (56,7%) are in majority in Çankaya survey.

Educational composition of the respondents consists of various educational levels that ranges from illiterate respondents (2, 5%) to master's degree graduates (7,5%). High school graduates (37, 7%) are in majority, but this graduation level is followed by the bachelor degree (22, 5%) and two year-higher education graduates (20%). The rate of primary (5 %) and secondary school (5 %) graduates are the lowest.

Data reveals that the major aim of respondents for using the club is to attend to sports activities (100%). Psychological rehabilitation (27,5%) and meeting with new people (25%) aims are also effective reasons for using the clubs.

Another employee was asked about most attended activities:

Sports sessions are very crowded. Members from all ages attend to Pilates, stretching, aerobic and fitness sessions. Hobby courses and musical lessons also have a demand, while the demand on diction, computer and skin-care products courses, NLP seminars, hairdresser and child-care service is very

low in our club. The low interest in these activities is related to socio-economic status and cultural visions of our members. Most of our members do not use our child-care services or hairdresser; but they prefer to use a private child-care company or another hairdresser. Some women come to the club with their portable computers and ask whether if there is a wireless internet connection in the club, whereas in other clubs, some members do not even have a computer and prefer to attend to computer courses. However, our members are not homogeneous in terms of income level. For example; we have a member who come to the club in the morning and leave the club in the evening, in winter. She told us that she had a quite low income, and wanted to economize her heating expenditure.

The data supports the statements of the employee and reveals that attending to activities, especially sports activities, has become a daily habit for the members. 100% of the respondents come to the club for three or four days in a week. Morning and midday sports sessions are preferred by mostly women who are not in the labor force, and evening sessions is attended both by employed and unemployed women. The interest in sports activity (100%) is quite high. However, it is important to note that 10% of these respondents also use other sports centers.

The interest in diction (27,5%) and language (15%) courses is quite high while the interest in computer (5%) courses is quite low in Çankaya survey. The high interest in diction courses in Çankaya L.C. may be associated with the educational or urbanization levels of the members. The employee also indicates these socio-economic differences by emphasizing that most of the women do not attend to computer courses but take their portable computer with them and use wireless internet connection of the club. The interest in touristic excursions (15%) is also noticeable in Çankaya survey. This interest is also related with the socio-economic indicators. It was mentioned before that these touristic excursions require an extra payment.

The data shows that the respondents who have 3 to 6 year-old children do not use the child-care service. These women stated that they prefer to use private kindergartens.

A remarkable outcome of the survey is that 80% of the respondents from Çankaya

agreed that reasonable membership fee is the major reason for preferring to use this club. Another important criterion is the distance of their houses to the club (65%). The other important reason for the preference of women to use the club is that clubs are women-only places (20%).

47,5% of the respondents prefers to access the club by walking. This result may be evaluated along with the fact that great number of respondents prefers to use the club by reason of its proximity to their houses. The percentages of use of private vehicle (32,5%) is quite high in Çankaya survey. Public transportation (22,5%) is also preferred by the respondents in accessing the club. Use of company vehicle (7,5 %) is quite low compared to use of other modes of transportation. There is no respondent who uses taxi in accesing the club.

Figure 22 shows that Çankaya club is used by the respondents from various parts of the city, such as Batıkent, Elvankent, Çayyolu, Balgat, Dikmen, Ayrancı, Çankaya and Oran districts. This diversity may be associated with the location characteristics of Çankaya district. There are a great number of commercial functions in Çankaya and these local characteristics attract people to the district. Daytime population of the district is quite high as a result of these characteristics of the district. All of these factors affect the use of clubs by women whether they are employed or not.

PERCENTAGE OF THE RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS - ÇANKAYA L.C.



Figure 22: Location of Çankaya Club and the percentage of respondents participating from the neighborhoods. Source: Survey Data.

5.2.4. Bahçelievler Ladies' Club

Founded in 2003, Bahçelievler Ladies' Club is located at the second floor of the Bahçelievler Bazaar building. Bazaar building is owned by Çankaya Municipality. The basement floor is used for car parking. The ground floor is used for the commercial activity (market, bazaar, tea house, toilettes). There is a Municipal Police Office and commercial activity at the first floor.



Figure 8: Bahçelievler Bazaar Building. Source: personal archive of S. Çavdar, 2010.

LOCATION OF BAHÇELIEVLER LADIES' CLUB



LEGEND

- RESIDENTIAL AREAS
- OFFICIAL USES
- COMMERCIAL AREAS
- GREEN AREAS/ PARKS



Figure 24: Location of Bahçelievler L.C. and surrounding neighborhoods.

The members of Bahçelievler are mostly middle-aged or elderly housewives (%23,7) and retired (34,2%) women. In addition to that, the number of employed members (31,6%) is also high in Bahçelievler Ladies' Club. Educational composition of these respondents consists of different levels of graduates, e.g. primary school (31,6%), secondary school (31,6%), high school (31,6%), bachelor degree (31,6%), and PhD. (31,6%) graduates.

The major aim of the respondents using the club is attending sports (100%). Meeting with new people (15,8%) is also an important aim for using the club. Psychological counseling (2,6%) is not an effective aim for using the club compared to other aims.

The most attended activity is the sports activities (100%), and it is followed by handicraft (7,9%), jewelry (10,5%) and computer (10,5%) courses. Language (5,3%) and diet and nutrition courses (2,6%), and NLP seminars (2,6%) are attended by the respondents.

The main reason of respondents in preferring to use the club is the low membership fee (92,1%). This reason is followed by the reason of easy access from their houses (55,3%). The proximity to working places (10,5%) is also important for the respondents in preferring the club.

The major composition of the respondents prefer to walk (73,7%) in accessing the club. Public transportation (23,7%) is also preferred by the respondents in reaching the club. Use of private car (5,3%), company vehicle (2,6%) and taxi (2,6%) share small portions in accessing the club.

Figure 25 shows that Bahçelievler club is used by the respondents from various parts of the metropolitan area, such as Elvankent, Çayyolu, Ümitköy, Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Dikmen, Çankaya, Maltepe, Balgat, Emek and Bahçelievler districts. This diversity in usage of the club may be evaluated along with the local characteristics of Bahçelievler district. There are two neighborhoods in Bahçelievler and both of them surrounded with commercial areas. These functions attract people on the metropolitan level and increase the daytime population of district. Transport mode diversity is also effective on the interests in club. The location of Bahçelievler is very central regarding its distance to Kızılay CBD which makes the district accessible

from different parts of the city.

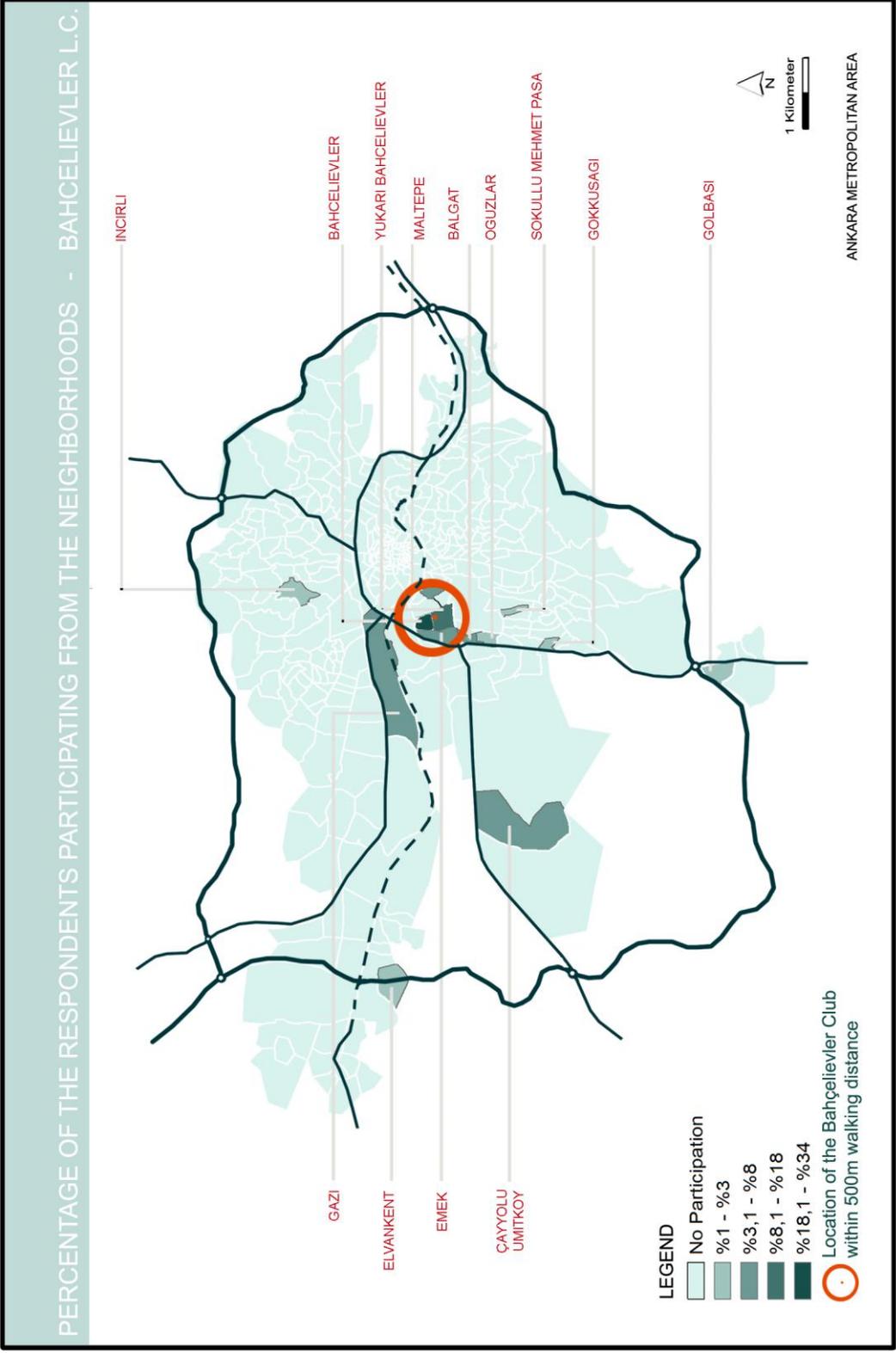


Figure 25: Location of Bahçelievler Club and percentage of respondents participating from the neighborhoods. Source: Survey Data

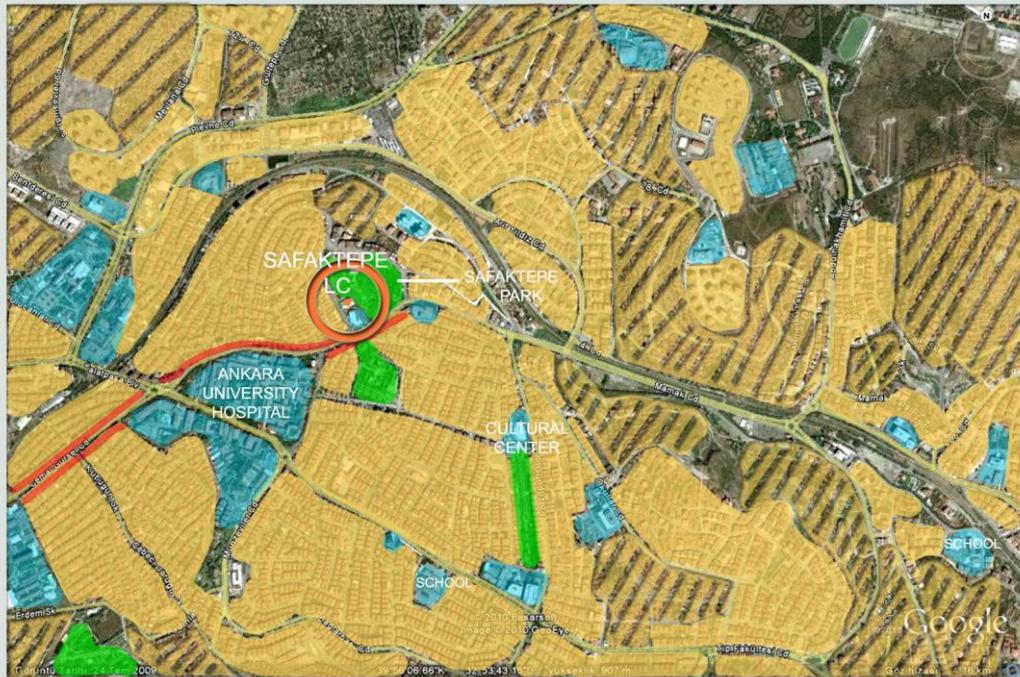
5.2.5. Şafaktepe Ladies' Club

Founded in 2003, Şafaktepe Ladies' Club is located in the Şafaktepe Park in Mamak district. Located in the eastern part of the city, Mamak district has one of the well-known gecekondu settlements in Ankara. However, unauthorized housing areas are still in the process of urban transformation.



Figure 26: Şafaktepe park, gecekondu areas and newly-built highrise apartments. Source: personal archive of S. Çavdar, 2010.

LOCATION OF SAFAKTEPE LADIES' CLUB



LEGEND

-  GECEKONDU AREAS
-  RESIDENTIAL AREAS
-  OFFICIAL USES
-  COMMERCIAL AREAS
-  GREEN AREAS/ PARKS

Figure 27: Location of Şafaktepe L.C., and surrounding neighborhoods.



Figure 28: Entrance of Şafaktepe L.C. Source: Still image from http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfaları/hanimlar_lokali/safaktepe_hanimlar_lokali.aspx (last access date: 26.06.2010)

Club building is the other club that has a swimming pool. The manager's office and open office are at the ground floor. The computer labs, hairdresser and the child-care room are also located at the ground floor. Meeting hall, kitchen and lesson rooms are at the first floor. Basement floor is used for sporting and swimming.

Şafaktepe BELMEK is also located near the club building in Şafaktepe Park. Cemal Gürsel Road is the axis on which Şafaktepe Park and the districts' center are located. Close to the club building, *Ankara Tıp Fakültesi Hastanesi* (Ankara University Hospital) is also located on the Cemal Gürsel Road.

In Şafaktepe Ladies' Club, two employees were asked about the user profile and their observations on the club. One of the employee stated that there is quite heterogeneous user profile in Şafaktepe. According to the employee;

Some members of our club are employed in the Ankara University Hospital, and they are mostly doctors and nurses. The hospital employees use the clubs only for sporting and swimming in the noon or evening sessions. In addition to that, teachers or other public officers come to the club for

sporting. However, most of our members are housewives who are older than fifty years of ages, but the number of married young housewives is also high. They attend not only sports but also other personal development activities. Diction and English [language] lesson have drawn interest especially from our young members... There is no demand on the touristic excursions in Şafaktepe.

Employee also stated that although the number of employed women is low compared to unemployed women, evening sports sessions is extensively used by employed women. Housewives or young unemployed women prefer to use the club in daytime. These observations may be evaluated along with the fact that the daily routine of unemployed women differs according to districts. As it was mentioned before, respondents not in labor force in Çankaya survey attend morning midday, or evening sports sessions.

The major percentage of respondents is housewives (46,7%) in Şafaktepe survey and this result is parallel with the employee's observation. The percentages of employed (30%) and retired (6,7%) respondents are very low. Educational level of the respondents is also low. The percentage of respondents who are literate but uneducated is in majority, it is 23,3%. The percentage of illiterate respondents is 3,3. The percentages of primary (20%) and high (20%) school graduates, and two year university (16,7%) graduates are also noticeable, however the percentages secondary school (10%) and bachelor degree (3,3%) and PhD degree (3,3%) graduates are quite low. The income level of the respondents is very low. The percentages of respondents who have minimum wage-1000 TL monthly income is in majority, it is 43,3%. This percentage is followed by the groups who have 1000-1500 TL monthly income (23,3%). The percentage of the respondents who have minimum wage (13,3%) and below minimum wage (6,7%) monthly income are also noticeable.

Another employee who lives in Şafaktepe was asked about interest of her relatives' or friends' in the clubs. After that she shared her personal experiences:

I have lived in this neighborhood [Şafaktepe] for several years. Before being a club employee, I was a retired woman and a housewife. When I was working I was a cleaning worker. And now I am a cleaning worker, as you

see dear... You know, it is hard to find a new job for a primary school graduate and an elderly woman... I have friends in the club, but my neighbors whose ages are close to my age do not prefer to use the club. They are not interested in sports, or other activities because they have not a culture of using socio-cultural centers. However, young girls and young women living in Mamak keen on using the club. I have a married young daughter. Although she lives in Şafaktepe she has no time to come to the club, she is a doorkeeper and works too much. You know, it is kind of a luxury to come to club for her...

The employee depicts the attitudes of women living in her neighborhood. She associates using the club with some particular cultural factors that obstruct the participation of women to the social life. However, she also states that these cultural factors change in accordance with the age factors. Young girls and women prefer to use the clubs although their mothers do not prefer. In addition, for the employee, participating in the activities necessitates time and economic freedom for the women who work in some particular jobs; such as service and maiding.

The main aim of the respondents for using the club is to attend sports activity (90%). Therefore, the most attended activity in the club is sports (90%). Beside the sports, diction (30%), computer (23,3%) and language (6,7%) courses attract respondents who are between the ages 18 – 35.

The main reason of respondents in preferring to use the club is the low membership fee (100%). This reason is followed by the reason of easy access from their houses (33,3%). The percentage of respondents who prefer to use the clubs because of the fact that clubs are women-only is quite high; it is 40%. The proximity to working places (13,3%) is also important for the respondents in preferring the club.

Most of the respondents live in surrounded neighborhoods of Şafaktepe such as Demirlibağçe, Balkiraz, Saimekadın and Abidinpaşa (Figure 29). These women prefer to walk in accessing the club. In addition to that employed respondents who live in different parts of the city such as Fakülteler and Doğuş also reach the club by walking because of the distance between the club and their working places. However, there are few respondents use both walking and public transportation in

accessing the club, and they live in Ege, Akdere and Araplar neighborhoods. The percentage of respondents who prefer to walk in accessing the club is 86,7%; it is noticeable. This percentage is followed by the percentage of use of public transportation (16,7%). Use of company service vehicle is quite low (3,3%), and there is no respondent who use the taxi or private car.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS - SAFAKTEPE L.C.

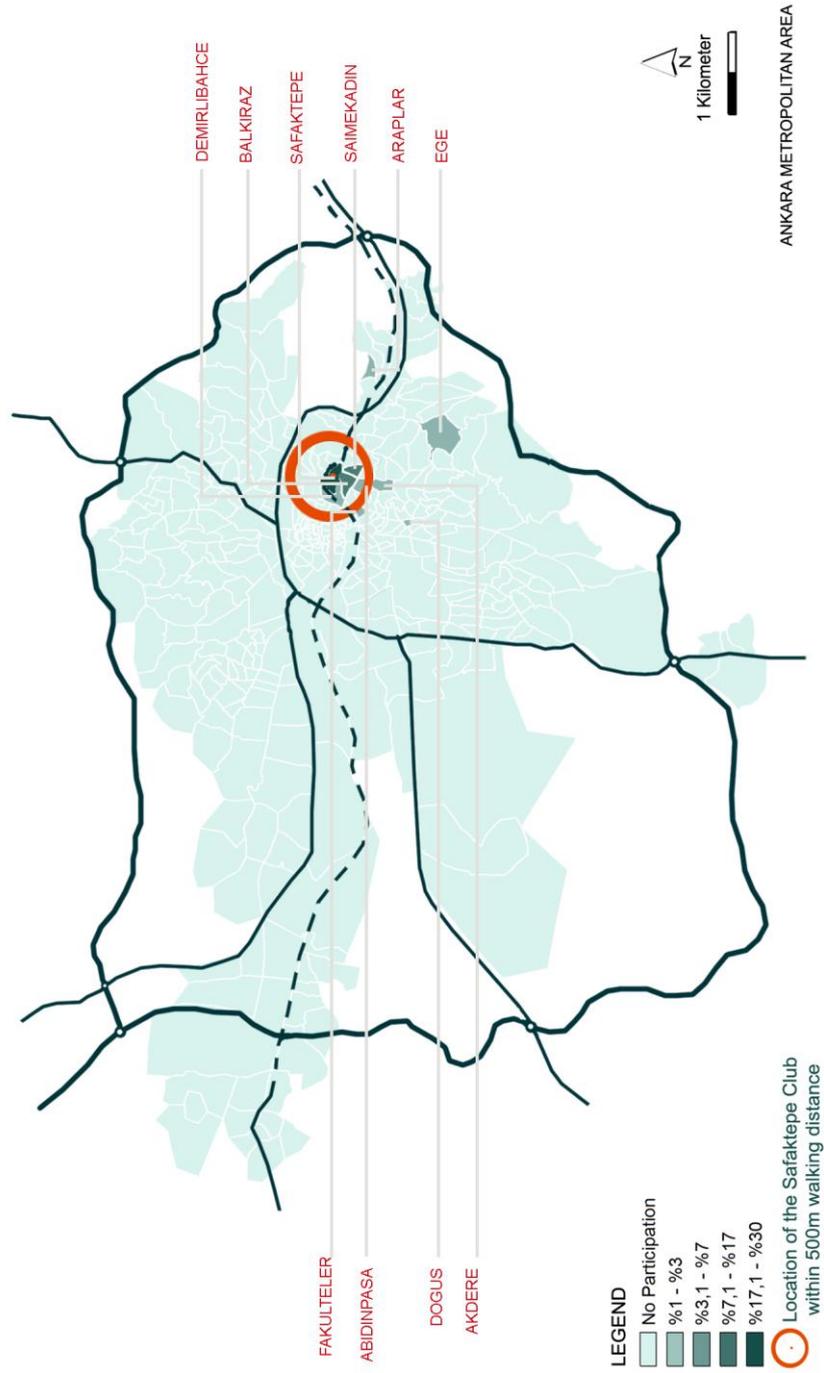


Figure 29: Location of Şafaktepe Club and the percentages of respondents participating from the neighborhoods.
Source: Survey data.

5.2.6. Altındağ Ladies' Club

Founded in 2001, Altındağ Ladies' Club is located at the third floor of office building. Altındağ BELMEK and Children's Club are also located in this building. The ground floor is rented by a chain supermarket. Children's Club is at the first floor, and Altındağ BELMEK at the second floor. Club is at the third floor and constitutes of gym hall, sports hall, sauna, showers, course room, child-care room, and a small size reception room. The size of the apartment limits the number of course rooms.



Figure 30: Indoor image from the building. Source:
http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/hanimlar_lokali/altindag_hanimlar_lokali.aspx

LOCATION OF ALTINDAG LADIES' CLUB



LEGEND

-  UNAUTHORIZED SETTLEMENTS
-  AUTHORIZED SETTLEMENTS
-  OFFICIAL USES
-  COMMERCIAL AREAS
-  GREEN AREAS/ PARKS



0,5 Kilometers

Figure 31: Location of Altındağ LC in the district.

One of the employees of the club was interviewed and asked about the socio-economic status of the members. Employee states that most of the housewife members are the inhabitants of the gecekondü areas and they attend morning or afternoon sessions of the activities. Midday sessions are mostly preferred by the employed members. Most of the employed members are the public officers or medical personnel who work in Ankara SSK Hospital. There is no evening session in Altındağ Club regarding to low demand on it. Employee also was asked that which activities are attended by the members. According to the employee, the interest in sports activity is in majority like other clubs. The attention on touristic excursions, NLP seminars, diction and language courses is quite low, whereas handicraft and computer courses are crowded. Survey results support this information, the percentages of attention on sports (100%), computer (11,8%) and handicraft (17,6%) courses are noticeable. There is no respondent who attends NLP Seminars or diction and language courses.

In Altındağ survey, primary school graduates (23,5%) are in majority but they are closely followed by high school (17,6%) and two year university(17,6%) graduates. In addition to that, most of the respondents are housewives (58,8%). There are also unemployed (5,9%) respondents who are between the ages 18-25. The percentage of employed respondents (35,3%) is also noticeable.

The major income percentage in Altındağ survey is minimum wage-1000 TL monthly family income, it is 70,6%. Other income levels share small portions and this portion is the same 5,9% for all income levels, except below-minimum-wage monthly income. There is no respondent who have below-minimum-wage monthly income.

The main reason of respondents in preferring to use the club is the low membership fee (100%). This reason is followed by the reason of easy access from their houses (41,2%). The proximity to working places (35,3%) and sexual segregation (29,4%) is also important for the respondents in preferring the club.

The main aim of the respondents for using the club is to attend sports activity (100%). However there are few respondents who use the club for counseling (11,8%). There is no respondent who uses the club for meeting new people, and this

result is very different from the results of Çankaya and Bahçelievler surveys. It is interesting to note that 100% of the respondents prefer to reach the club by walking. Most of the respondents live or work in Altındağ district (Figure 32).

Figure 32 shows that the use of club concentrates in Altındağ district. Most of the respondents live in surrounding neighborhoods of the club, such as Örnek, Ziraat and zübeyde Hanım. Few of the respondents live in Basınevleri and Gazi neighborhoods which are accessible from Altındağ, and these respondents work in Altındağ.



Figure 32: Location of Altındağ Club and the percentages of respondents participating from the neighborhoods.
Source: Survey Data

5.2.7. Etlik Ladies' Club

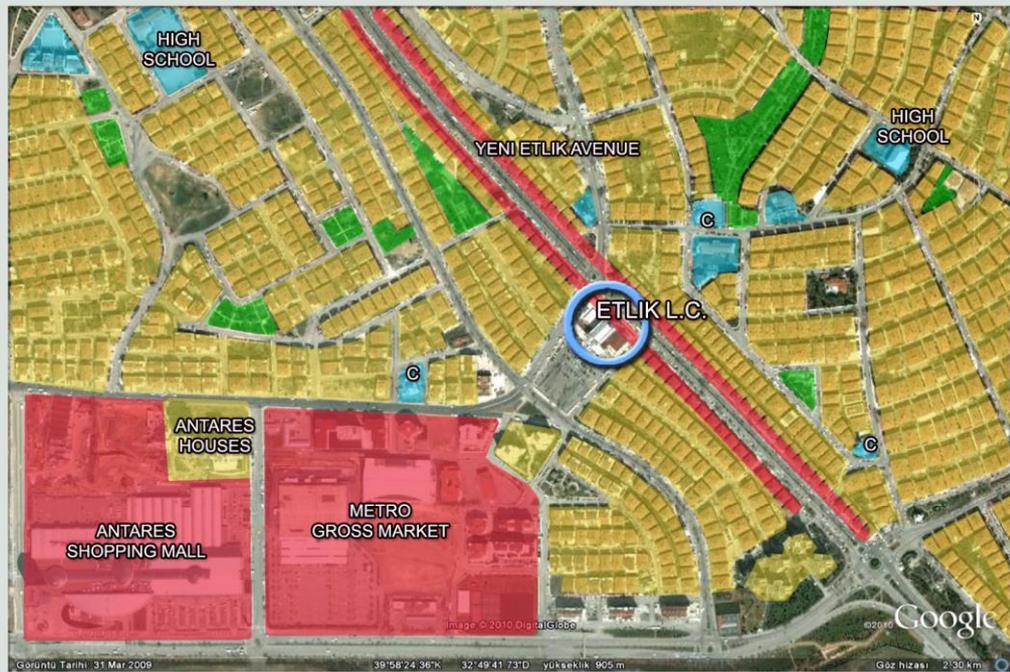
Founded on March 2001, Etlik Ladies' Club is the only club in Keçiören District. Located in the fifth floor of Osmanlı Office Building, Etlik club has 1353 number of members.

There both private and public sector establishments in Osmanlı İşhanı. The ground and first floor of the Osmanlı Office Building consists of clothing store owners and a chain supermarket. The second floor consists of clothing store and offices. The third floor is rented by the BELMEK of GMA. Finally on the sixth floor there is Etlik Children's Club which is also rented by the GMA.



Figure 33: An indoor image from Osmanlı Office Building.
Source: personal archive of S. Çavdar, 2010.

LOCATION OF ETLIK LADIES' CLUB



LEGEND

- RESIDENTIAL AREAS
- PUBLIC
- COMMERCIAL AREAS
- GREEN AREAS/ PARKS
- CAMI (RELIGIOUS BUILDING)



0,5 Kilometers



Figure 34: Etlík LC and surroundings. Source: Google Earth satellite image, dated:

70,4% of the respondents are out of labor force. The major composition of these respondents is housewives (63,2%) in Etlik survey. Educational composition of the respondents in Etlik survey is also interesting. There are not any illiterate or literate but uneducated respondents in Etlik survey. The major composition of the respondents are high school graduates (40,7%). The percentage of two year university (22,2%) and bachelor degree (18,5%) graduates are also high. Primary (11,1%) and secondary (7,4%) school graduates are quite low.

The main reason for women in preferring to use the club is the low membership fee. Another important criterion for preferring the club is its proximity to their houses (77,8%). This finding shows that the use of club concentrates in the district in which club is located. Spatial segregation based on sex is also effective for preferring to use the club. 55,6% of the respondents prefers to use the club by reason of the sexual segregation. Child-care service (14,8%) is the other reason in preferring the club. It should be noted that the number of child members in the club is 65 % of the respondents uses the child-care service. It is learnt that two of the respondents bring their children who are older than six to the Etlik Children's Club when they attend to sports activities.

One employee of the club was interviewed about the user profile of the club and her observations on the club. According to the employee;

In this neighborhood, women's one of the main reasons to prefer Ladies' Clubs is that our clubs are women-only. Most of our members are housewives. The number of married young housewives is also high and they use the child-care service extensively. Apart from the extensive interest on sports activities, the interests on diction, memory improvement techniques and English [language] courses, skin-care products courses and diet seminars are quite high. There is not much demand on the touristic excursions in our club.

Three of the respondents use the BELMEK in Osmanlı Office Building for leisure and handicrafts training. One of these respondents has once attended to the *Etlik Halk Eğitim Merkezi ve Akşam Sanat Okulu* (Community Training Center and Evening Art School) for handicrafts training in order to contribute her family income.

Two of the respondents who live in Etlik neighborhood, are regular attendants of a private Koran (*Kur-an*) readings which is done in the house of a Koran instructor. These instructors who are housewives try to contribute their family income through giving Koran tutorials. These respondents also stated that they attended small meetings in the instructors' houses to interpret Koran.

Most of the respondents live in Keçiören district (Figure 35). 66,7% of them prefer to reach the club by walking; and this percentage is followed by the public transportation (22,2%). Respondents use their private vehicle (22,2%) in accessing the club is noticeably high. Even if few, some employed women use their company vehicle (3.7%) in reaching the club.

Figure 35 shows that the use of club centralizes in Keçiören district. Most of the respondents surrounded neighborhoods of the club, such as Yayla, Ayvalı, Etlik, Kalaba, İncirli, Aşağı Eğlence and Bağlarbaşı. However, there is a respondent living in Yıldıztepe neighborhood in Altındağ district. This result may be associated with the location characteristics of the district. Although Keçiören is one of the most populated districts in Ankara, commercial functions in the district do not attract people at urban level compared to Çankaya district.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS - ETLİK L.C.

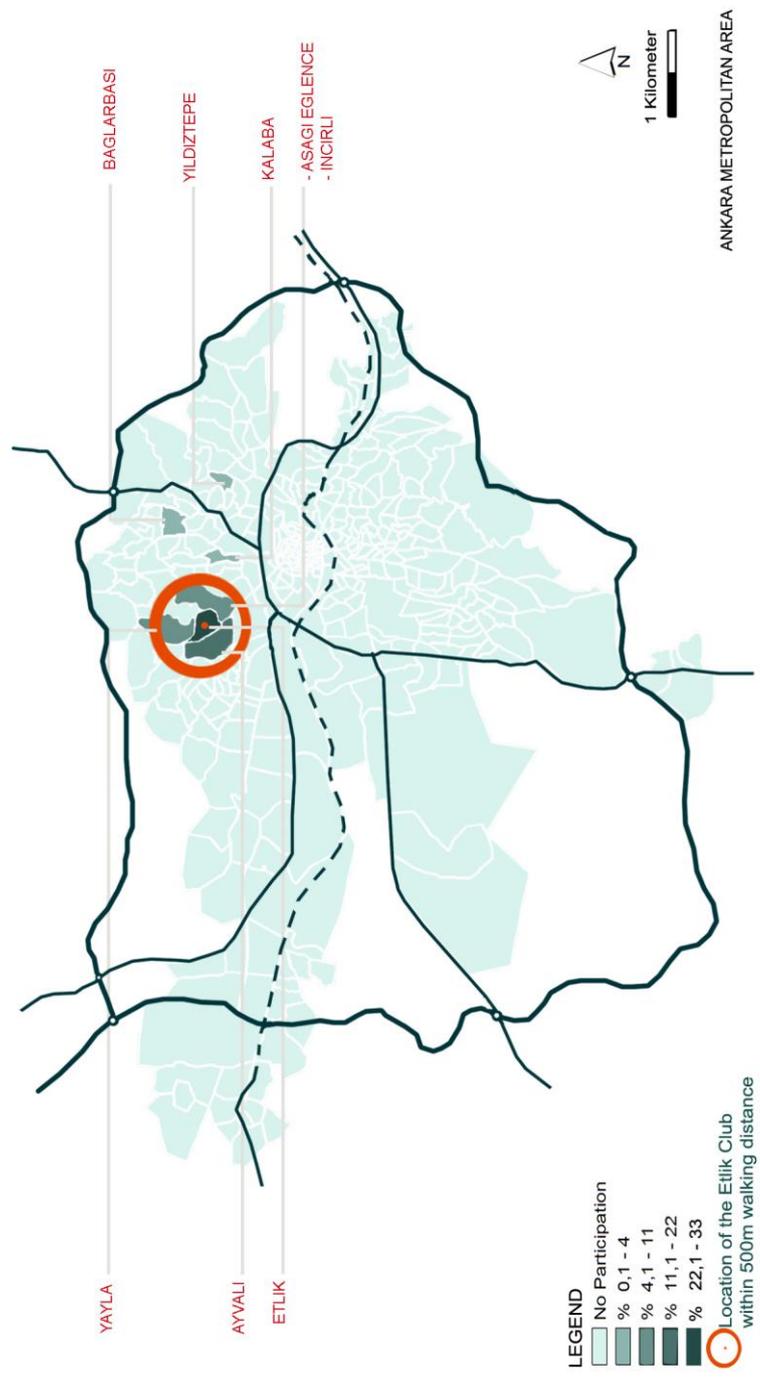


Figure 35: Location of Etilik Club and the percentages of respondents participating from the neighborhoods.
Source: Survey data

5.2.8. Şentepe Ladies' Club

Founded in 2005, Şentepe Ladies' Club is mostly surrounded with gecekondu areas.

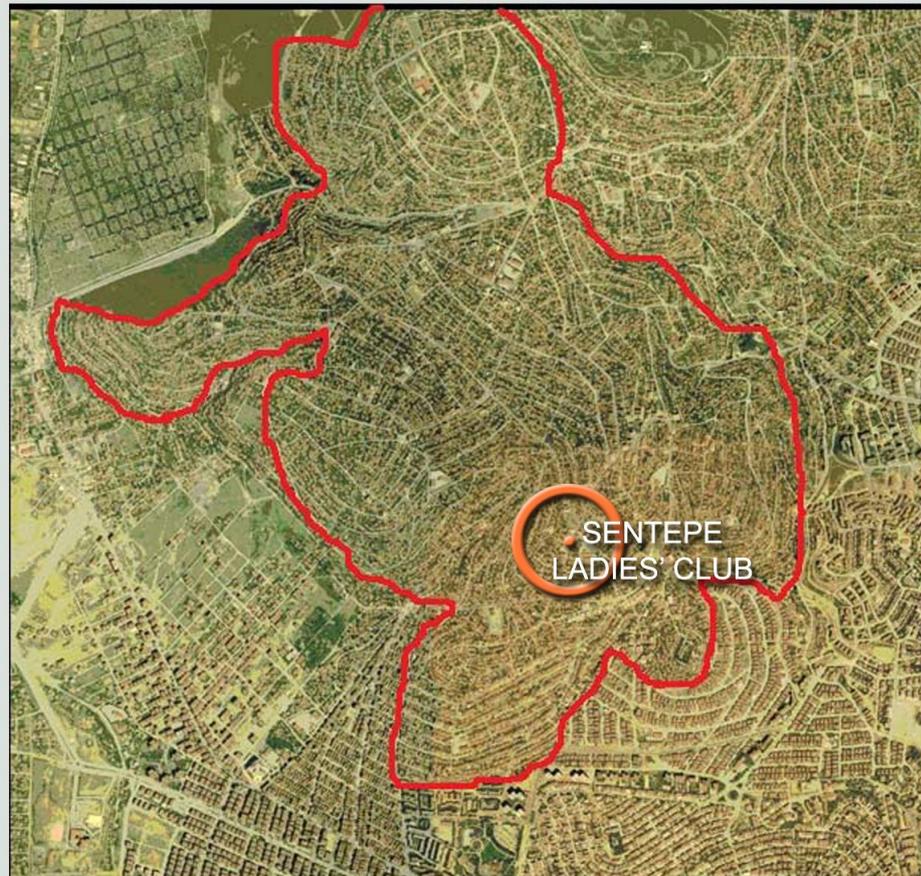


Figure 36: Şentepe L.C.



Figure 37: Şentepe LC, new apartments and gecekondu housing.

LOCATION OF SENTEPE LADIES' CLUB



 BORDER OF SENTEPE DISTRICT

 LOCATION OF SENTEPE L.C. WITHIN
500m WALKING DISTANCE

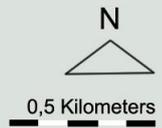


Figure 38: Location of Şentepe LC and borders of Şentepe district. Source: N. İveynat, 2008.

According to the information gathered from the informal interview conducted with a Şentepe resident, the building parcel on which Şentepe Ladies' Club was built with the demolition of two gecekondü houses. However the official information about this building lot could not be obtained from the GMA.

Şentepe Ladies' Club is the most interesting case amongst the rest of the clubs in terms of its influences on the daily lives of women. The case of user profile and local women's daily lives was asked one of the employees of the club. The employee stated that, some of the club's employees are very keen on the problems of local women in terms of their participation into the social life. They try to encourage women to become members of the clubs and contribute local women's lives. It should be noted that the particular forms of suppression/domination of women, e.g. control on social and economic participation to the urban life, is more visible in the gecekondü areas. According to the employee:

A young woman wants to be a member of the club, but her mother-in-law and husband did not allow her to become a member. Then I said to her "the next time please bring your mother-in-law with you". They came together, and the mother-in-law understood that there is nothing to worry about the clubs. The self-confidence of our women is really low. Even a small work or success, such as handicrafts can increase their confidence. In this neighborhood, they mostly spend their time at home. For example, although they are middle age women and have been living in these gecekondü areas for twenty years some of our members have never visited Ulus before. Then by using public bus service, we arranged a free Kızılay tour for our members. When we arrived at Kızılay and got off the bus on the Atatürk Boulevard, they panicked or confused as if we got off in the New York City! They have never been to Kızılay before... After the tour, they re-gained their self-confidence. They need to go to Ulus to buy some materials for our handicrafts course. Before going to Ulus, a woman said to me that "I went to Kızılay, so I can do it! I can go to Ulus and find the addresses which you gave us to buy the materials". It is important to do such things in these kinds of neighborhoods. It is really important even if only one woman can develop some self-esteem and explore her potential. Woman is the heart of the family, and their children are the future of our nation... In order to educate their children by themselves, they have to build their self-confidence and motivate themselves.

Here it can be inferred that the individual efforts of a club employee made a substantial contribution to the women's lives. The analysis of Şentepe Ladies Club's employee touches upon two aspects of the living conditions of women who live in gecekondu areas. The first one is directly related to the domestic realm of women: the restriction of women's mobilization. In order to go outside from her house, a woman has to get the permission of her mother-in-law or husband. The patriarchal domination of women's movements which determine the level of women's belonging to the domestic realm is one of the important problems of the female dwellers of the gecekondu areas. Limited living space of women consists of home or relative or neighbor visits; moreover even walking cross the streets may be restricted for women in these areas (Kümbetoğlu, 1996, 88). As Kümbetoğlu (1996) suggests, outer space means the social and physical environment which they share with relatives and neighbors for the women in squatter areas. Most of these women can not use their surrounding environment while men have the social and economic mobilization in the city. The second one is more related to their level of socio-spatial relation to the inner city. Women living in gecekondu areas have the most limited social space and movements in the city. The titles of 'unemployed', 'uneducated', 'with too many children' have been used for defining women living in gecekondu areas. On the other hand, these women have faced with many problems, e.g. as being dependent on the permission of their husbands or fathers for working or training and being the domestic worker of their houses, that determine their educational or employment status. However, not only their domestic realm but also limited urban facilities and their limited integration with the city leave them in a disadvantageous position. Kümbetoğlu (1996, 87) suggest that although women living in gecekondu areas have the same educational level with men, employment opportunities are not opened to the women. In addition to that, expenditures, e.g. transportation cost or shopping, that is a part of urban way of life can not be compensated by women living gecekondu or less well-to-do neighborhoods. It is important to state that both of the aforementioned aspects of the women's living conditions have also related to compromise of women to the well known domestic discourse 'a women's place is her home'.

An informal interview was conducted with an employee from Şentepe Ladies' Club, and the user profiles of the clubs were questioned. The employee states that most of the members are housewives, while adding that there is no need for the evening

sports sessions in Şentepe.

One of the important finding dependent on the Şentepe survey is that 83,3% of the respondents are out of labor force. Şentepe survey also reveals that, 100% of the employed respondents are self employed. These women tried to contribute their family income through selling piece-works and giving Koran tutorials. Şentepe survey shows that respondents prefer to go to the clubs on foot even if they live in distant gecekondü areas in order to economize their new 'habit'. 100% of the respondents who come to the club on foot thought that the transportation costs are expensive. The income level of the respondents varied from below minimum wage and 1500 TL. 61,1% of the respondents has the monthly income between minimum wage-1000 TL, and 27,8% of the respondents have the monthly income between minimum wage and 1500 TL.

Another important finding is that educational level of the respondents is mostly composed of high (33,3%) and primary (33,3%) school graduates. Secondary school graduates (17%) are also high. There are women who are literate but uneducated (5,6%) in Şentepe survey. Women who are two year higher education (5,6%) and open university (5,6%) graduates are between 25 and 35 ages.

The other interesting finding depending on the data is that none of the respondents use cinema, theatre, social centers or other places in the urban core. It is also important to note that none of the respondents ever used any sports center before the club in Şentepe because there were no sports centers. Therefore it can be said that the need for sports activities is provided and produced by the Şentepe Ladies' Club. In addition to that, the percentage of the use of parks is very low in gecekondü areas due to the lack of safe and spacious green areas. When respondents were asked about the need for parks, they stated that their outdoor experience consists of chatting in front of doors and domestic visits because of the lack of spacious green areas and safe parks.

Şentepe Ladies' Club has the most child membership ratio than the other surveyed clubs. There are 117 child members in Şentepe Ladies' Club. The 72,2% of respondents who have children between 3-6 ages uses the child-care services.

It is interesting to note that, the relationship between employees of the clubs and its

members is more informal than the other clubs. The employee was also asked about this relation issue:

I live in Şentepe, and some of our members know me from the neighborhood. When we started to work, we called our members by adding *Hanım* after their names, but most of them do not prefer to be called as *hanım*. They found it ridiculous or they thought the word *hanım* did not describe their status... You know, in poor/low-income neighborhoods, our relations are more sincere or let's say informal. They call me and other young employees as *kızım* (*my daughter*), and we call them *teyze* (aunt) as usual ...

Here, the aim for emphasizing the relations between employees and members is to indicate the fact that members of Şentepe club perceive the word *hanım* as a descriptive status or title which they may not use in their daily relations. It seems that they intentionally want to keep on their daily or neighborly relations in the clubs; and they do not define themselves as the *hanım* of the clubs.

Another employee was asked about the level of participation to the club from the well-to-do neighborhoods of Yenimahalle. She stated that, inhabitants of well-to-do neighborhoods may not come to the clubs because of their political views. However, the low participation rate of these inhabitants can be also associated with the socio-cultural differences between the inhabitants of *gecekondu* or less-well-to-do and well-to-do neighborhoods. It is important to note that well-to-do neighborhoods in Yenimahalle are constituted of mostly legal apartment buildings.

According to employees of the club, the members of the Şentepe L.C. come from adjacent eleven neighborhoods which are in walking distance. The percentage of respondents who prefer to access the club by walking is 100%, it is noticeable. The use of private vehicle (5,6%) is quite low. It is interesting to note that no respondent uses public transportation in reaching the club.

Figure 39 also supports that most of the respondents live in Şentepe district. The use of club concentrates in the Şentepe district. This finding may be associated with the lack of commercial areas or social infra-structure in Şentepe. There is no socio-

cultural center or facility in Şentepe district apart from the club. Working places and commercial areas are far away from the district. With respect to this, the number of employed women who live in different areas of the city is very low in Şentepe survey compared to other survey areas.

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS - ŞENTEPE L.C.

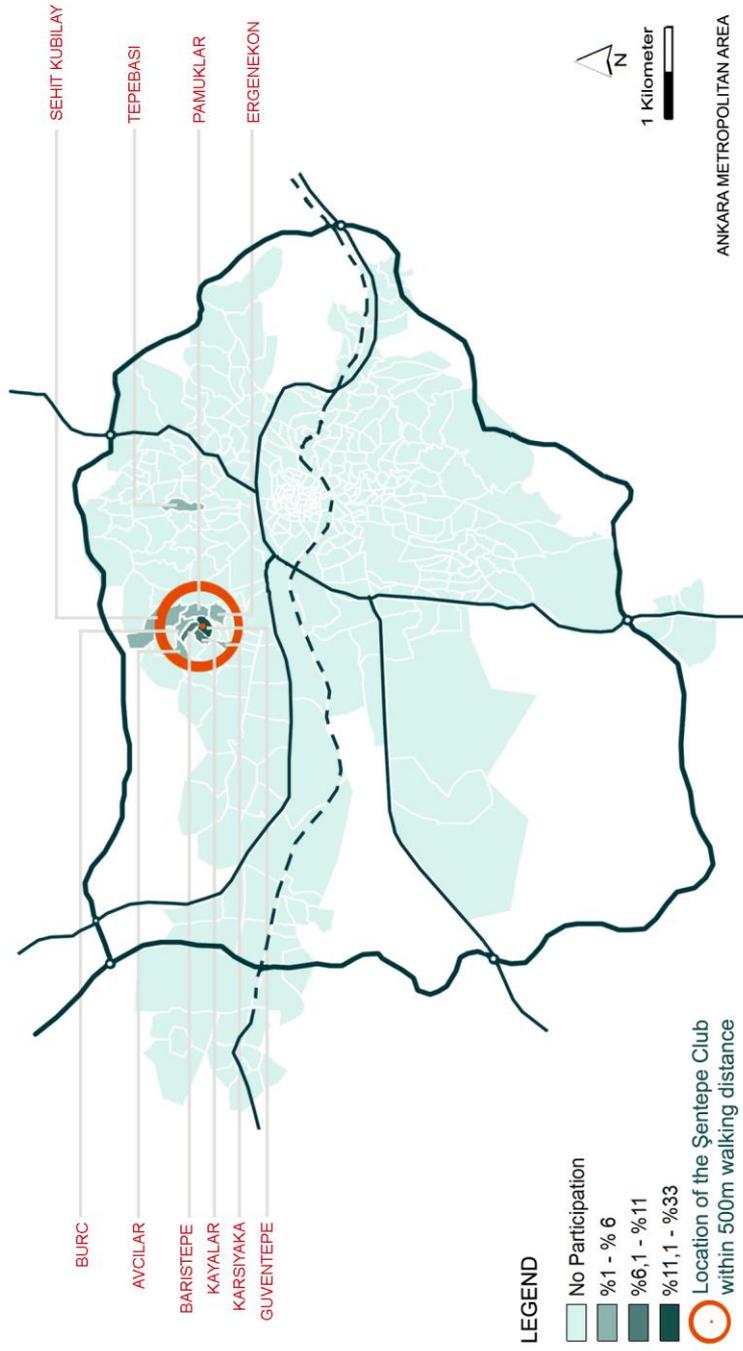


Figure 39: Location of Şentepe Club and the percentages of respondents participating from the neighborhoods.
Source: Survey Data.

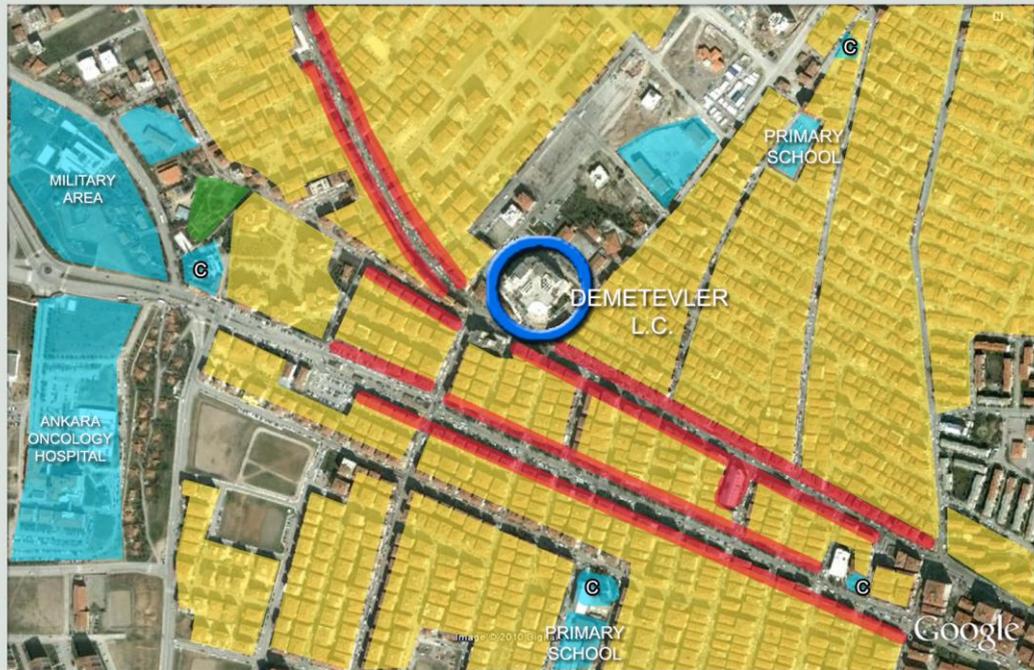
5.2.9. Demetevler Ladies' Club

Founded in April 2003, Demetevler Ladies' Club is located at the Karşıyaka Office Building's second floor. The ground and the first floors are rented by clothing and crafts store owners.



Figure 40: Karsiyaka Office Building, in Demetevler District.

LOCATION OF DEMETEVLER LADIES' CLUB



LEGEND

- RESIDENTIAL AREAS
- OFFICIAL USES
- COMMERCIAL AREAS
- GREEN AREAS/ PARKS
- C CAMI (RELIGIOUS BUILDING)



0,5 Kilometers



Figure 41: Demetevler LC and its surrounding.

Great majority of the respondents are housewives (57,7%). There are also retired (15,4%) and employed (15,4%) respondents. Educational level of the respondents is varied, but major graduation level is high school (50%). The percentage of primary school graduates (26,9%) is also high. Secondary school (3,8%), two-year-university (7,7%) and bachelor degree (3,8%) graduates are quite low. It is important to note that there are illiterate (7,7%) respondents in Demetevler survey.

The monthly family income level of the respondents ranges between below minimum wage and 3500 TL. However, great majority of the respondents have the monthly income between minimum wage and 1000 TL, the percentage of these respondents is 46,7%. This percentage is followed by minimum wage monthly income (19,2%) and 1000-1500 TL monthly income (19,2%). Other income ranges have share small portions. It is interesting to note that there is no respondent who have more than 3500 TL monthly income.

The major aim of respondents for using the club is attending sports activities (100%). Psychological counseling (23,1%) and meeting with new people (19,2%) are also effective reasons for using the club. The most attended activity is sports, like other clubs. 100% of the respondents attend sports. Computer (11,5%) and handicraft (15,4%) courses also attract respondents.

The main criterion for preferring to use the club is the low membership fee (100%), and this criterion is followed by the reason of the easy access from houses (57,7%). Another criterion is the sex-segregation; 42,3% of the respondents prefer to use the club because of the fact that club is women-only place. It is interesting to note that one of the respondents in Demetevler, explicitly emphasized that the main reason why she prefers the club is her political view.

84,6% of the respondents prefer to walk in accessing the club. 11,5% of the respondents use public transportation and 7,7% of the respondents use private car in reaching the club. Figure 42 indicates that most of the respondents live in surrounding neighborhoods of the club. Use of club concentrates in these neighborhoods, which are Demetgöl, Demetlale, Demet, Yeşilevler, Yahyalar, Özevler and Barış. There are respondents who live in Keçiören and Balgat district, and these respondents work in Demetevler.

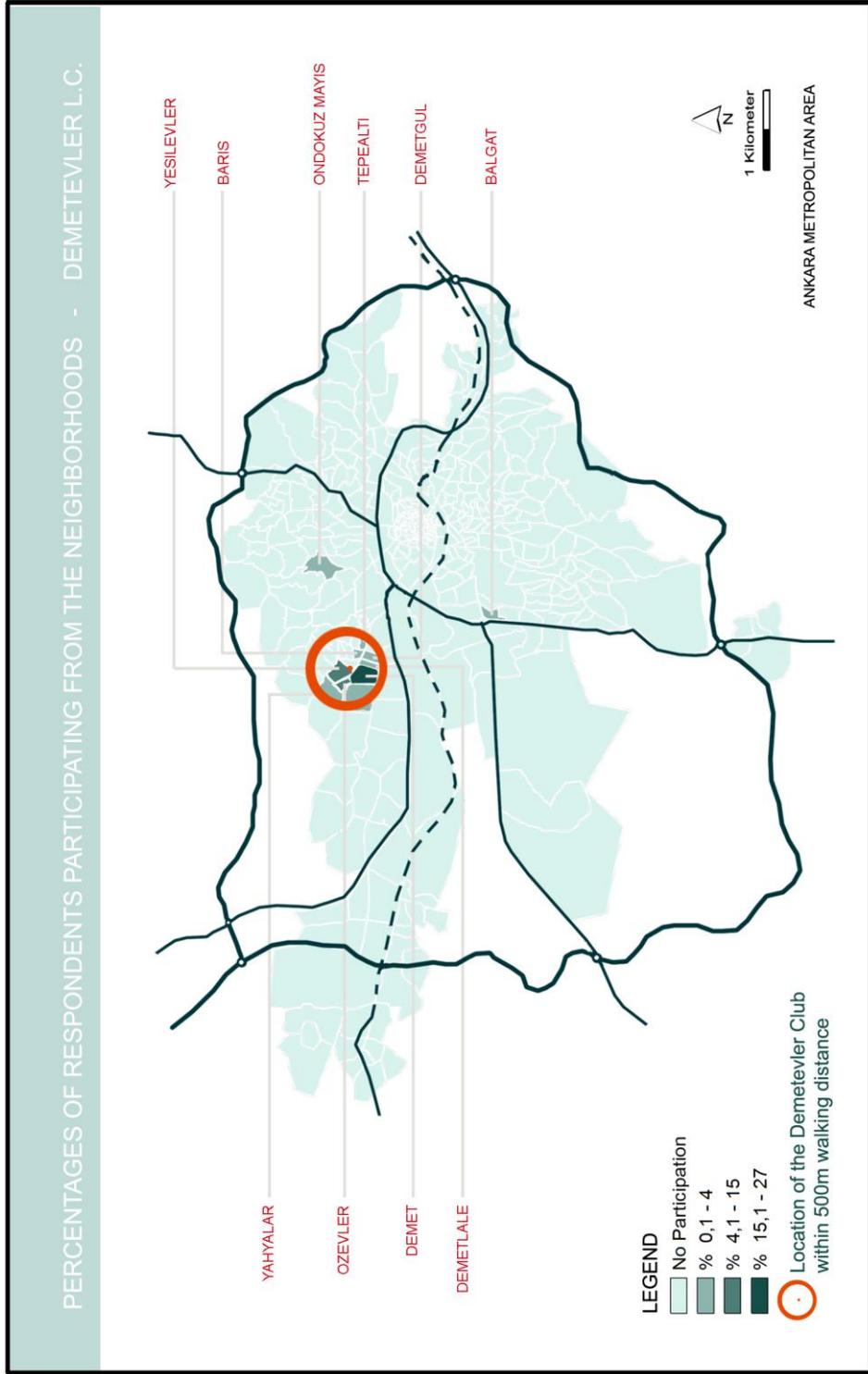


Figure 42: Location of Demetevler club and the percentages of respondents participating from the neighborhoods.
Source: Survey data.

5.3. Comparison of General Information about the Respondents

5.3.1. Employment Status

Employment composition of the surveyed members is an important criterion for the analysis of participation of club members to the urban life. The relationship between leisure time and employment status plays an effective role on the participation of women to the socio-cultural activities. In this section of the study, the survey data revealing participation of members to the clubs and other community centers will be presented.

Table 3: Employment status of the respondents

Clubs	Employment Status		Total (n)
	Out of labor force (%)	Employed (%)	
Altındağ	64,7	35,3	17
Şafaktepe	70	30	30
Etlik	70,4	29,6	27
Şentepe	83,3	16,7	18
Demetevler	84,6	15,4	26
Bahçelievler	68,4	31,6	38
Dikmen	66,7	33,3	15
Çankaya	60	40	40
Ahmetler	43,3	56,7	30
Total (n)	161	80	241

Table 3 shows that the percentage members who are out of labor force is in majority in the total number of respondents. The percentage of employed members is 33, 2% while the percentage of members who are not in the labor force is 66, 8%.

The highest percentage of employed women is concentrated in Ahmetler survey, but it is closely followed by Çankaya survey. Bahçelievler, Şafaktepe and Etlik surveys follow Ahmetler survey. The lowest percentage of employed women is in Şentepe and it is closely followed by Demetevler. The lowest percentage in Şentepe may be evaluated along with the in-depth interviews which reflect the local socio-economic structure of gecekondü areas in Yenimahalle District.

The highest percentage of women who are out of labor force is in Bahçelievler Ladies' Club. This high percentage may be evaluated along with the fact that the percentage of retired or housewife members is quite high Emek and Bahçelievler neighborhoods.

Table 4: Respondents who are out of labor force

Clubs	Out of Labor Force			
	Retired (%)	Student (%)	Housewife (%)	Unemployed (%)
Altındağ	0	0	10,2	11,1
Şafaktepe	5,1	6,7	14,3	44,4
Etlik	10,3	13,3	12,2	11,1
Şentepe	0	20	11,2	11,1
Demetevler	10,3	20	15,3	0
Bahçelievler	33,3	20	9,2	11,1
Dikmen	2,6	0	9,2	0
Çankaya	30,8	0	12,2	0
Ahmetler	7,7	20	6,1	11,1
Total (n)	39	15	98	9

The percentage of housewives is the highest in Demetevler survey and it is closely followed by Şafaktepe survey. Etlik and Çankaya Ladies' Clubs have the same percentages of housewives and they are followed by the Şentepe and Altındağ

Ladies' Clubs. The lowest percentage of housewives is in Ahmetler Ladies' Clubs. This low percentage in the case of Ahmetler can be related with the location of the Ahmetler Ladies' Club. Surrounded with office buildings and public buildings Ahmetler Ladies' Club is the closest club to the Kızılay CBD.

The highest percentage of retired women is concentrated in Çankaya Ladies' Club but it is closely followed by Bahçelievler Ladies' club. The employment characteristics of Etlik and Demetevler cases are similar in terms of retired women percentages and they are followed by Ahmetler case. The percentages of retired women in Şafaktepe and Dikmen cases are quite less. There is no retired women population in Altındağ and Şentepe survey.

The highest percentage of unemployed women is concentrated in Şafaktepe case. The percentages of unemployed women are same in the case of Altındağ, Şentepe, Etlik, Bahçelievler and Ahmetler.

Table 5: Use of other municipal services according to employment status

Use of other municipal social and cultural centers	Employment Status		Total (n)
	Out of labor force (%)	Employed (%)	
Use	83,7	16,3	43
Do not use	63,1	36,9	198
Total (n)	161	80	241

Table 5 reveals that women who are out of labor force can use the socio-cultural services five times the employed women. The reasons of this sharp difference may be associated with the leisure of the surveyed women.

5.3.2. Income Level

Income composition of the surveyed members is an important criterion for the analysis of the integration of club members into urban life. In this section, crosstabulation tables displaying the relationship between club or private sports center usage rates and income levels will be presented.

Table 6: Income level

Clubs	Income Level						
	Below Min. Wage	Min. Wage	Min. Wage 1000TL	1000 – 1500 TL	1500 - 2500 TL	2500 -3500 TL	More than 3500 TL
Altındağ	0	6,7	17,1	1,4	2,2	4,2	7,1
Şafaktepe	100	70	17,6	17,6	8,2	12,5	0
Etlük	0	0	8,8	11,8	15,1	15	10,9
Şentepe	0	10	17,6	17,6	8,2	2,5	0
Demetevler	0	0	20,6	5,9	17,2	5	2,2
Bahçelievler	0	0	5,9	17,6	9,6	20	30,4
Dikmen	0	0	8,8	0	8,2	7,5	6,5
Çankaya	0	0	5,9	11,8	20,5	20	19,6
Ahmetler	0	0	2,9	5,9	8,2	10	30,4
Total (n)	2	15	70	71	45	24	14

Table shows that the majority of the members have a monthly family income between the minimum wage and 1500 TL.

The lowest income percentage is concentrated in Şafaktepe club. A family income below minimum wage is not present in any other cases.

The minimum wage²² income groups are mostly form in Şafaktepe club yet closely followed by Demetevler; then Etlik, Dikmen, Altındağ, Şentepe and Çankaya clubs. Monthly income that ranges between the minimum wage and 1000 TL was determined by taking into consideration the minimum retirement wage²³ and the wage of lowest degree governmental officer²⁴. Both wages are between the minimum wage and 1000 TL.

Şafaktepe Ladies' Club is at the bottom with a highest percentage of monthly income that is between minimum wage and 1000 TL. Şafaktepe survey closely followed by Altındağ, Demetevler and Şentepe surveys. The percentage of monthly income between minimum wage and 1000 TL is quite low in Bahçelievler and Ahmetler Ladies' Clubs.

The percentage of monthly income between 1000-1500 TL²⁵ is highest in Ahmetler club, and it is followed by Bahçelievler, Çankaya and Etlik clubs. This percentage is the lowest in Altındağ survey.

The percentage of monthly income between 1500-2500 TL is the highest in Bahçelievler case. The percentage of Ahmetler and Çankaya cases are the same and they are followed by Etlik Ladies' Club. There are no income groups who have a monthly income between 1500-2500 TL in Altındağ, Şentepe and Dikmen Ladies' Clubs.

The highest income percentage is concentrated in the Çankaya Ladies' Club. Çankaya is followed by Bahçelievler and Dikmen Ladies' Clubs. Relatively high percentages of high income groups in Altındağ and Şafaktepe surveys is related to

²² The minimum wage has been determined as 760,50 TL (gross) by Turkish Government in Turkey, 2010 (Source: <http://www.sgk.gov.tr/> Circular Note numbered: B.13.2.SGK.0.10.00.00/486 dated: 06/08/2010).

²³ The minimum retirement wage has been determined as 898,25 TL (gross) by Turkish Government in Turkey, 2010(Source: <http://www.sgk.gov.tr/> Circular Note numbered: B.13.2.SGK.0.10.00.00/486 dated: 06/08/2010).

²⁴ The wage of a lowest degree officer has been determined as 1137,12 TL (net) by Turkish Government in Turkey, 2010(Source: <http://www.sgk.gov.tr/> Circular Note numbered: B.13.2.SGK.0.10.00.00/486 dated: 06/08/2010).

²⁵ The wage of a university graduate who has 4/1. degree and 15 year priority has been determined as 1319,90 TL (net) by Turkish Government in Turkey, 2010 (Source: <http://www.sgk.gov.tr/>).

the employed respondents who prefer these clubs because of the proximity of these clubs to their workplaces.

Table 7: Sports Center Usage According to Monthly Income (%). Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Monthly Income (%)				Total(n)
	1000-1500 TL	1500-2500 TL	2500-3500 TL	More than 3500 TL	
Ahmetler	20	0	66	0	3
Çankaya	40	25	0	50	4
Dikmen	0	50	0	50	3
Bahçelievler	20	25	33	0	3
Etlik	20	0	0	0	1
Total(n)	5	4	3	2	14

Table 7 shows that, members who use other sports centers are only in Ahmetler, Cankaya, Dikmen, Bahçelievler and Etlik Ladies' Clubs.

The crosstabulation table showing the relationship between the income level and private sports center usage rate reveals that the lowest income groups do not use any sports center (except the Ladies' Clubs) and the same finding is present in 'lower-middle income'²⁶ groups. On the other hand, it seems that middle, upper-middle and high income groups do use other sports centers according. The percentage of the use of sports centers is the highest in Çankaya club and it is followed by Ahmetler, Dikmen and Bahçelievler clubs. This percentage is the same in these latter three clubs. The lowest percentage is in the Etlik Ladies' Club by 7,1%.

²⁶ The minimum wage and minimum wage- 1000 TL income groups is conjoined for a better evaluation of the cross tabulation table.

5.3.3. Educational Level

Table 8: Educational level. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Educational Level								
	Illiterate	Literate	Primary School	Secondary School	High School	2 year Higher Education	Undergraduate	Graduate	Open University
Altındağ	20	20	11,8	11,8	4,1	7,5	0	15,4	0
Şafaktepe	20	70	17,6	17,6	8,2	12,5	0	15,4	0
Etlik	0	0	8,8	11,8	15,1	15	10,9	0	0
Şentepe	0	10	17,6	17,6	8,2	2,5	0	0	33,3
Demetevler	40	0	20,6	5,9	17,2	5	2,2	0	0
Bahçelievler	0	0	5,9	17,6	9,6	20	30,4	15,4	66,7
Dikmen	0	0	8,8	0	8,2	7,5	6,5	0	0
Çankaya	20	0	5,9	11,8	20,5	20	19,6	23,1	0
Ahmetler	0	0	2,9	5,9	8,2	10	30,4	30,8	0
Total (n)	5	10	34	17	73	40	46	13	

Table 8 shows that the percentage of illiterate women in the case of Altındağ, Şafaktepe and Çankaya Ladies' Clubs is very close. However in the case of Demetevler Ladies' Club this percentage is at the top. There is not any illiterate population seen in other cases.

The percentage of literate²⁷ women in Altındağ survey is comparatively higher than that of Şentepe survey. The case of Şafaktepe Ladies' Club has the highest ratio of literate women.

²⁷ In this research the category literate is used for the person who has the basic writing and reading skill but has not graduated from any level of education.

In Altındağ, Şafaktepe and Şentepe cases the primary school graduates are in majority. The highest percentage of primary school graduates is in the case of Şentepe, whereas the percentage of primary school graduates is quite less in the cases of Ahmetler, Bahçelievler and Çankaya Ladies' Clubs.

Şentepe Ladies' Club is at the top with the highest percentage of secondary school graduates. The secondary school graduates ratio in cases of Altındağ and Mamak is comparatively higher than in cases of Bahçelievler and Etlik. The percentage of primary school graduates is quite less in the cases of Ahmetler, Demetevler and Çankaya Ladies' Clubs. There is not any population in Dikmen case who are secondary school graduates.

The percentage of high school graduates is in majority in the case of Demetevler Ladies' Club. In addition to that Demetevler Ladies' Club is at the top with the highest percentage of high school graduates. The percentage of high school graduates is the same in the cases of Etlik and Dikmen Ladies' Clubs, but this percentage is closely following by the case of Çankaya Ladies' Club.

In the case of Ahmetler and Bahçelievler Ladies' Clubs, bachelor graduates are in majority, whereas there is no population of bachelor graduates in the cases of Altındağ, Şafaktepe and Şentepe. The percentage of graduate graduates is higher in the case of Ahmetler Ladies' Club, but it is closely followed by the Bahçelievler Ladies' Club. The number of bachelors is same in the cases of Altındağ, Şafaktepe and Bahçelievler Ladies' Clubs. It is important to note that the interests of medical physicans or other employed women on the clubs raise the number of graduate graduates. It was already mentioned that the short distance between the public hospitals and the Altındağ and Şafaktepe Ladies' Clubs attract the attention of employees of the hospitals.

5.3.4. Marital Status

As observed in Table most of the respondents are married women. Total percentage of single women is 47,8%, and 34,6% of these women are widowed. Rest of the

single women is unmarried and 53% of these single women are bachelors.

Table 9: Marital status. Source: Survey data.

	MARITAL STATUS		Total (n)
	MARRIED	SINGLE	
AHMETLER	9,8%	17,9%	30
ÇANKAYA	16,6%	16,7%	40
DIKMEN	6,7%	5,1%	15
BAHCELIEVLER	16,0%	15,4%	38
DEMETEVLER	10,4%	11,5%	26
SENTEPE	8,0%	6,4%	18
ETLIK	11,7%	10,3%	27
SAFAKTEPE	13,5%	10,3%	30
ALTINDAG	7,4%	6,4%	17
Total (n)	163	78	241

Table 10: Children per family. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Child/ family		
	Number of family	Number of children	Child/ family
Ahmetler	18	27	1,5
Çankaya	31	52	1,67
Dikmen	13	30	2,30
Bahçelievler	29	41	1,41
Demetevler	20	37	1,85
Şentepe	14	25	1,78
Etlik	22	46	2,09
Şafaktepe	28	62	2,21
Altındağ	15	31	2,06

Total (n)	1	25	235
------------------	----------	-----------	------------

Table 10 depicts the fact that average number of children per family is quite low in Bahçelievler, it is 1, 41 but this ratio is closely followed by Ahmetler, it is 1, 5. Indeed, there are no families with four or five children in aforementioned surveyed clubs. However, this ratio is notably high in Dikmen and Şafaktepe cases. This high ratio is closely followed by Etlik, Altındağ, Demetevler, and Şentepe. It may be said that women who use Bahçelievler and Ahmetler have more urbanized family structure compared to other groups.

Table 11: Number of children members. Source: Survey data.

CLUBS	NUMBER	
	OF MEMBERS	CHILDREN MEMBERS
Altındağ Ladies' Club	870	44
Ahmetler Ladies' Club	1501	121
Bahçelievler Ladies' Club	1911	62
Batıkent Ladies' Club	1001	18
Çankaya Ladies' Club	1965	82
Demetevler Ladies' Club	1307	55
Dikmen Ladies' Club	731	93
Etlik Ladies' Club	1353	40
Kalecik Ladies' Club	155	65
Planet Ladies' Club	1076	133
Pursaklar Ladies' Club	1674	18
Sincan Ladies' Club	989	176
Şafaktepe Ladies' Club	1485	221
Şentepe Ladies' Club	908	60
Aile Yaşam Merkezi	2335	117
Total	19261	1305

Table 12: Use of child-care service. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Women who have 3-6 ages range children	Women who use child-care service	Total
Ahmetler	3	0	0
Çankaya	3	0	0
Dikmen	4	2	50
Bahçelievler	4	0	0
Demetevler	2	1	50
Şentepe	2	2	100
Etilik	1	1	100
Şafaktepe	5	5	100
Altındağ	2	2	100
Total	26	13	

Table 12 shows that half of the respondents who have children between the ages of 3 to 6 use the child-care service. The use of child care service is concentrated in Şafaktepe Ladies' Club. On the contrary, none of the women prefer to use the child-care service in Ahmetler, Çankaya and Bahçelievler Ladies' Clubs. Women who do not use the child care service were asked about the reasons why. Women who are the members of the Ahmetler, Çankaya and Bahçelievler Ladies' Clubs prefer to use private kindergartens. Woman who is a member of Demetevler states that her mother looks after when she comes to the club.

During the survey, it is observed that some of the elderly women bring their grandchildren to the child-care service.

5.3.5. Usage of Ladies' Clubs

Economical concerns are the most prominent factors behind the preference of the clubs rather than other similar, yet more expensive places such as private sports centers. The percentage of respondents who prefer the clubs by reason of low membership fee is notable; it is 91,3%. The inexpensiveness of the membership fee is appreciated by all levels of income groups. Besides the low membership fee, easy access from home raises the participation to the clubs.

Table 13: Reasons for preferring the clubs. Source: survey data.

Clubs	Preference Reasons						
	Close to work	Children care service	Close to house	Low Membership Fee	Ladies Only	Social networks	Sufficiency/cleanliness
Altındağ	35,3	17,6	41,2	100	29,4	0,0	0,0
Şafaktepe	13,3	6,7	33,3	93,3	40,0	0,0	0,0
Etlik	7,4	14,8	77,8	81,5	55,6	3,7	14,8
Şentepe	0,0	38,9	50,0	88,9	55,6	0,0	0,0
Demetevler	19,2	11,5	57,7	100	42,3	7,7	3,8
Bahçelievler	10,5	0,0	55,3	92,1	10,5	13,2	2,6
Dikmen	13,3	6,7	46,7	93,3	13,3	6,7	20
Çankaya	10,0	0,0	65	80	20	5,0	12,5
Ahmetler	16,7	3,3	43,3	100	13,3	10,0	0,0
Total (n)	32	21	129	220	71	14	14

Another interesting finding retrieved from the questionnaire data is that, regardless of their socio-economic status, low membership fee is the prior reason for preferring the clubs over other private or public centers. From the lowest to the highest, all income groups are attracted to the reasonable membership fee of the Ladies' Clubs. The second reason which attracts respondents' attention is the ease of accessibility from home. This finding should be evaluated along with the fact that the percentage of the housewife members who have settled in the surrounding neighborhoods of the clubs is in majority. Another interesting finding dependent on the data is that the percentage of women who prefer to use the club because of the fact that clubs are

women only places (29,5%) is noticeable. This percentage is quite high in Etlik (56%), Demetevler (42%) and Şafaktepe (40%) surveys. Ease of accessibility from work places (13,3%) is also effective for the employed respondents in preferring the clubs. However, the effect of child-care service and social networks in preferring the clubs is quite less compared to the other preference reasons.

Respondents' motives behind using the clubs reveal important information on how they choose to modify their daily habits. Sports activity (98%) is the prior service of the club that gets the most attention from its users and the psychological counseling follows with a percentage of 21,6. In addition to these quantitative findings, most of the interviewed women agreed with the fact that clubs remove them from their domestic daily routine. Meeting with new people (13,7%) is another aim for using the clubs. It is important to note that the percentage of this aim is quite high in Çankaya (25%) and Bahçelievler (16%) surveys whereas it is quite less in Şentepe (5%), Şafaktepe (3%) and Altındağ (0%) surveys. This discrepancy in the data may be evaluated along with the fact that neighborly relation patterns differs from locality to locality.

The percentage of the interest in sports activities is in majority in all of the clubs; it is 97%. Data also shows that before the foundation of the clubs % of respondents do not use any other private sports centers. Respondents in Şentepe, Şafaktepe, Altındağ, Demetevler and Etlik have not used any other sports center before the foundation of the clubs.

The interest in certain courses differs between respondents from different socio-cultural and educational backgrounds. It may be argued that respondents attending diction courses spend effort to become more urbanized or skilled. The interest in the diction and language (English) courses is the highest in Şafaktepe, Çankaya and Etlik Ladies' Clubs. However, the interest in diction or English courses is quite low in Bahçelievler and Ahmetler Ladies' Clubs.

5.3.6. Level of Participation to the Urban Life

The questionnaire survey examines social participation of women to the urban life in two levels. The first one is the local level, and the second one is the urban level. In the local level, neighborly relations, use of parks and socio-cultural centers were examined. In the urban level, the use of urban core has been analyzed. Before going through the participation discussion, it may be suggested that questionnaire survey data on participation issue may be evaluated along with the in-depth interviews which is presented at latter sections of this chapter.

Spatial data shows that, most of the members have come to the clubs from the surrounding neighborhoods. Therefore, the evaluation of local social life and socio-spatial characteristics is one of the most important steps for the analysis of participation of women to the urban life and to understand how local differences affect integration of women to the urban life.

Urban green areas or parks provide places for outdoor activities such as sporting and walking; and for social interaction. In this sense, use of parks by women was examined to understand women's relation with her locality.

Table 14: Park use. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Park Use		Total (N)
	Use (%)	Not Use (%)	
Ahmetler Lc	20	80	30
Cankaya Lc	55	45	40
Dikmen Lc	73.3	26.7	15
Bahcelievler Lc	57.9	42.1	38
Demetevler Lc	34.6	65.4	26
Sentepe Lc	0	100	18
Etlik Lc	55.6	44.4	27
Safaktepe Lc	6.7	93.3	30
Altindag Lc	58.8	41.2	17
Total (n)	97	144	241

Table 14 shows the distribution of members who use parks according to the clubs. The use of park percentage of surveyed women in Dikmen Ladies' Club is the highest; it is 73, 3%. The percentage of Altındağ survey is 58,8% and it is closely followed by Bahçelievler, Etlik and Çankaya Ladies' Clubs. The percentage of park usege is lower in Ahmetler and Demetevler cases compared to the aforementioned cases. However, the lowest percentage is in Şentepe case; none of the respondents use the parks in their neighborhood. The reasons of this lowest percentege may be evaluated along with the Table D which displays the reasons of locational dissatisfaction with the parks.

On the other hand, five reasons are underlined by the respondents who do not use the parks (Table 15). Three of these reasons which are related to dissatisfaction with local environmental characteristics are complaints on proximity and safety and as well as physical quality of the parks. Other reasons are related to personal reasons which were expressed by the respondents as 'no time for using parks' or 'no need to use the parks'.

Table 15: Reasons of avoiding park use. Source: survey data.

Clubs	Do Not Use					Total (n)
	Not Clean And Too Much Traffic Noise (%)	Do Not Need (%)	Far From My House (%)	Safety Reasons (%)	No Time For It (%)	
Ahmetler Lc	35.2	6.2	8.7	8.7	0	28
Cankaya Lc	5.6	25	6.5	13	10	22
Dikmen Lc	1.9	0	4.3	0	10	4
Bahcelievler Lc	7.4	22.9	4.3	0	20	19
Demetevler Lc	7.4	20.8	0	30.4	20	23
Sentepe Lc	0	0	37	8.7	0	19
Etlik Lc	1.9	18.8	4.3	4.3	20	15
Safaktepe Lc	38.9	4.2	19.6	30.4	20	41
Altindag Lc	1.9	2.1	15.2	4.3	0	10
Total (N)	54	48	46	23	10	181

Local environmental characteristics are seemed to be the most important element of dissatisfaction with local parks for the respondents who do not prefer to use them. The major dissatisfaction with the local parks is related to traffic noise and cleanliness of the parks and the percentage of this criterion is 28, 8%. It is important to note that, this percentage is quite high in Ahmetler and Şafaktepe Ladies' Clubs.

Another dissatisfaction criterion for the members of the Şentepe, Altındağ and Şafaktepe Ladies' Clubs is the proximity of spacious and safe parks and this problem was voiced by the respondents during the questionnaire survey. Most of the respondents complain about the farawayness of the parks to their neighborhoods.

The total percentage of these complaints is 23, 5%. The percentage of members who complain about the long distance between their houses and the parks is 37% in Şentepe Ladies' Club. This percentage falls to 15, 2% in Altındağ, and 19, 6% in Şafaktepe surveys. On the other hand, the total percentage of safety criterion is 10, 5%. The percentage of safety criterion follows the percentage of proximity criterion in Şentepe Ladies' Club. However, the percentages of the complaints about safety are higher than in Demetevler and Şafaktepe cases compared to Şentepe case. It is interesting to note that, in Dikmen some respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with green areas by complaining about lack of bicycle ways in Dikmen Valley. They added that most of the people can exercise their dogs in the park while cycling is prohibited.

The percentage of members who do not need to use local parks is 24,8%. This percentage is quite high in Çankaya, Bahçelievler, Demetevler and Etlik survey compared to other clubs. The percentage of members who have no time for using parks is quite low; it is 4,3%. This percentage is equally shared among five clubs which are Çankaya, Etlik, Demetevler, Bahçelievler and Şafaktepe. It is important to note that the personal criterion which is 'no time for using parks' was raised by the employed club members during the questionnaire survey. Therefore, the respondents' composition who share this idea mostly constitute of employed women.

It may be asserted that, the difference between the complaints about local

environmental characteristics not only indicates environmental quality levels of these nine districts but also underlines the unequal distribution of social infrastructure.

Another local element which contributes participation of women to the urban life is the existence of socio-cultural facilities. For this reason, data revealing these local socio-spatial characteristics will be evaluated.

The percentage of women attending socio-cultural activities in community centers is 18,3% of all respondents. It is also important to note that four- fifths of these women are housewives, and rest of them is unemployed bachelors or two year high education graduates. Among these women, the percentage of women who prefer to go to a community center which is not in their neighborhoods is 22,7%.

Table 16: Use of other municipal social and cultural centers. Source: Survey data.

Use Of Other Municipal Social And Cultural Centers	Employment Status		
	Out Of Labor Force (%)	Employed (%)	Total (n)
Do not use	63.1	36.9	198
Use	83.7	16.3	43
Total (n)	161	80	241

Table 17 shows that the percentage of attending socio-cultural activities in community centers is the highest in Bahçelievler neighborhood, but it is closely followed by Çankaya Neighborhood. The highest percentage in Bahçelievler survey may be associated with the local characteristics of Bahçelievler and Emek neighborhoods. Bahçelievler and Emek neighborhoods have a vital public life and commercial activity that attract the people to the district. Both of these neighborhoods also have entrenched and stringent relations with Kızılay CBD in terms of socio-economic aspects and transportation. In addition to that, Bahçelievler

is one of the oldest neighborhoods in the urban core in which first generation Ankara population had lived. For these reasons, it may be asserted that the dwellers of these neighborhoods show more settled urbanized characteristics compared to Şentepe, Şafaktepe, Demetevler and Altındağ Neighborhoods which are defined as lower class neighborhoods (Ayata and Ayata, 1996). The high percentage in Çankaya survey may be associated with the fact that Çankaya Ladies' Club is strategically offered to the southern part of Çankaya District that has the numbers of neighborhoods where most of the middle or upper middle income groups live in (Türel, 1987). With reference to aforementioned reasons, it may be suggested that both of these neighborhoods' female inhabitants show more urbanized characteristics compared to other neighborhoods in terms of participation in urban life.

On the other hand, the lowest percentage which is 4, 7% is in Dikmen survey. The clearcut distinction between Dikmen and Çankaya surveys reveals the socio- spatial differences between the two districts. These differences are also revealed by the income level and employment pattern of the surveyed respondents.

Table 17: Use of Other Municipal Social and Cultural Centers

Use of Other Municipal Social and Cultural Centers		
Clubs	%	Total (n)
Ahmetler	9.3	30
Cankaya	18.6	40
Dikmen	4.7	15
Bahcelievler	20.9	38
Demetevler	11.6	26
Sentepe	9.3	18
Etlik	9.3	18
Safaktepe	9.3	27
Altindag	7	17
Total (N)	43	241

In the urban level, participation to the cultural activities is a measure for analyzing

the women's relations with urban space. The table below shows the participation levels of cultural activities, and the cultural centers refer cinema, theater and other socio-cultural facilities.

Table 18 shows that respondents in Çankaya, Ahmetler and Baçelievler extensively use the socio-cultural facilities in the city. However, the percentage of use of socio-cultural centers by the respondents in Altındağ, Şafaktepe, Demetevler and Şentepe is noticeably low. These differences have various reasons such as socio-economic status, car ownership, proximity to the facilities and daily life routine.

Table 18: Use of social and cultural centers. Source: Survey data.

Use of Social and Cultural Centers		
Clubs	(n)	Total (n)
Ahmetler	24	30
Cankaya	29	40
Dikmen	8	15
Bahcelievler	9	38
Demetevler	5	26
Sentepe	2	18
Etlik Lc	16	18
Safaktepe	4	27
Altindag	3	17
Total (N)	100	241

5.4. In-depth Interviews: Learning from 'Ladies'

Within this section, the non-structured in-depth interviews conducted with the club members will be presented and discussed. These interviews conducted with the club members who were selected by taking into consideration of their income level, employment status and spatial factors. In the end a total of 11 members were interviewed from Baçelievler, Şentepe, Şafaktepe, Dikmen, Etlik, Demetevler,

Çankaya, Ahmetler ladies' clubs.

Interview-I

The first respondent is a, forty seven years old retired woman. She worked in a state institution as a chemical engineer before she was retired. She is married and has a daughter studying in a private university. Her husband is still working in a private company as a manager. They lived in an apartment in Yaşamkent, for two years. The first participant was asked about her reasons in preferring the Bahçelievler Ladies' Club and the activities she attends to:

I was unable to use the clubs because of my working hours. I used to be tired when I returned back at home. Moreover, the housework is generally done by me. Therefore the *time* for *leisure* -remaining from my working hours- had to be spent with my family and for housework. After the retirement, I became a member and started to go to the club in Bahçelievler with my friend, just for the sports activities. After a month, I decided to attend to the Turkish classical music lessons. At the end of the educational year, an inter-clubs concert was organized. That was my first concert experience! My mother has been using the Bahçelievler Ladies' Club for two years. Indeed, I first learnt about the club from her. She enrolled in the computer course and learnt some basic computer skills. Now she can use the internet and she is sixty five years old! At first, I found Ladies' Clubs' annual membership very affordable but it was hard to go to Bahçelievler, so I decided to go to a sports center in Çayyolu. There are many private sports centers and facilities close to my neighborhood [Yaşamkent]. Unfortunately, the annual membership fee is very expensive in the private sports centers. I have to economize my expenditures to compensate my daughter's university fee. Then, I searched for a cheaper sports center and found the GORDION Ladies' Club²⁸. Women

²⁸ GORDION Ladies' Club is a ladies-only service of GORDION Shopping Mall, located in Çayyollu. After the in-depth interview, GORDION Shopping Mall was phone called by the author and the membership conditions was asked. It was learnt that, membership conditions have been changed. Membership is free for all women. In order to be a member, one has to fill the membership form and take the GORDION Ladies' Club card. The employee of the shopping mall was also asked about the sexual segregation issue. Employee suggested that the sexual segregation is not strict in their club. Some courses and organizations have male participants. For the detailed information see: <http://www.gordion-avm.com/gordion-ladies-club.aspx>

who shop from GORDION can have a monthly membership. In order to become a member one needs an at least 200 TL shopping bill. I filled the membership form and got the GORDION Ladies' Club card. I started to attend sports sessions. Then I attended pastry and dessert course of the GORDION Ladies' Club. There are also painting and handicraft courses in GORDION Ladies' Club. Club [GORDION] is very close to my house. Now, I am going to Bahçelievler not for using the club but for visiting my mother.
(Date of interview: 17.07.2010)

Regarding the first respondent, there are two issues need to be addressed. The first issue is the relationship between traditional domestic expectations and leisure activities of women. As the first respondent suggests, domestic works often obstruct any leisure activities for the employed women. Although the first respondent is not pleased to do housework, she does not compromise her traditional domestic roles. Therefore, she attained her own leisure only when she was retired. The second issue is the relationship between income level and leisure activities. As the first respondent states, her interest on the Ladies' Club is directly related to its affordability. She needs to economize her expenditures in order to have leisure activities.

The first respondent was asked whether if she uses any other social services offered by the municipality or a company. She stated that she attended the ceramic and jewelry design courses of BELMEK in Emek Neighborhood in 2009. According to the respondent, in Emek BELMEK, there are at least two course rooms in all floors. Thus, she points out that meeting new people in EMEK BELMEK is easier than in Bahçelievler Ladies' Club. All of the information about the leisure of first respondent show that the first respondent is quite mobile in the city, and she can utilize various socio-cultural facilities which are served by private or public establishments.

The first respondent was also asked about her opinions on the sexual segregation present in the clubs. She suggested that she is not disturbed by the idea of sexual segregation. On the contrary, she is satisfied with supportive same-sex friendship:

Well, sexual segregation may be good for ladies, we have *common interests* and we are more *comfortable* and *cheerful* when we are all together...

Although I am a republican, I think this [sexual segregation] is kind of a positive discrimination. So sexual segregation issue is not a problem for me, but the affordability of the service is important.

(Date of interview: 17.017.2010)

The ideas of the first respondent on the sexual segregation issue must be discussed. The first respondent's point of view about the sex-segregation touches upon two aspects of the gender system. The first aspect is the advocacy of *supportive same-sex friendship*²⁹ depending on gender relations. The first respondent points out the communicative advantages of the same-sex friendship by expressing her feelings on the same-sex gender regime and emphasizing the pleasure taken in same-sex friendship that is both supported and implemented by the GMA. Although common interests or other communicative advantages can make the communication more fluent amongst the women, the gendered agenda behind the idea of a 'lady'-only club is unquestioned by the respondent. The second aspect is the agency of women on sex-segregation issue. She interprets the sexual segregation implemented in the clubs as a 'positive discrimination'. She explicitly states her political view as a guarantee of her rejection of conservative approaches and as well as her conscious choice, Ladies' Clubs.

Interview-II

The second respondent is a fifty nine years old retired teacher. She is using Şentepe Ladies' Club in Yenimahalle. She has two sons; and both of them have a bachelor's degree from a state university. Her husband is retired from a state institution. They live in their own house, in Yenimahalle district. The second respondent was asked how she decided to be a member of the club and her general impressions about the clubs:

When I first heard about the sexual segregation that is being implemented in these clubs, I did not want to be a member of them because of my political view. Later on, my friend [neighbor and also ex-colleague] started to go to the club for attending sports activities and some courses. She liked the clubs, and therefore I decided to go to the Şentepe Ladies' Club, which is very close to my home. There are no sports centers close to my house and affordable at the same time. Anyway, I enrolled in the wood painting courses

²⁹ The term 'supportive same-sex friendship' was coined by Kağıtçıbaşı (1982).

and used the gym hall to lose weight. I met new people there, but my relations with them did not improve. We only say “hi”, or “have a nice day”.... You see, most of the women are from gecekondu neighborhoods... There were some veiled women in there, two of them were employees, and others were members. I realized that some members are veiled only when I came across them outside of the club. They are not using their turban in there [the club]. If they had been using a common [unisex] sports center, they would not have taken their turbans off. It should be hard to use sporting equipments such as treadmills with turban. The users of the clubs are mainly housewives, but there are a few young girls who mostly attend to sports activities and diction courses. Now, I seldom go there.

(Date of interview: 16.06.2009)

In the case of second respondent, the issue of social interaction needs to be addressed. As the second respondent suggests, she and other members do not prefer to improve friendships. She implicitly associates this problem with the socio-economic status and socio-spatial differences of members. Although the second respondent is not a right sample for the Şentepe survey in terms of representation, her opinions are important to understand the relations between different social groups in the context of Ladies' Clubs.

Interview-III

It was mentioned before that most of the members of Şentepe Ladies' Club are the female inhabitants of the gecekondu areas in Yenimahalle. Therefore, the third respondent was selected from one of gecekondu residents in order to understand the case of Şentepe from the point of view of a more representative member.

The third respondent is a thirty six years old self-employed woman. She manufactures piece work to contribute to her family income. However, she tells that she makes a little money from piece work. Her husband is an employee in a private company. They live in their own apartment flat, in Şentepe. They have no children. The third respondent was asked for her reasons about becoming a club member and the influences of the club on her social life. According to the third respondent:

I have been a member of the club for two years. I often come to the club in the morning and leave when my husband comes to take me with his car. I specifically prefer the ladies club for its free membership option offered to low income groups. The other reason is the distance of the club to my house. Indeed there is no other social or sports center in our neighborhood. Besides, I know that the private sports centers are very expensive... If there had been such a private sports center, nobody would go there or even a look at it, even if they were curious about it. We are not wealthy people... Anyway; I am relaxing and psychologically rehabilitating when I come to the club. So, I come five days in a week, on weekdays... I attended NLP seminars before. I regularly attend sports sessions. Moreover, I am the champion of the 2010 pool contest! ... Some of the club members and also the employees are my friends, so the social environment of the club is very familiar to me. In addition to that, it is easy to meet new people in the club. I like meeting with new people.

Like previous respondents, the third respondent also presses upon the importance of the affordability of the clubs however by stating that free membership option is the major reason for using the ladies' club. She explains the relationship between economic status and use of sports center by referencing local socio-spatial environment in which she lives.

The third respondent uses the club quite often. She goes to the club on weekdays, and stays there from morning, till evening. It is interesting to note that the third respondent needed to explain why she uses the club so often after the interview was over. According to the third respondent, attending to club activities let her personal problems go away.

The third respondent was also asked if she uses any other social centers or parks in her neighborhood. She suggests that she does not need to use any other social services or parks. She also shares her observations on the social life in gecekondü areas of Yenimahalle district:

In our [gecekondü] neighborhoods, parks are inadequate for walking. Moreover, there are safety problems for the parks. Spacious and safe green areas are located in Etlik, so they are far from our houses. Therefore, the

walking activity is generally performed on the street by women. Most of the women walk to the club even if their houses are far from the club. Walking is more economic and a kind of sports activity... Women often visit the houses of their neighbors or relatives in the day time; neighborly relations are the most important aspect of our social lives. However, the spare time was used to be spent at home, before the club was established. The transportation is expensive, everything requires money... City is big and complex... So the women living in gecekondu areas do not prefer to go to the city center. Moreover, some husbands do not let their wives to go to the city center. Alas, the club is a lady-only place and most of the women can come to the club.

Regarding the third respondent's explanations, income level has close relations with the movement of the residents to urban centers. Therefore income level is one of the most important determinants of the level of participation of women into urban life. In the case of gecekondu areas or the less well-to-do neighborhoods, lower middle class women are literally the least visible in the sense that they are the most restricted in their movements, the most home-bound and secluded (Kandiyoti, 1982). The other reason which limits the social mobilization of women in the city is the patriarchal domination on women's lives. The third respondent explicitly states that some women can not go to the city center without the permission of their husbands. It may be said that this domination is related to a particular gender regime which is observed especially in lower income groups' neighborhoods. The third respondent evaluates the sexual segregation that was being implemented in the club as a positive aspect. She implies that if the club had been a unisex, no women in Şentepe would have come. It was mentioned before that some of the club employees try to understand social problems of local women and encourage them to participate into social life. Although the efforts of employees are valuable, these efforts may remain in a small scale unless GMA develops policies for the local women by using the potential of Ladies' Clubs. It may be asserted that the attitude of GMA on the local problems underestimates both the importance of local problems and the strategic potentials of the Ladies' Clubs.

Another issue which is touched upon by the third respondent is the importance of neighbor relations. It seems that major reason of her satisfaction with her neighborhood is related to her nice neighborly relations. However, the importance of

the neighborly relations for the gecekondu inhabitants of Yenimahalle may be associated with the inner dynamics of the gecekondu phenomenon. The term gecekondu refers a physical reality and also a life style which differs from locality to locality (Günay, 2009). In the gecekondu areas men have social, economic and spatial mobilizations in the city, whereas women have been not only lack of these three types of mobility but also the most home and neighborhood bounded (Kümbetoğlu, 1996; Onat, 1996). In these areas, neighbors' or relatives' houses and street are the main living spaces of the women (Kümbetoğlu, 1996). Sitting in front of the house and chatting with each other or visiting the houses of relatives are the daily activities of the women especially in summer and spring. It may be said that, restriction on the movements of women in the city and the limited socio-spatial realm of these women may create a more vital local social life in gecekondu areas compared to more urban neighborhoods (as opposed to the rural characteristics of the gecekondu areas).

It is also important to note that the third respondent's emphasis on the categorizations like 'our', 'us' and 'like us' not only indicates how the women perceive their 'social space' which was introduced by Kümbetoğlu (1996) but also indicates some certain positions, e.g. socio-economic and socio-spatial positions, which they feel or been felt that they belonged to. Contrary to nice neighborly relations, most of the respondents in Şentepe survey are dissatisfied with their local environmental characteristics and complain about the lack of spacious and safe green areas that limits their socio-spatial needs.

Interview-IV

In terms of participation of women into the urban life, the forth respondent touches upon some similar points as the third does. The forth respondent is a member of Şafaktepe Ladies' Club. She is a sixty-two years old housewife. She lives with her husband in a gecekondu in Ege neighborhood. The forth respondent was asked about her participation to the club and urban life:

I have been a member of the club for one year. I learnt about the club from my neighbors. I live with my husband. Our monthly income is only my husband's retirement wage. Moreover, my husband is a cancer patient and I

have to take care of him. So, it is very difficult for me to come to the club. Sometimes I can not pay for the transportation. In these times I walk to the club and economize my journey. Therefore, I can buy bread and other needs by economizing my journey. Moreover, my husband complains about the club. He thinks that it is a luxury to come to the club for of our economic condition. Transportation cost is too much for us. I think that there need to be a free pass which provides poor women free transportation. You see; if there is no money, there is no participation... I attend to only sports activities in the club, because I have no time for attending other activities. Swimming pool requires an extra fee, so I cannot use the swimming pool. Some women [members] are organizing kabul günleri in the club. They have money to organize kabul günleri, and pay for cooking expenditures.

In the case of the forth respondent, the relationship between income level and the level of participation into the urban life is very important. She complains about the transportation costs and states that the level of participation of women into the social life depends on income level. Although it is too far away to walk, she walks from her house to the club in order to economize her new sports habit.

Interview-V

There is another respondent who is a member of Şafaktepe Ladies' Club. It should be noted that the interview was conducted with the fifth respondent during the Kabul günü organized by her. The fifth respondent is a sixty seven years old housewife. She lives in Saime Kadın neighborhood with her husband. She and her husband are newly bought an apartment flat in Saime Kadın and moved from Şafaktepe neighborhood. The respondent is asked about the reasons of her interest in the clubs:

I have been living in Mamak for thirty years. Me and my friends know each other from the Şafaktepe neighborhood. We are all neighbors and friends. Before the foundation of the club we used Mamak Community Center to meet with each other and spend some time together. However, community center was replaced with a medical center and after that we started to come to the club. We attended sports activities until 2009, but now we have no energy for sports. We use the club only for meeting or organizing our kabul

günleri. It is getting harder to clean the house after kabul günleri, because we are getting older. Anyhow, meeting at outside relaxes us...

In the case of the fifth respondent, it seems that the interest in the sports activities is varied according to the ages of members. It may be also inferred that the age can also become a limiting factor for performing housework. Kabul günü group in Şafaktepe survey does not prefer to organize their receptions in their houses because of house-cleaning issue. The interviews conducted with reception day group also reveal that all of the women seldom go to the Kızılay because of economical reasons. Three third of the women in reception day agrees that city center is too crowded so they do not want to go to the Kızılay CBD. Another respondent who is the only retired women in the group states that she likes going to Kızılay or shopping malls, although she could not buy anything. Rest of the respondents are housewives and spend their time mostly within their neighborhood with their relatives or neighbors. It can be suggested that while the main reason behind the respondents' preference of avoiding the central CBD areas are an economic as well as a cultural choice.

The fifth respondent was also asked about her opinions on the sexual segregation that was being implemented in the club. She states that men are their siblings; they do not specifically prefer to come to a women-only place.

Interview-VI

The sixth respondent is a forty two years old housewife. She lives in Sokullu Mehmet Paşa neighborhood with her family. They are the house owners. She has a daughter studying at a state university. Her husband is a state officer. She has been using Dikmen Ladies' Club for a year. Her observations and opinions about the clubs are as such:

I have been going to the club for a year. It is really far from my house, and its affordability is not sufficient to compensate its distance. Moreover, I only use the gym. Now, I am going to a private unisex sports gym which is closer to my house. It is also affordable for middle income people.

(Date of interview: 22.04.2010)

In the case of the sixth respondent, distance of the club to her home is the prior reason for her choice of clubs/facilities. Thus she prefers to use another sports center just because it is closer to her home.

Interview-VII

The seventh respondent is a forty one years old housewife. She lives in a gecekondü with her family. Her husband is a worker in a private company. Their monthly income is below minimum wage. She has two children. One of her child is seven years old, and the other child is eleven. She can only attend the sports sessions in the club because of her household responsibilities. She states that sports help her to relax. The seventh respondent was asked if she can participate in urban life. However, she states that their economical condition obstructs her participation into the urban life. She expresses her feelings on this issue by complaining about the expensiveness of the urban life in Ankara. The seventh respondent has similar complaints with the third and fourth respondents in terms of the participation into the urban life.

Interview-VIII

The eighth respondent is a fifty six years old retired high school teacher. She is a member of Etlik Ladies' Club. She lives in Basınevleri neighborhood with her husband. They own the apartment flat they live in. According to her:

I have been using Etlik Ladies' Club for eight months. Before I went there, I was walking in the parks in Keçiören for my fitness and health. But it was hard to walk especially in winter because of the cold or rainy weather. The affordability of the clubs and indoor sports activities attracted me in spite of my political view. Indeed, I am a leftist. ... When using the club, my initial reaction about the sex-segregation applied by the GMA gone away. It is more comfortable using sports equipments and attending sports courses without the *male gaze on my body*. I have never ever used turban, or been a religious person but men in our society are generally uneducated about approaching women. (Date: 21.03.2009)

The eighth respondent's ideas and experiences have similar characteristics with the

first. Both of them agreed that same-sex friendship is more comfortable compared to the inter-sex friendship. However, this comfort factor defined by the eighth respondent differs from the first respondents' definition. The eighth respondent suggests that she does not feel comfortable when doing sports in a unisex sports center. The first respondent's comfort criterion refers to the communicative advantages of the same-sex socialization whereas the eighth respondent's comfort criterion depends on the absence of the other sex when doing sports. In addition to that both of the respondents express their political views in order to prove that their positive opinions on sexual segregation issue are not related with any conservatory policy or religious context³⁰.

Interview-IX

The ninth respondent is a fifty-four years old housewife. She has been a member of the Demetevler Ladies' Club for two years. She lives in her own apartment flat with her two children. She was asked about the reasons for using the club

I come to the club for sports and psychological rehabilitation. I lost my husband three years ago. I have three children, and one of them, my daughter was married last year. My other children are students. One of them is a student at a state high school, and other one is at the secondary school. Our monthly income can barely suffice the school and house expenditures. So, you see it is hard to take care of two children without the help of anybody... I was bored sitting at home all day. Sometimes I was washing the clean dishes again and again to kill time. My neighbors teased me by saying that "it seems you have a lot money to spend on your water bill!" Then, I found the solution: I am doing sports at the club and listen to Kur-an CD at home. My sons have a computer; they taught me how to use it. I insert the Koran CD into the computer, and listen Koran for relaxation.

In the case of ninth respondent, the relationship between psychological well being and leisure activities need to be discussed. The ninth respondent needs to spend her time away from her house in order to be relaxed. However, the way of relaxation can be varied from woman to woman. It seems that the club functions as a

³⁰ The main reason why the eighth respondent is associating the implementation of sex-segregation in clubs with the religious context is that Islamic way of life which was being practiced in various sections of the Turkish society; requiring a spatial segregation based on sex, both in public and private spheres in order to be lived in a moral environment.

relaxation place for the ninth respondents' daily life. The questionnaire results also show that most of the housewives use the clubs for psychological rehabilitation aim. In the ninth respondent's case, individual religious practices and attending sports activity become crucial tactical tools for keeping herself relaxed.

Interview-X

The tenth respondent is a fifty-two years old housewife. She has been a member of Çankaya Ladies' Club since the club was founded. She lives in Birlik neighborhood, with her family. Her husband is a manager in a private company. She has two children, and both of them are university graduates. They live in their own apartment flat. She uses the club for sports activities. She was asked whether if she attend any leisure activities or social activities within the urban core:

Women, especially housewives, have to examine their lives and attend qualified leisure activities. Sitting at home and watching TV all day damages our memory skills and self-confidence. Moreover, women start to listen to their selves too much when they sit at home all day long. At the end, the risk of anxiety or depression may reach to a peak point... For example; I attended painting course in the Community Center and Evening Art School, and handicraft courses in TODAM. Now, I am painting in my house and doing sports at the club for relaxation. I try to go to the cinema twice a week. We [women] have to qualify our daily lives in order to be more hopeful about life. I observed that my children do not give up anything easily even if their motivation is low. So, I said to myself that I could teach them something about life...

The tenth respondent's approach on leisure activities seems quite explicatory. She examines the psychological cycles of a housewife regarding her experiences as a housewife and explains how housewives can have a quality daily life. This conscious approach on leisure differs from the approaches of the third, forth and ninth respondents. On one hand, a woman has her economic and social tools for providing herself a quality social life, and on the other, women not having adequate

income for participating to the urban life but have new habits which introduces them the urbanized women's realm.

Interview-XI

The eleventh respondent is a thirty-two-years old research assistant in a state university. She lives in an apartment flat in Cebeci neighborhood with her sister. Her sister is a journalist and works for an editorial office. They are tenants in the apartment. According to fifth respondent:

The services provided by the Ahmetler Ladies' Club is very sufficient and the club is very close to my home. In addition, club is very clean and fine. I go there just for attending sports activities. The meeting room is very *homely*. Once I saw that the reception room was used by some housewives for the kabul günü.

(Date: 07.07.2010)

The eleventh respondent's observations on the spatial characteristics of the club are important. By telling it is "homely" she states that reception room has the visual and sensual characteristics of a domestic space. Most of the meeting rooms of the clubs have some particular characteristics of a domestic space. The sense of home or privacy is captured with the decoration. Furniture, carpets, wall pictures, and replica plants reflect the aesthetics of a pop as well as traditional culture. It is important to note that furnishing differs in accordance with the clubs. There is a *şark odası*³¹ used for relaxation in Etlik Ladies' Club. Contrary to Etlik Club, there is no traditional decorative element in Çankaya Club. Furnishing of the Çankaya Club seems more modern and basic.

All of these interviews reflect different voices, appraisals and attitudes of women participating in the activities of the clubs. However, the common point of these oral histories is the need for transformation in their everyday realm. A point that must not be lost while analyzing these histories is that women are always subjected with the assumption that their place is essentially the private sphere of home; regardless to

³¹ The term *şark odası* refers to a guest room in the traditional Turkish house. Before the emergence of modernist architecture in Turkey, guest rooms had some typical furnishing characteristics. After 1950s most of these typical furnishings were removed and replaced with the modern ones. However, this traditional furnishing still exists in some houses in Turkey. In addition to that, *şark odası* is used in cafes as a decoration.

their socio-economic status (Ayata and Ayata, 1996; Kümbetoğlu, 1996; Kennedy, 1999). This assumption not only draws a daily path for the socialization cycles of women but also limit their social and economic mobilization in the city. In this respect, with the help of interviews, it may be argued that clubs contribute to social mobilization of women in the city in different levels regarding to socio-economic status of these women. Women living in well-to-do neighborhoods have a more social mobilization in the city and in their locality than women living in less well-to-do neighborhoods. Clubs in less well-to-do neighborhoods integrate women to their locality and introduce them with daily realm of urbanized women. In this respect, it is irrecusable that the clubs established in gecekondu areas carry valuable potentials in terms of transformation of the lives of women in gecekondu areas. However, it may be also argued that contribution of the clubs to the daily cycles of women is limited for some practical concerns. Although some of the clubs are strategically offered in gecekondu areas, it is obvious that GMA does not take into consideration the fact that there are different women with different socio-spatial realms, thus different expectations and needs. The lack of local strategies or policies and stereotyped activity program for the clubs may decrease the potentials of the clubs.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of the Research

It may be argued that in Turkey, social and economic participation of women to the urban life is one of the most important question for social scientists, urban planners and as well as policy-makers, since 1980s. The first legislative reforms for the institutionalization of women's status and implementation of gender mainstreaming on national policies in Turkey, started in late 80s with the international relations and negotiations with EU and UN. These international relations affect both national and local policies in legislative and institutional levels in Turkey. Regarding the local policies and municipal regulations on gender equality and women's status, Directorate of Women and Family was founded under the Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs of GMA. In the Law of Greater Municipalities, number 5216, paragraph 7-v; the responsibilities and duties of a greater municipality is stated as to establish social and cultural centers for women, children, youth and elderly. With respect to this law, Ladies' Clubs were founded as a socio-cultural center by the GMA.

It was mentioned before that Ladies' Clubs was founded in Ankara as one of the social services of GMA, in the year of 2000. This social service is organized by the Management of Ladies' Clubs under the Directorate of Women and Family of GMA. The main goals of the GMA on creating such clubs were integrating housewives into the urban life by luring them out of their domestic realm, helping women to develop nice and neighborly relations with each other, while gaining some sports habits and improving their socio-cultural skills. While providing certain sports activities and socio-cultural facilities, Ladies' Clubs are strictly women-only places. Located in the

most populous fifteen districts of Ankara, Ladies' Clubs became an everyday space for its 20,000 club members who belong to diverse socio-economical strata of the society of Ankara.

Regarding to this summary on Ladies' Club phenomenon, the main aim of this study is to make a survey and analysis of ladies' clubs established and supported by Greater Ankara Municipality. The study also intends to discover and analyze the policies and legislation developed by the administration about Ladies' Clubs, to map their distribution in the city and the attitudes and appraisals of women participating in the activities of the clubs located at the core of the city. In this study, Ladies' Clubs are discussed within a theoretical frame that juxtaposes the discussions on gender relations concerning space, social mobilization of women in the city and legislations concerning women.

In Turkey, compared to men, all women (regardless of their socio-economic status) are usually more home-bounded, and more responsible for organization of family life, housework and the house itself. However, daily socio-economic cycles of women do not only depend on this domestic or private realm, but also depend on their socio-economic status which in the end governs and guides their socio-economic participation to the urban life. Regarding to this theoretical framework, this thesis does not only deal with aforementioned foundations of this participation question but also indicates that this question has policy based answers on the implementation level and as well as legislative aspects. Ladies' Club phenomenon is the product of legislations and local policies concerning women.

6.2. Findings Dependent on the Survey Data

This thesis focuses on the nine selected clubs which are located in the urban core of Ankara. The clubs are allocated in nine neighborhoods which are Çankaya, Bahçelievler, Dikmen, Ahmetler, Şafaktepe, Altındağ, Etilik, Şentepe and Demetevler. To analyze and map the case study, a field research was conducted by employing a questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews in these clubs. The main aims of the questionnaire survey are to reveal how the clubs in the urban core affect

respondents' daily lives, and to inquire social mobilization of women in the city. On the other hand, the main aims of the in-depth interviews are to explore the influence of the clubs on different women's daily realms and to understand women's attitudes and appraisals on the clubs. Before going through in-depth interviews, results of questionnaire survey have been summarized.

Questionnaire survey depicts that the housewives and retired women constitute the majority (66,3 %) of the club members. This result can be evaluated along with the fact that women not in labor force have more time for social and leisure activities, contrary to the employed women. Data also shows that, members in labor force are higher than the clubs in the clubs that are in the inner city and the clubs that are located in the well-to-do neighborhoods. Members in labor force quite less in gecekondü areas and less well-to-do neighborhoods, as expected. Therefore, it can be said that, survey results have some parallelisms with the social mapping studies³² that focuses on the women's status in Turkish cities.

Most of the social-mapping studies³³ suggest that Çankaya district located at the southern planning zone have a mid-high and high income composition. However, Etlik neighborhood is constituted of middle and mid-high income groups. Lower-middle and middle income groups are concentrated in Demetevler and Dikmen neighborhoods. Lower income groups are concentrated in Altındağ, Şentepe and Mamak. Although the members of each club have not homogeneous social and economic structures, income composition of the respondents according to clubs shares some parallelisms with the income composition of the districts that were mentioned above. The highest income groups are concentrated in Çankaya survey. The middle income groups are quite high in Bahçelievler, Ahmetler and Etlik survey. However, lower-middle income groups are concentrated in Ahmetler Survey. Lower-middle income groups are the major income groups in Bahçelievler, Etlik and Çankaya surveys. The lower income groups are concentrated in Altındağ, Şentepe, Şafaktepe and Demetevler. Within a general frame, these results show that women use the clubs regardless of their income level. This finding may be evaluated along with the fact that free membership option of the clubs provides equal opportunity among women for using such public facilities.

³² For a detailed information see: Isık, O. Women's Atlas of Turkey, 1999

³³ For a detailed information see: Akçura (1971)

One interesting finding retrieved from the questionnaire data is that, regardless of their socio-economic status, low membership fee is the prior reason for preferring the clubs instead of private sports center. From the lowest to the highest, all income groups are attracted to the reasonable membership fee of the Ladies' Clubs. The second reason which attracts respondents' attention is the easy access from the surrounding residential areas and working places. This finding should be evaluated along with the fact that most of the respondents have settled or worked in the surrounding environment of the clubs. These respondents prefer to come to the clubs by walking. Maps showing the spatial distribution of the respondents in the city (Figure 17, 20, 22, 25, 32, 35, 39, 42) also support these results. However, in-depth interviews reveals that there are women coming to club on foot from distant neighborhoods in order to economize their journey or do sports.

Maps (Figure 17, 20, 22, 25, 32, 35, 39, 42) also show that there is diversity in the usage of the clubs. The variety of neighborhoods and the ratios of participants from these neighborhoods are very much related with the location of the club. In certain clubs, participation is only from surrounding districts while the others have members from all over the metropolitan area. It can be said that, the location of a club gives some hints about the diversity of the user profiles in terms of social and economic aspects. The clubs which have members from surrounding districts point out more homogenous socio-economic profiles while the others have diversity. When maps compared with the employment status, another important relationship can be seen. The amount of employed population directly influences participation from metropolitan scale. This situation can be reviewed clearly in comparison of Ahmetler and Şentepe cases. Another important issue which can be derived from maps is that the Ladies' Clubs generate mobility in metropolitan scale beside local scale. The use of Ladies' Clubs leads respondents to change their daily routes while adding another space which is outside their houses.

Respondents' motives behind using the clubs reveal important information on how they choose to modify their daily habits. Sports activity is the prior service of the club that gets the most attention from its users; and the psychological counseling follows this criterion. In addition to these quantitative findings, most of the interviewed women agreed with the fact that clubs remove them from their domestic daily routine. Meeting with new people is another aim for using the clubs. It is important to

note that this aim is quite high among the respondents who live in well-to-do neighborhoods, e.g. Çankaya and Bahçelievler, whereas it is quite less in Şentepe, Şafaktepe and Altındağ surveys. This discrepancy in the data may be evaluated along with the fact that neighborly relation patterns differs from locality to locality. Respondents from Çankaya and Bahçelievler use the clubs for meeting with new people, whereas respondents in Şentepe, Şafaktepe and Altındağ who, already spent most of their time with neighbors or relatives, do not use the clubs as such. In addition to that, respondents in these three neighborhoods mostly learnt the existence of the clubs in their neighborhoods from their neighbors; and prefer to go to the clubs with their neighbors.

The interest in sports activities is in majority in all of the clubs. Data also shows that before the foundation of the clubs respondents in Şentepe, Şafaktepe, Altındağ, Demetevler and Etlik have not used any other sports center before the foundation of the clubs. In-depth interviews also support this finding in the case of aforementioned clubs. In addition to that, one of the respondents in Şentepe stated that there is no sports center in her neighborhood and if there had been one, no one would use it by reason of membership fee. To summarize, clubs not only makes indoor sports activities accessible but also introduce a new way of life, urbanized women's way of life, to the women who live in less well-to-do neighborhoods or gecekondu areas. The interest in certain courses differs between respondents from different socio-cultural backgrounds. The interest in the diction and English courses is the highest in Şafaktepe, Çankaya and Etlik Ladies' Clubs. These respondents are between the ages of 20 and 45. The major composition of these women is housewives. Unemployed, high school or two-year-university graduates also attract attention to these courses. However, the interest in diction or English courses is quite low in Bahçelievler and Ahmetler Ladies' Clubs. This discrepancy between these surveys may be associated with the fact that urbanization level of respondents is manifested by their accents, and these women attending to diction courses spend an effort to become more skilled. It is mentioned before that the respondents who use Bahçelievler, Ahmetler and Çankaya Ladies' Clubs show more urbanized characteristics in terms of employment and educational composition and as well as number of child-per-family compared to the respondents who use other clubs. In this respect, it may be asserted that clubs are the in-between spaces that prepare women to urban life, and introduce the urbanized women's way of life with others.

Clubs in the gecekondu areas contribute to social participation of women to their local life. Most of the interviewed respondents who live in less well-to-do neighborhoods or the gecekondu areas agreed with the fact that clubs offer a space which relatively remove them from their domestic realm and provide alternative practices/activities for their everyday lives. The questionnaire data also supports these ideas in terms of the aim for using the clubs that was mentioned above. However, based on a higher number of comments during the interviews and application of questionnaires, respondents who live in less well-to-do neighborhoods or gecekondu areas, e.g. Şentepe, Dikmen and Şafaktepe, expressed a range of complaints about the disadvantageous characteristics of their local environment and as well as their socio-economic conditions which limits their social participation to the urban life. Most of these women were being spent their time at home or relatives' houses. Even if very few, some of the respondents in Şafaktepe survey, state that they go to other parts of the city in the urban core mostly for visiting their relatives. Questionnaire data also supports this argument on the limited social life of women who live in these neighborhoods. Contrary to Şafaktepe and Şentepe surveys, social participation of the respondents to the urban life in the urban core is quite high in Çankaya, Bahçelievler, Etlik, and Demetevler surveys. These women have used different parts of the urban core not only for visiting their relatives and friends but also for shopping or attending social activities.

Etlik, Demetevler and Şafaktepe surveys show that the respondents mainly prefers the use the clubs just because they are women-only, sex-segregated places. The motives behind this preference are not only related with the patriarchal domination on women but also women's choice which have various backgrounds. The opinions of the respondents about the sex-segregation issue are examined with in-depth interviews. Respondents in Bahçelievler, Etlik, Şentepe, and Şafaktepe agreed with the fact that same-sex socialization has some certain communicative advantages. Respondent in Bahçelievler states that the sex-segregation can be interpreted as positive discrimination. Even a few, some women in Şafaktepe survey, stated that they do not support the sexual segregation but they need a place for their regular meetings. Contrary to the respondents in Şafaktepe, a respondent in Şentepe explicitly states that most of the members could not come to club if the clubs were non-segregated. Respondents in Bahçelievler, Çankaya and Ahmetler surveys agreed with the fact that they are not interested in sexual segregation but just the

low membership fee. All of these are the voices and expressions of different women who want to live in better social conditions and environment.

6.3. Contribution of the Ladies' Clubs to the Social Mobilization of Women in the City

One of the outcomes of exploratory-descriptive study is that the results can be different than its initial assumptions. Indeed this case is no exception. In general, it may be asserted that sex-segregation in public sphere does not help women to develop their identity and self esteem. However, in the context of Şentepe Ladies' Club this segregation becomes an apparatus for the integration of women into the urban community with the personal efforts of club's employees. Even if these efforts have small-size effects on the urban level, Şentepe survey reveals a crucial result for the examination of the policy of GMA and the functions of clubs. The decision of where to establish the clubs seems to be a product of a policy that does not exclude less-well-to-do neighborhoods in Ankara. The existence of the clubs in Şentepe and Mamak is the proof of policy. Moreover, the existence of the clubs in such neighborhoods is quite valuable in terms of transformation of the relations between women and her environment.

Interviews with the policy-makers also show that clubs are a product of a policy that privileges the legislations concerning women, while taking into consideration that how participation of women into socio-cultural life can be provided, and project how and where these clubs would be offered/established.

All the courses and activities of the clubs are modern and well-organized, although some services, touristic excursions, beauty center, cannot be used by all women from different sections in the society. In-depth interviews prove that most of the women need the clubs for relaxation as well as socialization. From the perspective of women, it can be said that clubs contribute to women's lives in a practical level by offering certain facilities for sports and developing cultural and handcraft skills.

6.4. Shortcomings of the Policy of GMA Concerning the Clubs

The positive contributions of the clubs to women's lives was summarized above, however some critical points concerning the policy of GMA need to be addressed. It was mentioned in the former chapters that there is a one compact activity and facility program developed for the clubs. Thus, the neighborhoods and districts represent different sections of the society and women living in these neighborhoods have different expectations, needs and problems that need local policies and strategies. Women living in gecekondu areas need more attention, and program of the clubs may be varied by taking into consideration income and educational composition of these neighborhoods. Potentials of the clubs in transforming the women's lives can be revealed only by taking into consideration these local differences. Local policies can be more effective in transforming women's lives compared to individual efforts – like the one observed in Şentepe survey.

In a nutshell, the lack of strategies and policies on the district level do undermine the potentials of the clubs. Since certain members have different needs and problems, the activity program of the club should not be designed for a singular woman stereotype. Although spatial segregation based on sex and the supportive same-sex socialization seem to reinforce the pre-given gender relations in the urban context, interviews show that clubs have a potential in transforming women's lives. The program of the clubs can include strategic aims through adding seminars concerning women's rights, new activities that encourage women for participating into social life and integrate them with public life and community, and as well as working with women's organizations. In that case, clubs do not only remove women from their domestic space but also may become effective in transforming the existing gender norms and integrate women into the urban life only with the help of local policies.

6.5. Further Research

This study presents an analysis of a unique spatial realm in Turkey that was introduced and offered to women and their children only. The most intriguing aspect of working on this new realm is that quite unexpected results were achieved contrary to the initial assumptions. Before conducting the field research, it was expected that there are few employed members in the clubs because of their working hours. However, questionnaire survey and interviews show that evening sports sessions attract considerable amount of employed women. It was also assumed that these clubs suggest the pre-given gender roles in a sense that they are women-only places, and their names have quite stereotypical nuances. It was mentioned before that, the word 'hanım' means 'wife' in Turkish and it is generally used in traditional sense. However, these prejudgments were started to disappear during the field research, and unexpected results were retrieved from the survey data. One of the unexpected results is the social, economic and as well as the spatial diversity of the members which can be read from the maps showing the spatial distribution of respondents in the city (Figure 17, 20, 22, 25, 32, 35, 39, 42). Yet another unexpected result is the policies and ideas behind these clubs that contribute to women's lives by surpassing their limited spatial realms. Although Ladies' Clubs emerged as a new spatial realm, the function of these clubs overlaps with the literature which conceptualizes social mobilization of women in the city and draws the legislative frame of the clubs.

On the other hand, some critical deficiencies were emerged in terms of the analysis tools that was used in this study and made it difficult to analyze and map the case. The tenantry composition and employment status of husbands was not taken into consideration in this research. Although the limited income indicator used in this study may not give enough information about the income composition of the respondents, these deficiencies were tried to be decreased by examining the aforementioned income factors with the in-depth interviews. Therefore, one suggestion drawn for these types of studies may be that income indicators should include tenantry and household factors.

In a nutshell, Ladies' Clubs are in-between spaces that not only affect and increase

social mobilization of women in the city but also have potentials in transforming the lives of women through developing policies.

REFERENCES

AKÇURA, T., (1971), *Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik bir Araştırma*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, yayın no: 16, Ankara.

AKIN, E. (2007) *Kentsel Gelişme ve Kentsel Rantlar: Ankara Örneği*, Doktora tezi, Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı, Ankara Üniversitesi.

ALKAN, A. (2005) *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Yerel Yönetimler: Kadınların Kentteki Görünmez Varlığı*, Dipnot Press, Ankara.

AYATA, S., AYATA, A. G. (1996) *Konut, Komşuluk ve Kent Kültürü*, Konut Araştırmaları Dizisi, yayın no: 10, T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı Matbaası, Ankara.

BİRGÜL, A., ŞAHİN, N. (1984) *Batıkent, Türkiye'den Toplu Konut Örnekleri*, ed. S. Gürel, Kent-Koop Yayınları, yayın no: 33, Batıkent Konut Üretim Yapı Kooperatifleri Birliği, Ankara, 81-107.

CENGİZKAN, A. (2001) *1950'lerden Bir Konut Kooperatifi– Ankara Ucuz Subay Evleri, Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri*, ed. Y. Yıldırım, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Ankara, 235-268.

DOĞAN, D. (2008) *Housing Along the Western Development Corridor in Ankara: Case Studies in Etimesgut and Sincan*, M.Sc. Thesis, The Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, METU, ANKARA..

DÜNDAR, Ö. (1997) *Changing Meanings of Urban Renewal: Ankara Dikmen Valley Development Project*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of City and Regional Planning, METU, Ankara.

ERAY, Ş. (2008) *Legislative Reforms in Turkey between 1998-2005 in the Context of Gender Mainstreaming*, unpublished MS Thesis, Department of Gender and Women's Studies, METU.

EU (2007) *A Guide To A Gender Impact Assesment*, Online document available at: ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=4376&langId=en () , (last accessed date: 12.06.2010)

EU (1985) *European Charter of Local Self-Government*, Online document available at: conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/122.html , (last accessed date: 12.06.2010)

EU (2009) *Gender Impact Assesment*, Online document available at: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/evaluation/evalsed/downloads/sb2_gender_impact_assessment.doc , (last accessed date: 12.06.2010)

GÜNAY, B. (1996) Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında bir Değerlendirme, Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı: Özcan Altabana'a Armağan, ed. T. Şenyapılı, ODTU Yayıncılık, Ankara, 60-118.

GÜNAY, B. (2009) Gecekonduya ne oldu? Zilyetliğe dayalı kentten sahipli kente, *Gecekondu, Dönüşüm, Kent: Tansı Şenyapılı'ya Armağan*, eds. S. Kayasü, O. Işık, N. Uzun, E. Kamacı, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Ankara, 85-112.

GÜVENÇ, M. (2001) Ankara'da Statü/ Köken Farklılaşması; 1990 Sayım Örneklemeleri Üzerinde Blokmodel Çözümlenmeleri, *Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri*, ed. Y. Yıldırım, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Ankara, 17-34.

IŞIK, O. (1999) Türkiye Kadın Atlası, Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Araştırma ve İnceleme Derneği Yayınları, yayın no: 15, Ankara.

İVEYNAT, N. (2008) *Urban Transformation Projects in Squatter Settlements: The Case of Ankara, Şentepe Urban Transformation Project*, M.Sc. Thesis, TheDepartmentof Regional Planning, METU, Ankara.

KAĞITÇIBAŞI, Ç. (1982) Introduction, *Sex Roles, Family, & Community in Turkey*, eds. Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı, D. Sunar, Indiana University Turkish Studies, USA.

KANDİYOTİ, D. (1988) *Bargaining with Patriarchy*. Online document available at: www.smi.uib.no/seminars/Pensum/kandiyoti,%20Deniz.pdf

KANDİYOTİ, D. (1982) Urban Change and Women's Roles in Turkey: An Overview and Evaluation, *Sex Roles, Family, and Community in Turkey*, eds. Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı, D. Sunar, Indiana University Turkish Studies, USA, 101-121.

KAYASÜ, S. (2005) Kadınların Kentleri, Kentlerin Kadınları, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadın ve Mimarlık*, ed. N.T. Dostoğlu, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası.

KELEŞ, R. (1993) *Kent ve Siyaset Üzerine Yazılar (1975- 1992)*, IULA -EMME, İstanbul.

KENNEDY, N.F. (1999) *A Comparison between Women Living in Traditional Turkish Houses and Women Living in Apartments in Historical Context*, unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, The Department of Gender and Women's Studies, METU, Ankara.

KURTOĞLU, A. (2004) *Hemşehrilik ve Şehirde Siyaset: Keçiören Örneği*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

KÜMBETOĞLU, (1996) Women in Squatter Settlements and Their Living Space, *Housing Question of the Others*, Habitat II Preconference (1995), eds. E. M. Komut, Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Ankara, 86-95.

MCDOWELL, L. (1999) *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*, University of Minnesota Place, Minneapolis.

MCDOWELL, L. (1997) *Homeplace, Undoing Place? A Geographical Reader*, ed. L. McDowell, Hodder Headline Group, New York, 14-15.

ONAT, Ü. (1996) The Urban Women and Their Environment: Relations Between Housing and Individuals, *Housing Question of the Others*, Habitat II Preconference (1995), eds. E. M. Komut, Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Ankara, 155-166.

SAVRAN, G.A. (2002) Özel/ Kamusal, Yerel/ Evrensel: İkilikleri Aşan Bir Feminizme Doğru, *Praksis* (8) 255-306.

TEKELİ, İ., İLKİN, S. (1984) *Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması*, Batıkent Konut Üretim Yapı Kooperatifleri Birliği, Ankara.

TÜREL, A. (1987) Ankara Kent Formunda Konut Alanlarının Gelir Gruplarına Göre Farklılaşması, *Ankara 1985'den 2015'e*, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, EGO Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara.

ÜSKÜP, M. (1984) Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi, *Türkiye'den Toplu Konut Örnekleri*, ed. S. Gürel, Kent-Koop Yayınları, yayın no: 33, Batıkent Konut Üretim Yapı Kooperatifleri Birliği, Ankara, 11-25.

APPENDIX A

MUNICIPAL REGULATION SECTION XI

Kültür ve Sosyal İşler Dairesi Başkanlığı

MADDE 75- Kültür ve sosyal işler dairesi başkanlığı; daire başkanına bağlı;

- a) Kadın ve Aile Şube Müdürlüğü
- b) Kültür Etkinlikleri Şube Müdürlüğü
- c) Meslek Edindirme Şube Müdürlüğü
- ç) Üretim ve Satış Şube Müdürlüğü
- d) Orkestra ve Genel Sanat Yönetmenliklerinden oluşmaktadır.

Kültür ve sosyal işler dairesi başkanı

MADDE 76-Kültür ve sosyal işler dairesi başkanının görev, yetki ve sorumlulukları şunlardır:

a) Kişi ve ailelerin kendi bünye ve çevre şartlarından doğan veya kontrolleri dışında oluşan kültürel ve sosyal yoksunluklarının giderilmesine ve ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmasına, sosyal sorunlarının önlenmesi ve çözümlenmesine yardımcı olunmasını ve hayat standartlarını ülke şartlarındaki ortalama yaşam seviyesinden bir üst seviyeye yükseltmesini amaçlayan sosyal ve kültürel işleri yapmak veya yaptırmak

b)Aileyi ekonomik ve sosyal yönden koruyup desteklemek ve kadınların sosyal, bedensel, ruhsal, mesleki, ekonomik ve kültürel yönden gelişmesine katkıda bulunmak,

c)Sosyal, kültürel, sanatsal ve turistik içerikli programlar uygulayarak kentlilerin serbest zamanlarını verimli bir şekilde değerlendirmek, kentsel bütünleşmeye katkıda bulunmak ve kentlileşme sürecine hız kazandırmak,

ç)Kentte yaşayan insanların vatandaşlık, çevre, barış, dostluk ve dayanışma

bilincini geliştirici çalışmalar yaparak tarihi, kültürel değerleri korumak ve ekonomik potansiyeli desteklemek amacıyla festival, kermes, sergi, fuar, panayır, gösteri, seminer, konferans, sempozyum, yarışma, müzik, eğlence programları ve buna benzer diğer sosyal faaliyetleri yapmak,

d)Yaygın mesleki ve teknik eğitim programları uygulayarak kentlileri çeşitli alanlarda bilgi, beceri ve meslek sahibi yapmak,

e)Yasaların izin verdiği çerçevede el emeği üretim, pazarlama, teşhir ve satış merkezleri kurarak kentlilerin sanata olan ilgisini artırmak ve aile ekonomilerini güçlendirmek

f)Toplumsal ve demokratik değerlerin benimsetilmesinde, ortak yaşama kültürünün oluşmasında ve eğitim güçlüklerinin aşılmasında ilgili kurumlarla işbirliği yapmak,

Kadın ve aile şube müdürlüğü

MADDE 77- (1) Kadın ve aile şube müdürünün görev yetki ve sorumlulukları şunlardır:

a)Kadının ve ailenin korunması, geliştirilmesi ve güçlendirilmesi için uzun, orta ve kısa vadeli plan ve programlar hazırlamak,

b)Faaliyetlerin onaylanan plan, program ve bütçeye uygun bir şekilde gerçekleştirilmesi için gerekli önlemleri almak,

c)Toplumsal yapımızın temelini oluşturan aile kurumunu sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik bakımdan desteklemek amacıyla faaliyetlerde bulunmak

ç)Aile kurumunun temel direği ve garantisi olan kadınlarımızı bedensel, ruhsal, sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik ve eğitsel bakımdan destekleyip güçlendirmek,

d)Aile içi şiddeti ortadan kaldırmayı amaçlayan çalışmalar yapmak,

e)Toplumsal ve demokratik değerlerin benimsetilmesinde, ortak yaşama kültürünün oluşmasında ve eğitim güçlüklerinin aşılmasında ilgili kurumlarla işbirliği yapmak,

f)Kadın ve ailenin rehabilitasyonu konularında, aileyi ve kadını bilinçlendirici programlar hazırlamak ve uygulamak.

g)Bireyler arasında fırsat eşitliğinin sağlanmasında, suç ve kötü alışkanlıklarla mücadelede, insani birikimin paylaşılmasında, gelir dağılımının iyileştirilmesinde aileye destek olmak,

ğ)Kadının istihdamını ve ekonomik kapasitesini artırıcı, ticarî faaliyetlerini

güçlendirici ve kadın girişimciliğini özendirici çalışmalar yapmak,

h)Kadınlara yönelik her türlü şiddet, taciz ve istismarın önlenmesi ve ortadan kaldırılması için çalışmalar yapmak, gerekli sosyal destek sistemlerinin oluşturulmasını sağlamak, kadını ekonomik açıdan güçlendirici çalışmalar yapmak,

ı)Kadın sağlığı ve anne çocuk sağlığı hizmetlerinin etkin bir şekilde yürütülmesine katkıda bulunmak,

i)Kentte, yurt içinde ve yurt dışında kadın sorunları ile ilgili her konuda araştırmalar ve eğitim amaçlı toplantılar yapmak, yerel, ulusal ve uluslar arası yapılan çalışmalara destek olmak ve katılımı sağlamak,

j)Bayanların örgün ve yaygın eğitimin tüm aşamalarına katılımını özendirici çalışmalar yapmak, bu çalışmaları desteklemek,

k)Kanunları ve idari düzenlemeleri görev alanı çerçevesinde izleyerek kadınların eşit hak ve fırsatlara ulaşmasını sağlayacak çalışmalar yapmak,

l)Kadın ve aile sorunları ile ilgili sağlık, eğitim, kültür, çalışma ve sosyal güvenlik başta olmak üzere bütün alanlarda kadınların ilerlemesini sağlayıcı ve karar mekanizmalarına katılımını artırıcı çalışmalarda bulunmak, kamu kurum ve kuruluşları, üniversiteler, sivil toplum kuruluşları ile işbirliği yapmak, gerçekleştirilecek her türlü etkinliğe katılmak,

m)Daire Başkanı tarafından verilecek görevleri yürütmek,

(2)Kadın ve aile şube müdürlüğüne bağlı olarak görev yapan hanım lokalleri şefliğinin görev, yetki ve çalışma konuları şunlardır:

a)Daire Başkanlığının amaç, ilke ve hedefleri ile ilgili mevzuat ve yönetmeliğine uygun olarak şube müdürlüğünün iş ve işlemlerini yürütmek.

b)Şube müdürlüğüne bağlı personelin izin rapor, terfi, sicil, ceza gibi özlük işlerini takip etmek.

c)Şube müdürlüğünün iç ve dış yazışmalarını yürütmek, gelen-giden evraklarını kaydedip ilgili birim ve ilgililere ulaştırılmasını sağlamak.

ç)Şube müdürlüğünün gelen-giden evraklarının dosyalama ve arşivleme işlerini yapmak.

d)Şube müdürlüğünün bütçesini oluşturmak amacıyla çalışmalar yapmak avans ve ödeme evraklarını düzenlemek.

e) Şube müdürlüğüne ait demirbaşların bakım ve onarım işlemlerini yürütmek.

f) Hanım lokallerinde dernek – vakıf sivil toplum kuruluşları ve özel sektörler ile çalışmalar yaparak hanımlara yönelik eğitici seminerler düzenlemek.

- g) Hanım lokallerinin iş ve işlemlerini yürütmek.
- ğ) Hanım Lokalleri arasında koordineyi sağlamak.
- h) Hanım lokallerine üye kayıt çalışmalarını yapmak.
- ı) Hanım Lokallerindeki Sportif, kültürel ve sosyal faaliyetlerini düzenleyen çalışmaları yapmak.
- i) Kadının ve ailenin korunması, geliştirilmesi için uzun, orta ve kısa vadeli plan ve programlar hazırlamak.
- j) Şube müdürlüğünün iş ve işlemlerinin değişmesi halinde yönetmelik ile ilgili çalışmaları yapmak, yönetmeliği güncelleştirerek hazırlamak ve yürütülebilmesi için ilgili birimlere iletilerek uygulanır hale getirmek.
- k) Şube müdürlüğü tarafından verilecek diğer görevleri yapmak.

(3) Kadın ve aile şube müdürlüğüne bağlı aile hizmetleri şefliğinin görev, yetki ve çalışma konuları şunlardır:

- a) Daire Başkanlığının amaç, ilke ve hedefleri ile ilgili mevzuat ve yönetmeliğine uygun olarak şube müdürlüğünün iş ve işlemlerini yürütmek.

APPENDIX B

THE MISSION, VISION AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Mission:

The Directorate of Cultural and Social Affairs Department aims to provide services dedicate to letting the city dwellers access, produce, implement and generalize information for educational, social, cultural, artistic and economic development by carrying out training, research and social service activities at global level.

Vision:

To implement modern and permanent services aiming to increase social assistance, to form city awareness and culture via cultural and social events realized all over the city, to support all kinds of activities to render family and woman more active in economic, social and cultural fields and to increase their educational levels, to develop strategies on this issue, to create plans and programs and to contribute in determination of basic policies.

Strategic Objectives:

- To protect and support the family in economic and social terms, to contribute in social, physical, spiritual, occupational and cultural development of the woman,
- To utilize spare times of the city-dwellers in the most efficient way via implementing programs with social, cultural, artistic and tourism content, to contribute in urban integration and to accelerate the urbanization process,
- To carry out studies to develop citizenship, environment, peace, friendship and mutual assistance awareness in the city-dwellers,
- To organize fairs, exhibitions, bazaars, shows, seminaries, conferences, symposiums, contests, music and entertainment programs to protect historical and cultural possessions in the city and to support the economic potential,
- To provide the city dwellers with knowledge, skill and profession in various fields by implementing common occupational and technical training programs.

- To increase the city dwellers' interest in art by establishing handcraft production, marketing and sales centers to the extent allowed by laws and to reinforce economy of families
(Information gathered from the website³⁴ of G.M.A)

³⁴ Information retrieved from http://ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/hanimlar_lokali/hanimlar_lokali.aspx ,
Date: 05.01.2010.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

1. Marital status

Married Single Widow

2. Year of Birth

3. Employment status:

Employed Out of labor force
 Public sector Retired
 Private sector Student
 Self-employed Housewife
 Paid house-cleaning Unemployed
 Paid child-care
 Piece work
 Private teacher

4. If you are employed, which of the following best describes your position?

Director Officer
 Deputy Worker
 Expert Manager

5. Literacy level:

Illiterate Two-year-university
 Literate Open university
 Elementary school Undergraduate
 Secondary school Graduate
 High school

6. Household income:

Below minimum wage Minimum wage Minimum wage - 1000 TL
 1000- 1500TL 1500 -2500 TL 2500- 3500 TL More than 3500 TL

7. How did you know about the Ladies' Clubs?

- Neighbors
- Relatives
- Friends
- Internet
- Municipal advertisements
- Close to my house
- Close to my workplace

8. In which neighborhood do you live?

.....

10. For what reasons do you prefer to use the Ladies' Clubs?

- Economic reasons
- Close to my house
- Close to my workplace
- By the recommendation of my friends/ family
- Sufficiency and cleanliness
- They are women only places
- Child-care service

11. With whom are you going to the clubs?

- Alone
- Neighbors
- Relatives
- Friends
- My children/ child
- My grand children/ child

12. If you are using a club that is not in your neighborhood, please state the reason.

- In order to use certain facilities that are not presented in the club near my neighborhood
- Social networks
- I do not find the club suitable for my preferences
- Close to my workplace

13. For what reasons do you use the Clubs?

- Attending sports activity
- Training on handicrafts or fine arts
- Leisure activities
- For meeting new people
- Psychological rehabilitation
- Self-improvement

14. Which club activities do you attend to?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Step- Aerobic-Fitness-Pilates | <input type="checkbox"/> Turkish Classical Music |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Table tennis | <input type="checkbox"/> Turkish Folk Music |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Billiard | <input type="checkbox"/> Baglama |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chess | <input type="checkbox"/> Oud |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Swimming pool | <input type="checkbox"/> Guitar |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Handicraft | <input type="checkbox"/> Folk dance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Painting | <input type="checkbox"/> Library |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Jewelry design | <input type="checkbox"/> Reception Day activity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Diction | <input type="checkbox"/> Beauty Center |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Computer lessons | <input type="checkbox"/> Sauna |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Touristic excursions | <input type="checkbox"/> Health center |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Language Lessons (English) | <input type="checkbox"/> Diet and nutrition seminars |

Memory Improvement Techniques | Women's health seminars
NLP (Neuro-linguistic Programming) seminars
Child development seminars
Skin-care products course

15. Do you utilize the handicraft skills that you gained from the clubs' lessons to contribute to your household income?

| YES | NO

16. Do you have children?

| YES | NO

17. If you have children, how many?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

19. Do you have children between three and six year ages?

| YES | NO

19. Do you use the child care service of Ladies Clubs?

| YES | NO

20. Which transportation modes do you use when you come to the club?

| On foot | Public transportation | Company vehicle
| Private car | Taxi

21. Do you have a difficulty coming to the club?

| Club is far from my house
| Stops are far from my house
| Public transportation is expensive
| I cannot find a parking area for my vehicle
| No difficulty

22. Do you use other municipal social services?

| YES

	LOCATIO N	CULTURAL	TRAINING	HOBBY
AYM				
BELMEK				
BELTEK				
Çankaya Belediyesi TODAM				
Halk Eğitim Merkezleri				
KEÇMEK				

| I do not use

23. Did you use a sports center before becoming a member of the Ladies' Clubs?

| YES | NO

24. Do you use another sports center?

| YES

| NO

Sports CENTER	LOCATION

25. For what reasons you do not use another sports center?

| Expensive
| Far from my house
| I have no time for it
| I do not need

26. Do you use a social, cultural or community center apart from Ladies' Clubs? If you use, please state its name and location.

| YES

| NO

Social CENTER	LOCATION

27. For what reasons you do not use another social center?

| Far from my house
| I have no time for it
| I do not need

28. Do you use the parks in your neighborhood?

| YES | NO

29. If your answer is no, for what reasons you do not use the parks?

| I do not feel safe
| Far from my house
| There is no fresh air and there is too much traffic noise
| I have no time for it
| I do not need to use

APPENDIX D

SELECTED TABLES FROM THE SURVEY DATA

Table 19: Crosstabulation of educational level and age groups of unmarried respondents. Source: survey data.

	AGE GROUPS					Total
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	
SECONDARY SCHOOL	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	25,0%	1
HIGH SCHOOL	44,4%	25,0%	16,7%	,0%	25,0%	15
TWO YEAR HIGHER SCHOOL	27,8%	10,0%	,0%	,0%	25,0%	8
UNDERGRADUATE	27,8%	45,0%	50,0%	100,0%	25,0%	21
GRADUATE	,0%	20,0%	33,3%	,0%	,0%	6
Total	18	20	6	3	4	51

Table 20: Monthly family income according to clubs. Source: Survey data.

	MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME							Total
	UNDER MINIMUM WAGE	MINIMUM WAGE	MIN WAGE - 1000 TL	1000- 1500 TL	1500- 2500 TL	2500- 3500 TL	MORE THAN 3500TL	
AHMETLER LC	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	3 10,0%	17 56,7%	8 26,7%	2 6,7%	0 ,0%	30 100,0%
CANKAYA LC	0 ,0%	1 2,5%	4 10,0%	10 25,0%	8 20,0%	8 20,0%	9 22,5%	40 100,0%
DIKMEN LC	0 ,0%	1 6,7%	6 40,0%	4 26,7%	3 20,0%	0 ,0%	1 6,7%	15 100,0%
BAHCELIEVLER LC	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	3 7,9%	13 34,2%	12 31,6%	9 23,7%	1 2,6%	38 100,0%
DEMETEVLER LC	0 ,0%	5 19,2%	12 46,2%	5 19,2%	3 11,5%	1 3,8%	0 ,0%	26 100,0%
SENTEPE LC	0 ,0%	1 5,6%	11 61,1%	5 27,8%	1 5,6%	0 ,0%	0 ,0%	18 100,0%
ETLIK LC	0 ,0%	2 7,4%	6 22,2%	9 33,3%	7 25,9%	3 11,1%	0 ,0%	27 100,0%
SAFAKTEPE LC	2 6,7%	4 13,3%	13 43,3%	7 23,3%	2 6,7%	0 ,0%	2 6,7%	30 100,0%
ALTINDAG LC	0 ,0%	1 5,9%	12 70,6%	1 5,9%	1 5,9%	1 5,9%	1 5,9%	17 100,0%
Total	2 ,8%	15 6,2%	70 29,0%	71 29,5%	45 18,7%	24 10,0%	14 5,8%	241 100,0%

Table 21: Social networks. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	How Do You Learn About The Clubs (%)							Total (n)
	Neighbors	Relatives	Friends	Municipal Advertisement	Close My House	Close My Workplace	Web	
Altındağ	29,4	17,6	17,6	0	29,4	5,9	0	17
Şafaktepe	30	23,3	23,3	3,3	20	0	0	30
Etlük	7,4	22,2	22,2	29,6	14,8	3,7	0	27
Şentepe	22,2	38,9	5,6	11,1	22,2	0	0	18
Demetevler	19,2	19,2	19,2	23,1	19,2	0	0	26
Bahçelievler	0	34,2	36,8	10,5	13,2	0	5,3	38
Dikmen	0	13,3	40	20	26,7	0	0	15
Çankaya	12,5	10	52,5	17,5	7,5	0	0	40
Ahmetler	20	6,7	36,7	20	13,3	3,3	0	30
Total (n)	36	49	74	37	40	3	2	241

Table 22: Aim of respondents in using the clubs. Source: survey data.

Clubs	Aim of use		
	Attending sports activity (%)	Physiological counseling (%)	Meeting with new people (%)
Ahmetler	100,0	16,7	10,0
Çankaya	100,0	27,5	25,0
Dikmen	100,0	13,3	20,0
Bahçelievler	100,0	2,6	15,8
Demetevler	100,0	23,1	19,2
Şentepe	94,4	16,7	5,6
Etlük	96,3	22,2	14,8
Şafaktepe	90,0	53,3	3,3
Altındağ	100,0	11,8	0,0
Total (n)	236(97,9)	52(21,6)	33(13,7)

Table 23: Usage frequency of the respondents. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Frequency			Total (n)
	All the week	3-4 days in a week	1-2 days in a week	
Altındağ	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	17
Şafaktepe	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	30
Etlik	3,7%	96,3%	0,0%	27
Şentepe	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	18
Demetevler	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	26
Bahçelievler	0,0%	97,4%	2,6%	38
Dikmen	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	15
Çankaya	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	40
Ahmetler	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	30
Total (n)	1	239	1	241

Table 24: Participation to the activities in the clubs. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Participation to the activities (%)								
	Computer course	Diet	Jewelery	NLP Seminars	Skin care	Diction	Handcrafts	Language lessons	Step/aerobic fitness/plates
Ahmetler	6,7	0,0	6,7	13,3	0,0	6,7	3,3	6,7	100,0
Çankaya	5,0	5,0	2,5	15,0	0,0	27,5	2,5	15,0	97,5
Dikmen	6,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	6,7	100,0
Bahçelievler	10,5	2,6	10,5	2,6	0,0	0,0	7,9	5,3	100,0
Demetevler	11,5	0,0	0,0	3,8	0,0	0,0	15,4	3,8	100,0
Şentepe	38,9	5,6	0,0	11,1	16,7	16,7	11,1	33,3	94,4
Etlik	11,1	14,8	0,0	7,4	18,5	25,9	3,7	18,5	96,3
Şafaktepe	23,3	0,0	0,0	3,3	0,0	30,0	3,3	6,7	90,0
Altındağ	11,8	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	17,6	0,0	100,0
Total (n)	31	8	7	17	8	32	16	25	235

Table 26: Number of children of the families. Source: Survey data.

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN						Total Number of family
	0	1	2	3	4	5 OR MORE	
AHMETLER LC	3 25,0%	3 5,8%	11 11,7%	1 4,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	18 9,5%
CANKAYA LC	2 16,7%	9 17,3%	17 18,1%	3 12,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	31 16,3%
DIKMEN LC	0 0,0%	1 1,9%	8 8,5%	3 12,0%	1 16,7%	0 0,0%	13 6,8%
BAHCELIEVLER LC	4 33,3%	9 17,3%	16 17,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	29 15,3%
DEMETEVLER LC	0 0,0%	8 15,4%	8 8,5%	3 12,0%	1 16,7%	0 0,0%	20 10,5%
SENTEPE LC	1 8,3%	3 5,8%	8 8,5%	2 8,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	14 7,4%
ETLIK LC	0 0,0%	7 13,5%	8 8,5%	5 20,0%	2 33,3%	0 0,0%	22 11,6%
SAFAKTEPE LC	2 16,7%	7 13,5%	11 11,7%	6 24,0%	2 33,3%	0 0,0%	28 14,7%
ALTINDAG LC	0 0,0%	5 9,6%	7 7,4%	2 8,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	15 7,9%
Total	12 100,0%	52 100,0%	94 100,0%	25 100,0%	6 100,0%	1 100,0%	190 100,0%

Table 25: Transportation mode choices of the respondents. Source: Survey data.

Clubs	Use of Transportation Modes (%)					Total (n)
	Taxi (%)	Public Transportation	Private Car	On Foot	Company Vehicle	
Ahmetler	0	36.7	10.0	60.0	3.3	33
Çankaya	0	22.5	32.5	47.5	7.5	44
Dikmen	0	40.0	20.0	40.0	0	15
Bahçelievler	2.6	23.7	5.3	73.7	2.6	41
Demetevler	0	11.5	7.7	84.6	7.7	29
Şentepe	0	0	5.6	100.0	0	19
Etilik	0	22.2	22.2	66.7	3.7	31
Şafaktepe	0	16.7	3.3	86.7	0	32
Altındağ	0	0	0	100.0	0	17
Total (n)	1	49	31	172	8	261